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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Dato' ISMAIL (Malaysia): Almost precisely twenty-four hours ago to the hour, this rostrum became hollowed ground for a brief thirty minutes. It is impossible not to feel the impact of the great call to peace that His Holiness Pope Paul VI made to the entire world of humanity through the representatives of the 117 nations gathered here. I can only hope that in the months and years ahead we shall prove worthy of the message he entrusted to us, and endeavour to keep forever burning the flame that he lit in our hearts and souls. War, they say, begins in the minds of men. We therefore desperately need this inward light to light our path in the enveloping darkness through which humanity has to tread its tortuous way in its unending quest for peace.

2. Mr. President, may I be permitted to begin by felicitating you once again on your near unanimous election. Brief as has been the period since the twentieth session of the Assembly commenced its work, it has not been too brief to demonstrate what a wise choice the Assembly has made when it called on you to occupy the prestigious office of President.

3. I should also like to pay tribute to the exceptional competence displayed by the President of the nineteenth session, the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, in conducting the affairs of an exceptional session, which faced unprecedented obstacles. That he weathered the perilous storms that nearly threatened the United Nations with extinction, and was able to bring the vessel to port, battered but unscathed, was a great achievement. The twentieth session is very much in debt to him that it is able to meet at all.

4. Last but not least, there is one other pleasant duty. My Government and my country respectfully wish to add their voices to the chorus of praise

that has been addressed to our Secretary-General. He is the embodiment of the genius and character of this institution and, as its representative and exemplar, he continues to rise in our estimation by the practice of the virtues of patience, persistence, understanding, and the objectivity and impartiality with which he approaches every task assigned to him, virtues which are so very much a part of his personal character and which are the primary characteristics that this Organization should cultivate in its dedication to the well-being of all mankind.

5. The central task of the United Nations is to safeguard peace and security in the world, and it must be confessed that the threats to peace and security that afflict the world in October 1965 are far graver and greater than they were in September 1964. These threats envelop all corners of the globe, but it is in the continent of Asia that they show the greatest persistence and the largest proliferation. In Viet-Nam, in Malaysia, in Kashmir, the hydra-headed monster of war is preying upon peoples, denying them the hope of an untormented existence even in penury and want. The United Nations appears to be inextricably caught in the rising tide of conflict around the world with diminishing ability to fulfil the high hopes that the fanfare and trumpets of its beginnings foresaw for it.

6. Recent controversies have tended to betray its essential weakness—that the ideals that gave it its life, its longings and its hopes for mankind would appear to have come up sharply against the harsh facts of life and the hard nature of man, and found it wanting. Man is still very much a warring, aggressive animal with the primary passions of his nature having to be controlled with his own consent.

7. Again and again the Security Council has felt powerless to stem the tide of aggression because the military power with which it was intended to be endowed has remained beyond its reach. Twenty years have not been long enough to give its authority the strength it needs. Its calls to cease armed hostilities have been devoid of the power that compels obedience.

8. Its power to authorize and prescribe peace-keeping operations is at the very centre of the primary function of the Security Council. Ineffective as it has been, it has however contrived in the process to become laden with controversies. It is perhaps truer to say that the controversies have resulted in its ineffectiveness. The principal controversy that has largely, if not wholly, paralysed the United Nations is the sharing of power between the Security Council and the General Assembly in the area of peace-keeping. This problem of sharing power itself grew from the self-imposed impediments of the Security Council in the way of its

exercise of undivided authority to act, by the existence and liberal use of the veto power. Problems of war and peace, the prevention of the one and the promotion of the other, on which the fate of millions depend, became pawns in the game of playing the politics of power.

9. It is too late in the day to hark back to the ancient theme of the veto. It exists. It is effective. It cannot be spirited or wished away. It would therefore be wise to consider how best to adapt the working of the Organization to it so that it may be used in the context of its original creation without stultifying the purposes and frustrating the objectives for which the Security Council was created.

10. In my delegation's statement to the General Assembly at the abortive nineteenth session [1306th meeting], we suggested a means by which, while the veto would be retained, its exercise might be tamed by convention for the fulfilment of the purposes and objectives of the Charter. We said that the primary concern of the Security Council was intended to be, and must continue to be, to stop all wars, big or small, by nipping them in the bud. With the vast expansion of United Nations membership in a simultaneously shrinking world, power combinations were such that small wars could never hope to remain small. There should, therefore, be a convention among the veto-wielding permanent members that, when faced with an armed conflict that had potentialities of expansion, they should, in the exercise of their special responsibility to stop the conflict and prevent its spreading, undertake not to use their veto.

11. It is vital to quench the flames at the earliest moment, lest they spread. At the initial stage, political polemics shall have no place and all efforts shall be devoted to putting down the fire. Thereafter, with the fire brought under control, in the further steps of investigating the facts, apportioning the blame and suggesting a solution, the Security Council may take as long as it needs to examine every political aspect of the conflict. At the second stage, the veto may become available for use by any Power which finds the political solution either ineffective or otherwise unsuited to its own power postures in the world.

12. My delegation is happy to note that in recent months, in the stormy debates concerning the Dominican Republic, when the position taken by the great Powers was sharply defined and in sharp conflict, the Security Council, on more than one occasion, found itself able to act with rare unanimity because of its legitimate concern with putting a stop to the spread of the conflict. Even more recently, in the tragic and historic conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, the Security Council has been able to act with singular unanimity on no less than four successive occasions within the space of a few weeks, and, with firmness, persistence and determination, put an end to a situation that held the seeds of a world conflagration.

13. We commend this accomplishment of the Security Council. We cannot avoid the thought that if only the Security Council had found itself able to act with such firmness and determination during the occasion

when our own problems, as result of Indonesian confrontation, were before the Security Council, there would have been peace between the two countries today and we would not be wasting our human and material resources in meeting this persistent attack on our integrity and sovereignty.

14. Many, indeed, in my own country, ask truthfully but sadly, with memories of Security Council inaction in the face of admitted aggression by Indonesia, what can be the benefits of membership of the United Nations if it cannot even raise its moral voice of indignation toward aggression admitted, affirmed and gloated over. The United Nations, if we may venture to say so, must not by its inaction allow such attitudes to grow in the hearts and minds of many of its Members, who are unable to rely on it as the shield that will ward off wanton attacks on their sovereignty and integrity. But for our part, our faith in its continued functioning, provided it functions usefully and purposefully by profiting from experience, is still undiminished and we cannot afford to see it fail; nor can we afford to abandon it because it falters from time to time. We may look forward in the future to seeing it act effectively, decisively and unanimously, at least in the initial stages of a conflict.

15. This decisiveness, unimpeded by the veto, prevents small conflicts from becoming big wars, renders peace-keeping not only effective but inexpensive, and thereby diminishes in scale, if not in kind, the mounting burden of astronomical expenditures and the impossible search for finding the finances to meet them.

16. We have now, during the interregnum between the nineteenth and the twentieth sessions, by the decision or indecision of the Committee of Thirty-three,^{1/} side-stepped rather than solved the difficult problem of the authorization and financing of peace-keeping operations. At all events, the essential lesson of the infructuous nineteenth session is to keep all peace-keeping expenditures under control lest its political implications out-run the financial capabilities of the United Nations thus leaving it in the unenviable state of insolvency. In this context also my delegation has a suggestion that is worth consideration.

17. Several items have been inscribed on the agenda bearing on this vital problem of peace-keeping, including the report of the Committee of Thirty-three, and my delegation will make its appropriate contribution to the debates as they progress. Of special importance in this connexion is the item inscribed by the delegation of Ireland [see A/5966/Rev.2], which endeavours to create a bridge between the Security Council and the Assembly so that the controversy that has arisen over the Assembly's competence in the peace-keeping field may be to some extent mitigated by the adoption of special procedures in the Assembly. My delegation looks forward to participating usefully in this debate in the Special Committee. But we must confess we are not too sanguine that a problem of such complexity and such potential for discord and disunity can be solved without the

^{1/} Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

expenditure of much effort and goodwill over a longer period of time than the less than three months allotted to this session of the Assembly. The question naturally arises: what happens in the meantime?

18. In this connexion, my Government wholeheartedly supports the efforts of the Governments of Canada and the Scandinavian countries in the creation, on a wholly voluntary basis, of "stand-by forces" trained and kept ready against the predictably perennial demand of the Secretary-General, at the behest of the Security Council, for undertaking peace-keeping tasks in the far corners of the globe. My Government may claim to have some experience in this field. We contributed troops in comparatively large numbers to the Congo over a long period of time, and my Government was recently privileged to be invited to participate in Ottawa on technical consultations relating to collection and deployment of military personnel with all logistical support. I am authorized by my Government to state that it will immediately consider, in consultation with Governments similarly disposed, the creation, training and equipment of stand-by forces for United Nations service at the call of the Secretary-General. We have our own problems, but we do think that our obligations to the United Nations cannot be ignored and put in cold storage for the duration of our troubles. We should like to see this plan developed on a more scientific and wide-ranging basis and not let it remain the response of a few States to the moral obligations of the Charter.

19. The other day [1341st meeting] the Foreign Minister of France cautioned us that these contingents do not make an army. Indeed they do not. Until such time as the United Nations can have an army of its own, if it ever does need to have one, is it not essential that the Secretary-General should have at his elbow not a war-making capability, but a peace-keeping force that he can, at need, deploy and interpose between warring factions tenuously disengaged in compliance with a Security Council request or demand? The situation in recent weeks in Kashmir illustrates what we have in mind.

20. May I also be permitted to mention in this connexion that Malaysia has in the past made a modest financial contribution for the maintenance of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP], and we have just informed the Secretary-General that we are making another contribution of an equal amount. While on the subject of UNFICYP, may I be permitted to digress for one moment on this question of voluntary contributions.

21. Basic to the Charter obligations is the concept of collective responsibility, particularly in the area of peace-keeping. A vital and, by the nature of things, costly function of the United Nations cannot be met and performed by depending on voluntary contributions, and the spectacle of the Secretary-General having to go hat-in-hand to the membership to get him out of a financial difficulty arising out of the discharge of the Security Council's primary responsibility is derogatory to the United Nations. My delegation is in favour of there being introduced into the system of assessments two types of parallel assessments concerning the expenses of the Organization—general expenses and special peace-keeping expenses—the former on

the usual periodical-review scale of assessments, and the latter on a special scale which will take account of the special responsibilities of the permanent Members and of the comparative capacity to pay between developed and developing countries. This is a far fairer solution to this problem than seeking voluntary contributions. The latter may be an *ex post facto* means of meeting exceptional situations such as the arrears already accumulated, but as a prospective permanent scheme to meet peace-keeping expenditure it is as illogical as it should be unacceptable. Moreover, the active sense of a collective responsibility collectively discharged creates in the smallest of States a sense of interest in, and identity with, the vital function of peace-keeping and promotes in each Member State the consciousness of a greater dependence on the United Nations rather than on bilateral or regional defence arrangements.

22. This problem of peace-keeping leads me to a consideration of what my delegation regards as the central political problem of the newly-independent and developing States in the immediate years ahead: the problem of interference in their internal affairs by ways and means which are more latent than patent and which, for want of a better word, we call subversion. Inspired from outside, owing allegiance to ideologies alien to the State where they find for themselves a local habitation, aided and abetted by a vast panoply of subtle interferences in the internal affairs of the State, and masquerading under various innocuous names suggestive of struggles for freedom, there are quite a few of these forces working deliberately to create chaos within many an African and Asian State, as indeed in some Latin American States as well. No land armies march across well-defined borders, the thunder of guns from outside is not heard, the well-understood norms of obvious war are absent, and the eroding canker of subversion cannot be localized, much less identified and dealt with in any effective manner. The integrity of the State and its independence and sovereignty are undermined from within and not threatened or endangered from without. The United Nations must grapple with this insidious problem betimes, before the norms of international behaviour embodied in the Charter get overtaken, become outdated and for ever rendered anachronistic and ineffective. It is the more dangerous and less liable to prevention or control because of its capability of working insidiously across many borders.

