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*President:* Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY  
(Ghana).

## ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MURAYWID (Syria): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. It is a source of great satisfaction to see you presiding in this difficult period of the life of our Organization, at a time when only men of your calibre can steer our deliberations. We consider your election as a great tribute not only to you as a person of high qualities, but also to your country and to the whole continent of emerging Africa. The fact that you are presiding today, only two years after a distinguished fellow African presided over this august Assembly, is an eloquent recognition of the resourcefulness and the ever-increasing role of the African continent.

2. We are in duty bound to express also our appreciation to the outgoing President for the eminent qualities which he displayed during his tenure of office, and which reflected vividly the Latin American tradition of wisdom and deep sense of justice.

3. Moreover, my delegation wishes to reiterate its full confidence and faith in our Secretary-General, whose statesmanship, great sense of responsibility, and devotion to duty have always been a source of inspiration in overcoming great difficulties and serious crises. We express the hope that he will soon completely recover and be with us to resume the duties of his high office.

4. On behalf of the people and Government of Syria, I should like to extend a hearty welcome to the three fellow Member States who have joined our ranks. The admission of Malawi, Zambia, and Malta is a tribute to the heroic struggle of their peoples, who fought valiantly to regain their freedom and independence. We wish them well and look forward to co-operating with them closely and fully.

5. Our joy on the occasion of the admission of these sister States will be enhanced when the other dependent countries take their seats in this hall. We express the hope that the year 1965 will see the elimination of all colonial régimes, down to the last one.

6. The Syrian Arab Republic notes with great satisfaction the triumphal march to freedom and statehood of the many peoples of Africa, Asia and the western hemisphere, since the historic gathering in Bandung ten years ago.

7. As a result of the meeting of minds and spirit of the Asian and African peoples, the national liberation movements in the two continents have gathered great momentum, and the policy of non-alignment and the principles of peaceful coexistence have received great moral support. That policy and those principles have become an accepted code of conduct in international relations, have contributed to the lessening of world tension, and have offered a "programme for peace and international co-operation" [see A/5763] of great significance.

8. The signatories to this programme adopted at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October of this year, with the active participation of more than fifty member States from Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, have taken upon themselves to co-operate fully with the United Nations for the implementation of these lofty principles. As a signatory to this programme, we earnestly commend these principles to the serious consideration of our distinguished colleagues.

9. We believe the principles put forward by this programme can be of great assistance in finding solutions to the problems which confront our Organization. Decolonization, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, racial discrimination, and the policy of apartheid are vital issues which were discussed at length by the conference of non-aligned countries. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations with respect to these questions, and world public opinion is becoming increasingly impatient with the slow implementation, or the non-implementation of these resolutions.

10. It is our duty as united and individual nations to do our utmost to expedite decolonization everywhere in the world. We believe that the continuation of the hated colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Southern Arabia, Oman and elsewhere, is an insult to the dignity of man. The time has come to put an

end to the appalling suffering of the subjugated peoples. It is lamentable to see the colonial Powers ignore the wind of change which is sweeping through the old and new continents. The peoples of the world can no longer be expected to tolerate the continued subjugation and the untold sufferings of their fellow men.

11. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the commendable work being performed by the Committee of Twenty-Four, <sup>1/</sup> which has been entrusted with the liquidation of colonialism. My country, which takes particular pride in participating in the activities of that Committee, expresses the hope that it will complete its task at the earliest possible date, and that it will also examine the situation prevailing in some territories still subject to colonial rule and practices such as Oman.

12. The non-aligned countries have, on various occasions, considered the questions of general and complete disarmament, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the prohibition of all nuclear tests, the prevention of the dissemination of nuclear weapons and the abolition of all such weapons. For many years, these vital issues have been discussed at the United Nations, by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, and by the parties concerned. My delegation wishes to associate itself with previous speakers who have expressed their concern for the lack of genuine and substantial progress in this field. We believe that the partial progress has fallen short of the expectations of mankind for a world free from fear and want.

13. The astronomical sums of money spent on armaments could have been put to a better use had they been devoted to feed the hungry, cure the sick, and create a healthier environment in which to live. In this connexion, we whole-heartedly support the proposal put forward for the convening of a world-wide conference on disarmament, at the highest level, to discuss the question of the complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, with a view to reaching an agreement on the renunciation of the use of these weapons.

14. The peoples of the world, desiring the maintenance of peace, eager to achieve disarmament and to ban nuclear weapons, are profoundly disturbed by the persistent conspiring and manoeuvring of the colonialists, imperialists and neo-colonialists. What is taking place in South-East Asia, Southern Arabia, Oman, the Congo, Cyprus and elsewhere constitutes a serious threat, not only to the stability of those areas, but also to the tranquillity and peace of the whole world. It is our sacred duty to raise our voice in condemnation of the use of force by colonial and imperialist Powers against the independence and territorial integrity of the emerging nations.

15. This Assembly should also warn against the bad counsel of those who advocate the use of force in furthering national interests and attaining major goals of policy. In fact, the new and sophisticated pattern of intervention which we are witnessing in the Congo

today, if it continues unexposed and unchecked, could be repeated with impunity any time and anywhere in the world.

16. The representatives who preceded me have drawn a disquieting picture of the situation prevailing in the Congo. We cannot remain indifferent to what is taking place there, for the struggle for peace and liberation is one and indivisible. The emerging nations, therefore, must join hands with the peace-loving countries of the world in condemning aggression whenever and wherever it may take place and in preventing its recurrence.

17. Turning now to the Middle East, I shall endeavour to outline the causes of turmoil in which our region has been plunged since the creation of Israel. When the colonial and imperialist Powers realized that the struggle for liberation in the Arab nation was bound to triumph, they conspired with international Zionism to create an artificial State and a hotbed of tension in the Middle East. The wealth of the Arab land, its oil resources and its strategic position are basic factors to be taken into account for the proper and accurate assessment of this problem.

18. Israel, by the very nature of Zionism, an aggressive, exclusive and discriminatory movement, cannot associate itself with the main stream of national liberation movements in the world; Zionism and Israel, as a matter of fact, are more akin to apartheid, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and practices. Once this background of the Zionist State is brought to light and exposed, the close identity of Israel with imperialism unfolds itself to the eyes of the outside world. This equally explains the organic link between Israel, South Africa and Portugal, despite some belated Israel attitudes tending to conceal this basic identity.

19. Since representatives are sufficiently familiar with the tragedy of Palestine, I do not intend to go into the historical developments of this question, which is a classical example of colonialism unparalleled in modern history. To our knowledge, there is no precedent resembling the plight of the Palestine people, who were uprooted from their homeland by the sheer use of brutal force and replaced by an alien community assembled from the four corners of the world. Recent history has shown that imperialist outposts, be they Israel, Aden or Ascension Island, have been used as a springboard for aggression against the vital interests of the peoples of Asia and Africa. The continued existence of these outposts constitutes a permanent hindrance to the progress and healthy development of the emerging nations.

20. When the Arab countries insist on the restoration to the Palestine people of their lawful and inalienable rights, it is because the issue is first and foremost a problem of colonial injustice, and a national liberation struggle against a continuous aggression and the foreign military occupation sustained from outside by powerful political support and colossal military and financial aid. We trust that the gravity of this situation, in its true dimensions, will not escape the attention of all peoples who have attained independence after a bitter struggle, as well as that of all peace-loving countries in the world.

<sup>1/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

21. It is worth recalling in this respect the resolution adopted by the second conference of non-aligned countries held in Cairo, which reads as follows:

"The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to:

"(1) Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination;

"(2) Declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism." [A/5763, section I.]

This resolution clearly demonstrates the ever-increasing awareness of a great number of countries of the true nature of the Palestine problem.

22. As regards the struggle of the peoples of Oman, Aden and the protectorates, and the other national liberation movements in the southern and eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, it is to be noted that the conference of non-aligned countries condemned the continued presence of foreign troops and military bases in those territories, and called for their withdrawal and liquidation. The conference equally called for the free exercise by these peoples of their right to self-determination, an essential principle of the United Nations Charter.

23. We appeal to this Assembly to condemn the continued colonialist régimes and to urge the immediate implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations. We believe that all necessary political, moral and material assistance should be rendered to these national liberation movements in their just struggle against colonial rule. Such assistance would be in full conformity with the provisions of the Charter, and would contribute to the creation of the conditions of stability and well-being necessary to ensure peaceful relations based on the right of peoples of self-determination, to the attainment of which our Organization and various regional groupings are working untiringly.

24. The Arab countries, animated by this spirit of international co-operation, and as a positive contribution to the efforts exerted by the United Nations in this regard, have endeavoured in recent years to mobilize their resources and to harness their potentialities for the political, social and economic development of their countries.

25. We are happy to note, in this connexion, that the League of Arab States, which was established in 1945 as the expression of this concerted action, is moving steadily towards the achievement of the political, social and economic aspirations of the Arab nations. These peaceful and constructive aspirations are fully reflected in the resolutions which were adopted by the two Arab summit conferences held recently in Cairo.

26. Since it has become customary at the United Nations that Member States review, during the general debate, the problems confronting them and assess the progress achieved by their countries, I deem it fit to highlight very briefly the political, social and economic progress achieved by the Syrian Arab Republic.

27. My country, like many other developing countries, was left with a heavy legacy of problems which necessitated a rapid and radical solution. After many trials, Syria has chosen the socialist pattern of society as the best means to solve its problems, and to achieve social justice based on an equitable redistribution of its wealth and equal opportunities for all its citizens.

28. As a measure stemming from this policy, and aimed at the full and optimum utilization of our resources, the public ownership of the basic means of production and major public utilities was decreed. A programme of land utilization and land reform was put into effect. Various measures were taken to make credits for agricultural development and co-operative societies more readily available, as a means of coupling social justice with economic productivity. To ensure an optimum and adequate financing of development projects, both in the private and public sectors, commercial banks were nationalized. Another set of measures was also adopted to increase and diversify Syria's trade relations with other countries. The subsequent increase in hard currency is being devoted to broadening and strengthening the industrial structure of our economy.

