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## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ROGERS-WRIGHT (Sierra Leone): I should like to associate myself with my colleagues who have preceded me to this rostrum and extend to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations of my delegation and of the Government and people of Sierra Leone on your election to the high office of President of this twentieth session of the General Assembly.

2. The overwhelming way in which your election has been acclaimed is eloquent testimony to your stature as an international statesman and reflects singular credit on the country which you have served so well and which you now so eminently represent.

3. It is perhaps fitting that, so soon after our Organization has emerged from a crisis that almost threatened its existence, and at this time when we are all engaged in the search for a solid foundation on which to base its essential peace-keeping function, the Organization should turn for leadership and inspiration to a country that has a long-famed history in jurisprudence and constitutional matters. We opine that, in your direction of the affairs of this Assembly, there will no doubt be manifested the tradition of legal rectitude and orderliness that has long characterized your great country, Italy; and we therefore embark on this twentieth session with great confidence.

4. That confidence has been further strengthened by the inspiring address of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to this Assembly on Monday, 4 October [1347th meeting]. My delegation wishes to place on record its profound appreciation and gratitude for the unprecedented initiative of His Holiness in bringing to this Assembly, in its hour of need and crisis, a message of peace that is bound to find a warm response in the minds of all who cherish and strive for the brotherhood of man.

5. Our optimism concerning the current session throws into sharp relief the gloom of the last, over which it was the unenviable lot of one of our colleagues to preside. We owe a debt of gratitude, Mr. President, to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the Foreign Minister of Ghana, for his responsible statesmanship and skill during a most critical period in the history of our Organization.

6. Before directing my attention to the many burning problems which confront us at this session, I take this opportunity to extend a cordial and fraternal welcome to the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore, the three newest Members of this growing body of sovereign nations. It is, of course, a source of gratification to my delegation that the Afro-Asian fraternity has been enlarged by the emergence of these three States to full independent nationhood. It is with special pleasure that we welcome the Gambia, a country with which we have shared a long and interwoven history.

7. As I have already said, our last session was pervaded by an atmosphere of gloom, which, happily, has now been dispelled. In this connexion my delegation would like to record its satisfaction with the progress so far made by the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations. We should also like to record our profound gratitude to our eminent and able Secretary-General, U Thant, as well as to our outgoing President, Alex Quaison-Sackey, for their untiring efforts in guiding us through a most difficult situation.

8. While recognizing the invaluable efforts of the Committee, to which my country is proud to have contributed, we cannot but observe that the Committee should be allowed to continue its good work and be able to produce a universally acceptable formula for peace-keeping. In the view of my delegation, the United Nations, in spite of its imperfections and limitations, is still our greatest hope for the maintenance of international peace and security. To that end, therefore, my delegation welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of items on peace-keeping, and hopes to put forward detailed views when the matter is discussed in Committee.

9. While welcoming with profound pleasure the three new Members of this Organization, we are reminded, in grim contrast, of the many millions who are still liberated from the bonds of colonialism and imperialism. In that context, my delegation considers it a regrettable fact that in spite of the terms of resolution 1514 (XV), calling on Members of this Organization to accelerate the process of decolonization, many millions are still suffering under the yoke

of colonialism. It is now nearly five years since that resolution was adopted, on 14 December 1960: yet, in spite of the persistent efforts of the Committee of Twenty-Four, of which Sierra Leone is a member, the colonial Powers have consistently affronted world opinion and, by evasive manoeuvres, have succeeded in frustrating the legitimate aspirations of millions of suffering human beings.

10. The most flagrant example of these outstanding problems is that of Rhodesia, where racial considerations are dictating the course of history and a racist minority continues to defy the just demands of the entire continent, and indeed of all who value the dignity of man. What is more alarming, this minority is defying, with apparent success, the Government of the United Kingdom whose experience in colonial matters can hardly be matched in modern times. We welcome the assurances given by the United Kingdom Government that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesia minority Government will be tantamount to an act of rebellion, which would be met by certain consequences, including the application of economic sanctions. Nevertheless, the Rhodesia Government has carried its defiance to the extent of attempting to establish independent diplomatic representation in Lisbon. My Government is watching with keen interest the outcome of that development. It is a matter of the gravest concern to my Government that the Rhodesia Government is now actively engaged in talks in London to secure investment loans, intended no doubt to neutralize the effect of an economic boycott in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. Those manoeuvres have unhappily created the impression not only that the United Kingdom Government is not doing enough to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence, but also that it is encouraging, actively or covertly, a situation which will transform the southern part of Africa into an unholy trilogy of racial segregation, racial domination and racial exploitation.