23. We see patently a picture of it in South Viet-Nam. Intrusion of alien forces still largely and admittedly supplied and encouraged from beyond the confines of the State has kept the country for ever unstable and therefore incapable of bending its energies to the good of its own people. By cloaking these carefully engineered movements of rebellion in the mantle of national liberation movements the boundaries between authority and anarchy are erased and the face of aggression is carefully concealed. It is nonetheless aggression by all standards of international behaviour, and the Charter provisions prove ineffective against these subtle activities. External forces make no pretence of being uninvolved, and by the plain gusto of their encouragement to the existing conflict they leave no room for doubt about whence this subversion comes and whither it tends.

24. But my Government is most anxious that this conflict, whatever its cause and howsoever it began, should end and the parties get to the negotiating table. Neither of the two opposing attitudes has taken a position against negotiation. My Government associates itself with the urgent appeal made on 15 March 1965 by seventeen Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries to the parties concerned to seek a political solution by starting negotiation without any precondition.

25. We do not intend to convey that this is the only way in which or the only source from which interference in the affairs of another State is practiced. Whatever the form it takes and the means it adopts, any activity of another State, motivated by the desire to create conditions of political or economic instability or chaos in another State, is a patent infringement of the principles of the Charter and my Government is most concerned that this activity should be checked and controlled.

26. We therefore welcome the inscription of an item for debate at this session by the Soviet Union seeking a declaration of non-interference on the part of every State in the internal affairs of another State [A/5977].

27. Perhaps the one primary if not exclusive cause for concern, not only to the States in Asia but also to those of Africa and Latin America is the phenomenon of China and its attitude to world problems. In our own view what happens inside China is a matter with which we should not concern ourselves too deeply. But China claims even the right to decide which are Afro-Asian States. The so-called confrontation by Indonesia against my own country has now taken on a new dimension. It has now secured the active assistance of China. This military confrontation has continued for over two years and shows no signs of abatement. We are still paying with our sweat and blood a debt we do not owe and do not have to pay to Indonesia.

28. At this stage I should like to say a word about the Kashmir problem and the Indo-Pakistan conflict arising out of it. My delegation noted with gratification that the Security Council was able to act with rare unanimity not once but on four successive occasions in calling a halt to hostilities that had unfortunately broken out along the borders of India and Pakistan and across the cease-fire line in Kashmir. In common with the rest of the world, my Government was most anxious to secure an urgent cease-fire in the first instance and our own representative on the Council co-operated with the rest in helping to bring the hostilities to an end. Malaysia has the closest and friendliest relations with both Pakistan and India and our role in the Security Council was limited to putting an immediate end to this fratricidal war. We hope with all our heart that our two friends will find it possible to engage in negotiations, to see that this problem is settled peacefully and reach a solution that will leave no legacy of hate and bitterness behind. We pray that this consummation may be achieved sooner than many of us can today dare to hope.

29. Just three hours ago a Reuters news item carried the message that Pakistan severed diplomatic

relations with Malaysia this afternoon. I have as yet no official confirmation of it from my Government but as the news has been attributed to an official statement made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, I must assume it is accurate. But the sentiments I have just expressed remain the dominant view of my Government and my delegation. Not to want to regard Malaysia as a friend any longer is the sovereign privilege of Pakistan; but, in the larger context of peace in Asia, our wish to have this conflict peacefully settled is by no means less.

30. These thoughts relating to the existing strife and conflict in Asia that we have ventured to dwell on, are not monopolized by Asia. Other similar sources of conflict exist elsewhere in other continents. The perennial problem of war is as old as mankind and by the beginning of the Second World War man had provided himself with means of self-destruction unsurpassed in history. But with the closing chapters of that war, a new page opened in history and the atomic age began. The subsequent rapid development of science and technology has almost outstripped man's capacity to control the Frankenstein of his own creation. Nuclear capacity that began as the monopoly of one or two has now become the special privilege of five—the so-called nuclear club. If one bears in mind the frenetic rapidity with which nuclear ambitions have begun to possess the minds of Powers big and small, one cannot foretell how this knowledge of the few and the availability of it to others may not and will not redraw the boundaries of power. Mankind's crying need today is to stop this rake's progress and no higher or more urgent task faces the United Nations than disarmament and the prevention of nuclear proliferation.

31. At the nineteenth session my delegation proposed [1306th meeting] that this problem of proliferation should be attacked from both sides, preventing the nuclear Powers from making their knowledge and weaponry available to others, as well as by curbing the desires of the many to seek and obtain access to them. We then said that, of the two, the latter was the more meaningful. That will demonstrate by deed that the pleas of the non-nuclear world are not mere empty words but that they were ready to practice what they preached. We then proposed a convention, as an effective and voluntary gesture by all the non-nuclear Powers of the world that they would not develop nuclear capacity, nor seek, receive or obtain any nuclear arms in any contingency. We are happy to note that this theme finds expression in the draft treaty proposed by the United States to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee,^{2/} by the Soviet Union to this Assembly [A/5976] and by the unilateral declaration proposed by Italy.^{3/} We would be happy to give our warm support to any scheme that secures the general acceptance of the Assembly in this field. This is the most imperative action that the United Nations must take. It now stands on the threshold of a new era after its arrival to maturity through twenty long years of its history. No other single step can help it to contemplate with confidence its being able in the

^{2/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, section A.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, section D.

ensuing years to shape the world in the image of its own ideals.

32. I shall now take a bird's eye view of other problems which will confront the United Nations during the next decade. These may be viewed broadly in certain categories: firstly, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease, which are the lot of the vast majority of the peoples of the world, the legacy of decades of colonial domination, particularly in the newly independent States; secondly, the problem of racialism; and lastly, the problem of colonialism. Though capable of separate examination, they are aspects of the same composite picture and partly related to each other as cause and effect.

33. The phenomenon in the post-war era of what has been appropriately termed a revolution of rising expectations among the "have-nots" of the world has failed to find an adequate response from the "haves" of the world. The rapid process of decolonization instigated by the United Nations, and the creation, as a consequence, of a large number of Afro-Asian States struggling to find a foot-hold in the eddying currents and cross-currents created by economic systems which were appropriate to an earlier day, has added to the strength and accelerated the pace of that revolution. Caught in this maelstrom which it could not escape, the United Nations dealt with the symptoms as they arose, making a patchwork quilt of patternless responses which failed to take account of the deep-rooted malaise born of an ancient economy unsuited to the new conditions.

34. This situation was remedied by the most important economic event that has taken place in the world since the birth of the United Nations, namely, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This was an important milestone in the less spectacular but more meaningful activity of the United Nations. The Conference cast away the glasses through which the world of yesterday was accustomed to view the lopsided economic development of the world as unavoidable if not beneficial, and decided on a more realistic appraisal of a close-knit interdependent world in which the chasm between the developed and the developing sections of the human community was growing ever deeper and wider.

35. It is too soon to judge the efficacy of the results that this new appraisal may produce in terms of the alleviation of poverty, ignorance and disease; but, as the saying goes, a journey of a thousand miles might begin with a single step. And there is room for real gratification in the fact that the right direction has been set, the right plan prepared and the first steps taken towards the creation, in the words of Article 55 of the Charter, "of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations".

36. My own country, as a primary producer of well known commodities, has been made acutely aware of the rising expectations of development planning being hamstrung by diminishing returns of export earnings. In the meantime, the rate of growth of the population compounds existing problems; and even as export earnings decline with falling prices for primary commodities, import expenditures for manu-

factured capital and consumer goods, so essential for development, continue to increase at steeper rates. In common with other primary producer developing countries, however, we have a modicum of satisfaction in the knowledge that even if the final remedy is not round the corner, the disease has been identified and its control made possible.

37. Racialism, we venture to think, is the most significant affliction which the world suffers today. This problem, although manifested in acute form between the white and the black races, by no means exhausts the problems created by superior-inferior attitudes among other peoples in various other parts of the world. In its political manifestation it has given rise to the notorious creed of apartheid in South Africa—which it is sought to extend into South West Africa—and of white domination in Southern Rhodesia. In the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia we still see colonialism masquerading as extensions of the metropolitan State.

38. The problem of inferior status because of colour is evident in other regions of the world, but in those regions there is clear acceptance that race superiority is an evil doctrine to be curbed, controlled and abolished. Only in the areas of Africa and Asia mentioned above does one find such a doctrine tolerated and imposed as official policy, with even a pious and sanctimonious claim that it is the best means of uplifting the so-called inferior races.

39. My country has been in the forefront of the crusade against apartheid and, at the behest of the United Nations, has not hesitated to fulfil all the demands made upon it by the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has closed its doors to trade with South Africa, even though it has meant a loss of nearly \$25 million in export earnings.

40. Our position with regard to Southern Rhodesia has been equally emphatic. During the debates in the Security Council, in May 1965, our representative answered effectively the excuse of the United Kingdom based on an alleged constitutional inability to deal with the minority rulers of Southern Rhodesia.

41. The most urgent decolonization problem, besides that of restoring to the four million Africans in Southern Rhodesia their right to a government of their own choice, is the liberation of the reactionary pockets of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and Asia. These matters will come up for debate in the Committee, each under its inscribed item, and my delegation looks forward to making its contribution at the appropriate time.

42. There are a variety of other matters on which this Assembly is required to respond and to take meaningful decisions, but I shall be unable to refer to all of them. I must mention, however, the Palestine question, which concerns most intimately and painfully our brothers in the Arab States. It is sad to think that nearly two decades of discussion have brought the problem no nearer to a just solution.

43. Malaysia's foreign policy can be stated simply. It is to steer clear of military and political groupings and to judge every external problem on its merits in the twin context of its own desire to maintain its

friendships and its undertakings under the Charter of the United Nations. We pursue our own independent policy in the truest sense and do not accept dictation or persuasion from any quarter against our own better judgement. We do not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of any State and have no intention of doing so. The policy of good-neighbourliness that we have followed in the past and shall continue to follow is not mere doctrinal theory, but is manifested in our conduct and our behaviour in the international world. We have the friendliest relations with all our close neighbours except Indonesia, and of this latter situation Indonesia is the sole cause. If it still wishes to remain the implacable enemy of Malaysia, it is not for lack, on our part, of trying to be friends.

44. We are anxious to cultivate these friendships and create new ones, so that our membership of the United Nations may have a meaningful purpose. We stretch out our hand in friendship to every State, whatever its internal political and economic system. We desire to manifest by deed the cardinal principle of peaceful coexistence among disparate States, which is one of the pillars on which the United Nations rests.

45. In this connexion, may I be permitted to say a word in answer to the statement by the representative of the Philippines on Friday last about his country's claim to North Borneo (now Sabah). This, he said, remained an essential factor in the normalization of relations between our two countries. I wish to assure him that my Government is just as anxious to normalize relations. He referred to this matter as an aside in his fervent plea that all Member States should accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

46. Malaysia, as I have just said, is most anxious to live in friendship with the Philippines, I am happy to be able to say that, while we may not be friends in the traditional diplomatic sense, there do exist the most cordial relations between the peoples and the leadership of the two countries. We have begun no confrontation against each other. Our relations are not marred by hate and bitterness. Two years and two months ago, on 31 July 1963, the President of the Philippines and my Prime Minister agreed, in the Manila Accord of that date:

"... to exert their best endeavours to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration."

We stand by that statement, and Malaysia, for its part, has done nothing and will do nothing to retreat from that solemn commitment.

47. The representatives who have preceded me at this rostrum have variously expressed their fears and hopes for the United Nations and its future. I share their apprehensions. But, if I may venture a thought for the consideration of the Assembly, it is that we should remind ourselves that the United Nations is more than the sum of its parts. It is but right that each of us should look at world problems primarily in the light of our own individual political or military

self-interest. If not for that understandable attitude, such problems would lose their significance for each of us. But it would be useful to remember that we should at all times endeavour to reconcile our self-interest with the demands and needs of the whole Organization. The more we learn to conduct ourselves as owing a concurrent, if not superior, allegiance to the United Nations as such, alongside our inescapable allegiance to our own particular States, the more shall we be enabled to look at individual problems in the wider context of the Organization and thereby serve the cause of the Organization and the causes for which it was created. We cannot hope to take out of it more than we put into it. Our hopes and our desire to profit by our membership in the United Nations must be measured against our own individual contributions to its health and vitality.