29. In the field of education, Syria is making great strides in developing its educational institutions and improving their quality, with particular emphasis on vocational training in agriculture and industry.

30. In the social field, reference should be made to the progressive legislation enacted to give maximum guarantees to protect the working class, and to allow full participation of the various labour unions in the economic and political life of the country. Labour and management are further encouraged to harmonize their interests for their mutual benefit and the overriding interests of the country.

31. Syria is determined to play its full role in the quest for the attainment of Arab unity, socialism, freedom and justice, the main goals of our national struggle.

32. One of the basic economic problems facing our Organization is the great disparity between the developing and the highly industrialized countries. In this respect, credit should be given to our Secretary-General for having, on many occasions, stressed this basic and alarming fact.

33. The United Nation Conference on Trade and Development, held this year in Geneva, was a major historical event. It was the first opportunity afforded the developing countries on an international level to press the highly industrialized countries for solutions to their trade problems. The results of this conference, however, fruitful as they are, do not fulfil all the expectations of the developing countries, for the following reasons.

34. First, the recommendation on international commodity arrangements, the removal of obstacles and the expansion of trade, states, among other things, that the highly industrialized countries should eliminate, by 1970, all trade barriers confronting exports from developing countries. We believe, however, that 1970 is too far away, and we would like to see an earlier date specified.

35. Secondly, it is unfortunate that the highly industrialized countries did not make it possible for the conference to adopt a compensatory finance scheme, like the development insurance scheme, which would compensate developing countries for short-term declines in their export earnings.

36. Thirdly, it is also to be regretted that the two recommendations on the gradual transformation of the Special Fund and the initiation of operations of the Capital Development Fund were not unanimously adopted.

37. These are a few examples of the unfulfilled expectations of the developing countries. It is to be hoped that what the conference failed to achieve in Geneva will be realized by the Trade and Development Board and by the next conference.

38. In conclusion, my delegation would like once more to stress Syria's deep and unshakable faith in the principles and high ideals of the United Nations. We have consistently upheld the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations in the face of the formidable pressure to which it has been subjected. In our view, the United Nations remains the hope of the international community and, in particular, of the small nations, for the maintenance of international peace and security based on justice and the rule of law. We believe that the United Nations should become the forum for the discussion and peaceful settlement of all international disputes. Any attempt to by-pass the Organization, to weaken its authority, or to adulterate its functions and objectives, should be strongly resisted and opposed by all.

39. This is why we are deeply concerned with the difficulties facing our Organization at the present time. We therefore earnestly hope that the serious efforts being made, with the active participation of our distinguished and able Secretary-General, will be successful, so that our Organization will continue to play its indispensable role in the service of mankind.

40. My country is of the firm belief that the efforts which our Organization is called upon to exert in this direction will not bear all their fruits unless the legitimate seat of China at the United Nations is restored to the People's Republic of China. It is our conviction that the United Nations cannot persist in ignoring that great country, whose population represents one-fifth of mankind. There are a number of issues of vital importance to the international community which cannot be resolved without the active participation of China. The presence of the People's Republic of China, a country of outstanding heritage of culture and civilization, and long experience in international affairs, in our midst, will greatly enrich our Organization and enhance its work. We express the hope that this vital question will be settled in the course of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

41. My delegation considers that one of the principal means of strengthening the authority and action of the international Organization would be the enlargement of the principal organs, following the considerable increase in the membership of the United Nations and the necessity of ensuring the appropriate repre-

sentation of the newly independent States. Such an enlargement, which was recommended by the General Assembly at its previous session [resolutions 1991 (XVIII)], should be put into effect as soon as possible, so as to redress the present inequitable and unbalanced situation.

42. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to stress once more its complete readiness to co-operate fully with the various organs of the Organization, and to contribute with all the means at its disposal to the success of the present session. My country attaches the utmost importance to all measures whereby the maintenance of international peace and security based on justice and the rule of law would be ensured. It would not spare any effort for the attainment of this highly cherished ideal for the benefit of mankind.

43. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you sincerely on your unanimous election to the post of President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Our delegation wholly shares the view expressed by many previous speakers that your election to this high and responsible post does honour to Africa, which is playing an increasing part in the life and work of the United Nations. At the same time, we also regard your election as further recognition of the positive contribution which is being made by the young independent States, not only of Africa but of other continents also, to the struggle for peace, for international co-operation and universal security, and to the cause of strengthening the United Nations as the instrument called upon to achieve these noble aims.

44. Since the last session of the General Assembly a number of important events have occurred which, in my delegation's view, can have a positive effect on the course of this session and the results it achieves.

45. My delegation has in mind first and foremost the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>2/</sup> That Conference formulated a number of important recommendations aimed at improving and normalizing international economic and trade relations and set up permanent machinery to deal with questions connected with the development of those relations in strict observance of the interests of the different groups of States. The results achieved in that great forum mark a major victory for those forces which advocate the development of economic co-operation among all States on the basis of the principles of respect for their sovereign equality and mutual advantage, without discrimination or artificial restrictions, the forces which support the creation of conditions for the accelerated development of the developing countries' national economies—which signifies principally the liquidation of the pernicious consequences of colonial domination.

46. In my delegation's view, the Conference on Trade and Development, despite its shortcomings and defects, opened up a new and important field in the constructive work of the United Nations and, at the same time,

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.



showed that practical steps must be taken to solve the important economic problems which are already beginning to appear prominently in the work of the Organization. The Mongolian delegation considers that the present session must give serious attention to consolidating the gains made at that Conference and to seeking a solution to a number of important problems concerning international economic and trade relations which the Conference has as yet been unable to solve constructively.

47. Another event of great significance was the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at Cairo in October 1964.<sup>3/</sup> That Conference clearly demonstrated the effectiveness and the constructive role of the policy of non-alignment, which has become the official policy of countries comprising nearly half of the independent States of the world.

48. The Declaration entitled "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation", which was adopted at that Conference, indicates realistic ways of solving such important problems of our times as the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the strengthening of the policy of peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and other problems appearing on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

49. The results of the Cairo Conference have shown that the policy of non-alignment is an effective expression of the principles of peaceful coexistence. In this connexion the Mongolian delegation expresses its whole-hearted support for the recommendation of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries for the adoption, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, of a Declaration on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

50. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic also attaches great importance to the second Conference of the States members of the Organization of African Unity,<sup>4/</sup> which expressed in its resolutions the determination of the peoples of Africa to intensify the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples of the world.

51. In my delegation's view, the Cairo Conferences of the States members of the Organization of African Unity and of non-aligned countries have demonstrated once again the great efforts that the young independent States are making in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the struggle for peace and the freedom of the peoples.

52. The socialist countries, consistently pursuing their peace-loving foreign policy, have as in previous years taken practical steps aimed at strengthening confidence and peaceful co-operation among States and at consolidating international peace and security—steps which are consonant with the spirit and requirements of the United Nations Charter. This is attested, in particu-

lar, by the USSR proposal for the conclusion of an international agreement (or treaty) for the renunciation by States of the use of force in the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers [A/5751] and the Memorandum of the Soviet Government on measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race [A/5827], which was submitted on 7 December 1964 for consideration at this session.

53. It is also attested by the recent decision of the Government of the USSR to make a further cut of 500 million roubles in its military budget for 1965. My delegation expresses the hope that other Powers will follow this excellent example.

54. The concern of the socialist countries for the improvement of the international situation and the strengthening of peace is also clearly expressed in actions taken by other socialist countries in the field of foreign policy. The proposal of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for a freezing of nuclear forces in central Europe, the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two German States and that Government's draft of a treaty for the complete renunciation of atomic weapons by both German States, which was circulated among the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and a number of other important proposals and actions in the field of foreign policy by other socialist countries are indeed aimed at improving the general world climate and at normalizing the situation and increasing stability in various parts of the world.

55. All these factors create the appropriate conditions and prerequisites for the normal work of this session of the General Assembly and for a businesslike discussion of the problems confronting the United Nations.

56. It must, however, be noted with regret that the artificial inflation by the United States Government of questions relating to the financial difficulties of the United Nations is creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and anxiety, a fact which must inevitably affect the conditions in which this session has to work.

57. Moreover, the actions of the ruling circles in the United States and certain other NATO countries, which are directed against peace and tranquillity and against the freedom and national independence of the peoples, are aggravating the international situation and causing grave prejudice thereby to the relaxation of tension in international relations which has resulted from the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in three environments<sup>5/</sup> and a number of subsequent measures taken in the spirit of that Treaty.

58. The situation of South-East Asia, and in South Viet-Nam in particular, is causing anxiety all over the world. For many years now the United States has been waging a senseless brutal war against the patriotic forces of South Viet-Nam. In gross violation of the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, the United States has converted South Viet-Nam into an

<sup>3/</sup> Held from 5 to 10 October 1964.

<sup>4/</sup> First session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964.

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

armed camp from which it is committing aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and interfering in the domestic affairs of Cambodia and Laos. Moreover, some responsible persons in the Pentagon are strongly advocating the extension of the war to neighbouring countries, and in particular to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. To judge by Press reports, the United States is endeavouring to use its old and favourite imperialist methods in this regard and is goading its puppets in South Viet-Nam into this dangerous venture.

59. The Mongolian people and its Government stand resolutely beside the Viet-Nameese people in its struggle against the aggressive acts of the imperialists and their lackeys. Our delegation has stated before and now states once again that neither brutal punitive measures nor vast expenditures of dollars nor frequent changes of puppets will be able to save a régime in South Viet-Nam which has become anathema to the people.

60. The Mongolian people calls upon the United States to withdraw its troops from the South-East Asian region immediately. Only when that is done will the dangerous centre of international conflict in that region be eliminated.

61. The far from stable situation in the Congo has recently deteriorated sharply as a result of the armed intervention by Belgium and the United States in that country, with the assistance of the United Kingdom Government. That armed intervention was undertaken on the pretext of rescuing the white population—the so-called hostages. This is an old and favourite method of the colonialists. The true nature and purpose of that open intervention are clear to anyone who is objective. The representatives of a number of African States, in their statements in the Security Council, have once again completely exposed the aggressive nature of the United States and Belgian venture.

