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*President:* Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PETER (Hungary): At this session of the General Assembly many good indications can be seen on the surface. In spite of this, deep below the surface, the crisis of this Organization continues.
2. Compared with the previous session, the twentieth session of the General Assembly shows certain signs of improvement. It seems to be able to get down to normal activities, and this is a great achievement in itself. The Security Council has proved its effectiveness, at least to a certain extent, by its intercession with the Governments of India and Pakistan, and a new approach may open to the question of Kashmir. The friends of India and Pakistan are freed from their anxieties. One could even say that the atmosphere of the general debate reflects an attitude of good-will on the part of the delegations, tending to remove the differences and to explain the causes of insoluble contradictions.
3. In spite of the good results and in spite of the careful and cautious handling of burning questions, a deep-rooted crisis is lurking below the surface of normal activities, the crisis that prompted the frustration of the previous session. When we examine the present activities of the United Nations in order to get a realistic picture of them, we would do well to compare them with the expectations Member States have cherished during the past few years regarding the twentieth jubilee session of the General Assembly. Since 1960, when the Declaration on the liquidation of the colonial system <sup>1/</sup> was adopted, it has been stated in this hall again and again that by the time of the twentieth session all the colonial territories should have regained their independence and sovereignty. And what is the situation now? Not only have all the left-overs of the colonial era not been liquidated, but a colonial war par excellence has been brought to the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

4. Five years ago, when many Heads of State and Government took part in the deliberations of the General Assembly, availing themselves of the opportunity to establish personal contacts for the benefit of international co-operation, it was expected that the jubilee session would be an even more notable gathering of responsible leaders of nations, making a great step forward to implement the provisions of the Charter conceived twenty years ago with a view to delivering the world of free and independent nations from the scourge of war.

5. It is obvious that this Organization at present is far from being able to make possible such far-reaching meetings; it must be satisfied with much more modest perspectives. And, confronted with the dangers of the present world situation, we have even to be thankful if these perspectives should turn, at least partially, into reality. Two years ago, at the time of the Moscow partial test-ban Treaty, <sup>2/</sup> it did not seem unreasonable to suppose that a new door had opened and that, through a new approach, the dangers of a thermo-nuclear war might gradually be eliminated for ever. Since that time, however, there has been no appreciable progress—even the number of nuclear Powers has increased, and it is easy to enumerate at least ten more States which are preparing, overtly or covertly, their own atomic forces.

6. It was expected that, as a result of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development a new sort of economic co-operation might be realized between developing and developed nations for the benefit of the needy. Although not much time has elapsed since the Conference held its first session in Geneva, still it is obvious that not only has no improvement come about, but the situation has even deteriorated. What the developing nations can offer for sale has lost in world market value, and at the same time the prices of goods they have to import have gone up.

7. It may be helpful to look behind the scenes and to search for answers to the questions: What are the real causes of superficial improvements, and, on the other hand, what are the causes of the deep-rooted crisis of this Organization, or, rather, of the present world situation as reflected in the fundamental difficulties of the United Nations? For the answers to these questions may point out more clearly what kind of obstacles are barring the way to real and essential improvement in the field of international co-operation.

8. This twentieth session of the General Assembly can get down to its normal work because, during the

<sup>1/</sup> Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>2/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (Moscow, 5 August 1963).

year of stalemate, it has once again become obvious that this Organization is an inevitable historical necessity in the present state of power relations. By the decisively firm and persistent attitude of the Soviet Union, France and a good number of other States, all attempts to divert the United Nations from its Charter have been wrecked. The demands of the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have given the United States to understand that it has no perspective in paralysing further the normal activities of this Organization. Consequently, these Member States, which have once again rescued the United Nations from being destroyed, have a special right to say what they expect from this Organization. For the sake of a real and essential improvement in this Organization and in the world at large we must give special heed to what they have to say.

9. As to the capability of the Security Council for taking action, and as to the at least partial effectiveness of its action in the India-Pakistan case, it is due to the co-operation of all Member States, especially to the mutual understanding of the Soviet Union and the United States, that a common and effective action has become possible. Only by strengthening the spirit of co-operation in accordance with the provisions of the Charter is it possible to work out a real and essential improvement in this Organization and in the world as a whole.

10. While on this subject, I feel it most appropriate to say a few very warm words in acknowledgement of the good services rendered by the distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, and the President of the nineteenth session, Mr. Quaison-Sackey. My delegation wishes to thank Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the Foreign Minister of Ghana, for his untiring efforts in dealing with the affairs of the General Assembly during the time of most peculiar difficulties and for his ceaseless endeavours to ensure the normal activities of this session. My delegation highly appreciates our Secretary-General's devotion to the principles of the Charter. I extend to him my delegation's gratitude for his efficiency in working out a better understanding of controversial matters aggravated by tremendous tensions and dangers.

11. In the same way as slight superficial improvements are prompted by heeding the developing nations and by a slight degree of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States, it is precisely owing to the lack of necessary consideration for the needs of the developing nations and to the very limited co-operation of the great Powers that the fundamental crisis of this Organization and the dangerous controversies of the present world situation so stubbornly persist.

12. It was indeed in the interest of international peace and security or, more precisely, for the sake of the small nations that twenty years ago the five great Powers, by drafting the Charter, assumed the greatest responsibility for the functioning of this Organization. The five great Powers are, so to say, bound together by their permanent membership in the Security Council and by their special rights in passing valid resolutions regarding vital matters of international peace and security. In this respect, the provisions of the Charter were based upon the experiences of the Second World

War. In the anti-fascist coalition, the Soviet Union and the United States, together with their allies, in spite of their differing social systems, devoted themselves to a common cause, and that was beneficial to the whole future of the entire human race. The same alliance was to be maintained to create a new universal order, and the Charter provides for such an alliance of the great Powers, in their own interest and, at the same time, for the sake of all smaller nations of the world. It is in the interest of the whole world, that is to say, in the interest of all smaller nations as well, that we should keep vigilant in the United Nations and be careful not to permit a loosening of the obligations and rights of the great Powers in the Security Council. If the obligations and rights of the great Powers in the Security Council were loosened, a situation would arise in which one or another of the great Powers could use this Organization against the others. Consequently this would mean the final collapse of all hopes in connexion with this Organization for constructive international co-operation in an orderly world.

13. What are the possibilities, ways and means by which the five great Powers can get together with a certain measure of responsibility for the universal order?