48. The United Nations cannot achieve success in influencing man's progress towards harmony and well-being, in spite of all the diversity that is inherent in his nature, if we fail and do not make it possible. Let us all, therefore, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of its coming into being, rededicate ourselves to hold fast to the principles of the Charter and the purposes of its creators, so that, twenty years from now, our successors, looking back on the history of this time, may be able to say that in the most testing time in its history we did not fail them or the United Nations.

49. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): I should like to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to offer you my delegation's felicitations on your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly and to wish you every success in your work, charged as you are with so heavy a responsibility of diligence, devotion and fairness.

50. The year 1965 has been quite rich in jubilee dates marking important events which are closely associated with the United Nations and its work. We are assembled here for what we may, with justice, call the jubilee session of the General Assembly of the United Nations—that Organization which was conceived and established as an instrument of international co-operation for the maintenance of the peace and security of nations and for the promotion of their economic and social progress. And I believe that the General Assembly resolution, adopted three years ago, to designate 1965 as International Co-operation Year had for its object to attach special significance to this important date in the life of the United Nations.

51. This year, the people of the world have commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism—a victory that ended the bloodiest war in the history of humanity.

52. The twenty years intervening between that event and the present time have witnessed a continued growth of the forces fighting for peace, freedom, national independence and social progress. The might of the Socialist Commonwealth—the stronghold of the peoples' fight for international peace and security—is growing day by day. The countries of the so-called Third World are proclaiming themselves more

strongly in favour of friendship among nations and in support of international co-operation. The peace movement is expanding throughout the world, reflecting the increasingly active part played by the masses in international affairs and more particularly in the struggle for the prevention of a new war.

53. On the other hand, mankind cannot help recalling with a heavy heart the fact that, twenty years ago, atomic weaponry was for the first time unleashed by the United States against the innocent and defenceless people of Japan, an act of wanton destruction devoid of any military necessity whatsoever. Mankind cannot but reflect, too, that the victims of this grave crime against humanity are still growing in number to the present day.

54. As we recall these events, it behoves us, I believe, to give serious thought to the situation which has obtained in international life in recent days.

55. The peace-loving forces have had to observe the twentieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and reaction in circumstances which bore great resemblance to the even of World War II, in the sense that foes of peace, freedom and independence of nations are yet actively at work, and in the sense that the aggressive, revengeful lust of the instigators of the past war is being disregarded and even, in some quarters, encouraged.

56. Increasing concern and anxiety are aroused by the further expansion of the United States aggression in Indo-China, particularly in Viet-Nam, which represents a serious danger to world peace. In flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Indo-China,^{4/} the Government of the United States is taking one reckless step after another in the escalation of the colonial war in South Viet-Nam and in the extension of its armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, at the same time dragging into this perilous venture more and more of its military allies.

57. The other day, the United States representative reiterated from this rostrum the hypocritical statement of his Government that allegedly it was in favour of the peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nameese issue. He was also trying to explain the hackneyed lie that not the United States but the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam was the aggressor. Such a mean and mendacious manoeuvre cannot, however, mislead anyone. The United States is sending to South Viet-Nam still more troops specially trained to wage guerilla warfare so as to suppress ruthlessly the peaceful population; moreover, it is turning that country into a testing ground of barbaric means of warfare, including poisonous chemicals.

58. The real goal of the United States ruling circles is to perpetuate the division of Viet-Nam and, in effect, to turn its southern part into a United States colony and a military bridge-head for aggressive actions against peace-loving States of Asia. This true intention has been reiterated time and again by the more frank spokesmen of the Pentagon and the United States State Department.

59. The Mongolian people have joined their voice to that of the world public in demanding the unconditional implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The United States should accept the constructive proposals by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam. It should cease immediately the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, put an end to the barbaric war in South Viet-Nam, and withdraw its troops and arms therefrom, as well as the armed forces of the other accomplices in this aggression.

60. The Viet-Nameese people have a right to decide their internal affairs without outside interference, and no one has a right to obstruct them in freely determining their own destiny. The Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic stand firmly on the side of the Viet-Nameese people in their heroic struggle for their just cause against imperialist aggression.

61. The United States Government, having expanded its dangerous action against peace and the security of nations, has committed armed interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of the Dominican Republic, and continues the occupation of Santo Domingo under one pretext or another. This open intervention has persisted, in opposition to the just demand of the Dominican people for the restoration and maintenance of constitutional order in their country. The United States should withdraw its troops so that the Dominican people may decide their own affairs according to their own will.

62. Some time ago, the United States House of Representatives passed a resolution asserting the right of the United States Government to take unilateral action of interference in any country of the Western Hemisphere, should so-called "subversive activities" be discovered there. The experience of the Dominican Republic and of some other countries clearly shows that Washington means by "subversive activities".

63. This unwarranted action, which blatantly violates international law and usages, has naturally provoked widespread indignation throughout the countries of Latin America. In its special declaration, the Chilean Senate stated that this resolution represented a danger to the sovereignty and independence of the countries of the Western Hemisphere and flagrantly violated the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

64. At the same time, certain United States foreign policy commentators declared that this resolution of the United States Congress offered nothing new except that it sought to legitimate actions which had been already undertaken by the United States Government. Such frankness is better, anyway, than poorly veiled hypocrisy.

65. The Mongolian delegation would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the serious situation created in the Far East as a consequence of the occupation of South Korea by American troops. To our great regret, under the disguise of the United Nations flag, the United States Government has converted the southern part of the Korean peninsula into a spring-board for its aggression against socialist countries and other peace-loving States of Asia. The

^{4/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China (Geneva, 20 July 1954).

United States has already made the Seoul régime its eager accomplice in the war against the people of South Viet-Nam.

66. The situation in Korea has been further aggravated by the so-called "Treaty on the Normalization of Relations" between South Korea and Japan concluded on 22 June this year. This Agreement is aimed to open for Japanese monopolists an access to the key positions of the South Korean economy, to perpetuate the shaky antinationalist Seoul régime, and to expedite the creation of the new aggressive bloc—NEATO—under the aegis of the United States. This also constitutes a new serious obstacle to the reunification of Korea. The United States policy of involving the militarists circles of Japan in its aggressive actions against the peace-loving peoples of Asia perilously pollutes the international atmosphere in the Far East and South-East Asia.

67. The Mongolian people and their Government have always considered that the Korean question is an internal matter of the Korean people and that it should be solved by the Korean people themselves. We unanimously support the just struggle of the Korean people for an immediate withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea and the reunification of the country on a peaceful basis.

68. The dangerous revenge-seeking policy cultivated in the Federal Republic of Germany constitutes an ever-growing threat to the peace and security of nations. The West German revenge-seekers demand the revision of the frontiers established after the Second World War, put forward territorial claims to the neighbouring countries, and do everything possible to acquire nuclear weapons. They are constantly developing plans to absorb the German Democratic Republic. That policy jeopardizes peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

69. The policy of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on that question is clear; it has been repeatedly stated from this rostrum. The Western Powers must give up the policy of encouraging the revenge-seeking claims of the West German militarists, as well as the plans to furnish the Federal Republic of Germany with nuclear weapons. The necessary conditions should be created for the peaceful settlement of the German question, which has an important bearing on the maintenance of European security. The German problem should be solved by peaceful means, on the basis of the recognition of the two sovereign States existing on German soil. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, aimed at the rapprochement of the two German States and the peaceful reunification of Germany.

70. The Government of the German Democratic Republic has proposed that the two German States undertake not to manufacture, acquire or use nuclear weapons and not to allow other States to station such weapons on their territories. Furthermore it has proposed that the armed forces in both Germanies be reduced. We consider those proposals to be imbued with a sincere desire to promote the reunification of Germany, to ensure European security and to consolidate world peace.

71. The Mongolian People's Republic also welcomes the well-known initiatives and proposals of other socialist countries whose objectives serve those noble ends.

72. The facts I have mentioned clearly show that the interference of imperialist Powers in the internal affairs of States constitutes one of the basic sources of the tense international situation and a threat to universal peace. Foreign interference in the affairs of other nations infringes the very substance of normal international relations and the sovereignty of States and negates the policy of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. If the United Nations is to be a genuine instrument of peace and international co-operation, it should strongly condemn such actions and undertake effective measures to bring them to an end.

73. In this connexion, my delegation regards as vitally important the proposal of the Soviet Union that the present session of the Assembly should adopt a declaration on the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States and the safeguarding of their independence and sovereignty [A/5977]. My delegation hopes that that proposal will find general and unwavering support in the deliberations of the present session.

74. In the present circumstances, the adoption of such a declaration clearly setting forth that principle would be an excellent supplement to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption of a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the safeguarding of their independence and sovereignty would in itself, in the opinion of my delegation, be an important step by the United Nations in support of the struggle of the newly independent States against neo-colonialist encroachments by imperialist Powers.

75. The policy of my Government on the question of colonialism and neo-colonialism is a policy of unqualified support for the struggle of colonial and dependent peoples for their freedom and independence. It is a policy of resolute exposure of the manoeuvres of imperialist Powers which are at work to prevent the progressive development of the world today.

76. As a result of the unprecedented development of national liberation movements during the past two decades, the colonialist system has suffered a deadly blow. The intensity of the anti-colonial struggle of oppressed people is growing apace. Nevertheless, colonialism still rears its ugly head. Today, more than sixty large and small territories, scattered over wide areas of the world, remain under colonial domination. In defiance of the explicit provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of relevant resolutions of the United Nations, colonial Powers and their protectors continuously commit crimes against colonial and dependent peoples by suppressing their national liberation movements. Bloodshed continues in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and Southern Arabia, and in other colonial and dependent territories.

77. We cannot but share the alarm voiced here by a number of African representatives concerning the

dangerous developments in the South African Republic, which has become the main stronghold of the colonial policies of the imperialist Powers on African soil. The situation in Southern Rhodesia differs but little from that in the South African Republic. The unscrupulous policy of racial discrimination and apartheid carried out by those régimes in relation to the indigenous population arouses the strong indignation of world opinion.

78. In those circumstances, my delegation believes that the United Nations should take decisive and effective steps towards the speedy and full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the view of the Mongolian delegation, such measures might include the setting up of time-limits for the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the invoking of sanctions on the lines of the provisions of Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter against the colonial Powers which stubbornly resist the liberation of peoples.

79. In the fight against neo-colonialism, there is another consideration which has as great urgency as that of the liberation of peoples under colonial oppression. I refer to the device of the economic domination of newly independent countries.

80. In keeping with the penetration into the economies of developing countries, the imperialists create, in their international, economic and trade relations, terms unfavourable to the best interests of those countries. Western Powers do everything possible to maintain the young independent States as their agrarian appendages to supply raw material for the capitalist economic system.

81. In order to ensure their further economic progress, it is indispensable for the young States, relying on increasing industrialization, to liquidate the social and economic consequences of colonialism and build a firm basis for their national economies. From the experience of my own country, we know well that the existence of the world socialist system opens up wide perspectives for such a procedure and for such development. At the same time, however, my delegation realizes fully the importance which the newly independent countries ascribe to United Nations activities for the promotion of the economic and social progress of nations.

82. It should be noted, in this connexion, that the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the establishment of the United Nations Trade and Development Board constituted the first important step in the implementation of the functions set forth in Chapter IX of the United Nations Charter.

83. In the opinion of the Mongolian delegation, the United Nations should take effective measures for the implementation of the important recommendations adopted by the Conference and the Trade and Development Board which are aimed at the normalization of economic and trade relations between both developed and developing countries and between West and East.

84. World economic relations should be based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit for all

parties concerned, without any discrimination and restrictions. Our delegation believes that the realization of the basic provisions of the joint statement by seventy-seven developing countries would considerably promote the attainment of the foregoing objectives.

85. The question of general and complete disarmament remains one of the basic problems of today. The realization of disarmament under strict international control would constitute the most important condition for ensuring international peace and security. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, as in the past, advocates a speedy and positive solution of this urgent problem. We have to state once again, with great regret, however, that there has been no tangible progress in this domain. The reason for this is the negative attitude taken by the major Western Governments. On the other hand, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic pays due tribute to the efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving countries which are dedicated to bringing about an agreement on universal and complete disarmament.