62. The situation in the Congo is fraught with danger not only for the people of that country, but also for the freedom and independence of all the peoples of the African continent. Foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Congo must be stopped forthwith and all foreign troops, including mercenaries, must be withdrawn from that country in order to avoid a repetition of the bitter lesson of the past and to prevent the crisis from worsening. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to solve the Congo problem in the interests of strengthening peace and security in Africa.

63. The Mongolian people is following the course of events in Cyprus with anxiety. It is common knowledge that certain NATO Powers, for selfish ends, are attempting to sow dissension among Cypriots of Greek and Turkish origin, thus creating a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. We are in favour of settling the Cyprus question by giving the Cypriots themselves full opportunity to solve their internal problems in the interests of preserving and strengthening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State.

64. The Mongolian delegation strongly condemns the policy of gross intervention and blackmail which the Governments of the United States and of some of

that country's partners among the members of the Organization of American States are pursuing with regard to the Republic of Cuba. That policy, whose instruments include subversive activities and political and economic blockade, is aimed at forcibly changing the social system which has been freely chosen by the Cuban people and which is highly distasteful to reactionary circles in those countries. All those who are for justice and respect the rules of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter must condemn actions of this kind.

65. Our people stands resolutely by the side of the Cuban people in its struggle against the aggressive schemes of the imperialists, its struggle to consolidate its revolutionary gains.

66. The Mongolian People's Republic, as a peace-loving Asian State, is also profoundly concerned at the dangerous situation which has arisen in its vicinity. Korea continues to be split into two parts and no one knows how long this abnormal situation may last. For more than ten years now the people of South Korea have been subjected to brutal foreign exploitation as a result of their country's transformation into a United States military base. The so-called "Korean question" appears each year on the agenda of the General Assembly; under that item we are asked to discuss the report of the so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which always seeks to justify the military occupation of South Korea. Our delegation continues to hold the view that the Korean question—more accurately the question of the restoration of Korean unity—is an internal affair of the Korean people itself and that the United Nations has no right to discuss it. The only correct method of solving the Korean problem is to put an end to the military occupation of the southern part of Korea and to have the United States troops immediately withdrawn from that country. This alone will enable the Korean people to decide their own fate without foreign intervention.

67. This far from complete account indicates how dangerous still are the forces opposed to peace and friendly co-operation among States, to the freedom, independence and normal economic and social development of the peoples. At the same time it shows that the ruling circles in certain Western Powers, and first and foremost the United States, are time and again resorting to the "positions of strength" policy which, in view of the present alignment of forces, may have the most dangerous consequences.

68. One of the features of our times is the steadily increasing awareness on the part of the peoples of the world that the arms race and the accumulation of armaments cannot continue any longer, since they are not only diverting enormous human and material resources from their true purpose—the creation of material values for the good of mankind—but are increasing the likelihood and the danger of a thermo-nuclear world war.

69. Weapons of mass destruction have become so perfected and stockpiles of these weapons have become so great that in the event of armed conflict entire countries could be wiped off the face of the earth, while mankind and the civilization it had created

would suffer incredible losses. In these circumstances, the question of removing the threat of thermonuclear war has become most acute. This aim can be achieved only through the implementation of general and complete disarmament.

70. The Mongolian People's Republic has expressed resolute support for the immediate implementation of general and complete disarmament under strict international control. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has endorsed the idea of convening a world disarmament conference in which every State in the world would take part.

71. Our delegation considers it unnecessary to expatiate here on the lack of progress on the question of disarmament and the futility of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee which has been devoting itself to this question for more than three years. The representatives of the socialist countries and of other States which genuinely desire the rapid implementation of general and complete disarmament have spoken on this subject in sufficient detail and have completely exposed the reasons for this far from normal state of affairs.

72. Without in any way belittling the importance of destroying conventional armaments, our delegation would like to place particular stress on the idea that disarmament should begin with the elimination of the means of waging thermonuclear war, i.e., with general nuclear disarmament. In other words, the question of the universal prohibition of all types of nuclear weapon tests, the prevention of the further spread of such weapons and the prohibition and elimination of these weapons of mass destruction and of the means for their delivery must be regarded as the crucial and foremost question in the entire complex of measures for the implementation of general and complete disarmament.

73. The memorandum by the Soviet Government on measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race puts forward, along with other, partial, measures, important proposals aimed at the speedy achievement of the aims I have indicated. My delegation therefore urges the General Assembly to give very serious consideration to the proposals contained in that important document.

74. In this connexion, my delegation also stresses the importance of the proposal by the Government of the Polish People's Republic for a freezing of nuclear arms in Central Europe, to which I referred at the beginning of this statement, and also of the proposal by the Government of the German Democratic Republic, whereby the two German States would undertake not to manufacture or by any means acquire nuclear weapons and not to allow other States to station such weapons in their territories.

75. The Mongolian People's Republic also supports the proposals of other States aimed at reaching agreement on the prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

76. Our Government appeals to the nuclear Powers to reach agreement at the earliest possible date on the prohibition of underground testing of nuclear weapons, and at the same time calls on those States

which have not yet acceded to the Moscow Treaty to become parties to it and scrupulously to observe its provisions. Our Government has expressed support for the convening of a conference to sign a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, an event which would represent an important step towards the elimination of such weapons.

77. In the light of what I have said, it is clear what irreparable harm to the cause of international peace and security would result from the creation of the so-called multilateral NATO nuclear force which the Governments of the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have been strenuously promoting in recent days.

78. Our Government and public opinion in our country are strongly opposed to the creation of this force, since that would mean giving the West German militarists and revanchists access to nuclear weapons. In addition to all its other consequences the execution of this plan would create a major obstacle to the achievement of agreements on the question of the implementation of general and complete disarmament under strict international control and on partial measures aimed at promoting a relaxation of international tension and averting the threat of a world war.

79. In this connexion, the Mongolian delegation states that the German problem, which directly bears on peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, must not be solved in a way that would encourage the revanchist claims of the militarists in the Federal Republic of Germany and would mark a concession to their desire to obtain nuclear weapons.

80. The existence of two sovereign German States in Europe—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—is an indisputable fact. Yet western propaganda, deliberately distorting the true facts, is endeavouring to make out that only one German State exists—the Federal Republic of Germany, which presumably represents the German people. At the same time, certain Western representatives are making demagogic speeches about the need to recognize the German people's right of self-determination. This manoeuvre is designed to justify the desire of the West German militarists to swallow up the German Democratic Republic.

81. In certain Western circles recently a discussion has been deliberately started on the possibility of a rapid solution of the problem of unifying Germany. We do not deny the importance of a unification of Germany on a peaceful democratic basis, but we would point out that the mere fact of the existence of two German States is not a threat to peace. As everyone knows, a united militaristic Germany has twice subjected mankind to destructive war. The danger lies in the policy of militarism and revanchism that is being pursued by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

82. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, pursues a peace-loving policy aimed at strengthening world peace and developing good-neighbourly relations with all States. This policy of the German Democratic Republic is based on the principles enshrined in the United Nations Char-

ter. The Government of the German Democratic Republic tirelessly seeks ways of facilitating the just settlement of the German problem in accordance with the vital interests of the entire German people and puts forward practical proposals designed to improve and normalize relations between the two German States.

83. The only correct solution of the German problem is the recognition of both German States and their subsequent admission to membership in the United Nations, the conclusion of a peace treaty with them, and the development of normal relations between these two States. Such a solution of the German problem accords with the vital interests of the German people and of the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

84. Among the partial measures designed to promote the reaching of an agreement on general and complete disarmament, our delegation attaches special importance to the liquidation of military bases in foreign territories.

85. Events in South-East Asia, the Congo, Cyprus, and a few other parts of the world show how great a danger the military bases represent to the cause of international peace and security. They are constantly being used by the old and new colonial Powers for intervention in the domestic affairs of other States with a view to suppressing the national liberation movements.

86. The imperialist Powers have enmeshed many parts of the world in a network of military bases. The United States alone has over 2,200 military bases scattered over ninety different countries and regions. These bases are aimed primarily at the socialist countries and other peace-loving States. They are a constant source of international tension.

87. The threat which these foreign military bases represent to the freedom and independence of peoples is being increasingly recognized by world public opinion.

88. The independent States of Africa have come out strongly in favour of the liquidation of military bases in their continent. The Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Cairo has called on the States which maintain troops and bases in other countries to remove them at once.

89. The Mongolian people condemns the plans of the United States and other Powers to set up bases in the Indian Ocean and demands the immediate liquidation of the military bases of the imperialist Powers situated in Taiwan, in Okinawa, inside Japan, in South Korea and elsewhere in Asia and Oceania. It also advocates the rapid liquidation of all other military bases, wherever they may be.

90. We believe that the time has come for the United Nations to hold a separate debate on the question of the liquidation of military bases in foreign territories and to adopt resolutions consonant with the ever-growing demands of peoples and peace-loving States.

91. On the opening day of the current session, the Mongolian delegation associated itself with the congratulations addressed to the representatives of three

new States—Malawi, Zambia and Malta—on the occasion of their admission to membership in the United Nations.

92. It is encouraging to note that the area of freedom and progress is widening, while the territory under colonial domination is steadily being reduced. Of the fifty-nine Asian and African countries which are Members of the United Nations, the great majority achieved national independence since the Second World War.

93. Yet it cannot be said that the process of decolonization is keeping pace with the requirements of our time. The reason for this abnormal situation lies not in any failure on the part of the peoples of colonies and dependent territories to give full expression to their desire for freedom and independence, but in the stubborn refusal of the so-called administering Powers to give effect to the provisions of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

94. There are still today, in Africa alone, over twenty colonies, protectorates and other dependent territories, with a total population of some 25 million. Blood is being shed in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Aden, Oman, and many another dependent territory, where the colonial Powers are taking cruel reprisals against peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. Our delegation pledges the staunch support of its people and Government to the peoples of colonial and dependent countries which are engaged in a heroic struggle for liberation from alien domination. It declares that it is high time to put an end, once and for all, to the misdeeds of the colonialists.