14. It is self-evident that as long as the representation of the People's Republic of China in this Organization remains unsolved, there is no possibility of real co-operation among the five great Powers either inside or outside the United Nations. It is necessary to point to the impossibility of any such co-operation both inside and outside this Organization; in other words, all negotiations regarding disarmament questions remain futile, here or elsewhere, as long as the representation of China proper in the United Nations remains an open question. The United States makes no secret of the fact that the main responsibility for preventing this fundamental issue of the United Nations from being solved rests upon the United States. This session of the General Assembly has already heard something or other to the effect that the United States has made a pretext for opposing the solution of this question, which is much more a problem of this Organization and of the favourable development of international life than a problem of the People's Republic of China. China can manage — as is proved — without this Organization. This Organization, however, is unable to get along and to continue working efficiently without the presence of the People's Republic of China. The continuation of the present absurd state of affairs may lead even to the dissolution of this Organization.

15. The decision of Indonesia to leave the United Nations because of the intrigues of colonial Powers is a warning to all to reconsider certain aspects of the activities of colonial Powers in this Organization. In a statement by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan during a Security Council debate, we have already had the opportunity to hear that Pakistan might be compelled to leave the United Nations if certain States continue to use this Organization against the real interests of nations. The representative of Cambodia raised the question in a similar vein.

16. The United States may have the right to maintain certain reservations against the attitude of the

People's Republic of China on some or many international issues; however, it has no political or moral reason to voice criticism in this Organization with a view to shutting the door on the People's Republic of China. It is the United States that is trying to keep the People's Republic of China under military threat from the Pacific Islands, from Taiwan, from South Korea, from Indo-China, by aggressive military organizations and alliances established in several parts of Asia. The United States has lost every right, if it ever had any, to hurl criticism at the People's Republic of China. At this twentieth session of the General Assembly, Member States will render the best service to this Organization if they raise their voice for the only realistic solution of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

17. Although France is present in the United Nations, its absence from the disarmament negotiations paralyzes any talk on disarmament issues. Thus, only incomplete agreements can be reached either in or outside this Organization. Therefore, careful consideration should be given to the arguments of France in support of its reluctance to participate in the disarmament negotiations. A meeting of the five major Powers, as proposed by France, certainly could improve prospects both for the United Nations and for general world issues, including disarmament matters. It could open the way for the permanent members of the Security Council at least to exchange views on real issues of common interest and could create the preconditions for some degree of co-operation.

18. A new Geneva conference on South-East Asia could be the next opportunity for such a coming together of representatives of the major Powers. Only efforts to eliminate the most crucial issue of the present deterioration of the world situation can create the preconditions for a really new start in improving international co-operation. In other words, as long as the United States' aggression in Viet-Nam continues, there is no possibility of a really favourable development in international affairs; and, in the same way, the further the escalation of the war goes on, the worse the situation will become. The dangers resulting from the ever-intensifying warfare in Viet-Nam overshadow all aspects of international life and almost all the agenda items of this General Assembly. A steady deterioration is going on. The aggression in Viet-Nam poisons the relations between East and West. It complicates even the mutual relations of the Western allies. It prevents the international organizations from paying sufficient attention to the needs of developing nations. It has only one beneficial effect: it helps both the socialist States and the developing nations to overcome their respective differences in the interest of strengthening the anti-imperialist front against the aggressor.

19. In order better to understand the United States attitude in this military and political adventure in the Indo-China area, it is helpful to recall some facts of recent history. In these days, both of the opposing parties refer time and again to the 1954

Geneva Agreements<sup>3/</sup> as a model for the settling of pending issues. United States representatives in this controversy seem to forget that their predecessors at the time of the 1954 Geneva negotiations were against the peaceful settlement of the Indo-China issue. At that time—and this is on the record of history—the United States went out of its way to persuade the French not to enter into any ceasefire agreement and any peaceful arrangements for the future. Yes, it went out of its way to persuade the French to continue their war in Indo-China. At that time France was offered all sorts of military aid by the United States. But the more realistic attitude of the Governments of France and Great Britain wrecked all these manoeuvres. At about the same time that the Geneva agreements were signed, the representatives of South Viet-Nam accused the French of having accepted arrangements for the future peaceful settlement of the affairs of Viet-Nam. The statement of the United States representative of that time was practically along the same lines.

20. Then came the United States adventure with Laos, with Cambodia. All was wrecked again on the stubborn resistance of those nations. Then came the second Geneva Conference, in 1962.<sup>4/</sup> After all these failures and losses of prestige, the United States started a new adventure, this time directly in Viet-Nam, in the beginning through South Viet-Namese puppets, but, in the process of escalation of the military operations, it has become more and more evident that this is a war of the United States itself, in which the United States is directly engaged. Until recently we heard about the necessity of the presence of 200,000 United States troops in Viet-Nam. A few days ago, a new figure came up, to show the gloomy outlook of the United States. It was said that for the occupation of South Viet-Nam the United States would need to ship one million troops to Viet-Nam. It is most probable that this escalation of the war by the United States will go on until the United States war casualties reach at least the level of their losses in the Korean war. If arguments in words cannot convince the United States administration of the necessity of a peaceful settlement, the arguments of war will be convincing enough.

21. We have been told here in this debate and elsewhere in various terms that the United States wishes for a negotiated settlement and that it has made proposals for negotiations. It has even been said that the United States has asked its allies, some of the non-aligned nations and the Secretary-General, personally, to use their good services with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam with a view to initiating talks on Viet-Nam. And it has been said also that all peace offers have been refused. The real picture is entirely different. With full knowledge of the opinion of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and that of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam regarding the war issues, I have to state that no real peace offer has been made so far on the part of the United States,

<sup>3/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China (Geneva, 20 July 1954).

<sup>4/</sup> Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question (Geneva, 16 May 1961-23 July 1962).

either directly or through intermediaries. Until the aggression, the bombing raids and the threats of bombing are stopped, no proposal for talks has any value at all. If the United States wishes to be taken seriously with regard to any peaceful settlement, it must bring to an end any sort of aggression against Viet-Nam.

22. The Viet-Nameese people are not alone. They have supporters powerful enough to help them defend themselves against any escalation of the war. Within the limits of its modest capabilities Hungary stands with those socialist and non-aligned nations that give evidence of their full solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people suffering from a mad and senseless war. We support in every possible way the demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam. Only recently an official representation of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam was set up in Budapest. The question of Viet-Nam does not fall within the competence of the United Nations. None the less, States Members of the United Nations can exercise beneficial effects upon international events in order to create the necessary preconditions for bringing about a new Geneva conference for the sake of safeguarding peace and security in South-East Asia. Such a common action on the part of Member States would be most beneficial to this Organization and to the world situation in general.