86. The United Nations Disarmament Commission was convened in May and June of this year through the efforts of the Soviet Union, backed by other socialist States and non-aligned countries. The deliberations of the Commission, attended by all 114 Member States, have clearly shown the vital interest of the prevailing majority of these States in achieving an agreement on disarmament under strict international control. The Commission has spoken out in support of convening a world conference on disarmament,^{5/} and we consider this to be an important achievement of the Commission's work.

87. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic sincerely welcomed the idea of convening a world conference on disarmament attended by all nations of the world when it was voiced by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.^{6/} My Government is of the opinion that such a conference could play an important part in uniting the efforts of the countries genuinely interested in the realization of disarmament to search for means of breaking the deadlock in this urgent problem.

88. In the view of my delegation, a world conference on disarmament, because of the special urgency of disarmament, should be convened as soon as possible, with the participation of all States concerned. My delegation requests the General Assembly to approve the recommendation of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to convene this important conference.

89. It is the view of my delegation that the question of the total banning of nuclear tests, the prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition and liquidation of these weapons of mass destruction should be at the head of the whole list of problems leading to the realization of general and complete disarmament.

^{5/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

^{6/} Held in Cairo, 5-10 October 1964.

90. With this in mind, the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the convening of a conference for the signing of a convention on banning the use of nuclear weapons. My Government is also in favour of banning underground nuclear tests with immediate effect, under the same provisions as set forth in the Moscow Treaty.^{7/}

91. The Mongolian delegation fully shares the Secretary-General's view expressed in the introduction to his annual report, that:

"The prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons is the most urgent question of the present time and should remain at the very top of the disarmament agenda". [A/6001/Add.1, section II.]

92. It is our hope that the draft treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, submitted to the present session by the Soviet delegation [see A/5976], will get the full support of this Assembly. This draft treaty is fundamentally different from that presented by the United States to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.^{8/} Though these draft treaties bear the same title, their substances are diametrically opposed to each other. The Soviet draft envisages measures for the real prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons whereas the American draft leaves loopholes for new nations to join the nuclear club, especially for the Federal Republic of Germany, which anxiously desires to obtain nuclear weapons.

93. My delegation wishes to invite the attention of the General Assembly to the question of the elimination of military bases on foreign territories. The Mongolian People's Republic fully shares the views expressed by the Conference of Independent African States and the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Nations on the elimination of foreign military bases and troops on a country's soil.

94. Foreign military bases constitute a direct threat to the independence and sovereignty of the States on whose territories they are stationed and are used as an instrument for suppressing national liberation movements and protecting the remnants of colonial domination. The events in Viet-Nam, the Dominican Republic, in the Congo and in many other parts of the world bear witness to this.

95. Hundreds of military bases of imperialist Powers are located in the territories of many countries on all continents. The keeping of these bases against the will of the peoples is an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the States on whose territories they are stationed and is a violation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and of the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Foreign military bases and colonialism supplement each other. They are equally responsible for increasing international tension. Therefore the liquidation of military bases would greatly promote an easing of international tension and strengthening of the confidence among States and

would also constitute an important step towards the achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

96. The Mongolian delegation considers, as before, that the question of the liquidation of military bases on foreign soil deserves special discussion by the General Assembly.

97. The Mongolian People's Republic has spoken out in favour of the strengthening of the United Nations and the increasing of its effectiveness as an instrument of peace and international co-operation. In order to be such an instrument in effect, the United Nations should be, first of all, a genuinely universal organization devoid of any discrimination against States fully qualified for membership in it. However, the Organization has tolerated for many years flagrant discrimination against the People's Republic of China, which is the only legitimate representative of the 700 million Chinese people. My delegation demands that an end be put to this egregious example of abnormality.

98. The lawful rights of the People's Republic of China—one of the founding Members of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council—should be restored and the Chiang Kai-shek representatives expelled from all organs of the United Nations. The sooner that is done the better for the prestige of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its work.

99. The United Nations record has, in addition, still more blemishes. On every occasion when the United Nations countenanced those forces which wished to use it in their selfish interests, it acted in violation of its Charter and discredited itself in the eyes of the world public. It is obvious to everyone that the United Nations of today is not the one we had in 1950 or before. During the past ten years, a great number of socialist and newly independent countries have joined it. This has brought basic changes in its composition, together with a new spirit and new ideas in its activities. An item was put on the agenda to bring the composition of the principal organs of the United Nations into conformity with the new phenomenon which reflects the fundamental developments which have occurred during the past few years in the correlation of forces in international life as a whole.

100. The ratification by an overwhelming majority of Member States of the amendments to the Charter providing for the expansion of the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council is an important step towards the solution of this very significant problem. These amendments, in our opinion, provide new opportunities for a wider representation of Afro-Asian States in the principal organs of the United Nations on the basis of equitable geographical distribution of seats. We consider that such a principle of equitable distribution of seats should be followed in relation to the United Nations Secretariat as well.

101. Quite a number of speakers have pointed out the need for further amendments to the United Nations Charter. In principle, we do not oppose amendments to the Charter if necessity so requires. However, my delegation, like many other delegations, maintains that the greatest factor in strengthening the United

^{7/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (Moscow, 5 August 1963).

^{8/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, section A.

Nations and increasing its effectiveness is the ensuring of the strict observance of the principles of the Charter by all Member States and the making of full use of the possibilities lying therein. On the other hand, some representatives have laid stress on the necessity of establishing and training armed forces in nearly every Member country of the United Nations with a view to placing these forces at the disposal of the Secretary-General as occasion arises.

102. Under the Charter, questions pertaining to the use of United Nations armed forces for the purpose of preserving world peace fall within the terms of reference of the Security Council only. This is, in the opinion of my delegation, the most reasonable approach to the matter. The Mongolian delegation submits that to amend the Charter so that these important questions could be dealt with by the General Assembly or some other organ rather than the Security Council would not be appropriate.

103. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in its reply [A/6026/annex II] to the letter of the Secretary-General dated 23 June 1965 stated that the functions and powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly could be complementary only in the form of successful exercise of the functions and tasks clearly set forth for each of them in the United Nations Charter. This, however, does not imply the duplicating of each other's functions, particularly in the question of the maintenance of international peace and security.

104. My delegation wishes to submit that the observance of the Charter—in other words, the increasing of the effectiveness of the United Nations—would depend to a great extent on concerted and positive actions by the newly independent States of Asia and Africa which make up a significant majority in this Organization. Thanks to the reason and sober judgement displayed by the representatives of those countries and other States which are really interested in the maintenance and strengthening of the United Nations, a rebuff has been given to those who resorted to new distortions of the provisions of the Charter in an attempt to shift to others the responsibility for their own actions in grave violation of the principles of this Organization's activities. In view of this and some other facts, I believe I am justified in saying that if the United Nations will respond to the spirit of the great changes of the present-day world, it will be able to increase the effectiveness of its activities dedicated to the maintenance of world peace, the development of fruitful co-operation among nations and the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

105. The Mongolian delegation welcomes with a great feeling of satisfaction the cessation of the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, which has been a matter of anguish and concern to their sincere friends and to all who cherish peace on the sub-continent and in Asia as a whole. We believe that the most important thing now is to promote that cease-fire, however difficult it might be, so as to pave the way to the final stabilization of the situation in that area.

106. We express the hope that the leaders of India and Pakistan will display statesmanship and exercise

the highest degree of restraint in order to create the conditions necessary for the solution of the Kashmir problem through negotiations, in the best interests of the well-being and progress of both the brotherly peoples and of strengthening the peace in Asia and the world over. From speedy and peaceful settlement of this problem, only benefit will accrue to the peoples of India and Pakistan, and those forces that always seek profits for themselves out of the discords and conflicts between these two great nations, will, on the contrary, suffer losses.

107. Turning to another recent event, I should like to congratulate our colleagues from the Arab countries on the encouraging outcome of the Arab Summit Conference at Casablanca. The charter of Arab solidarity as well as the Declaration of the Conference adopted at Casablanca, open up new perspectives for the strengthening of cohesion and solidarity of the Arab world in their fight against colonial vestiges and imperialist provocations. My delegation would like to express the hope that the same spirit of unity and solidarity will prevail at the forthcoming Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the ensuing Second Afro-Asian Conference of Heads of State and Government.

108. It is no secret that certain difficulties on the way to these important conferences have been created by the forces which do not favour the continued strengthening of friendship and understanding among the nations of these two great continents in their struggle for national independence, social progress, universal peace and security. My delegation is confident that the peoples of Asia and Africa will exercise their will and power to surmount these difficulties so as to make the summit meetings real forums for strengthening the unity and solidarity of all who are striving for peace, national independence and progress, and for the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

109. The Mongolian People's Republic will, as before, spare no effort to promote the attainment of these vital and noble ends.

110. Mr. LAKE (New Zealand): Who of us present in this hall yesterday was not deeply moved by the message, solemn and profoundly encouraging, given to the General Assembly and to the world by His Holiness Pope Paul VI? The very visit was of immense significance. It affirmed his recognition of the achievements of the United Nations in the past twenty years and his faith in its indispensable future: the conviction that the Organization "represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace". His message went to the heart of the moral and political problems of our time. As its beneficent light gradually floods into the consciousness of the leaders of the nations, it will increasingly illuminate the search for the roads to peace.

111. Seven centuries ago, Mr. President, a considerable compatriot of yours, the Venetian Marco Polo, accompanied by three Ambassadors of the great Kublai Khan, whose countryman has just preceded me in this debate, sailed from China to Cambodia and other parts of South-East Asia. His

tale begot a vision. That vision, becoming ever more beautiful, and improbable, as the centuries passed, lured on Columbus and many other voyagers. One of the incidental offshoots was the uncovering to European eyes of my country, New Zealand. We do indeed come back to Italy wherever we turn.

112. Need I add that it seems to my delegation to be especially appropriate that this year—in succession to the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ghana, who so ably presided over the difficult nineteenth session—our President should be the Foreign Minister of Italy. We feel indeed fortunate to have as our guide you, a scholar-statesman, who have played such a creative part in the resurgence of Italy and of Europe.

113. The United Nations has survived two recent crises. To begin with, the General Assembly has got back into business in a manner which has left intact for another day the positions of principle of those who take differing views of the relative authority of the Security Council and the Assembly and, beyond that, of the role of international organization in a world of sovereign States. Secondly, the Organization has, through the recent work of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, made a significant contribution to world peace through its role in the crisis between India and Pakistan.

114. It would, perhaps, be difficult to imagine a situation closer to that envisaged by the framers of the Charter when defining the responsibilities of the Security Council than that which confronted the Council last month. The Council acted as my Government has always hoped and expected it would. The permanent members found a sufficient area of agreement to act in unison. They acted. Admittedly, there are still serious difficulties even in the immediate problem of establishing the cease-fire and still more of tackling the underlying political problems. But these difficulties are inherent in a situation which involves not only a complex of basic and possibly conflicting principles but also the interests and pride of two very great countries. But at least the Council, and therefore the United Nations as an institution, has set the stage on which fundamental problems can and should be negotiated.

115. In my country, we felt great regret and concern at the outbreak of serious fighting between India and Pakistan. New Zealand has enjoyed the most friendly of relations with both these great Asian States, fellow members of the Commonwealth, ever since their emergence as independent nations in the years shortly after the end of the Second World War—a time, which, for reasons based on the fundamental changes precipitated by the events of that War, brought a growing New Zealand interest in the problems of this region. We have viewed with anxiety the conflict which has for so long divided India and Pakistan. It is our earnest hope that the spirit which moved both countries to agree to bring about a cessation of hostilities will prevail. Such a cessation is essential if the underlying political problem is to be settled peacefully and justly and in a manner which will not damage the independence and nationhood of India or Pakistan. It is essential to a settlement which will lay a better foundation for the co-operation of these two great

peoples in the decades and centuries which lie ahead of them. It is essential to a settlement which will enhance the name of both in the eyes of the international community.

116. In this conflict, the world once more has had cause to realize the value of this Organization in the preservation of peace—the very heart of its purposes, though not of course its only purpose. It may be argued that all the Powers involved in the Kashmir crisis, directly or indirectly, might have pursued the same objective as they have over the past few weeks. But surely it was the United Nations that enabled the accord of purpose which emerged to be developed and harnessed so quickly and so effectively through the Security Council.