95. The United Nations must take all possible measures to ensure the effective implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and of its other resolutions, adopted with reference to separate territories.

96. The struggle against neo-colonialism is becoming as vital as the struggle for the complete liberation of colonial and dependent countries and territories. As correctly noted in the Declaration of the Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, racial discrimination, economic pressure, subversion, intervention and the threat of force are favourite neo-colonialist devices.

97. In our opinion, one of the most important means that the young independent States can use in a successful struggle against neo-colonialism is the accelerated development of an independent national economy and the expansion of co-operation with all other States on a truly equal footing.

98. In this connexion, our delegation wishes to state that the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development was a step forward in intensifying the struggle against neo-colonialism. It took important decisions aimed at strengthening the economic position of the young States and consolidating the material foundations of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and of nations great and small.



99. The policy of apartheid, that worst of the legacies of colonialism, is a great evil where all peoples of the African continent are concerned.

100. The imperialist Powers are anxious to perpetuate the racist régime in the Republic of South Africa as a focus of infection in the body of Africa which will maintain the continent in a state of fever and represent a continuing threat to international peace and security.

101. The Mongolian people and Government strongly condemn the policy of apartheid and believe that it is high time for the United Nations to take the necessary action to ensure implementation of its resolutions directed against that policy.

102. The problems with which the United Nations is faced as a result of contemporary developments in international life all point to the urgent need to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective.

103. When we think of strengthening the United Nations as the international organization called upon to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of its purposes and principles, our first question is: in how far is the principle of the universality of its membership being observed? In this respect, all is far from well. Indeed, because of the short-sighted policy of certain Western Powers, the People's Republic of China, which is one of the founding Members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, is still being denied its lawful rights in the United Nations.

104. On the other hand, faced with the growing clamour of world public opinion for the restitution of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, some circles in the West have been adumbrating the possibility of recognizing the existence of two Chinas.

105. Our delegation categorically opposes this "two Chinas" concept. It demands that the United Nations should as rapidly as possible remedy this crying injustice, where the place of the People's Republic of China in the Organization is occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which the Chinese people repudiated long ago. The People's Republic of China must take its rightful place in the United Nations: the sooner this is done, the better for the United Nations itself.

106. We are also in favour of admitting all other States which meet the requirements of the Charter. Another important measure to strengthen the United Nations consists in bringing the composition of its principal organs into line with the great changes in its membership in recent years. In this connexion, our delegation takes pleasure in informing the Assembly that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is prepared in the very near future to ratify the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its eighteenth session with regard to expanding the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council [resolution 1991 (XVIII)].

107. The problems of the modern world lay complex tasks upon the United Nations. In order that it may successfully solve these problems we must

steadily increase the effectiveness of its activity on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter, which is the unshakable foundation it stands upon.

108. Many of the speakers who have preceded me dwelt at some length, in one context or another, on the United Nations operations in the Near East and in the Congo, and showed a tendency to explain the present financial difficulties of the United Nations solely by the fact that these operations were carried out. They did not trouble to ask themselves whence came the need to undertake those operations, how were the relevant decisions taken, and to what extent the armed forces which operated under the United Nations flag carried out the tasks which they should have carried out in strict accordance with the purposes of the United Nations.

109. Our delegation firmly believes that in all cases in which the use of United Nations armed forces might be called for, such questions should be answered first—in other words, that the provisions of the United Nations Charter should always be faithfully observed.

110. The Mongolian People's Republic favours the strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and is ready to support any and all proposals to that end. In particular, our delegation supports the Soviet Government's memorandum of 10 July 1964 on measures to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security [A/5721]. We believe that this memorandum furnishes a sound basis for a fruitful discussion and positive solution of questions relating to the strengthening of the United Nations on the basis of strict compliance with the Charter.

111. In its foreign policy, the Mongolian People's Republic is guided by the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. From the day on which it was first proclaimed, the policy of peaceful coexistence has served to defend and strengthen all that is revolutionary, progressive and just in its struggle against the forces of reaction. It is gaining increasing recognition, and in present circumstances it is the only alternative to a world war.

112. One of the most important points in the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic is support for the national liberation movement and the further development of friendly relations with the newly independent States.

113. Our country is interested in developing mutually profitable economic relations, on an equal footing, with all States.

114. It views the further expansion of friendly relations and co-operation with all States and the steady development of its economy and culture as its contribution to the attainment of the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

115. In conclusion, may I express the hope of my delegation that the General Assembly at its nineteenth session will be able to overcome its temporary difficulties and complete its work successfully, and that it will bring about the necessary conditions whereby the year 1965 may truly become the year

of international co-operation, the year of the triumph of the universality principle of the United Nations, and the year in which colonialism will be wiped off the face of the earth.

116. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): Mr. President, at the outset let me repeat to you my Government's and my delegation's warm felicitations on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. May I also, at the same time, offer our meed of tribute to Mr. Sosa Rodríguez, not only for his efficient and businesslike conduct of the last session but also, and more especially, for the diligent work he undertook and the decisive contribution he made, up to the very moment when he handed over this high office to you, in finding a solution to the serious problem that has bedevilled the normal conduct of affairs of this Assembly.

117. Several representatives and ministers of Government have already drawn attention to the blanket of fog that has enveloped this nineteenth session, so that the future of the United Nations can only be seen, if it can be seen at all, as through a glass darkly. Over the last three weeks we have been feeling our way, step by step. The pace is slow because of the vacuum of uncertainties through which we have to wind our weary way, but we are moving forward, and the Organization, with its innate resilience, appears capable of adapting itself to the new situation. If only we remain united as nations, and if we have the will to keep moving, we shall certainly find the way.

118. The year that has passed since we last met has taken us one significant step forward towards the promotion of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", in the words of the Charter. In the wise words of the Secretary-General, the "division of the world into the rich and poor is much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds".<sup>6/</sup>

119. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has provided a sufficient impetus towards smoothing the rough edges of this division, and holds rich promise of obliterating them in human terms, if not in terms of political power. In the integrating processes of the "one world" to which we all aspire, the developed and the developing countries have learned from this conference the language of interdependence and the fact that the need of each for the other is mutual and reciprocal.

120. It would be unrealistic to assume that all existing problems have been solved, but it is encouraging to note that the conference has brought the realization in every quarter that there can be no true progress at all, anywhere, without these complex problems being faced up to with determination, and acceptable solutions either reached or initiated.

121. The ancient collocation of words in the phrase "peace and progress" has now lent itself to a reversal of the order, so that there is universal acceptance of the truth that progress comes first and that without

economic progress there can be no lasting peace in the world.

122. We in Malaysia cannot disguise the fact that, in common with many nations, we, too, have felt that the results so far achieved have fallen far short of the urgent and vital needs of the international community. But equally do we recognize that the real, attainable objective of the conference, which was achieved, was to make a start on a long and laborious journey, to push away from the forces of inertia that had gripped and compartmentalized the economies of the world. The immediate and imperative need is to translate into effective and prompt action the institutional structure envisaged for it, so that the conference may not remain just another might-have-been in the mausoleum of history, and become the fountain spring at which many a developing country may quench its thirst for prompt assistance and rapid development towards economic well-being.

123. Another milestone in the march of the international community towards universal peace and co-existence was passed with the recent conclusion of the very successful conference in Cairo. My Government finds in the final declaration of the Cairo conference an articulation of all its own dreams and hopes for world peace and international co-operation. My Prime Minister, in his letter of warm appreciation to the organizers of the conference upon its successful conclusion, expressed himself, *inter alia*, as follows:

"The Government and people of Malaysia have been closely following the progress of the deliberations of the leaders of the non-aligned countries, and we would like to associate ourselves with the success you have thus achieved at the conference. As a small and peace-loving country, Malaysia particularly values the principle enunciated in the Cairo declaration declaring that all States must abstain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States. In fact, Malaysia would reiterate its condemnation of any imperialistic or neo-imperialistic policy of any country on the territories of the States in Africa and Asia."

124. My Government's attitude towards colonialism is well known. As a State which in its own turn has sought and achieved its own liberation, by its own unaided strength, Malaysia prizes its freedom with jealous care, and longingly looks forward to the remaining pockets of colonialism being wiped off the face of the earth, so that, in the words of the Charter, "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small," may become the reality of today rather than the ideal of tomorrow.

125. May I be permitted once again to repeat the words of welcome which I addressed to the three new Member States, Malawi, Zambia and Malta, which we had the pleasure of welcoming to the fold of independent States at the opening of this session. May I, too, be permitted to say that, by their separate contributions to this debate, they have already given evidence of the assistance that this Organization is

<sup>6/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, sect. VI.

entitled to expect, and they are willing to provide, of stirring idealism, maturity of thought, and sober presentation.

126. It is impossible, even at the risk of repetition, not to remind ourselves that the liberation of the Portuguese colonial peoples on the continent of Africa is long overdue. And, lest we forget, may I recall to the attention of the Assembly that these colonial pockets of Portugal are also to be found in Asia—on the island of Timor, on the Indonesian archipelago, and in the province of Macao on the mainland of China—whose existence is often obscured by reason of the geopolitical attitudes of neighbouring countries, which desire to make hay while the sun shines, replenishing their military arsenals under cover of the deceptive peace that they encourage others to believe happily lies over these colonies. Unless we mean our protests against colonialism as mere sound and fury, signifying nothing, our duty to these peoples in Asia is no less.

127. The problem of Southern Rhodesia is a problem apart, and it is gratifying to note that fresh winds are now blowing through the corridors of Whitehall, sweeping away the many well-spun constitutional cobwebs that had persisted too long in providing their adornment. In according his full support to Prime Minister Wilson of the United Kingdom in his attitude towards Southern Rhodesia, my own Prime Minister wrote, *inter alia*:

"My Government wishes to state that a unilateral declaration which rules out African majority government is unacceptable, and reiterates in conjunction with other Commonwealth countries its support for the basis of Southern Rhodesian independence as laid down in the final communiqué of the recent Prime Ministers' Conference."

We may therefore look forward to our African brothers in Southern Rhodesia achieving their freedom sooner than we had dared to hope.