23. We have to keep in mind the existence in the Far East of a most peculiar danger point where a fire can break out at any time, namely, South Korea. A few weeks ago I made a short visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and I happened also to visit Panmunjon. More than twelve years have elapsed since the cease-fire agreement was signed. In spite of this, even today foreign troops are stationed in South Korea. Even today it is under the flag of the United Nations that United States army commanders discuss frontier incidents with representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. After twelve years of "cold war" confrontations and provocations, it is high time to remove the flag of the United Nations which is used there in contradiction of the provisions of the Charter. It is high time to withdraw all foreign troops from South Korea. It is high time to give the Korean people full scope to handle their own affairs without any foreign interference. All legal or illegal efforts made there in the name of the United Nations should be abandoned as useless. An entirely new start should be prepared in the light of the historical realities of Korea.

24. In either the worsening or the improving of the world situation as a whole, in the allaying of enmities inside and outside this Organization, the state of the controversial issues in Europe plays a considerable role. Today, just as in the past, conditions in Europe can have beneficent or harmful effects as well upon the rest of the world. To solve the pending European questions is in the interest of all the nations of the world.

25. Recently, slight changes have taken place for the improvement of interstate relations in Europe. States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have

widened their contacts with most of the European NATO States. Relations are developing between States of different geographical regions of Europe. Negotiations regarding co-operation between States on a regional basis—for instance Central European and all-European—have now received a new impetus.

26. The Hungarian People's Republic pays due attention to these trends and, according to its capabilities, plays its part in promoting them. Being situated in Central Europe, in the Danube Valley, which through long centuries was one of the main hotbeds of international hostilities, Hungary is especially interested in negotiated solutions of international disputes and in a consistent application of the principles of peaceful co-existence. Were it not for the escalation of war in Viet-Nam, which overshadows international relations in Europe in the same way as, or even to a greater extent than, in the rest of the world, we in Europe could have made still greater progress in strengthening international co-operation and security on a regional and all-European basis.

27. The main sources of European anxieties are related to the German question. The crux of the matter is not the division of Germany. For the time being this is a social and historical necessity. On the basis of the existence of two German States, the German people could find the ways and means to restore unity. The dangers inherent in the German problem, which threatens all Europe and the world at large with a series of new conflicts, emanate from the political and military aspirations of some ruling circles in West Germany which strive to re-establish the old frontiers of Germany as they were at the time of the Hitler régime. German expansionism is a threat to East and West alike. In the face of such dangers, the very fact of the existence and development of the German Democratic Republic is a most beneficial factor for ensuring European peace for the sake of both West and East.

28. Any political or military support which the Western Powers, in the framework of NATO or outside it, give to the German expansionary goals increases the dangers inherent in the European situation. On the other hand, any support which Western Powers and States of Asia, Africa and Latin America give to the German Democratic Republic by widening their economic, cultural and diplomatic contacts with it, contributes to facilitating the peaceful solution of the German question and consequently to delivering the world from a menace deriving from outstanding European questions. This is so because in this manner conditions could evolve under which representatives of the two German States could begin to settle between themselves, in a peaceful way, the real questions of the German people.

29. In dealing with the problems of European co-operation on a regional and all-European basis, I think it is most appropriate in this context to extend to you, Mr. President, as representative of a great European nation, the sincerest congratulations and good wishes of my delegation. On the very day when you were elected President of this jubilee session of the General Assembly, your deputy was our guest in Budapest, where he came in order to sign a new cultural agreement between Hungary and Italy, which

are bound together by traditional economic, cultural and political ties of long standing. In times past, the territory of today's Hungary was the eastern front-gate of the Roman Empire; and later, in a capricious turn of history, some parts of Italy were under Hungarian rule. In present-day Europe, your great country, Mr. President, has good possibilities for contributing to the creation of the necessary conditions for more extensive international contacts in the interest of European security. I wish this General Assembly, under your guidance, success in improving the international atmosphere to such an extent that it might also exert beneficial effects upon the state of affairs in Europe.

30. There are a number of very important items on the agenda that may give opportunity to Member States to come closer together in order to create the pre-conditions for further improvement in international life. The agenda items proposed by the Soviet Union regarding a declaration on the principles of non-interference and regarding an agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear armaments touch upon vital issues of constructive interstate relations and the disarmament negotiations. The proposal for a world conference on disarmament may open the way to a new start in bringing together the five major Powers. The reports on colonial and apartheid issues will certainly promote the liquidation of the colonial system. As a result of a careful consideration of these issues, this Organization may receive a new impetus towards paying more concentrated attention to the needs of the developing nations.

31. The resoluteness and efficiency of the delegations in their efforts to take steps to enhance international co-operation and lessen the dangers of war can be strengthened if it is kept in mind, during the debates on all important matters, that the war in Viet-Nam and its escalation constitute the main obstacle to a more favourable development and that the continuation of the escalation of the war can lead to incalculable consequences. Therefore, to stop the aggression in Viet-Nam is the most urgent task of all forces of goodwill in all parts of the world. To stop the aggression in Viet-Nam is the most urgent task of all of us.

32. Mr. IRABARREN BORGES (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, your election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly deprived us of the pleasure of receiving you in Venezuela during the visit of His Excellency Giuseppe Saragat, President of the Italian Republic, who received a very warm welcome from our people and from the large and esteemed Italian colony living and working among us. Nevertheless, the Government and people of Venezuela are delighted that you have been entrusted with the Presidency of the Assembly since, thanks to your experience as a statesman and to your well-known personal gifts, we have every reason to look forward to fruitful results. We wish also to pay a tribute through you to Italy, symbol of Latinity, whose culture is thus inseparably linked with our own.

33. We should like to congratulate the former President of the General Assembly, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana, a country with which, as with other nations of

the African continent, Venezuela has just established diplomatic relations, on the constructive and skilful work he performed in response to the demands made upon him at the difficult time when he was called upon to preside over the Assembly.

34. After hearing the inspiring message of His Holiness Pope Paul VI it is no easy task to find suitable words with which to address this Assembly. The visit of the Supreme Pontiff was a red-letter day in the history of the United Nations. The Pope's message, coming at the end of twenty years of this Organization's existence, invites us to profound meditation and to an appraisal of what has been accomplished so that we may gain a clearer vision of the future of this Organization, which, as His Holiness Pope Paul VI said, is "the obligatory road of modern civilization and of world peace" [1347th meeting, para. 24].