117. I have said that the preservation or restoration of international peace is the central purpose of this Organization. All others, while deeply interconnected in the rich and varied structure of international life are none the less ancillary. What are the prospects that the United Nations will succeed in this purpose in the future? Can we discern the challenges which it is likely to face?

118. We are all well aware of the changes of the past two decades, of the upheavals which the world has seen since San Francisco, of the way in which the Organization has been strained and altered in composition and attitudes by the strength of the new forces released. It is not likely that the tests of the next decade or two will be any less severe. The decolonization process, now nearing completion, has already raised the number of sovereign States from 50 to about 120. The actors in the next momentous phase of our human drama are now nearly all assembled on the stage. The play is still to be written, but there is no doubt that the themes will include the spiraling population of our planet, the ever growing gulf between rich and poor, the affront and waste caused by discrimination and denial of human rights and the menacing accumulation and proliferation of weapons—huge themes to accommodate in one play, on one small stage, but the very stage itself is threatened.

119. Members of the United Nations now face a challenge outside the scope of the assumptions on which the Organization is based. In 1945, there was a degree of international accord which today no longer exists. In that vital respect, the world has regressed rather than advanced in the past twenty years. In 1945, nations—both Governments and peoples—were weary of war. They had seen what modern war could do, and they wanted no more of it. New Zealand, which both in the years 1939–45 and before that in the years 1914–18, had fought hard and sustained terrible casualties, fully shared that sense of revulsion. The Charter was based upon it. Its fundamental assumptions are set out in its opening pages. They were accepted by all Member States. In the Charter it is taken to be self-evident that war is a scourge from which the world must be saved.

120. Practice and precept, of course, do not always coincide precisely. Yet despite the problems of the post-war era—the cold war, the crises, and the fighting—there has been throughout, a widely based

acceptance of the assumptions of the Charter; the more so since the nature of a nuclear war and the danger of it, and the inevitable consequences of it, have looked over the awesome brink and know well that no man in his senses talks lightly about nuclear bombs. But there are some who are taling lightly about war and even about nuclear bombs; who are even actually saying that the more countries that have them the better. Worse, these doctrines—reinforced only recently by the reported statements of Chinese communist leaders—are emanating from a region which has over one half of the world's population, which faces terrible problems of poverty, which is confronted by enormous tasks of development, and which at present is in a state of marked political instability. Can these new doctrines be allowed to imperial the whole structure of international co-operation?

121. So far the principles underlying the Charter have been broadly accepted by the international community. True, tensions remain unabated. Aspirations remain unsatisfied. Peaceful change seems unconscionably slow in coming. Justice sometimes seems to turn a blind eye or to disappear in a fog of compromise. There are differences among Member States about political and legal doctrines, about definitions. What is "domestic jurisdiction"? What is "coercion"? What is "intervention"? What is "aggression"? These are all problems which reveal differences of approach to particular issues. But whatever the apparent extent of the differences, they have until quite recently all been based on a common assumption: that there are norms of international behaviour which ought to be laid down; that States should abide by these norms; that despite differing ideologies and political systems, the relations of States can be and should be reconciled within the boundaries of international law and the principles underlying this international Organization.

122. We would not seek to deny that in certain circumstances—where people are persistently refused their basic rights—they may have no recourse but to fight for them. But it is another matter when outsiders claim, on doctrinal grounds, the right to intervene in the process. The Charter, it is plain to us, imposes clear prohibitions against the threat or use of force as weapons of national policy. This does not mean that political and social change should be inhibited, nor that the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence is denied. The role of this Organization—a role which Members must face up to more resolutely if we wish to avoid great disasters—is to aid peaceful change by providing the means whereby differences can be reconciled and injustices removed without resort to armed force.

123. There is, beyond this, another and very serious danger: the trend, which is already apparent in several instances in the world today, for a State to pursue its own national interests under the cloak of aiding a struggle for independence.

124. With this in mind I turn to the policy of "confrontation" which Indonesia has pursued against Malaysia. This policy has been directed towards purely national goals which are not compatible with the Charter, but it has been presented in terms of

opposition to a fantasy of "neo-colonialism". New Zealand's view of the opportunist policy of "confrontation" was made clear in the general debate last year and it has been the subject of numerous public statements since. I therefore do not wish to dwell at length upon it. But I must say that we do not believe that it proceeds from a deep-seated, compelling national aspiration of the Indonesian people. It is, rather, at variance with their needs and interests and could cease without the sacrifice of any basic Indonesian interest. We believe that the Indonesian Government was correct in realizing that its policy was incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, but we profoundly regret that they chose to withdraw from the United Nations rather than to review the policy.

125. The recent agreement of the Governments of Malaysia and Singapore that Singapore should become an independent State associated with Malaysia in the pursuit of certain common policies demonstrates clearly what has throughout been obvious: that Malaysia threatens the interests of no neighbouring countries, and that the policy of "confrontation" has therefore no legitimate justification. New Zealand has expressed its full support for the territorial integrity of Malaysia. When, however, the peoples and Governments concerned freely agreed upon a new relationship, we immediately accepted their decision, whereas we had not been prepared to see a dismemberment imposed from outside by armed force. New Zealand retains its close friendship with both Malaysia and Singapore, and we welcome the action of this Organization in unanimously agreeing to admit Singapore to membership.

126. The norms of international behaviour embodied in the principles underlying this Organization are now, however, under even greater challenge than arises in the instance of "confrontation". Powerful voices are now promulgating a new and more ominous doctrine. The so-called "war of liberation" is being put forward from Peking on a world-embracing scale as the panacea for the future. People for whose benefit it is said to be designed may unfortunately get killed in the process. But no matter; in the recent words of one eminent and dogmatic military figure, "temporary suffering is repaid by lasting or even perpetual peace and happiness".

127. We are today witnessing the attempt to impose, by the power which grows out of the barrel of a gun, such a "perpetual peace and happiness" on a people who show no signs of wishing to receive this new gospel. What is happening in Viet-Nam, in the view of my Government, is not just a civil war. The extent of external direction and support for the insurgent forces in South Viet-Nam is such as to constitute aggression. It is a form of aggression which may be much harder to define and identify than the conventional, overt military attack across a boundary; but it is none the less aggression. For what is the difference, in intent and in consequence, whether forty thousand armed men are marched openly across a border, or are infiltrated across the same frontier for the same purpose? Should the world remain indifferent to acts of aggression when they are called "wars of liberation"?

128. New Zealand has long given assistance to the Republic of Viet-Nam in the economic and social fields. Recently, at the request of that Government, New Zealand agreed also to extend the limited military assistance that its resources and other commitments permit. This decision was taken in consonance with a longstanding New Zealand attitude towards the challenge of aggression, upon whatever ideology it may be based. No more than any other small State can we remain indifferent to the fate of others. As a small country, we cannot guarantee our own security. We are vitally concerned—as we have been since the days of the League of Nations—with the establishment of the rule of law in international relations and in the maintenance of collective security.

129. It goes without saying that New Zealand would welcome, as we believe would all the Governments concerned in meeting this attack, a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam question. We believe that the people of Viet-Nam, North and South, should have the chance to make a meaningful and genuine choice concerning their form of government, free from intimidation and terror. This choice should include the right freely to agree on the future relationship between North and South, including, if they so desire, unification. These are essential elements which would need to be considered in substantive negotiations.

130. Unfortunately, there is still no sign that the insurgent forces in South Viet-Nam and their backers in Hanoi are yet willing to consider any settlement which amounts to much more than acceptance of terms which would put the seal of success on their campaign. They have as yet shown no readiness to depart from this stand despite approaches from a number of quarters about the possibility of negotiation or mediation. As a member of the Commonwealth, we must particularly regret their failure to respond to the approaches of the mission constituted from among Prime Ministers assembled from every continent at their conference in June this year. We must not despair of the hopes for a peaceful settlement, nor should we harbour any illusions. It is the communist side which talks almost joyfully of fighting for twenty years. It is this side which denounces the United Nations and the principles which have been the generally accepted norm for these last twenty years. That is surely something which must be of the utmost concern to the whole international community.

131. We for our part will resist violence because we do not despair of the possibilities of peaceful change. We have only to look about us to see one aspect of a change which has occurred in the last twenty years without shattering the basis of international order. Membership of the United Nations has become the endorsement of sovereignty for many newly independent nations. Three new States have been admitted at this session—the Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore—and we welcome them.

132. New Zealand has played a part in aiding this tide towards independence, through the Trusteeship System and through our support of the Declaration on the ending of colonialism. This year the people of the Cook Islands, a small territory in the Pacific hitherto under New Zealand administration, exercised

their right to self-determination under United Nations supervision. These 20,000 people chose to become fully self-governing and freely associated with New Zealand rather than to be a separate, sovereign State. The special feature of this arrangement is that the New Zealand Parliament has legislated away all its power over the Cook Islands. Thus these 20,000 people are free at any time of their choosing to establish themselves as a sovereign State or to move into any other status that they might desire and that might become practicable.

133. The other larger territory for which New Zealand was responsible, Western Samoa, with a population of 130,000, became a separate sovereign State three and a half years ago. It has joined the World Health Organization and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, but by deliberate decision it has not yet exercised its right to seek membership of the United Nations. Arrangements have been made by which Western Samoa receives most of the benefits of United Nations membership without the need to incur certain financial obligations which this small country can ill afford. The Cook Islands also has needs which the United Nations family is in a position to help it meet and we are sure the necessary relationship can be established so that help is given. The problem of the relationship of very small territories to the United Nations is one which is becoming increasingly relevant.

134. Among the most important of the future tasks before the United Nations as a whole and before some of its more powerful Members in particular is that of disarmament. I do not wish to discuss this complicated question in detail: that is a task which will arise on the group of agenda items referred to the Assembly's First Committee. But certain problems are pre-eminent: the danger of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the need to secure a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Without some progress soon on both these issues, we may well find that the arms race has entered a new, more dangerous and even less predictable dimension. The importance of these two primary objectives is, I think, widely—although, regrettably, not universally—accepted.

135. Nor, again regrettably, is there universal acceptance of the short but important step forward which was made with the conclusion of the partial test-ban Treaty. As New Zealand has made clear since the eighteenth session of the General Assembly in 1963, both New Zealand and the South Pacific countries and territories with which it is associated view with apprehension and with concern the continued plans of France to test thermonuclear weapons in the South Pacific on a fast approaching date. Even more sombrely do we view the possession of nuclear devices, few and ineffective though they may be at present, by a country—mainland China—which has cast itself as outlaw and rejects the norms of international behaviour hitherto taken for granted.

136. I conclude by again expressing the satisfaction of my Government that the General Assembly is once more back in business. It has a heavy agenda, in the literal sense: the plenary sessions and the Committees will this year find their time and effort heavily taxed. But it has an even greater agenda

in the figurative sense. It has the vital task of preserving world peace; of containing conflicting national aspirations within certain recognized bounds—the very condition of our continued existence in the nuclear age; of satisfying legitimate aspirations of dependent peoples for freedom and independence; and of helping to map out an agreed strategy which will cause a rational and effective assault to be made on the age-old problem of poverty, wherever it exists; and which will, in fact, make a proper and more equitable use of the world's resources, both human and material. This edifice, as Pope Paul VI said to us yesterday, must never fall. The Organization alone, however, cannot grapple with these tasks. It requires the positive support of Member Governments, using it as an instrument to further not merely national interest but international co-operation. That, not a harsh doctrine of conflict, should be our goal.

137. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Minister of Finance of New Zealand for his statement. With the permission of the Assembly, I also express to him my thanks for his reference to Marco Polo and the consequences of his journey to the Far East.

138. Mr. BISTA (Nepal): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to convey to you and, through you, to representatives, the greetings and good wishes of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Mahendra, and the Government and the people of Nepal for the success of this twentieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers in extending to you our sincere congratulations on your well deserved election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly. This great honour bears witness to your excellent qualities, which have been amply demonstrated by your skill and statesmanship as Prime Minister, and now as Foreign Minister, of your great country, with which we have the best of relations.

139. We are particularly happy to find amongst us the three new Member States—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands, and Singapore—whose admission to this body has been a positive step towards attaining the ideal of universality. We cordially greet them and wish them well-being and prosperity.