128. Then there is the question of South Africa. South Africa is too much with us, and as a problem it has contrived to remain too long. My Government's attitude towards the South African Government and its policy of apartheid are well known and need no reiteration. Malaysia regards its membership in the special committee on apartheid<sup>7/</sup> as a role of honour as well as a call to duty, and we will continue to give all the assistance that we are capable of to the sacred cause of ridding humanity of the shame of apartheid, notwithstanding the contumacious disregard by the Government of that unfortunate country of the counsels of its friends and the requests of the organs of the United Nations.

129. We in Malaysia have often wondered if, indeed, the Security Council performance on the South African question is anything more than the picturization of pugilists in action in a shadow play. Nobody is hurt, and everyone departs as gentlemen. The debate on the special committee's report and recommendation to the General Assembly [A/5825 and Add.1] will be the appropriate occasion when we hope to lay bare the art, the artistry and the artifice with which this

shadow play has beguiled the world, so that an effective enforcement measure to end, once and for all, this crime against humanity may find no further excuses for postponement.

130. I cannot conclude this brief outline of my country's attitudes towards international problems without referring to the tragedy of Tibet. The denial of human rights anywhere is a cause of concern to human beings everywhere, but the shadows that have fallen on the breath-taking beauty of that fair land are deepening into darkness, and we have a duty to its people, hounded from their homes, deprived of even their pitiful personal possessions and, last but not least, denied even the solace that a religion of infinite compassion can bring to the agonies of their souls. My delegation, in due time, will support the discussion of this item proposed by El Salvador, Nicaragua and the Philippines.

131. One other matter to which I should like to refer briefly is the question of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. The history of disarmament debates in the several organs of the United Nations and special committees warns one against hoping to offer any suggestions that may be either new or original, which either in whole or in part had not been considered and, of course, rejected some time or other in the recent or distant past. It may be thought that it is perhaps too easy for us smaller States to advise the larger States to disarm, but I venture to think that there is one positive step all States, large and small, with or without nuclear capability, can take. This will be a natural corollary to the formal act of adhesion to the nuclear test-ban treaty, which has been signed by 105 States.

132. My delegation suggests the creation of a convention directly proceeding from a resolution of this Assembly—without being side-tracked and killed in the Committee on Disarmament—calling upon all non-nuclear Powers to declare that they will neither develop nuclear capacity nor acquire or accept nuclear weapons for any purpose. The effect of all the States signing the test-ban treaty was to freeze further development of nuclear weaponry even in the hands of the nuclear Powers. The convention that I propose will deal with the problem of what not to do with the weapons that exist.

133. I recall that, at the sixteenth session of the Assembly, this problem was debated at the initiative of Sweden. Not unexpectedly, it evoked a myriad objections. But that was before the test-ban treaty. The world situation has changed significantly as a result of that treaty. It occurs to us that a further and fresh approach to the idea of the non-nuclear club may well be worth while. This will help to attack the problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons from two sides—the giver as well as the taker. Even by way of mobilizing world opinion against proliferation, even if its effectiveness is limited, it is worth pursuing.

134. There are a variety of other matters due for discussion at this session, and my delegation will express its views on them at the appropriate time.

135. The most important problem that has dominated our thinking in recent weeks has been the question of peace-keeping operations and, more especially,

<sup>7/</sup> Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

their financing. It takes us to the very centre and core of the principles and purposes for which the whole Organization exists. Should we desire a future for the United Nations to open on to new horizons of usefulness and new vistas of influence, it is essential that we take a long look at where we are going so that we may not merely move forward aimlessly, gazing misty-eyed towards an unclear future.

136. If the Preamble and the opening Articles of the Charter, to which all of us have subscribed—and one hopes without mental reservations—mean to us something much more than an euphonious catalogue of high-sounding ideals, then it follows that States Members of this Organization must make it their duty to follow in practice the ideals that they proclaim and not merely claim the right to preach them to others.

137. It was mentioned by the representative of Indonesia, who addressed this Assembly [1300th meeting], that the world is not a static body, that the framers of the Charter could not have visualized the problems that the liberation of new communities all over the world have created, that the wine they helped to distil cannot quench the thirst of nations and States yet unborn in 1945. This is indeed true; and, in fairness to the framers of the Charter, it must be recalled that it is implicit in the Charter that the framers felt that in the comparatively short span of ten years there might evolve a world which would have outgrown the empirical formulae they helped to create. That is why they provided for the compulsory consideration of a review of the Charter. They had every reason to be aware that a new page had opened in human history, and the dawn of the atomic age had startled an unsuspecting world—that is still rubbing its eyes with wonder.

138. But all of us who contemplate these new phenomena created in and by a world of technological development, which appears to be rushing man on this pitiful planet towards the unknown at a disastrous pace, should we not bear in mind that our basic approach to these new problems must indeed stem from the fundamental principles of the Charter—first, of sovereign equality of Members; secondly, of the need to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed under the Charter; thirdly, not to seek settlement of disputes except by peaceful means; and, lastly, not to use force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State. These indeed are the four main pillars of the many-storeyed structure that is the United Nations. As long as we want to be counted as Members of the Organization, have we not the sacred duty to keep our own two feet firmly planted on the realities of the Charter obligations we have freely undertaken, howsoever widely our minds may range, as indeed they must, over intellectual attitudes to new problems?

139. There is perhaps no single problem in the world which cannot be seen or approached in different, even if not in antithetical ways. And humans that we are, we tend to regard our own thinking as superior to that of another. But if we wish to have our own attitudes accepted by another, the Charter enjoins that we enter into a dialogue, that we seek to persuade, to understand the other man's point of view, and not clobber him—if I may use that colloquial

phrase—into accepting our own view, however convinced we are that the other view is wholly wrong, illogical, disingenuous, even dishonest. Otherwise, our periodic protestations of support for peaceful coexistence remain a transparent façade behind which the reality is only too visible.

140. If this basic right of each State to be left alone in the pursuit of its own destiny—however ideologically unacceptable to another—is not the foundation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, then we determine to turn round and go back to the pre-1945 world and the law of the jungle. The Charter becomes no more than a scrap of paper—to use a notorious historical phrase. Soon after the First World War, a well-known writer quoted one of the ablest ambassadors, reiterating his conviction that nothing except force has any influence in international politics, that treaties and agreements are made to gain time and then to be repudiated, that a nation which is known to be pacific must expect to be insulted, abused and wronged at every turn.

141. The 115 States that are represented here, and others which are not, are aware of the disputes and dissensions in the South-East Asian region, to which reference was made by the representative of New Zealand only yesterday [1305th meeting] and, in particular, of our own persistent and persisting troubles with Indonesia.

142. Indonesia does not recognize Malaysia—that is its sovereign right. Indonesia does not like the political structure of the Government in Malaysia—again, it is its sovereign right to entertain its views. Indonesia has made no secret of its intense dislike of Malaysia's leaders—that again is its privilege. Indonesia does not like the type of democracy that we in Malaysia practise and do not preach—that again is its pleasure. Indonesia does not like the Malaysian type of parliamentary democracy that receives its guidance from the people upwards—that again we understand.

143. Indonesia too, perhaps, disdains a prosperous and maybe a property-owning democracy in Malaysia, where a stable economy provides three meals a day to every worker and peasant, and clothing and shelter besides—that again is its sovereign privilege. Indonesia does not like the passionate moderation with which Malaysia faces its tasks of nation-building—that is easy to understand. Indonesia does not like the moderate success our leaders have achieved in trying to meet the revolution of rising expectations of our peoples, which is far and away different from the revolution patented in Indonesia, and which Malaysia has no desire to infringe. It is welcome to hold its opinions.

144. Indonesia does not wish to translate into action its Treaty of Friendship of 17 April 1959 with Malaya, the only treaty of any kind that independent Malaya—before it became Malaysia—entered into with any State. It has not hugged it to its bosom, nor has it denounced it openly. Indonesia's attitude, with its 100 million people, to Malaysia, with its mere 11 million, is not even nominally one of equality as between sovereign States, but that of a big brother inclined to bullying. But Malaysia asks only to be left alone to plough its lonely furrow. Malaysia's military strength must appear contemptible to



Indonesia's, reputedly fourth largest army in the world. This disparity, Malaysia readily appreciates, is not particularly conducive to any softening of Indonesia's attitude towards Malaysia.

145. I have said enough to show that there is nothing about Malaysia that Indonesia, either on a long view or on a closer look, wants to like, notwithstanding the fact that its population, in terms of language, race and religion, colour and culture, is most closely allied to the people of Malaysia.

146. There is, however, one vital thing in common between the two countries—we are both signatories to the obligations of the Charter as sovereign independent States. We in Malaysia profoundly wish that our acts should correspond to, and be guided and controlled by, the spirit and letter of the Charter. Indonesia wishes—I grant equally profoundly—as the statement made the other day by its First Deputy Prime Minister showed, to refashion the spirit and language of the Charter to suit its attitudes to the present and the future, and has started on a course of what he so happily termed reorganizing the United Nations mentally and revising its Charter mentally.

147. Representatives are aware that the attitudes that I have patiently described have naturally and inevitably led Indonesia to the use of force, which it foreswore when it became a Member of the United Nations. This has resulted in its declared policy of military confrontation, with the proclaimed objective of "crush Malaysia", and Indonesia has moved with a courage worthy of a better cause from covert subversion to open aggression against Malaysia.

148. Since December last, over the past twelve months, there have been more than 200 incursions and military adventures into the territory of Malaysia, both in the peninsula and in the eastern States, involving casualties both military and civilian, apart from untold misery and privation to the peoples in the respective areas. Our security forces have suffered casualties, including dead and wounded, of over 100 personnel. Indonesian army personnel, as well as irregulars, captured, killed and wounded amount to over 500. These are only the known incursions: the undetected ones will be many more, since Malaysia shares a 1,000-mile-long jungle border with Indonesia.

149. It is because of these military interventions against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country that my Government has had to seek external assistance for its defence against this unprovoked aggression. Malaysia, when as Malaya it achieved its independence in 1957, had entered into a defence agreement with the United Kingdom, by which the latter agreed to provide such assistance when there was external aggression.