35. The message, full of humility, and therefore of wisdom and greatness, spoken by "an expert in humanity" as His Holiness himself said, has opened up new prospects for the United Nations and it must be heeded. Is it not the United Nations ideal to achieve what was said in that message? With what humility but with what wisdom the Pope spoke also of the fulfilment of "a wish we have been carrying in our heart for nearly twenty centuries" [ibid., para. 23], as if to say: do not despair if in the twenty years of your life you have succeeded in doing only part of the enormous task which was entrusted to you.

36. But the message is above all a call for peace. A call for peace at a time when war is appearing in various parts of the globe. A message of peace addressed not only to mankind but above all to those who are sitting in this hall and whose duty it is to build peace.

37. Only a few days ago, on 6 September, we celebrated the 150th anniversary of the so-called Charter of Jamaica, one of the most important documents emanating from the genius of Simon Bolivar. In it the liberator of five South American nations adumbrated the idea of an association of free and sovereign nations for the purpose of establishing an international legal order, an idea which took shape some years later when, on his initiative, the amphitryonic Congress of Panama was held in 1826. Allow me to quote a few sentences from this prophetic document:

"It is a grandiose idea to try and weld the entire New World into a single nation with a single link uniting its separate parts with each other and with the whole... How beautiful it would be for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august Congress of representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world..."

38. He has rightly, therefore, been considered a precursor of international organizations, as was acknowledged by the League of Nations on 2 October 1930 when its Assembly approved unanimously the following resolution:

"Recalling that on 17 December next will take place the centenary of Simon Bolivar, who by his initiative and his efforts to ensure the reign of justice and peace between peoples was a precursor of the League of Nations:

"Expresses its gratitude and admiration for the memory of Bolivar and associates itself with the tribute which the American republics will be paying him."

39. The United Nations is now completing the first twenty years of its existence. To reach this anniversary, which is but one year short of its majority, it has had to overcome grave crises which have threatened its very existence. At the nineteenth session of the Assembly we who met here were almost convinced that the so-called financial crisis would bring about the collapse of this Organization, which, born of the great desire for peace and harmony, was regarded by the peoples of this earth as a beacon of hope at the end of the Second World War.

40. With good will that difficulty too has been overcome, though only temporarily. It is therefore essential to arrive at a definitive settlement of the controversy, which directly affects the *raison d'être* of this Organization, i.e. the provision of adequate means for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

41. The United Nations constitutes a whole and, as such, it depends on the goodwill of its Member States. It is futile to declare, as Member States often do, that the world Organization is inadequate, that it does not possess the means to achieve its ends and that it is incapable of settling the disputes which beset mankind.

42. The effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the United Nations depends solely on the goodwill and determined support of its Members. If the United Nations has defects, if its rules are deficient or contain gaps which occasionally make them appear to be ineffective, it is our fault for not correcting them and adapting them to the changing circumstances of our times. Let us undertake the task with faith and good-will and the result will certainly be to reduce—I wish I could say to eliminate—the causes for the alarm which is felt by people throughout the world.

43. The international legal order which twentieth century man has built up patiently and at great sacrifice and which must be the basis of this world Organization is founded on principles and postulates of self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, the sovereign equality of States and respect for human rights, which acknowledge life to be the supreme gift and proclaim respect for the dignity of the human person.

44. The practice of these precepts can be achieved only through international organizations—the United Nations and the regional organizations—which must be zealous guardians of those rights and supreme tribunals to hear complaints of violations and to determine means of redress. My country has always respected and will always respect these procedures and principles, as is clear from the very letter of its Constitution and from its conduct in the field of international relations.

45. For that reason it is justifiably concerned about the claim sometimes made that circumstances of the moment may require a return to the old formula of unhappy memory, namely, that countries can, by themselves and by the use of force, solve the problems resulting from the violation of those principles. Such an attitude is self-contradictory because it is not possible to punish a violation of international law by the use of procedures violating the principles which have been infringed and which are the very principles invoked as the reason for punishment.

46. We cannot ignore—and I made reference to this in my statement to this Assembly last year [1295th meeting]—the new forms of indirect aggression which run counter to the principle of non-intervention and are characterized by the assistance given by some States, in the form of material resources, money, armaments and propaganda, to armed groups that have infiltrated into other countries to help bring about the downfall of institutional forms of government which were freely adopted.

47. In view of the recurrence of this phenomenon, which is obvious to everyone, we reaffirm the need for the countries represented in this world Organization to agree to study with sincerity and urgency the characteristics and methods of this new form of aggression, with the firm intention of concluding a special covenant which will provide means for combating such aggression effectively and adequate sanctions to be applied to Governments found guilty of such acts of intervention and indirect aggression. To fail to consider such situations in accordance with the contractual obligations governing international relations would be to disregard reality and to encourage the pessimistic view of some that when it comes to self-defence, principles must be thrown overboard.

48. Venezuela is still experiencing attacks from sectors which, through this type of activity and with the material and moral support of maladjusted groups who lend themselves to such designs, have tried to impose on our country ideologies and doctrines alien to the spirit and conscience of our people, with the intention of depriving our people of the rights and freedoms which they have won at such great sacrifice.

49. Fortunately, far from being weakened by this type of activity, the democratic régime is growing stronger and consolidating itself to an ever increasing extent. It is significant that the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, in a recently published report on my country, has noted that both last year and this year Venezuela has continued its advance in the various aspects of economic development and is one of the countries which are attaining most rapidly and completely the objectives laid down in the Charter of Punta del Este.<sup>5/</sup> In overcoming its economic difficulties, Venezuela is at the same time solving the social problems of its people and it has also made important progress in education, health, community development and agrarian reform.

50. At the meeting of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress which examined the report to which I have referred, the Venezuelan

<sup>5/</sup> Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial level, Punta del Este, Uruguay, 5-17 August 1961.

delegates said that if the Government of my country maintained the level of its international reserves it would study the possibility of participating in the programmes of the Alliance for Progress by granting financial assistance to other countries or to regional institutions in Latin America.

51. This is tangible evidence of how a country with a democratic system of government in which the supporters of the most diverse political trends are co-operating fully and harmoniously, as is the private sector, too, can deal with the political, economic and social difficulties facing every country in this age of convulsions in which we live and above all with the very special problems of the American continent.

52. The highest praise is due to the efforts of the United Nations and to the patient and persistent endeavours of the Secretary-General, U Thant, to settle the conflicts which, unfortunately, have broken out in various parts of the world. The results achieved so far in connexion with the dispute between India and Pakistan are worthy of mention. At the request of the Secretary-General, the Venezuelan Government hastened to send a group of ten officers of the Venezuelan armed forces to serve with those of other countries as United Nations observers for the implementation of the Security Council's cease-fire decision which was a first step towards a settlement of the dispute between those two countries of Asia, both of which are good friends of Venezuela's and will, we ardently hope, find a means of living in harmony as good neighbours and thus, in a spirit of brotherhood, attaining the stages of development and progress demanded by their peoples. It is also our profound hope that the problem of Cyprus will soon be solved, once and for all, by peaceful means.