11. We are constrained by the persistent failure of the administering Power to demand once more from this rostrum that the dictates of justice be applied to the Rhodesian situation. The iniquitous 1961 constitution, condemned by all champions of justice, should be abrogated immediately and a new constitution formulated after consultation with all the political elements in the territory. In this regard, we insist that the undisputed leaders of the African majority—Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole and others—now deprived of their liberty and under restriction, be released immediately to take a full part in any such discussions. We hereby renew our demand for elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, with the granting of independence to the territory immediately thereafter. Until these just demands are met, we cannot but point an accusing finger at the administering Power, the British Government, for complicity in a ghastly crime against humanity, which history will undoubtedly record.

12. It is our solemn duty to draw the attention of this Assembly to the grave and imminent danger of a unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith, and we appeal to all who cherish justice and human

freedom to exert themselves to the utmost to discourage such a crime. My Government, for its own part, will not recognize such a minority government founded on rebellion. We shall vigorously oppose its admission to the United Nations, the Commonwealth and all other international organizations. We shall impose economic sanctions against it, we shall recognize an indigenous nationalist government in exile, and we shall take such other measures considered appropriate, after consultation with all other member States of the Organization of African Unity and all other States which respect justice and the essential dignity of man.

13. My delegation is also seriously concerned about the Aden situation, where emergency regulations have become a useful expedient for orderly government. In the tense situation which pervades the territory, perhaps the administering Power might well consider allowing the Committee of Twenty-Four to visit the territory and exert its influence for peaceful decolonization. It is significant that the leaders in Aden have repeatedly stated that a solution to their problem could be found along the lines of the recommendations of the United Nations through the Committee of Twenty-Four. The administering Power is urged to respect the principle of universal adult suffrage, apply it in the territory, and bring about an early and orderly transition to independence. One can hardly resist the temptation to contrast the action of the British Government in this territory with its attitude in Rhodesia. Whereas in this case the British Government has seen fit to resort to military action, in the case of Rhodesia, even when the British Government has been flagrantly defied, it has not only failed to take the necessary steps to prevent what now amounts to rebellion, but, as I have already pointed out, appears to be actively or covertly assisting the minority Government to carry out its nefarious purposes.

14. Another area of great concern to us is the continued maintenance of colonial territories by Portugal under the rather transparent guise that these territories form an integral part of metropolitan Portugal and are not, in fact, colonies. This argument is spurious and has never been accepted, nor is it ever likely to be. The war in Angola and Mozambique and the so-called "Portuguese Guinea" continues with increasing intensity, and it is obvious that Portugal is now committed to a racist, colonial war—a war of liquidation amounting to genocide.

15. The report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the territories under Portuguese administration [A/6000/Rev.1, chap. V] depicts a gloomy picture of increasing military activity, atrocities and an aggravated refugee problem. My delegation condemns in the strongest terms the military domination of a colonized people; and hopes that the Organization will put into effect against Portugal appropriate measures to ensure the proper discharge of her duties as an administering Power.

16. Also of grave importance to my delegation is the South West Africa question. As a political question, it has long occupied the attention and resources of the African States, on whose behalf Liberia and Ethiopia have presented a case at the International

Court of Justice. We are pleased to note that the conduct of the case is far advanced and we patiently await the decision of the Court.

17. Meanwhile, a ghastly picture of maladministration and exploitation constitutes the colonial aspect of the problem. According to the report on the "Implications of the activities of the mining industry and other international companies having interests in South West Africa"<sup>1/</sup> adopted by the Committee of Twenty-Four on 19 November last year, the economy of the territory is dominated by foreign interests, operating under concessions whereby the natural and human resources of the territory are shamelessly exploited for the sole benefit of these companies. Such a situation is immoral and should be promptly rectified.

18. By putting into practice the recommendations of the report of the Odendaal Commission and dismembering the territory into "homelands", the South African Government has found breeding ground for its hateful policy of apartheid. The conduct of affairs in South West Africa is consistent with the monstrous and inhuman policy of apartheid for which South Africa is now notorious within its own borders. The continued restrictions, arrests and intensified repression of the opponents of apartheid, the numerous trials and harsh sentences, the ill-treatment and brutal torture of political prisoners, and, above all, the continued imposition of death sentences and executions for opposition to this inhuman policy -- all these combine to make the South African situation an explosive and dangerous one and a scandal to civilization, and it must command the early attention of the Security Council.

19. We know that, in voicing our righteous indignation over the South African situation, we have the sympathy of many. What we need in this universal cause is the sympathy and active support of all. This, up to now, has not been forthcoming from all those who profess a love for freedom and justice. By its continuing economic links with some of the major Powers, South Africa has been all the more able to strengthen its economic and military machine with which the defenceless non-white millions are being ruthlessly exploited and oppressed. In spite of repeated appeals for economic sanctions to bring the Verwoerd régime to its senses, if not to its knees, there has been no substantial reduction in the economic ties between South Africa and some of her friends. Even restrictions on the sale of arms and munitions have little meaning when South Africa is given such assistance as to enable that Government to produce its own arms, so that it no longer has any need for future imports. My delegation here renews its call to all lovers of freedom and human dignity to join in a concerted effort that will finally and for all time remove from the human community the shameful scourge of racism.