150. It is noteworthy that for six long years after 1957, neither Malaya—nor Malaysia, as it became—felt the need to invoke that defence agreement; it was not invoked until open military confrontation was begun by Indonesia in the closing days of 1963. At our urgent request, on the faith of that agreement, Malaysia has received military assistance from the United Kingdom and, later, similar assistance has also been received from Australia and New Zealand.

151. In a clever and ingenious attempt at confusing cause with consequence, Indonesia has now turned round to claim that it is our defence agreement with the United Kingdom that is the primary cause for Malaysia becoming unacceptable as a State to Indonesia. Malaysia need only answer that Indonesia's unprovoked and inexcusable aggression against it has provided at once the justification and the vindication of the defence agreement.

152. When, after a particularly daring and blatant act of aggression, involving three plane-loads of paratroopers being dropped in the jungle fastnesses of Malaysian territory under cover of darkness, a complaint was brought to the Security Council last September,<sup>8/</sup> the Indonesian answer to our allegation, presented by its Deputy Foreign Minister, was unabashed admission in the Council, in these words:

"I would not deny that our volunteers, our guerrillas, together with the militant youth of Sarawak and Sabah, some of whom had been trained in our territory, have entered so-called Malaysian territory in Sarawak and Sabah. They have been fighting there for some time. This is no secret. And, in the absence of a peaceful solution to the problem of 'Malaysia,' to the conflict between 'Malaysia' and Indonesia, particularly after the inconclusive end of the summit conference at Tokyo last June, the fighting and activities on both sides could only become aggravated or even escalate. And now this fighting has spread to other areas of 'Malaysia' such as Malaya. Why is 'Malaysia' so greatly concerned now that it requests a meeting of the Security Council? Why was it not equally concerned much earlier when the fighting broke out in Sarawak and Sabah, which is also a part of this 'Malaysia'? As a matter of fact, the fighting now in Malaya is on a very small scale compared to the magnitude of the fighting in Sarawak and Sabah."<sup>9/</sup>

That was the reply to the Security Council.

153. A near unanimously acceptable resolution of the Security Council, deploring this aggression and reaffirming the obligation of all States to respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of States was killed by the usual process of a significant negative vote. I shall not proceed with that sorry story.

154. But I do wish to state that, in spite of that expression of world opinion, including that of all the Afro-Asian States represented on the Council, these incursions have continued; and we have from time to time notified the President of the Security Council of full particulars of these. There have actually occurred as many as twenty-two incidents since the Security Council debate in September.

155. Just the other day, on 11 December, even as the distinguished First Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia was on his feet at this very rostrum addressing this Assembly, propounding the philosophic bases of these so-called new emerging forces, a group of sea-borne Indonesian infiltrators was landing

<sup>8/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September, 1964, document S/5930.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., Nineteenth Year, 1144th meeting, para. 103.

on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula under cover of darkness and being captured as they landed. Permanent representatives of all nations assembled here will have had circulated to them today details of these latest acts of brigandage in our last letter to the President of the Security Council. My Government is grievously conscious that this is not going to be the last letter we shall have to write.

156. What is one to make of such an attitude on the part of a Member State of this Organization? Among the principal signatories to the Cairo declaration [A/5763] is Indonesia, by the hand of the First Deputy Prime Minister, whom we had the privilege to hear. How does one reconcile the signature on that declaration with the activities I have described? Of course, under his patent authority—both before and after the signing of the declaration. As I should not like to infringe the rules of decorum in debate, I shall not attempt to answer those questions.

157. I do trust representatives gathered in this Assembly will be amazed at Malaysia's moderation throughout this unhappy history. We have even desisted from the exercise of our right of self-defence, lest the area of the conflict should expand. I have said enough to show why Malaysia desperately needs the United Nations. Frustrated and disappointed as we are at the result of the Security Council debate, we have learnt in the school of experience the urgent need to strengthen the United Nations and its principal organ in the peace-keeping sphere. Malaysia asks its sister States here assembled to learn from its experience.

158. The framers of the Charter, duly conscious that mere signatures to the Charter do not alone help to avoid all wars, big or small, created the Security Council as the executive arm of the General Assembly, to be primarily concerned with acts disturbing, or likely to disturb, the peace. That the Security Council has had its hands full with problems of peace-keeping for these nineteen years, as the records of the United Nations demonstrate, is a sobering reminder to us all not to allow our ideals to outrun the realities. It needs no prescience to remind ourselves that the larger we grow in number the larger will grow the permutations and combinations, potential of conflict, that require the watchful and vigilant eyes of the Security Council, trained like the rotating beam of a searchlight all around the globe.

159. At the fourth special session of the Assembly, in 1963, my delegation drew attention in the Fifth Committee [993rd meeting] to the fact that the institutional structure of the Charter demonstrated, even as the language of the Charter underlined, that at all times the Security Council acted on behalf of the General Assembly. This point was again made on 11 December by the Minister of External Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia [1299th meeting].

160. The Malaysian Government has not changed its view that the Congo and other peace-keeping operations initiated or continued by the General Assembly, where the Security Council, for reasons not wholly relevant to the merits of the conflict, disabled itself from acting, were entirely competent. Nor have we changed our view that assessment made on Members for the sharing of the costs of those operations were

entirely within the competence of the General Assembly.

161. In any event, having asked for and accepted the decision of the International Court of Justice, it is regrettable that the argument should still be kept alive. The Malaysian Government has no doubts whatever that Article 19 must have its full effect, and cannot be avoided by distinguishing between general and special expenses, an argument especially animadverted to by the International Court of Justice.

162. This is not, however, to say that the political effects of the strict legal interpretations can be minimized or ignored. My Government, therefore, hopes that the talks now proceeding towards a settlement of this crisis will succeed. Even the chief protagonists of the opposing views have stated that their Governments wish to see the United Nations continue with its myriad activities, and they are no more anxious to see the United Nations falter or flounder than anyone else in this Assembly. We have, therefore, every reason to remain hopeful.

163. It is notorious that the corridors of the United Nations have, over the last several weeks, hummed to the tune of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is wholly unfortunate. May I be permitted to bring the picture back into focus. The question of arrears and the application of Article 19 arise in no such confrontation. If confrontation there is, it is one between the Soviet Union and like-minded States on the one hand, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that is, all of us, on the other. And all of us should give all the strength we have to his—the Secretary-General's—elbow. Indeed, I have often wondered if the very best assistance we may give him in the crucial days ahead is not keeping our thoughts to ourselves. The United States alone has openly expressed its view; it is entitled to hold its view and I am not here to support it, or defend it. I am merely anxious that we now confront the reality, the actual fact.

164. May I at this stage be permitted to give expression to the thoughts uppermost in the minds of us all, our hopes and prayers for the speedy recovery of the Secretary-General so that he may soon return to the United Nations seat, where, today more than ever, we have need of his invaluable assistance in the solution of this problem which requires all the patience and persuasiveness of which he alone is capable.

165. I have heard it said frequently—even in serious debate—that the small nations should not lend themselves as pawns in the political game between the great Powers, and must insist on playing their vigorous role, uninfluenced by this Power politics. Stated in general terms it is impossible not to agree to such a proposition: nobody likes to be a pawn in any game, political or other, waiting to be sacrificed in the opening moves of the major contestants. But this argument is not appropriate to the present context. We, the small States, need the United Nations—all of them, not merely this large State or that other—for development, for technical assistance, for professional skills and aid in a host of other sectors that make the full circle of the United Nations activities, which are designed for the benefit of us all.

166. The United Nations has no independent, inexhaustible resources; it is not as if all that was needed was to persuade the Secretary-General to dig deep into his pockets and provide the finance that all these programmes need. These resources come from all of us. We have therefore need for all of us to hold together. We cannot afford the smallest of us to be sacrificed and compelled to withdraw from the United Nations. By the same token we have larger need of the larger States, whatever the material of the alleged curtains before or behind them.

167. But some of us, the small States, which are victims of aggression, need the United Nations, most of all, in its peace-keeping role. We cannot do without it. It should be our duty to expand and render more effective this role before the calculated ineffectiveness of the Security Council, by its very continuance, tends to expand and activate dormant conflicts between other small States and fan the embers into further flames. Small States starving for developmental funds cannot afford the luxury of a modern army with all its mechanization and sophistication. We do not wish to throw away the smallest coin of our currencies in unproductive instruments of war and destruction, nor would we like to dispose any part of our manpower potential in non-economic fields.

168. In this context, I should like to say a word about the new and ever-expanding concept of neo-colonialism. Its form, content and contours have so changed from time to time that it is impossible to say, at any one time or as used by any particular person, what precisely the speaker has in mind. Mr. President, you Sir, on 5 April 1958 are recorded as having told the United Nations: "By neo-colonialism we mean the practice of granting a sort of independence with the concealed intention of making the liberated country a client-State, and controlling it effectively by means other than political ones."

169. I accept that as a fair definition of the term and I am willing to declare, here and now, that my Government has no reservations in condemning such spurious independence. In so doing we echo the sentiments eloquently expressed on neo-colonialism at the recent Cairo conference.

170. But it is sad to find that, with the unlimited permutations that are being presented on this neo-colonialist theme, it has, as Malaysia has reason to know from experience, become a mere vituperative epithet, a convenient stick—because its content is so vague—with which to beat anyone that you do not like.

171. I grant that in the very nature of things colonialism as a profitable creed tends to outlast its termination. I grant that habits of exploitation are not unlearned on the symbolic stroke of a midnight hour. I grant, too, that new communities may continue to suffer the effects of the hangover, after the heady wine of colonialism had been drunk deep and long. But I venture to suggest that the ultimate test whether or not such vestiges of colonialism are to be equated with "interventionist activities"—a phrase used by the First Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia—is to discover the type of government that controls its destiny.