53. With regard to the Viet-Nam conflict, Venezuela hopes that the offer of the United States of America to negotiate anywhere and at any time, without conditions, will be heeded and taken up by the parties concerned, so that the foundations may be laid for an acceptable and lasting solution. The United States proposal has been made on several occasions by the President of the United States and repeated in this Assembly [1334th meeting] by its Permanent Representative, Mr. Goldberg. A similar position has been taken by the non-aligned countries, by the United Kingdom and by the Secretary-General, U Thant.

54. It is no exaggeration to say that all the inhabitants of the world are anxiously awaiting a satisfactory outcome of the protracted conversations on disarmament, and, above all, the conclusion of agreements to prohibit the production of nuclear weapons and prevent their proliferation among the countries of the world. We should not forget the jubilation which greeted the signing of the 1963 Moscow Treaty prohibiting nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This Treaty was a promising first step, which unfortunately has not yet been followed by other steps marking an advance. In this connexion I take the liberty of drawing attention to the proposal submitted in Geneva by the present President of the Assembly, Mr. Fanfani.<sup>6/</sup> Its adoption would improve the situation

and would constitute a positive step on the long road towards a general treaty on disarmament.

55. Before the Second World War, the peoples of the world believed, with good reason, that another war would destroy the achievements of thousands of years of civilization. Nevertheless, in spite of the deaths, the destruction of institutions and the spiritual damage which that war caused, the world has found new strength and the accelerated progress of science and technology have given new hope to mankind. But now the nuclear war which threatens us would, according to all the forecasts, undoubtedly mean the end of the world as we know it. Could there be any valid reason, from either a theoretical or a practical point of view, to justify a total holocaust?

56. Perhaps the most feasible and immediately attainable step at the moment with regard to disarmament would be a treaty on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. Venezuela will support it wholeheartedly, as it will support any other measure which will help to ward off the peril of atomic war.

57. In our own region, almost all the Latin countries of the continent have concluded initial agreements on the denuclearization of Latin America. We hope that the States which possess nuclear weapons and devices will respect this unanimous wish of the peoples of Latin America.

58. In keeping with the position that it took at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva in 1964, Venezuela firmly supports the proposals made by the developing countries, of which our country is one. We welcomed the establishment of the Trade and Development Board as an important step towards achieving the objectives set forth at the Geneva Conference. With increasing urgency, for obvious reasons of justice and with a view to a more satisfactory distribution of wealth, a better organization of international trade is needed in order to allow the manufactured products and raw materials of the developing countries to have access to world markets under equitable conditions.

59. Problems also confront our regional organization, the Organization of American States (OAS). The American countries have always been justifiably proud of their organization, which was the first of its kind and is an expression of the solidarity and interdependence of the nations of our hemisphere. In spite of all the problems and difficulties to which attention can be drawn, the OAS is playing an important role in the relations and the political and economic co-operation among our countries. It should be the aim of all of us to correct the defects of OAS and to make it stronger and better able to act speedily; in that regard, the forthcoming Special Inter-American Conference, to be held at Rio de Janeiro at the end of 1965, is a good opportunity which it would be unforgivable to throw away. My country offers the sister countries of the continent its co-operation and trusts that there will be a harmonious meeting of minds at the Rio Conference.

60. The crisis in the Dominican Republic was extremely serious not only for that country, to which it brought suffering and hardship, but also for the inter-American system, which was profoundly affected. We

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, section D.

are happy that, with the establishment of the Provisional Government, our sister Republic is now on the road towards the restoration of a normal constitutional life through the holding of free elections. All American countries must give their moral and economic support so that that objective may be attained.

61. One of the most praiseworthy achievements of the United Nations has been the role it has played in the process of decolonization. Venezuela has a right to be proud of its unchanging attitude of opposition to colonialism and of support for the inalienable rights of peoples, under the political or economic domination of other peoples, who have aspired or aspire to self-determination and independence. Before the adoption in 1960 of the General Assembly's historic resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, for which we naturally voted, Venezuela had already made known its views in support of the principles enshrined in that resolution.

62. Ever since the establishment of what we now know as the Committee of Twenty-Four,<sup>7/</sup> we have not only been a member of it but have co-operated actively and enthusiastically in seeking the most appropriate methods and procedures for the full implementation of the Declaration and for carrying out the mandate given to the Committee by the General Assembly. Consequently, as in previous cases, we are happy to welcome the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldive Islands, which have recently been admitted to this great family of nations as Member States. Without doubt, their presence in the United Nations will make a useful and valuable contribution towards the fulfilment of the goals of the Organization.

63. In spite of the progress achieved and of the fact that this is unquestionably one of the fields in which the United Nations has been most successful, it must be noted that there are still peoples and territories under colonial rule. America, like other continents, is not yet completely rid of this evil. There are still territories which, having been detached from an independent State with no more justification than the principle that might is right, remain under the sway of a colonial Power.

64. These territories cannot escape the correcting processes of history. But we must insist on a point that has been stressed in the various resolutions adopted by inter-American conferences, namely, the distinction between colonies and occupied territories. Whereas the former must obtain independence through the application of the principle of self-determination, the latter, colonial territories which have been seized from other States, cannot be decolonized in any other way than through reintegration with the State from which they were detached. To fail to make such a distinction would be to allow the principle of self-determination to be twisted for the purpose of justifying a de facto situation, without regard for the fundamental principle of respect for the territorial integrity of States. This principle is safeguarded, of course, in paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV) itself, which states that: "Any attempt aimed at the

partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." The question of Guayana Esequiba, an area of Venezuelan territory occupied by a colonial Power and annexed to a colony, is a case covered by that paragraph.

65. At the First Special Inter-American Conference, held at Washington in December 1964, the countries of America made a formal declaration which supplements those made earlier regarding occupied territories and which we think it appropriate to quote, although it was quoted by our colleague from Argentina, Mr. Zavala Ortiz, in his statement in the general debate [1337th meeting]. The Act of Washington states:

"That the Council of the Organization shall not take any decisions with respect to a request for admission on the part of a political entity whose territory, in whole or in part, is subject, prior to the date of this resolution, to litigation or claim between an extracontinental country and one or more member states of the Organization of American States, until the dispute has been ended by some peaceful procedure."<sup>8/</sup>

66. Here in the United Nations, on 22 February, 1 October and 12 November 1962, my country solemnly repudiated the so-called arbitral award of 1899, although long before that, on more than one occasion, it had voiced its claims and its protest against this inequitable and invalid decision which supposedly fixed our boundaries.