140. I feel particular pleasure at this opportune moment in referring to the inspiring message of peace delivered by His Holiness Pope Paul VI yesterday. His role as an apostle of peace is well known throughout the world. We greatly value his message of universal brotherhood and world peace.

141. May I also be permitted, on this occasion, to take the liberty of expressing our deep appreciation of the services rendered by your predecessor, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, whose skilled statesmanship and untiring efforts were able to turn the session of despondency and disillusion into one of consensus and hope.

142. I also wish to pay my tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for his devotion and dedication to duty and his persistent endeavour to preserve the prestige and integrity of the United Nations in times of crisis. His recent efforts in the cause of peace

between India and Pakistan, both of which are our close friends and neighbours, were indeed most remarkable. Once again, the world has witnessed the unique service which the Secretary-General has rendered in bringing about a cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. In this connexion, may I quote the message personally addressed to the Secretary-General by His Majesty King Mahendra:

"Please accept our sincere congratulations for your exemplary role as peacemaker in the recent India-Pakistan conflict. By your relentless efforts to bring about peace in this war-threatened part of the world, you have merited the gratitude of all peace-loving mankind. As guardian of international peace and security, the United Nations Security Council has once again proved equal to its responsibility and put an end to the armed hostilities between two of the largest countries of Asia. Nepal has welcomed the cease-fire with great relief and believes that yours has been the greatest single role in overcoming the crisis which posed a most serious threat to the peace of the world."

143. My delegation is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express once again our trust and confidence in the person of the Secretary-General whose dedicated efforts in quest of a permanent solution to the India-Pakistan conflict will, we hope, meet with a favourable response from both parties. We hope that, in this connexion, both India and Pakistan will show a conciliatory attitude and a respectful willingness to co-operate with the Secretary-General in achieving a commonly accepted formula for permanent peace between these two countries. This alone, we believe, will make a lasting contribution to the Bandung principles for which they stand. I have the honour to inform this Assembly that in order to assist in the peace-keeping efforts of the Secretary-General, His Majesty's Government of Nepal has detailed five officers of the Royal Nepalese Army for the United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission.

144. The present international situation appears to be far from satisfactory. There are still many explosive spots in the world which pose a constant threat to international peace and security. The way in which the issues involved in such situations have been treated or handled so far does not seem to take into account the widely prevailing opinion in the world, nor does it conform to realities. As a matter of fact, the wishes of the people and the interests of the areas directly concerned and affected were not taken into consideration; what mattered was modern power politics.

145. My delegation feels strongly that the original sense of joint responsibility which was the very basis of this world body as a bulwark of peace has sometimes been lacking on the part of some countries, due to their post-war trend towards the building up of their spheres of interest. Unless the big Powers take the smaller countries of the world along with them in the solutions of the outstanding problems which continue to vex the world even today, mankind will not be safe from the scourge of war for the prevention of which the United Nations was brought into being.

146. Many trouble-spots in the world, such as Cyprus and Viet-Nam, are causing great concern to all of us. Although there has been relative quiet for the past few months in Cyprus, the basic situation there remains unchanged. As for the evolution of a commonly acceptable formula regarding the two Cypriot communities, no real progress has been achieved so far. The quiet atmosphere which now prevails in the Island is tenuous. Under difficult conditions, the manner in which the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, has been able to prevent an occasional recurrence of fighting is indeed very encouraging. I should like to reiterate here the firm view of His Majesty's Government of Nepal that the future of the Cypriot people must be settled by themselves in co-operation with the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations and without any outside interference.

147. When we think of the forcible division of nations, we are naturally reminded of the explosive problems of Berlin, Germany, the region of South-East Asia, and the Far East. Any one of them is likely, one day, to emit the sparks of conflagration and, indeed, of general war which may affect the destiny of all mankind. Problems resulting from the division of nations against the wishes of their people have been a source of permanent danger to the peace of the world. Consolidation of peace depends largely on the settlement of these problems, some of which are now causing graver and more wide-spread concern than ever before.

148. If, against this background, we look at the developments in Viet-Nam, we cannot but express our sorrow at the unhappy situations that are created by the clash of opposing forces in a cold-war atmosphere. The measures which are prescribed in the 1954 Geneva Agreements and which were designed to settle the crisis over Indo-China have not been fully implemented. For the same reason, it has become difficult for the International Commission for Supervision and Control to carry out its tasks.

149. In view of the seriousness of the situation, His Majesty's Government of Nepal considers it necessary that in the interest of South-East Asia in particular and of the world in general, all external provocations leading to the escalation of war in Viet-Nam should be brought to an end immediately. We are of the opinion that the most important task for us is to evolve a situation in which the United Nations could, in contrast to its present helplessness, effectively play the role of the principal agency for bringing about peace in Viet-Nam within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

150. This leads me to the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Nepal, from the very beginning, has been insistently advocating the replacement of Kuomintang China by the People's Republic of China. The continued absence of the Government of the People's Republic of China gives an air of unreality to all decisions and deliberations of the United Nations. We should like to repeat here that there is one China and that is the People's Republic of China; and a refusal of its rightful claim to be within the United Nations today

is completely contrary to the realities of the present-day world. Whether in the question of general and complete disarmament or in the political settlement of the South East Asia problem, the participation of the People's Republic of China is one of the prime necessities for attaining peace in the world.

151. As we all know, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly had to be adjourned without ever adopting an agenda, because of the wrangle over the peace-keeping costs of the United Nations. In fact, more than anything else in its history, it was the financial crisis which put the United Nations into difficulties. The conciliatory gesture shown by the Government of the United States of America by withdrawing its demand for the application of Article 19 of the Charter apparently removed the threat of the possible destruction of the United Nations. I should like to express our thanks to the Government of the United States of America for its wise and practical decision in this regard.

152. But this by itself is not the end of the problem. If we are keen to strengthen the Organization further, reconciliation must be effected between the powers of the Big Five and the voting rights of the smaller nations. Voluntary contributions to ease the financial difficulties of the Organization are but temporary palliatives. Mere numerical addition to the Security Council under the revised Charter will only expand the Council without achieving any clear objective. For the greater interest of peace and international co-operation, the concept of collective responsibility cannot and should not be ignored.

153. The consensus reached at the end of the nineteenth session could only solve the question of the finances of the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] and the operations in the Congo [ONUC], but the question of future peace-keeping operations is still in the dark. We are doubtful whether the twentieth session can successfully determine the modalities of future peace-keeping operations unless we are able to define correctly and with unanimity what shall constitute peace-keeping operations. Are we going to limit the concept of peace-keeping operations only to violations of peace by smaller countries, or are we going to evolve methods to control possible violations of the peace by big Powers as well? On this alone will depend the entire future peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations.

154. We believe that active invocation of Article 43 of the Charter is essential for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Nepal, on its part, is prepared to contribute its mite to strengthening the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations.

155. In focusing our attention on the peace-keeping role of the United Nations, we are naturally reminded of the burning problem of disarmament—the most urgent task for the safety and prosperity of mankind. The partial nuclear test-ban Treaty, the establishment of a "hot line" between Moscow and Washington,^{9/} and

^{9/} Memorandum of Understanding between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics regarding the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington signed in Geneva on 20 June 1963 (the link was established on 30 August 1963).

the agreement to refrain from placing in orbit objects of mass destruction or installing them in outer space [resolution 1884 (XVIII)] were important initial steps towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. But the world has not witnessed the real process of disarmament either in the nuclear or the conventional field. However, we can find encouragement in the fact that these initial steps have brought about more favourable conditions than before. These steps have certainly opened the door to further talks to explore areas of agreement on disarmament, even though the disarmament conference held under the aegis of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva has shown little progress.

156. The Disarmament Commission meeting this year took the correct decision of recommending to the twentieth session of the General Assembly the convening of a world disarmament conference.¹⁰ We genuinely feel that, without a real exhibition of earnestness and determination by all the five nuclear Powers at a world disarmament parley, the goal of general and complete disarmament would be impossible of universal achievement.

157. The People's Republic of China, which has recently entered the group of nuclear Powers, has so far not been invited to participate in any disarmament conferences. It is difficult to conceive of general and complete disarmament, or of any meaningful step towards it, without the participation of all nuclear Powers in the negotiations.

158. The delegation of Nepal strongly appeals to the General Assembly to adopt the recommendation of the Disarmament Commission and convene a world disarmament conference, possibly by the middle of 1966. Some hope was pinned on a positive outcome of the resumed meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. But, except for the reiteration of cold-war polemics in the deliberations, the outcome was of little significance. A number of delegations of smaller countries, concerned as they are with the frightening consequences of war, undoubtedly made important contributions in suggesting compromise solutions between the conflicting positions of the two big Powers.

159. The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee unfortunately could make little headway in negotiating the extension of the partial test-ban Treaty to cover underground tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. These two most urgent tasks assigned to the Committee would undoubtedly require a substantial period of time for negotiation because the contradictory stands on methods of detection of underground tests would need sound scientific proof for resolution. Equally, a non-proliferation agreement could be achieved if the nuclear Powers could give positive expression to their clear intention of not extending their nuclear capability and of limiting their nuclear stockpile.

160. I now come to another serious problem, which, in our opinion, is a potential threat to peace. I am referring to the continuous violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Government of the

Republic of South Africa through its exhibition of a supercilious sense of racial discrimination practised as State policy. This is nothing but a relic of primitive barbarism, which has reached fantastic heights in the policy of apartheid. This policy of discrimination between Whites and the non-Whites is in gross contradiction to the principle of equality of all peoples, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. I should therefore like to reaffirm here our earlier unconditional support to all freedom fighters of South Africa who are waging a relentless struggle against apartheid, and to appeal to all freedom-loving nations to give it a final blow, collectively and once and for all, in defence of elementary human rights.

161. The Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in which the representative of Nepal has been serving as Rapporteur, has adopted a special report [A/5957] with specific recommendations to the Security Council and to this General Assembly for putting an end to the present policies of the South African Government. Among other things, the report asks for the severance of diplomatic relations and for an economic boycott as basic measures which should immediately be applied in regard to the South African Government.

162. In this connexion, I wish to recall the appeal made by our representative in the Special Committee on Apartheid that the major trading partners of South Africa should cease to sacrifice human dignity and justice to the profit motive. It is our earnest desire that the specific recommendations of the Special Committee be carried out in good faith, in an effort to wipe out the tyrannical rule of the South African Government.

163. A similar type of case is posed by the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia. The insistence of the minority Government on ruling against the wishes of the majority is a return to an age which has gone for ever.

164. The happenings in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and South West Africa are equally depressing. Their African populations are subjected to humiliation and exploitation by hard measures of repression and by military operations of the Portuguese and South African Governments. The conditions obtaining in the Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are also far from satisfactory. Examining the situation in these Territories, the Committee of Twenty-Four,¹¹ after many meetings in different parts of Africa, has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of these Territories for independence and self-determination. The recommendations of this Committee [A/6000/Rev.1] should be carried out in order to safeguard the political rights of the African population still languishing under colonialism. As regards Muscat and Oman also, the legitimate aspirations of their people should be fully vindicated on the basis of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Oman.¹²

¹¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

¹² Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex 16, document A/5846.

¹⁰ See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

165. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has consistently advocated the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. We have full sympathy and support for the brave peoples of Angola, Mozambique and other colonial territories fighting resolutely against the last vestiges of colonialism. At this point, I cannot but recall the great contribution made by the United Nations in helping countries under colonial domination to attain their emancipation. Had it not been for the United Nations, the process of decolonization would not have been so fast as it has been in the last ten years or so. Many countries were able to throw off the yoke of foreign domination, and generally the moral pressure of the United Nations was felt in most cases. We are confident that continued efforts by the United Nations, coupled with a determined fight for freedom by the peoples under colonial domination, will before long bring the end of all forms of colonial rule and and thereby help the peoples of these colonies to attain their rightful aspiration for national independence and sovereignty.

166. The dawn of the sixties witnessed the launching of the United Nations Development Decade. High hopes were expressed for the attainment of the growth target set for the decade. But against these high expectations, the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries has, in the middle of the Development Decade, regrettably registered a deceleration in the rate of growth of the developing countries. Instead of attempting to help the developing countries to overcome their unfavourable terms of trade, unfortunate attempts are being made by the developed countries to undo the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This can lead only to greater economic tensions between the North-South group of countries potentially more dangerous than the political tensions between the East-West group of nations.