172. If at all points of a political relationship between two States, one of which has the power to dominate, such relationship continues with the willing assent of the representatives of its people, under a freely elected government responsible to the legislature, that relationship is not to be described as "neo-colonialist" or "interventionist" merely because it is not to the taste of some other State. It would be worse still if that should provide an excuse for any State to interfere in the affairs of a neighbouring State on the pretext, based on subjective standards of its own, of seeing interventionist activity in the neighbour. If this is to be accepted as a valid thesis in international relations, then out of the window goes the Charter ideal of practising tolerance and living together in peace as good neighbours, and the doctrine of peaceful coexistence proceeding from it.

173. I have dwelt a little on this thesis, because the other day the representative of Indonesia cited my country as an example of one brand of interventionist activity that his special perspicacity in this field saw all around the world. He expressed these categories in these terms:

"The present world picture shows us many kinds of such interventionist activities—open or disguised—coming from forces which no longer have a cause to defend in the new emerging world of the new nations. There is the Viet-Nam fashion of intervention, the Laos fashion of intervention, the Cuba fashion, the South Arabian fashion, the Cyprus fashion, the Israel fashion, the Malaysian fashion, the apartheid fashion and the Congo fashion—many fashions but, in essence, with the same design and goal." [1300th meeting, para. 171.]

174. Here I speak only for Malaysia, and all I can say is that it supports my thesis that it has become fashionable, if I may borrow his phrase, to describe any State that one does not like, and which one cannot find an adequate reason for disliking, as "neo-colonialist", so as to enable one to promote and pursue one's own brand of intervention.

175. But may I now humbly inquire—even if one is a "neo-colonialist"—whence came the authority for any State that has subscribed to the obligations of the Charter to hang a label of its own, even if it is "neo-colonialist", on to any other State, and thereby derive the sacred duty to don shining armour, mount a charger and with unsheathed sword in hand carry a holy war into the territories of another State, leaving death and destruction and misery in its wake? Even the right of self-defence of a State is carefully and precisely circumscribed in the Charter, lest it should provide an excuse for aggression.

176. Newly independent States were warned the other day to guard against the insidious penetrating influences of foreign Powers, which in many ways and many guises sought deliberately to hold the substance of power behind the shadow of independence. May I, as the representative of a small country which has learned its lessons in the hard school of experience, by the same token warn the new small States against permitting the creation of new power bases by foreign Governments to intervene in their territories, in situations which, in comparable terms, one is compelled to call "neo-imperialism".

177. It is erroneous to assume that any active and calculated effort at promoting neo-imperialism must necessarily come from the old imperialists. The imperialists of the past may have had their excuses, if not their justification, in carrying out what were called "civilizing missions" to the distant corners of Asia and Africa, but modern attempts at territorial expansion, under colour of taking up arms against neo-colonialism, by a State which has accepted the obligations of the Charter as a condition precedent to its membership of the United Nations, are not only unjustified but inexcusable.

178. It is against this particular background, and the general background of world conditions, that I should like to return to the vexed question of Article 19. It is obvious that the problem has arisen as the result of two directly contradictory views of the scope and functions of the Security Council. That the views are honest and sincere on either side is demonstrated by the passion with which these views have been presented and pressed before us on many an occasion. The one view holds that the Security Council, and the Security Council alone, is the repository of all the effective peace-keeping power and all the consequences of it, and the exercise of it is the lone, unshared obligation of the Security Council. The other view is that the Security Council's power and responsibility are only primary and not exclusive, and that where it fails, due either to inability or unwillingness to exercise that power or discharge that responsibility, then the General Assembly can and must step in to deal with a situation that might otherwise lead to unpreventable catastrophe. It needs no saying that the significant difference between the two views rests on the use of the veto power; and powerful forces are ranged on both sides of the dividing line.

179. I realize this is—and has been for a long time—a difficult and complex problem not readily capable of any easy solution or agreeable compromise. Many suggestions have been made to bridge this difference. One was made the other day by the Minister for External Relations of Brazil [1289th meeting]. It was supported by the Minister of External Affairs of Australia [1299th meeting]. I hope I am not derogating from the value of that important suggestion if I point out that it does not deal with the specific problem of this sharp difference over peace-keeping operations and, moreover, involves substantial amendments to the Charter which, as we all know, can be too painfully long to be of immediate relevance.

180. May I, in all humility, make a suggestion which may be found simpler to carry out, and, being free of the complexities of the amending process, could be of immediate usefulness.

181. The sole objective of Chapters VI and VII of the Charter is to provide the method by which the Security Council may take cognizance of a dispute or situation of the type mentioned, and quickly come to grips with a newly developing, and possibly explosive, situation. In nine cases out of ten the situation cries for immediate action. Hostilities have unexpectedly broken out, and unless the fire is put out at once it will assume the proportions of a conflagration.

182. In almost every case the antagonists appearing before the Council wish to make the best use of and exploit the patent cleavages of opinion among the permanent members of the Council. The Security Council embarks on a leisurely programme of debate on the rights and wrongs of the incident, and no great ingenuity is needed to find all the adequate reasons to take the view that one Power feels compelled to take solely because another Power has taken the opposite view. Interminable arguments go on while the flames that began as a small fire have been expanding the areas of destruction and, as the days pass, less and less confidence can be maintained that the fire can even be isolated, if not snuffed out. In the end, the result is that the Security Council effectively demonstrates to all the world its fatal ineffectiveness.

183. Surely this is capable of a simple remedy. My humble suggestion is that, when a problem of such desperate urgency arises, the permanent members, by a gentleman's agreement, should accept the convention that they should act, and act promptly, to separate the combatants and quench the fire. For this purpose, and for this interim remedy only, none should exercise the veto power. The fighting having been stopped and its spread prevented by the interposition of appropriate personnel at the behest of the Security Council, then the Council can proceed with its leisurely debate on the causes of the strife and the apportioning of blame.

184. The second stage can be pursued without any inhibitions about the exercise of the veto power, but by then the Security Council, by its peremptory act in the first instance, would have saved the peace and by so doing have justified its existence. The Council would thereby have earned the right to retain the primacy that is claimed for it, and the question of "primary" or "exclusive" will lose all practical significance.

185. This, I venture to submit, is an area of thought which representatives might consider worth exploring. Whatever might have happened in the past, we shall have taken a positive step towards securing peace in the future and restoring primacy to the Security Council, the sole cause of the present impasse.

186. I think I have said enough—perhaps more than enough—to emphasize my Government's view that we should be ever conscious of our duties to the United Nations, as our Organization, before we look to it as the guardian of our rights and the fairy god-mother of our hopes. These duties, in my humble judgement, involve allegiance to the United Nations ideal. It is not, and should not be, inconsistent with our allegiance to our own country.

187. Whether we ultimately go on to a supranational world State or not, it is essential for each of us even now to endeavour to school ourselves to the discipline that, by pledging support to the United Nations and undertaking the obligations of the Charter, we have assumed a superior loyalty, coexisting with our loyalty to our own State. This necessarily involves occasional and minor conflicts of interest which, I venture to think, we must always endeavour to resolve in favour of the larger loyalty to the United Nations. One may sacrifice, if at all, one's own interests



alone. One may not sacrifice what is not one's own to sacrifice: the common interest of the world. If every State can be persuaded to guide itself in the pursuit of its State interests, that pursuit must not involve the sacrifice of the larger interest of the United Nations. That attitude of mind alone will help to promote the larger loyalty of all of us to the United Nations.

188. I hope I have not transgressed the bounds of propriety in offering humbly and respectfully this comment. There is no other way, in my judgement, by which we can keep faith with ourselves and with the United Nations.

189. I have done, and I apologize for the length of time I have occupied. We are standing almost on the threshold of a new year which has been christened the International Co-operation Year in the context of the United Nations. That will not wave a magic wand over our troubles and make them disappear, but let us resolve, in the concluding words of the Prime Minister of India in his address to the Cairo Conference, to "continue to strive for peace, to resolve all differences through peaceful methods of conciliation, as distinct from confrontation, and by trust instead of suspicion".

190. To that end, Malaysia, as exemplified by its conduct in the year that is passing, dedicates herself anew to the principles and purposes of the Charter.

191. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you personally, and on behalf of the delegation of Saudi Arabia, our warmest congratulations on the occasion of your unanimous election to the office of President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session. I am confident that your long experience and profound perception of the intricate problems in the field of international relations admirably qualify you for this high office. We sincerely hope that the tasks assigned to this General Assembly will be carried to a successful conclusion under your guidance and wise leadership.

192. Your election, Sir, should also be looked upon as an honour bestowed by the world community on the continent of Africa. Knowing you as we do, let us at the same time hope that those parts of Africa still under the colonial yoke will soon be liberated, and as free countries occupy their rightful seats in the United Nations.

193. At this juncture, it also gives me great pleasure, personally and on behalf of my delegation, to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his able assistants for their commendable and untiring efforts for the maintenance of international peace and security. The dedication of U Thant to this Organization has, indeed, become proverbial, and we all wish him the best of health so that we may continue to benefit from his wise counsel and tactful handling of problems which, time and again, have been entrusted to him by this Organization.

194. On reviewing the agenda of this session, it becomes quite evident that the General Assembly is still preoccupied with practically the same issues, year after year. However, the few items that have added should be of the utmost concern to the majority of people the world over. I may cite such issues as

disarmament, the limitation of nuclear weapons and their spread among more nations, and, nonetheless, the urgent need for States to settle their disputes by peaceful means. I do trust that the General Assembly will, during this session, take positive decisions for the solution of these problems, especially those relating to disarmament and the spread of nuclear weapons, so that fear may be dispelled and tension lessened amongst peoples and nations everywhere.

195. In spite of its multifarious items, the agenda of the nineteenth session seems to us to concentrate on three main objectives: disarmament, decolonization, and promotion of economic and social development.

196. It is unfortunate that negotiations on disarmament have so far not advanced beyond the conclusion of the 1963 Moscow agreement pertaining to partial nuclear testing. The peoples of the world have since hoped that the three Powers which signed the Moscow Agreement would take wider and more effective steps to attain complete and general disarmament. We still entertain the hope that the Geneva negotiations will be resumed and that an agreement will be reached paving the way for co-operation, peace and security amongst all nations.