67. I wish to reiterate once more my Government's unshakable position. Venezuela does not recognize the so-called arbitral award of 1899 as having any validity. An award with serious legal defects cannot have any force.

68. I should like to use before this world body the words of Mr. Raúl Leoni, the President of the Republic of Venezuela, in order to express the unchangeable decision of the Government of my country with regard to the award to which I have referred: "Venezuela is working actively and will not abandon its aspirations, for they are based on the restoration of rights which were denied to it in an irrational and brutal way and without any foundation, in a decision which was contrary to law. The award is null and void—that is to say, it has no legal existence."

69. On behalf of my country, I address myself to all the nations represented here, the colonial countries of yesterday and the newly independent countries of today, our brothers in the fight for freedom. I wish to appeal to them all to give their moral support to our efforts to obtain a just solution to this old territorial problem. It is in the interests of British Guiana, of the United Kingdom and of the whole American continent that this problem should be satisfactorily settled at an early date.

70. The fact that my country maintains its claim irrespective of any change in the status of the present

<sup>7/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>8/</sup> See Final Act, First Special Inter-American Conference, Organization of American States, held at Washington, D.C., from 16 to 18 December 1964.

colony of British Guiana in no way means that we are placing obstacles in the way of that colony's independence. Whatever the status of British Guiana, the rights of Venezuela will be the same, since they are inalienable and in conformity with paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

71. Speaking of the paramount principles of "international equity and morality", President Leoni, in his first message to the National Congress, expressed himself in the following clear language, which I take the liberty of repeating before the world:

"In the same way, we shall continue the negotiations with the United Kingdom Government initiated by the previous Government concerning the frontiers with British Guiana, since it is well known that the Tribunal which handed down the Paris Arbitral Award of 1899 exceeded its specific functions and fixed a compromise line which was not in accordance with law. This does not mean, as has been made very clear, that our lawful claim will obstruct or hinder the aspirations to independence, of the people of British Guiana, who can count upon the sympathy of the Venezuelan nation."

72. Conversations with the United Kingdom on this problem have continued, with the participation of British Guiana, in accordance with the agreement reached in the joint communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela and the United Kingdom, dated 7 November 1963. We shall inform this world body of the results of these talks in due course.

73. Venezuela, a country in which social democracy has always existed, maintains its firm stand against racist theories, which contradict the Christian concept of human dignity, a concept which does not allow of distinctions based on the colour of a person's skin. Venezuela therefore condemns the policies of apartheid and resolutely supports the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the enforcement of these inhuman policies.

74. Venezuela has complete faith in this Organization. We are convinced that in spite of its imperfections—as we have said earlier—it is the only body capable of giving concrete form, if only in part, to the yearnings of contemporary mankind for justice, order and peace. I should therefore like to end my statement by echoing the message of His Holiness Paul VI, and quoting this paragraph:

"The building you have made must never again fall in ruins; it must be perfected and confirmed to the demands world history will make. You mark a stage in the development of mankind; henceforth no turning back, you must go forward." [1347th meeting, para. 26.]

75. Mr. NILSSON (Sweden): Mr. President, let me first add my voice to the mighty chorus of approval that has greeted your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. You bring to this office your great talents as parliamentarian and statesman. We know you will lead our deliberations with wisdom, firmness and tact. We extend to you our most cordial congratulations.

76. This general debate takes place in an international situation that gives rise to grave concern. We may not

have cause to fear a general war. Such a war would mean suicide and, despite harsh words in some quarters, it cannot be seriously considered by the responsible leaders in any country as a rational means of foreign policy. But the prevailing tension has other harmful effects. Armaments are increasing. Efforts to achieve disarmament have been frustrated. The necessary economic and social advances in the developing countries are being hampered.

77. I would like in these remarks to deal with some aspects of the world situation as we see it, starting with the role of the new nations in the world community, then passing to the urgent issue of disarmament, and finally trying to draw some conclusions as to the part that our Organization could usefully play against the background of the serious conflicts that occupy our attention.

*Mr. Ramani (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

78. One of the most important developments in the post-war era is, of course, the process of rapid decolonization. The right of each nation to freedom can no longer be questioned. In the cases where this right has not yet been recognized in practice, efforts must continue to give the peoples concerned an opportunity to decide their own future. Suppression of national aspirations by violence can lead only to more violence.

79. National aspirations have gone parallel with expectations for a better life, for social justice and for equal opportunities. There has been, indeed, a revolution in the attitudes and motivations of the peoples in the new emerging States. It should surprise nobody that the forms in which these expectations come to be expected are also often revolutionary. We have to reckon with a long period of difficult adjustment. During this period there are risks of national aspirations turning into nationalistic ambitions and of internal battles spreading to the international arena. In areas where the political and strategic interests of the great Powers are in conflict, legitimate demands for national freedom and social advancement may be suppressed or exploited by outside forces.

80. It is in this perspective that we should view the work of the United Nations in helping the less developed nations on the road to social reform and to rapid economic development. In our view, the more developed countries—all of them—have a common interest in stepping up the speed at which this work proceeds and in extending its scope and effectiveness. We have therefore greeted with great satisfaction the proposals for merging the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and for setting a new and higher target for the new combined programme. The Swedish Government is willing to make a contribution in keeping herewith.

81. We shall also do everything in our power to find practical and realistic solutions to the vital problems dealt with in the recommendations of the Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>2/</sup> The Nordic countries

<sup>2/</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Vol. I, Final Act and Report* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

co-operate closely in these efforts. It is our sincere hope that further discussions within the Conference will gradually make it possible to identify areas offering opportunities for concerted and constructive action.

82. Two aspects of the work for economic and social advancement deserve special attention. One concerns the population question or, to put it in more human terms, the problem of poverty and ill-health arising when too many children are born in families and communities that cannot afford to rear them. It is imperative that measures in this field be taken parallel with steps to further economic growth. We are happy to note that there is an increasing awareness everywhere of the need for the United Nations to give assistance in the field of family planning whenever such assistance is requested.

83. The other aspect of particular interest to my Government is the United Nations action in the field of industrial development. We are aware that industrialization is a necessary part of any programme for economic growth. It is a process which has to be closely integrated with the development of other sectors of society, especially agriculture. The social consequences have to be carefully considered so as to avoid the evils that often accompanied rapid industrialization in the past. The Swedish Government wishes the United Nations to take vigorous action to further an integrated approach to all these problems. We shall support an expansion of the United Nations facilities in the field of industrialization.