167. As a land-locked country, Nepal's prime concern in its attempt for diversifying its trade was to get certain norms of transit trade established by the international community. We are satisfied that the Secretary-General convened the Conference of Plenipotentiaries, as recommended by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to adopt a convention on transit trade of land-locked countries. Although the text adopted by the Conference of Plenipotentiaries^{13/} is not to the complete satisfaction of the land-locked countries, yet it has broken new grounds. We feel that it has removed any doubt, if such doubts ever existed, regarding the right of land-locked States to free and unrestricted transit to and from the sea. At the same time, by clearly establishing the principle of reciprocity between land-locked and coastal countries, it shows the willingness of land-locked countries—within their geographic possibilities—to act, themselves, as transit countries—that is, as bridges between their own neighbours. These, and some other principles laid down in the new Convention, should prove advantageous to all countries, whether land-locked or coastal.

168. It is perhaps not without significance also that the new Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked

States is one of the first and, perhaps, so far the most important, concrete results of the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development. There is general consensus that the Conference was a historic event. For, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations was able to create, for the first time, an institutional framework for international economic co-operation between the prosperous minority and the less prosperous majority of mankind, for generating a spirit of co-operation amongst them.

169. However fruitful and diversified the activities of the United Nations system have been, it lacked, until then, such institutional framework for world-wide planning and co-operation in the all-important and closely interdependent fields of trade and development. Hence, the significance of the creation of the Conference on Trade and Development has been unequivocally recognized the world over. The Conference has placed the truth before those who are ahead of us economically and technologically that world prosperity is indivisible, and that prosperity cannot be separated from peace.

170. Finally, in the twentieth anniversary year of the United Nations, which also happens to be the tenth anniversary year of Nepal's membership in it, I should like to reiterate Nepal's unswerving faith in the principles enshrined in the Charter and the lofty ideals of the United Nations. I should like to stress further that it is the only hope of mankind for averting nuclear holocaust and for preserving peace. The United Nations has already played great roles in the field of maintaining world peace; and if all of us combine our efforts and channel our resources for its financial stability, it is bound to play greater roles. Let us all renew our pledge at this twentieth anniversary of our Organization.

171. Nepal, for its part, has placed complete confidence in the United Nations, for it genuinely considers that the United Nations—and only the United Nations—can safeguard the interests of small as well as big nations, and thereby greatly contribute to world peace.

172. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Three delegations have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply. Before inviting them to the rostrum, I should like to read out a cable I have just received from His Holiness Pope Paul VI:

"To Your Excellency and to all the representatives and delegates of the United Nations We express Our profound gratitude for the warm welcome accorded Us and for the unique forum placed at Our disposal in the cause of world peace. We are particularly thankful to Your Excellency and the personnel of the United Nations who have so generously and unselfishly contributed to the success of Our mission and We gratefully invoke upon all richest heavenly rewarding graces."

173. I now call on the representative of India to exercise his right of reply.

174. Mr. QASIM (India): It is not my intention to take the time of the General Assembly over a discussion of the entire gamut of the conflict between

^{13/} See document TD/TRANSIT/9.

India and Pakistan. I have already indicated the main cause underlying this conflict in my reply of 29 September [1342nd meeting] to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. However, it is necessary to say a few words on some of the points raised subsequently by the representative of Pakistan.

175. First of all, he said that my memory was playing tricks with me and that it was the then ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, and not the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, who had decided, of their own free will, to join India. Let us see whose memory is at fault.

176. The representative of Pakistan should know that although the Instrument of Accession which was executed by the Maharaja was legal in every respect, as in the case of similar instruments relating to hundred of princely states in the sub-continent, when the Instrument was received in New Delhi, the Government of India accepted the offer of Accession not at the request of the Maharaja alone. They did so only after the representative of the National Conference—the political party enjoying the overwhelming support of the people of Jammu and Kashmir—had gone to New Delhi and convinced our national leaders that the Instrument signed by the Maharaja had the full backing and consent of the people. Here is what Sheikh Abdullah—whom Pakistani leaders then described as a "quisling" but for whom they now pour forth such false solicitude—said in his inaugural address to the State Constituent Assembly in 1951:

"When the raiders were fast approaching Srinagar we could think of only one way to save the State from total annihilation, by asking for help from a friendly neighbour. The representatives of the National Conference therefore flew to Delhi to seek help from Government of India. But the absence of any constitutional ties between our State and India made it impossible for her to render any effective assistance in meeting the aggressor... since the people's representatives themselves sought an alliance, the Government of India showed readiness to accept it. Legally, the Instrument of Accession had to be signed by the Ruler of the State. This the Maharaja did."^{14/}

177. Earlier, speaking at the 241st meeting of the Security Council, in 1948, Sheikh Abdullah said:

"Under those circumstances, both the Maharaja and the people of Kashmir requested the Government of India to accept our accession".^{15/}

In the same statement Sheikh Abdullah said:

"I was explaining how the dispute arose—how Pakistan wanted to force this position of slavery upon us. Pakistan had no interest in our liberation or it would not... have opposed our freedom movement. Pakistan would have supported us when thousands of my countrymen were behind bars and hundreds were shot to death. ...

"Then, suddenly, Pakistan comes before the bar of the world as the champion of the liberty of the people of Jammu and Kashmir".^{16/}

In the light of what I have quoted, it is clear that it is not my memory which is playing tricks with me.

178. Referring to India's charge that Pakistan had committed aggression against India not once but three times, the representative of Pakistan said the following in regard to the first aggression, in 1947-1948: "But at that time Kashmir was not a part of India" [1342nd meeting, para. 149].

179. The question is one of aggression, and the representative of Pakistan cannot evade that charge by saying that at that time Kashmir was not a part of India. I had myself made it clear in my statement of 29 September [1342nd meeting] that Pakistani invaders were resisted by the people of the State even before the State had acceded to India and even before the Indian troops had gone to their rescue. Thus here again what I said was in complete accord with the facts.

180. The representative of Pakistan boasted that although India had tried desperately hard it had never obtained any finding of aggression against Pakistan by the Security Council. That statement is more a commentary on the manner in which the Security Council functions than on the facts of the case. The facts were established by the Security Council's own agencies. In its report, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan observed:

"... the situation that confronted the Commission upon its arrival was different from that which had been envisaged by the Security Council during the deliberations which preceded the formulation of its resolutions, inasmuch as regular Pakistani troops were within the frontiers of the State of Jammu and Kashmir participating in the fighting".^{17/}

181. What was the difference in the situation? The difference was this. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, had earlier, on 15 January 1948, informed the Security Council that—and I quote from his letter of that date:

"... the Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two Dominions, the Pakistan Government have continued to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war".^{18/}

182. The United Nations Commission, reporting a few months later, observed:

"According to the Security Council's resolution of 17 January, the Government of Pakistan was requested to inform the Security Council immediately of any material change in the situation. In a letter addressed to the Security Council, the Pakistan

^{14/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Twelfth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1957, document S/PV.762/Add.1, annex VI.

^{15/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Nos. 16-35, 241st meeting, p. 22.

^{16/} Ibid., p. 21.

^{17/} Ibid., Supplement for November 1948, document S/1100, para. 2.

^{18/} Ibid., annex 6, document I, para. 3.

Government agreed to comply with this request. The Government of Pakistan had, however, not informed the Security Council about the presence of Pakistani troops in the State of Jammu and Kashmir".^{19/}

It is India's complaint that this fact of vital importance was ignored by the Security Council. I leave it to representatives here to draw their own conclusions.

183. But let us go a little further. The representative of Pakistan has described Sir Owen Dixon, the then United Nations representative, as one of the distinguished jurists of our time, who was the Chief Justice of Australia and not "a Pakistani prejudiced against India" [1342nd meeting, para. 155]. Well, then, the verdict of such a distinguished jurist should be acceptable to Pakistan. I would therefore quote Sir Owen Dixon. He stated:

"Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on 1 January 1948 of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India had advanced not only the contention to which I have already referred that Pakistan was an aggressor, but the further contention that this should be declared. The Prime Minister of India, at an early stage of the meeting, made the same contention and he referred to it repeatedly during the conference. I took up the positions, first that the Security Council had not made such a declaration; secondly that I have neither been commissioned to make nor had I made any judicial investigation of the issue; but thirdly that, without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the sub-continent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed, on I believe 20 October 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."^{20/}

The facts of aggression were so clear that that jurist had no hesitation in pronouncing his view that Pakistan had committed aggression.

184. The representative of Pakistan bravely attempted to belittle the importance of the crucial date, 5 August 1965; that is, the day on which the massive assault on the cease-fire line by Pakistani troops in civilian disguise began. He said:

"It all depends on what you take as the starting-point, on which date you regard as useful for the case you wish to argue either before the Security Council or before the General Assembly". [1342nd meeting, para. 164.]

But I was not arguing; I was stating a fact recognized by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

185. The representative of Pakistan went on to say:

"The first date that struck us was 15 May 1965, several months before the alleged infiltrations into

Kashmir by armed and unarmed Pakistani personnel. And what was that? It was Indian occupation of three Pakistani posts in the Kargil area, clearly on our side of the cease-fire line, from which they were compelled to withdraw on the personal intervention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations". [Ibid.]

186. I am glad that the representative of Pakistan mentioned that incident. It gives me an opportunity to quote again from the first report of the Secretary-General on the current conflict:

"In the interest of preserving the CFL"—that is, the cease-fire line—"... I appealed to the Government of India to withdraw its troops from the Pakistan side of the line. On assurance from me that United Nations observers would henceforth be stationed on both sides of the Line in that area, which India considered strategically vital to the security of the Srinagar-Leh Road, the Government of India agreed to do so and in due course the Indian troops were withdrawn, thus closing the matter and making unnecessary any further consideration of a report on it to the Security Council. Subsequently, there were some military attacks on the road by armed elements from the Pakistan side".^{21/}

187. The Government of India showed respect for the cease-fire line and agreed with the Secretary-General that their troops should withdraw from the three posts on the condition that United Nations observers would be stationed in the area. However, what was the attitude of the Government of Pakistan? As the Secretary-General himself says, subsequently there were military attacks on the road by armed elements from Pakistan. But what is more, when the massive assault on the cease-fire line by Pakistan armed troops in civilian disguise commenced on 5 August 1965, the Secretary-General repeatedly asked the Government of Pakistan to respect the cease-fire line. What was Pakistan's response? I will again quote from the Secretary-General's report:

"I have not obtained from the Government of Pakistan any assurance that the cease-fire and the CFL will be respected henceforth or that efforts will be exerted to restore conditions to normal along that Line. I did receive assurance from the Government of India,"—mark these words, "I did receive assurance from the Government of India,"—"... that India would act with restraint with regard to any retaliatory acts and will respect the Cease-Fire Agreement and the CFL if Pakistan does likewise."^{22/}

188. Referring to my statement that there was no binding commitment on the part of India to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir, the representative of Pakistan said: "What an extraordinary statement to come and make to this Assembly". Was this really an extraordinary statement? Let us examine the facts. I can do no better than to quote our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, whom the representative

^{19/} Ibid., document S/1100, para. 128.

^{20/} Ibid., Fifth Year, Supplement for September through December 1950, document S/1791, para. 21.

^{21/} Ibid., Twentieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1965, document S/6651, part I, para. 4.

^{22/} Ibid., para. 9.

of Pakistan does not wish to forget. When proposals for a plebiscite were submitted to the Government of India by the United Nations Commission, the late Prime Minister made it perfectly clear that he was accepting the proposal only on certain conditions. This is how the matter was recorded in the United Nations Commission's Report:

"The Prime Minister emphasized firstly that, if the Government of India were to accept the Commission's plebiscite proposals, no action could be taken in regard to them until parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August had been fully implemented; secondly that, in the event of Pakistan not accepting these proposals or, having accepted them, of not implementing parts I and II of the resolution of 13 August, the Indian Government's acceptance of them should not be regarded as in any way binding upon them."^{23/}

189. I have no desire to go into further details, but representatives who may be interested in the matter will find a mass of material in the records of the Security Council and in the reports submitted by United Nations representatives clearly establishing the fact that Pakistan carried out neither part I nor part II of the resolution referred to by the late Prime Minister in the statement I have just quoted.