197. As for colonialism, in spite of the great efforts made for its eradication, and the fact that an additional number of African States have achieved independence since the last session, we find it is still tenacious in a number of regions of the world, and particularly in Africa—all this in contravention of the United Nations resolutions and despite the clamour of peoples still bent on their struggle for independence.

198. Whilst we warmly welcome the new States of Malawi, Malta and Zambia to the family of the United Nations, we should not overlook the fact that there are regions in the Arabian peninsula located in its southern and eastern parts where the people are not totally free, in spite of their unmistakable aspirations to achieve full independence.

199. The struggle of the people of Oman and those inhabiting the southern regions of the Arabian peninsula are striking examples of a new brand of colonialism with which the United Nations presently finds itself engrossed.

200. We do hereby reaffirm that the Government and people of Saudi Arabia stand firm in upholding the United Nations Charter, which guarantees to all peoples and nations the right to determine their own destiny.

201. It is most unfortunate that the General Assembly should convene during this session in the wake of the tragedy caused by the latest Israel armed aggression against the peaceful inhabitants of Syrian villages along the armistice line. The ruthless and wanton attacks carried out by the aggressors resulted in the death of innocent people, including women and children. The atrocious air attack on these villages should leave no doubt in the minds of Member States that the Israelis have engaged in premeditated and unprovoked aggression.

202. I would fail in my duty before this Assembly were I not to mention that the frequent armed aggres-

sions committed by Israel against neighbouring Arab States can only multiply the deep wounds inflicted on our Arab brethren. Nor should I forget that Palestine was brutally wrested from the heart of the Arab homeland.

203. Israel is not only content to commit such acts, but is becoming increasingly defiant in its attitude towards the United Nations resolutions, whether adopted by the Security Council or the General Assembly, on the Palestine question.

204. If the main objective of the United Nations is to preserve international peace and security, and to see to it that human rights should be observed; if, furthermore, the objective of the United Nations is to defend the high principles and lofty purposes of the United Nations Charter, would it not be appropriate to ask by what right is one permitted to uproot a people from their own homeland so as to make room for another people to replace them? All this happened in Palestine under the aegis of the United Nations.

205. The people of Saudi Arabia cannot divest themselves of the Palestine problem. The whole world knows that until 1948 the overwhelming majority of the native population of Palestine was Arab, with a maximum of 50,000 to 60,000 native Jews. Where are the people constituting this overwhelming majority now? They were expelled by force and intimidation, and driven out of their own country on the grounds that over 2,000 years ago there were Jews in Palestine.

206. I submit that the bulk of these Zionists had nationally—I repeat, "nationally"—belonged to countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The fact that the Zionists are followers of a Semitic religion does not bestow upon them the right to occupy Palestine, any more than it would for any alien Christians or Muslims who, as you all know, are adherents of the other two Semitic religions.

207. The true Semites are the Arabs and the original Jews who lived amongst them centuries ago, and not the Zionists—many of whom are of dubious racial origin. Whether Christian or Muslim, the Arab Semites have always been known for their tolerance towards the Jew as such, who was never molested on the grounds of his religion. On the contrary, many native Jews rose to the highest posts, and others were held in high esteem during the zenith of Arab power, not only in the Middle East but also in the Iberian peninsula and elsewhere.

208. Who, then, are these Zionists, who have flocked into Palestine during the last forty-five years? On the whole, they were Jews belonging to various nationalities, who had lived after the diaspora in many parts of the world. Those who lived in Central Europe were, unfortunately, persecuted by Nazis like other teeming millions of non-Jews, or gentiles as they are called. No one should condone persecution, whoever its victims might be. It was before the advent of Hitler, by about half a century, that the Zionist leaders, a handful in those days, began to dream only of a Jewish National Home, and not a State in which they would identify themselves by promoting a Jewish culture and a Jewish way of life. There was nothing wrong in such a plan so long as it was not

carried out at somebody else's expense. But this is actually what has happened.

209. The beautiful Zionist dream became a nightmare to the native people of Palestine when some major Powers abetted in establishing a Zionist State in their homeland at their expense. What happened in 1947 and 1948 in Palestine need not be related now in this Assembly. The records of the United Nations speak for themselves. Suffice it to say that injustice has been perpetrated on the people of Palestine, and their right of self-determination has been completely violated. More than one million Palestinian refugees now live on a pittance in camps around the fringe of the usurper State, whilst the fruits of their orchards and the comforts of their homes are being enjoyed by the invader.

210. The people of Saudi Arabia cannot condone such injustice. This is only a glimpse of the intense Palestine tragedy. Whilst our Palestinian brothers will always sadly preoccupy our minds and hearts until their return to their native soil, we are gratified to recall before this Assembly the resolution adopted on the Palestine problem by forty-seven African and Asian States that participated in the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo between 5 and 10 October 1964. Other colleagues have referred from this rostrum to the salient provisions of the said resolution, and therefore I need not burden this Assembly by repeating what has already been mentioned.

211. Saudi Arabia wants peace in the Middle East, not temporary peace but everlasting peace based on justice and the right of self-determination.

212. Whilst the Universal Declaration on Human Rights is proclaimed and celebrated annually all over the world, there are still some States amongst us, Members of this Organization, which still practise racial discrimination and have promulgated laws ensuring the rule of a white minority over the coloured majority. If this is not a flagrant violation of a fundamental human right, I wonder what would be.

213. Before touching upon the social and economic development witnessed in Saudi Arabia during the last few years, it behooves me to clarify the broad lines of our policies that are rooted in and intermingled with our history and religious faith. The Arabian peninsula, of which Saudi Arabia comprises the largest part, is known to have been the cradle of the Arab people since the dawn of history.

214. Over thirteen centuries ago, a new world religion was born in ancient Mecca, which has spread to the four corners of the globe. One out of every seven people in the world today happens to be a Muslim. Islam not only sets forth articles of faith, but also prescribes a moral code for the individual. In this context of Islam, which combines lofty principles with a moral code, Saudi Arabia is an Islamic State in the full sense of the word. Its constitution is the Koran itself, which has set the foundation of a way of life. This way of life for an estimated 500 million, if not more, of the world's population, has withstood the test of many centuries.

215. There are about thirty-six Muslim nations today, twenty-eight of which are already independent Member States of the United Nations, standing witness to the vitality of Islamic faith and the wisdom of Islamic law. It would be superfluous to dwell at length upon the rich legacy of Islam to world civilization. However, I would be amiss were I to bypass the fact that mercy and compassion, charity and peace and the commonweal of all mankind are essentials of the Islamic faith.

216. All this explains why Saudi Arabia is not merely a national State; it is also a spiritual home for every Muslim, irrespective of race or colour, who turns his face in prayer towards Mecca, to which millions upon millions of pilgrims have devoutly flocked throughout the ages, bound together by universal brotherhood. No wonder that Saudi Arabia need not explore all kinds of benefits that may be derived from various modern ideologies; for Islam, if practised rightly, has proved to encompass all these benefits and many more not provided for by such ideologies.

217. In the economic field, I may state that in our view the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held last spring at Geneva may be considered as a forward step towards the discussion of those problems confronting the developing countries. That conference was also a step forward towards finding remedial means to various economic ills. We do hope that the recommendations adopted at Geneva will find a ready response from the industrialized nations which were participants in that conference. It is also fitting to laud the efforts of the Secretary-General and members of the Secretariat who made the necessary arrangements for assuring its success.

218. My country is pushing forward along the road of economic and social development in all its phases. We have already accomplished a lot in various fields of economic endeavours within a relatively short period of time, despite the hindrances with which our country was at one time confronted. It is the firm resolve of the Government of His Majesty, King Faisal, in our new era to ensure the realization of the people's welfare and prosperity.

219. The various United Nations reports attest to the concrete social progress and economic development which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has achieved in a short period of time. These reports also contain a reference to the sizable economic projects which are in the process of being launched. An analysis of the schedules of my country's national budget—which is on the increase year after year—shows clearly to what extent those responsible in my Government are bending their energies to promote all kinds of constructive programmes, whether in the social and economic field or that pertaining to public health, education and culture.

220. In effect, we are endeavouring to turn over a new page in this ancient land of ours. Our efforts are being redoubled to develop and reinforce our

young State and to help its citizens, not only to be proud of their glorious past, but also to see to it that their country occupies a worthy place in the community of modern nations.

221. Consequently, it is our intention to continue to co-operate with other States, bearing in mind that we have no ambitions or aims to interfere in the domestic affairs of any nation. And if, as sometimes happens, different political principles, currents and trends are in conflict outside our own country, our only aspiration would still be to lead a dignified life in harmony with all those who manifest the same feelings of goodwill towards us. I can do no better than to quote from a speech made by His Majesty, King Faisal, in clarifying our policy. Addressing the Saudi people, His Majesty said:

"Brothers, this State was built on strong foundations. Firstly, it was built on the foundation of Islam. Secondly, on the foundation of administering and spreading justice among citizens whereby king and citizen stand on an equal footing before the law. Thirdly, on the foundation of making education available to all and raising the country to a proper standard of living."

222. Schools are at present being opened at the rate of one every three days all over the country. Education at all levels is entirely free. Generous scholarships are awarded to deserving students to enable them to specialize abroad when necessary. Free medical treatment is provided without exception to all our citizens. Our social security law provides a decent living for every citizen. These are only a few of the reforms which have been accomplished in recent years.

223. Before concluding, may I be allowed to summarize the general principles on which my country's policy is based for the attainment of world peace: first, complete and general disarmament under effective international control, banning the use of the atom except for peaceful purposes, aiming at the welfare of mankind; secondly, complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms the world over; thirdly, the adoption of all effective measures for ensuring the elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms; fourthly, solution of international conflicts by peaceful means, based on right and justice; fifthly, support for the people of Palestine in their struggle to regain their rights in their homeland, thereby enabling them to exercise their right to self-determination, inasmuch as we support any people, anywhere, struggling to liberate themselves from foreign domination; sixthly, exertion of all efforts to raise the social and economic standard of all nations.

224. My country enjoys political stability and high economic growth, which we believe are essential for the welfare and progress of our people and all mankind.

225. It is in the spirit of brotherhood that we extend our hand to all peace-loving nations in the world.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*