84. Against the background that I have now indicated, developments in Africa deserve special attention. By setting up a regional organization in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the African States have professed a common responsibility for peace and economic well-being on their great continent. They do not view their system of co-operation as an exclusive one. They are aware of the danger of creating new dividing lines. They wish to develop a new and fruitful relationship with the other continents. They have demonstrated their firm attachment to the United Nations in many ways. To this session of the General Assembly they have submitted concrete proposals designed to promote co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. Like the Latin American countries before them, they have asked the General Assembly to give its approval to their plans for giving their continent the legal status of a nuclear-free zone [see A/5975]. The African States deserve the encouragement and the support of all other States Members of the United Nations in the pursuit of these noble aims.

85. There is no doubt that the policy of apartheid in South Africa is a hindrance to peaceful evolution on the whole continent of Africa and may have the most serious repercussions also in other parts of the world. In the interest of the African peoples, the United Nations should bring increasing pressure to bear on the South African Government and take other steps aimed at opening prospects for a future in freedom and dignity for all people in South Africa. We still believe that this dual approach to the problem is the most promising one. It has our full support.

86. In the meantime there is much that individual Member States can do to relieve the plight of those suffering from persecution and to prepare South Africans to fill responsible posts in the non-racial society which sometime has to come. The Swedish Government follows with great interest, and contributes to the existing United Nations programmes for help to refugees from South Africa and for the training and education of South Africans. We would welcome an expansion of these programmes. We shall also support the suggestion that the educational programmes for South Africa, South West Africa and the territories under Portuguese administration at some time be merged into a single programme under joint administration.

87. Several speakers have referred to disarmament as the most urgent question of our time. I fully share that view. All the world demands that the increasing stockpiling of the means of total destruction be halted, be limited, be controlled. The nuclear Powers must realize this and the other countries must insist that these Powers make some sacrifices to achieve agreement. As one of the countries represented at the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, we in Sweden have closely followed, and also taken active part in the extensive discussions on this problem. Although no specific results were achieved in Geneva, it should be noted with satisfaction that it was possible for the Committee to resume its work last July, in spite of the increased international tension. It must also be noted that many interesting suggestions were put forward in the course of the Committee meetings. It is highly desirable that the Eighteen-Nation Committee should continue its negotiations as soon as possible after the General Assembly has terminated its consideration of the disarmament problem. Let me express the hope, which I am sure we all share, that when the Committee reconvenes, it will meet in a political climate less tense than that of the last months.

88. At the meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva, members concentrated on the problem of collateral measures. Those partial measures which were given priority in Geneva were a comprehensive test-ban and a treaty on non-proliferation. Such steps are designed to freeze the present nuclear situation. The efforts of the Committee and of this Assembly should be aimed at reaching simultaneous agreements which, combined, would place obligations on both the nuclear Powers and the non-nuclear Powers. On those two issues, the positions of the great Powers have so far remained irreconcilable.

89. The group of eight countries which do not belong to the Warsaw or NATO alliances have presented their thinking in two memoranda.<sup>10/</sup> In both documents a link is established between the question of a complete nuclear test ban, on the one hand, and the question of preventing continued proliferation of nuclear weapons, on the other.

90. In the memorandum on a comprehensive test ban the non-aligned countries indicate different methods

<sup>10/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex I, sections E and F.

of reaching that goal. They say that one method would be a formal agreement, facilitated by scientific co-operation and by further technical developments. They appeal to the nuclear Powers to suspend, pending an agreement, all underground tests. They mention specifically the advantages which international seismological co-operation can offer in this connexion, increasing the possibilities of verification. Consequently they draw attention to the possibility of a temporary suspension of underground tests as a step on the road towards an agreement, but not as a substitute for an agreement. The document ends with the words:

"The eight delegations reaffirm their stand that all nuclear weapon tests should cease immediately."<sup>11/</sup>

That is a reminder of the general attitude of the non-aligned countries. That attitude has been confirmed in many resolutions by the General Assembly condemning all nuclear weapon tests.

91. In the other memorandum, the eight countries call attention to the fact that an agreement on non-proliferation has to be accompanied by tangible steps to halt the armaments race of the nuclear Powers. I wish to underline that we consider a linking of those collateral measures to be both natural and necessary. Thus, if the non-nuclear countries are requested to accept a moratorium on the proliferation of nuclear weapons, there ought to be an equivalent undertaking on the part of the nuclear countries to refrain, during the same period, from all—consequently also underground—tests. We have listened with interest to what the Danish Foreign Minister had to say on this subject [1345th meeting] and we find ourselves in agreement with his way of thinking.

92. Like so many other countries, Sweden also holds that it is a fair and urgent demand that measures designed to freeze present nuclear capabilities be coupled with measures designed to hinder additional countries from procuring some of that same military strength. The comprehensive test ban would in fact have that double-sided effect, and that is the reason why we want to give it first priority.

93. We recognize the importance of the problem of verification. The Swedish delegation in Geneva submitted a memorandum on international co-operation for the detection of underground explosions.<sup>12/</sup> My Government is prepared to take part in the creation of an efficient, world-wide surveillance system—what might be called a "detection club". This would mean the establishing of a network of technologically advanced seismological stations. We are taking steps to set up one such station in Sweden.

94. The Scandinavian countries are free of nuclear weapons. That is also the case with other groups of countries—for instance, in Latin America and in Africa. There are thus large *de facto* denuclearized areas. It would be tragic if world developments led to a change in this situation. The nuclear Powers have an extraordinary responsibility to see to it that new members are not added to the nuclear club and that they start reducing their own nuclear capabilities, including their production of fissionable material for

military purposes. It is possible that, if agreements on the issues I have just mentioned are not reached before then, a world disarmament conference will be useful in furthering such agreements. A world conference must be very carefully planned. If it is to be meaningful, all the great Powers, including the People's Republic of China, should take part in the discussions. In the meantime, as I said earlier, the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee must continue.

95. May I now say a few words about the serious tensions and conflicts that are now uppermost in our minds? The causes of these tensions and conflicts are manifold and often go far back in history. It is seldom meaningful, and may sometimes be counterproductive, to try to establish a balance-sheet of rights and wrongs or to issue indictments against mistaken and harmful policies of Governments in the past. It is our task to look ahead and to use all our influence to try to make all countries adhere to the code of international behaviour laid down in the Charter. It is also the right and duty of all of us frankly to state our opinions and our convictions.