190. Now we come to the assertion by the representative of Pakistan that his country was prepared to refer the matter of non-implementation of the first two parts of the resolution of 13 August 1948 to arbitration, but that India was not. India is a signatory to the Charter and has accepted arbitration as one of the peaceful methods for settling international differences. What is more, India has applied this principle in practice wherever its application was appropriate. The Bagge Award in respect to a boundary dispute with East Pakistan is an illustration. India has also accepted the principle in the case of the Sind-Kutch boundary question. In fact, India has always been willing to refer boundary disputes to arbitration since boundary disputes involve demarcation, which is a technical problem, and can be resolved by an arbitrator assisted by technical experts.

191. Problems which involve a country's political ideology, and, in fact, its very existence as a State, cannot be left to the decision of an arbitrator. Who is to decide whether the claims of secular democracy in India or of theocracy in Pakistan are more important? How can we commit the destiny of a people to the hands of an arbitrator?

192. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan raised the question of a plebiscite. I thought that I had made clear India's position in this matter. But as the representative of Pakistan has raised the question again, permit me to say a few words on it. It was not the people of Kashmir who asked for a plebiscite at the time of acceding to the Indian Union. It was India which made the offer to the people of Kashmir. And would it have made such an offer even at that time when the Indian forces were fast pushing out the Pakistani aggressor from the remaining territory of

Jammu and Kashmir? Would it have made such an offer if it entertained any doubts about the outcome? If Pakistan had the slightest hope of a plebiscite going in its favour, would it have obstructed the implementation of the resolutions the way it did?

193. For some four years India, as well as the people of Kashmir, waited patiently for the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council which was frustrated by Pakistan's intransigence. They waited in the hope that, in the process of ascertaining the wishes of the people, it would be possible to associate our brethren living in that part of the State which lies to this date under Pakistan's illegal occupation. After a long wait, the people of the rest of the State went ahead. Their wishes were ascertained fully both during the elections for the Constituent Assembly and when the Constitution was formulated and adopted by the Assembly. In the elections, the issue of accession to India was squarely placed before the people, and the electorate signified its hearty support of the ratification of accession by electing us of the National Conference to the Constituent Assembly with overwhelming support. Subsequently, the Constituent Assembly set the seal on this process. The wishes of the people were thus ascertained. Thereafter, two general elections have been held in the State. In all the three elections, held on the basis of universal adult franchise, that party has been returned to power which formally and emphatically supported the irrevocable association and complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India.

194. Need I remind representatives that apart from ratifying the accession to India, apart from supporting the political party which stands for irrevocable association and complete integration with India, apart from reaffirming their wishes at periodic elections, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have twice within eighteen years given their answer in blood to Pakistan. Thus there is no justification for any further ascertainment of the wishes of the people. The Government of India has made its position clear on this point and I hereby reiterate it. There will be no plebiscite.

195. The representative of Pakistan, speaking about the Muslims of India, said:

"Finally, the representative of India—and I find this a peculiar weakness in Muslims who come to represent or plead India's case at the bar of international opinion—finds himself, and I sympathize with him, in the position of having to be more Catholic than the Pope." [1342nd meeting, para. 173.]

We Muslims of India are quite used to these cheap jibes. We understand the reason or rather the frustration behind such insulting remarks not only from the representatives of Pakistan who speak at the United Nations, but also, more so, from the founders and leaders of Pakistan.

196. The frustrations are there because the founders and leaders of Pakistan failed in their efforts to persuade the great nationalist Muslim leaders of India to accept their favourite theory that religion determines nationality. It was those frustrations which led them to call one of the greatest of our leaders, Imam-ul-Hind, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—who was the President of the Indian National Congress at the time

^{23/} Ibid., Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196, annex 4, aide-mémoire 1, para. 2.

of its greatest achievement, that is, the independence of India—a "show-boy". It was those frustrations of the founders and leaders of Pakistan which led them to question the patriotism and the greatness of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani. Once again, it was those frustrations which led them to call Sheikh Abdullah a "quisling". Those cheap jibes and insults do not call for any comments. India is proud of having the third largest Muslim population in the world, with nearly 60 million Muslim citizens sharing with their fellow citizens not only the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution but also a common heritage, a common history and a common struggle in the cause of freedom. Now the Muslims of India, along with Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists and Zoroastrians and others, are united in fighting the third Pakistani aggression against our country.

197. In the armed conflict with Pakistan, among the very first to shed blood in the defence of our country were the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. The highest decoration for valour on the battlefield, Param Vir Chakra, was awarded to a Muslim: a Muslim by the name of Havildar Abdul Hamid, who knocked out three tanks of the Pakistani Army. Was he a mere show-boy? Perhaps Pakistan labels heroes in that fashion. We honour them.

198. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The representative of Cambodia has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply; I invite him to the rostrum.

199. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): Immediately after my statement last week [1345th meeting], the representative of Thailand saw fit to speak in order to justify once again his Government's policy towards Cambodia.

200. At the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, I had occasion to describe at length from this rostrum [1299th meeting], with supporting evidence, the dishonesty of the Thai Government and its malevolent policy towards my country. I shall therefore not repeat myself, in order not to abuse the kind attention of the Assembly.

201. All those who have followed the position and political life of non-aligned Cambodia, surrounded by powerful neighbours who are accomplices of the United States, know that these neighbours and their powerful protector are engaging almost daily in acts of aggression and provocation against Cambodia. In this connexion, I should like to quote the words spoken here by a leading figure about the policy of my country—words which touched my delegation deeply and for which I wish to express my sincere thanks. These words are the following: "... Cambodia, whose wise policy of neutrality is constantly being put to the test".

202. The representative of Thailand claims that Cambodian men, aircraft and vessels are deliberately violating Thai territory. I categorically deny these completely unfounded accusations, invented for the occasion. No men, no aircraft and no vessels from Cambodia have ever penetrated into Thailand to engage in acts of espionage, provocation or terror, as the representative of Thailand claims.

203. On the other hand, the Thai aggressions against Cambodia are quite real and are not a figment of the Khmer leaders' imagination. The Thais, who still nurture their expansionist designs upon Cambodia, have continually engaged in numerous acts of subversion and armed incursions, either directly or using Cambodian ex-convicts—traitors to the Khmer nation who are armed and supported by the United States, Thailand and the Saigon régime.

204. As I said before, I do not wish to dwell in detail on the continued violations of our frontiers, the repeated acts of subversion, provocation, aggression and banditry or on the campaign of systematic slander waged by Thailand against Cambodia. The list of these acts is too long for me to be able to enumerate them all.

205. I shall mention only the recent example of a fresh violation of our frontiers committed on 11 September 1965, during which armed Thais attacked the inhabitants of the village of Kanteap in cold blood, killing a man and a little girl and seriously wounding two women and one boy. When they withdrew to Thailand, they took two Cambodian families as hostages. The Royal Government of Cambodia has consequently requested the good offices of the Secretary-General to secure the release of these families and the punishment of those responsible.

206. The representative of Thailand speaks of collusion by Cambodia with the aggressive forces. Here again he is reversing the roles, for everyone knows that it is Thailand which is subserviently serving the United States in its aggression against the peoples of South-East Asia with a view to subjugating them. Did not the United States Press, a month ago, reproduce an account given by two United States pilots, Captain Daugherty and Captain Keirn, who said that they had taken off from the Thai air bases of Ubon and Korat to bomb the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

207. Non-aligned Cambodia, for its part, lends itself to no collusion either against Thailand or against any other country. Anyone who tries to imply that Cambodia could play such a role for the benefit of any Power, however, strong, does not know Cambodia very well.

208. As regards the alleged presence of a North Viet-Nameese division in Cambodia—the subject of a libellous campaign in the Press of Thailand, Saigon and the United States—I should like to inform the Assembly that the international observers have already disposed of this libel and that, on the instructions of my Government, I have myself invited the well-known correspondent of The New York Times, Mr. Seymour Topping, to come at once in order to check this allegation on the spot.

209. Nothing, however, is too improbable for the representative of Thailand, who is trying to deceive international opinion in order to justify in advance a large-scale action against Cambodia. It is because we wish to thwart this action here and now that we are obliged to denounce the criminal manoeuvres of our neighbours, supported by the United States, against our policy of neutrality and our territorial integrity.

210. I should now like to reply to the United States representative who, to justify the aggression by his country against the Viet-Nameese people, said:

"... we will continue to respond to the requests of the Republic of Viet-Nam in whatever measure and so long as may be necessary to fulfil our commitment to the people of South Viet-Nam..." [1346th meeting, para. 160].

What is this commitment? A commitment which the United States first contracted towards Diem, that tyrant whose régime is spurned by all the Viet-Nameese people and condemned by all international opinion, including the opinion of the people of the United States?

211. I note, in addition, that in his last statement Mr. Goldberg endorsed the policy of forced assimilation and genocide pursued by the Diem régime and continued by the puppets of Saigon towards the ethnic minorities living in South Viet-Nam, in particular the community of about one million Cambodians.

212. The key to the Viet-Nameese problem is not to be found at Hanoi or at Saigon or at Peking. It is at Washington. For peace to be restored, it would be sufficient for the United States to put an end to its aggression against the Viet-Nameese people and withdraw its invasion forces and those of its allies from South Viet-Nameese territory.

213. In this connexion, I should like to point out to the Assembly and remind the United States representative that none of the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements—Agreements which, moreover, the United States refused to sign—provided for United States troops coming to relieve the French troops in South Viet-Nam. The very presence of United States soldiers on South Viet-Nameese territory already constitutes a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements.

214. Whatever propaganda is put out by the United States, there can be no doubt that there really and truly is United States aggression against the Viet-Nameese people. Those who follow the events in South Viet-Nam closely and impartially know the circumstances of the creation of the National Liberation Front, which encompasses all political and religious tendencies, from the Catholics to the Buddhists, from the intellectuals to the simple peasants—in short, all the Viet-Nameese people who are rising up against the tyrannical régime of Saigon and opposing United States imperialism.

215. Despite the United States military strength deployed in Viet-Nam, if the National Liberation Front, which at present controls three quarters of the South Viet-Nameese territory, did not represent the aspirations of the people, the war in South Viet-Nam would have ended long ago. The people of South Viet-Nam should be able to choose their own status and their own institutions without foreign interference.

216. Lastly, my delegation considers that the reunification of Viet-Nam is the business of the Viet-

Nameese people alone and that it can result only from an agreement between the National Liberation Front and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, without the intervention of any Power or international body.

217. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Japan, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

218. Mr. MATSUI (Japan): I should like to speak briefly in answer to the statement made this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia.

219. If I understood him correctly—and I stand ready to be corrected—he was referring to the Treaty on basic relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea as if this Treaty was designed in the interests of the Japanese monopolies, and was preventing the reunification of Korea and trying to create a new aggressive block in Asia. Nothing is further from the truth. When, throughout the world, there are so many sources of conflict, is it not only natural that we should seek to normalize the relations between the Republic of Korea and Japan and that we should endeavour to establish peace in this part of the world?

220. During the fourteen years since Japan concluded a Peace Treaty in San Francisco, one of the most important diplomatic issues with which we were faced was the normalization of relations between the two countries. It is a culmination of this effort that brought us to the signing of this Treaty.

221. May I at this stage remind the representatives to the General Assembly that the Government of the Republic of Korea is the only lawful Government in Korea, as specified by resolution 195 (III) of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Speaking about the reunification of Korea, it is also the desire of the Japanese Government to see the country reunited. The Treaty signed in June contains no provisions contrary to this aim.

222. The Foreign Minister of Mongolia seems also to have cast doubt on the legality of the United Nations forces in Korea. We maintain the view that these forces were sent by resolutions adopted by competent organs of the United Nations. What we seek is to establish and develop friendly relations between the Republic of Korea and Japan on a basis of justice, equality and reciprocal respect. This, we are convinced, will help us to bring about peace and security in East Asia, and thus contribute to the establishment of peace throughout the world.

223. May I, in terminating this brief statement, reserve my right to answer in some more detail after reading carefully the text of the statement of the Foreign Minister of Mongolia.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.