96. Of all the trouble-spots in the world, the Viet-Nameese conflict is potentially the most serious one. A large-scale war is in progress, with some of the nuclear Powers directly or indirectly involved. It is of vital importance that further escalation of the conflict be avoided and that the issue be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Viet-Nameese people themselves. At some stage they must be given the right to decide their own future without foreign intervention and without internal terror. To this end the hostilities have to stop, possibly by steps leading to a gradual reduction and localization of the fighting. Attempts at bringing about talks between all the parties concerned must not be relaxed at any time or hampered by the presentation of preliminary conditions.

97. It is harmful to the authority of the United Nations that the Organization is reduced to the role of an on-looker while a war is in progress. There are many reasons for this situation. One of them is that the Government of the People's Republic of China is not represented in the organs of the United Nations. We have felt for a long time that the absence of such representation will create increasing difficulties for our Organization. In our view, the United Nations should offer the opportunity to the People's Republic of China to take part in our work for peace and well-being in accordance with the Charter.

98. With deep satisfaction we have greeted the resolutions of the Security Council on Kashmir and the decision of the parties to abide by these resolutions. The cease-fire is only a first step. The Security Council has now committed itself, by its resolution 211 (1965) to consider "what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict".

99. The Security Council must now, with a sense of urgency, choose and pursue some realistic approach to the problem which will take into full account the views and interests of all parties, including the Kashmiri people themselves. It would seem that neither of the countries involved can afford a conti-

<sup>11/</sup> *Ibid.*, section F.

<sup>12/</sup> *Ibid.*, section B.

uation of this conflict; nor can the world community do so.

100. The problem of Cyprus is still before the United Nations. The real difficulty with regard to this problem is, of course, how to bring about a state of peaceful coexistence between the two population groups on the small island. The United Nations has taken on a twofold task—namely, to assist in maintaining law and order and to help bring about a solution by offering its mediatory services. These two aspects of the task are parallel and of equal importance. The presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force (UNFICYP) on the island is unthinkable in the long run without progress being made in the negotiations between the parties.

101. The Force was originally intended to stay in Cyprus for a period of three months. Six times now that period has elapsed and there is still no solution in sight. In his report of 12 December 1964, the Secretary-General expressed the opinion that UNFICYP would, in the absence of progress towards a political solution, begin to produce diminishing returns. The Secretary-General pointed to the risk that the effectiveness of UNFICYP "should become the pretext for failure to find a solution to the fundamental problem of Cyprus".<sup>13/</sup> The Secretary-General has recently repeated this point of view. We find ourselves in complete agreement with his opinion. We therefore believe that the opportunity provided by this session of the General Assembly should be used to make a genuine effort to facilitate and hasten a political solution acceptable to all Cypriots, be they of Greek or of Turkish descent. There is danger in further delay, and the Members of the United Nations—in particular those of us contributing troops to the United Nations operation in Cyprus—are entitled to expect renewed efforts by the parties concerned to solve their differences.

102. The problems of Kashmir and Cyprus demonstrate one of the main difficulties with which our Organization is faced in its search for peace.

103. On the one hand, Member States have accepted a firm obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. Military action across international borders is prohibited except in the exercise of the right of self-defence. No single State is now allowed to act as international judge, arbitrator or policeman. One could have wished that the United Nations would be enabled consistently and effectively to exercise such functions. That is not the case and will not be the case in the foreseeable future.

104. At the same time, our Organization has achieved undoubted success in helping Member countries to keep the peace after a conflict has been brought under control and the fighting has stopped. The United Nations has, indeed, acquired considerable experience in the art of maintaining truces. We have been less successful in our efforts to maintain peace, if this

word is to carry its full meaning of harmonious relations between peoples and of justice for all. It seems to me, therefore, that the General Assembly would be well advised, as early as this session, which has before it the timely proposal of the United Kingdom [A/5964], to direct its special attention to the problems of peaceful settlement and peaceful change. There are two kinds of tasks that I have in mind. The first is to try to cope with potentially dangerous situations at an early stage, before they reach the level of open conflict and bloodshed. The second is to help bring about political solutions to problems in regard to which there has been a stalemate after a truce has been established. If such endeavours are to succeed, flexible and effective mechanisms must be made available for mediation and conciliation under the auspices of the United Nations, in addition to the already existing organs for arbitration. Some guidance for the development of new mechanisms might be sought in the practice of mediation between the parties on the labour market in many countries. The main thing, however, is that there should be trust in the objectivity of the institutions and persons that are at the disposal of Member countries for mediation and conciliation. Institutional arrangements, no matter how ingenious they look on paper, are of little value in the harsh reality of international politics unless they are supported by an increased willingness to make use of them.

105. During the last year, our Organization has gone through perhaps the most serious crisis in its history. The crisis has been overcome by joint efforts on the part of all Member countries, large and small. We are agreed that the financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions. We are entitled to expect all Member States to take early action in accordance therewith, thus demonstrating our common interest in the survival and the strengthening of the United Nations. We cannot afford to stand still. We must push on. In the words of our distinguished Secretary-General:

"...the most important thing we can do... is to think back to the tragedies and agonies which made the Charter possible and, in resolving that humanity shall never be so afflicted again, rededicate ourselves to its aims and ideals".<sup>14/</sup>

This is the moment, it seems to me, to reaffirm in concert our determination to let the principles of the Charter—all the principles of the Charter—guide our actions. Such a unanimous declaration would be a fitting memorial to the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

*Mr. Fanfani (Italy) resumed the Chair.*

106. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I recognize the representative of Thailand, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

107. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): It is a matter of deep regret that this Assembly, which only recently was inspired by a profound spiritual message,

<sup>13/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1964, document S/6102, para. 239.

<sup>14/</sup> Address delivered in San Francisco, 26 June 1965, at meeting to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations.

should be used now by the representative of Cambodia as a public forum to level vile and unfounded charges against my country. These accusations, which have often been heard and rebutted in the past, are not worthy of any lengthy or point-by-point reply from the Thai delegation. Suffice it to recall that during the past few days the Cambodian Chief of State was received in the capital of the People's Republic of China with unusual warmth and enthusiasm. His vanity might have been inflated to such a scale that he allowed himself and his representative to become the mouthpiece and subordinate of a country whose

warlike policy and objectives are already well known to all.

108. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to announce that the list of speakers in the general debate will be closed at 1 p.m. on Friday, 8 October. I appeal to representatives whose names are not yet on the list to have them put on as soon as possible. I intend to close the general debate on Friday morning, 15 October.

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*