20. In Asia, the stubborn conflict in Viet-Nam continues with a rising toll of man and resources, a sad reminder of the failure of nations to solve their problems by peaceful means. My Government has

always believed in the principles of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, of respect for territorial integrity, and of self-determination. We sincerely hope that these principles will be applied responsibly to the Viet-Nam situation. We believe that it is not enough to pay lip-service to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but that all nations, great and small, should at all times and in all places apply them without fear of favour.

21. In more recent weeks, an equally agonizing conflict has erupted on the Indian sub-continent between two of our Afro-Asian friends. My delegation solemnly urges these two brotherly States, in the spirit of Afro-Asian accommodation, to respect the cease-fire appeal made by the Security Council and apply their minds to a non-military settlement of the dispute. For, as has been pointed out by our able Secretary-General, U Thant, whose efforts in this crisis my delegation hereby gratefully acknowledges, the problem is a political one, and we feel that it is only in that context that a lasting solution can be found.

22. Concerned as we may be with specific issues, our quest for peace must inevitably be universal. My delegation therefore ventures to suggest that our task will never be complete until our Organization assumes a truly universal character. My delegation stands convinced of the right of the People's Republic of China to take its place in the General Assembly. We hereby reiterate that it is hardly reasonable to exclude, from a world Organization which discusses the most urgent problems of peace and war, a nation of over 700 million people. It is even more unreasonable to expect our discussions on disarmament to be effective or meaningful if we should exclude from the conference table one of the nuclear Powers. My Government will therefore continue to support the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

23. My delegation notes with satisfaction that during the first half of the United Nations Development Decade our Organization has been studying ways and means of improving the economies of the developing countries of the world. Nevertheless, during the first half of this Decade, our export prices have been on the decline, our economic plans have remained unfilled and the rate of growth of our gross domestic product, which was never fast, is in great danger of slowing down to a standstill. The technical assistance schemes which have been formulated for the study of the problem are numerous and praiseworthy; but much as the studies of these problems are praiseworthy, my delegation firmly believes that the time has now come for positive action more likely to lead to the eradication of the retarding causes leading to our economic stagnation.

24. One definite course of action which has been pursued has been the establishment of the Conference on Trade and Development as one of the regular organs of the United Nations. It is the hope of my delegation that all Member States will co-operate in making the new institution a success. For this to happen, certain myths should be dispelled and new attitudes developed. It has, for instance, so far been

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 15, document A/5840.

the principle that it is the primary responsibility of the governments of the developing countries to take appropriate measures to accelerate the growth of their economies. It cannot be denied, that, during the past five years, we in the developing countries have been taking every possible measures to improve our economic and living standards and that we have not succeeded. The reason for our failure is obvious—we cannot entirely by our own efforts achieve our objectives, and it is now time it was realized that the international community must be organized in a spirit of co-operation and understanding if the outstanding economic problems of this age are to be solved.

25. The year 1965 is International Co-operation Year, and that co-operation must be shown not only in the political but also in the economic sphere. At this stage of international affairs, when men are beginning to appreciate the need for constructive co-operation, every opportunity should be seized by nations to collaborate in the economic field to improve the general well-being. That is why my delegation welcomes the proposal to transform the Special Fund into a Capital Development Fund and to merge it with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance into a new United Nations Development Programme.

26. My delegation therefore looks forward to more fruitful international co-operation in the finest traditions of those principles enshrined in the Charter to the lasting benefit of humanity. ✕

27. Mr. STEWART (United Kingdom): First, Mr. President, I gladly offer to you my congratulations on your election. It is altogether fitting that the distinguished representative of a country which has contributed so greatly to human civilization should preside over our counsels. Also, as we embark on a new session, I wish, like the distinguished representative of Sierra Leone, who has just addressed us, to pay my tribute to Foreign Minister Quaison-Sakye for his guidance through the difficulties of the previous session.

28. Next, I would ask the Assembly's indulgence for one who addresses it with some diffidence as a newcomer—with some diffidence, but with confidence also as the spokesman of a country which is dedicated to strengthening the authority of the United Nations.

29. We meet at a time when many grave problems remain unsolved. Germany remains divided, its people denied their right to frame their future in unity. As long as that is so, a happy settlement of European affairs is obstructed. Indonesia has withdrawn from the United Nations, and the People's Republic of China is not represented here. The absence of these countries deprives the United Nations of that universality which is essential to its ultimate success; and it is for this reason that my Government holds firmly to the view that the People's Republic of China should be with us here.

30. Fighting continues in Viet-Nam. Now the British Government believes that this problem could be solved on the following lines. Let all the fighting stop, let all the interference cease and let us have a conference under whatever auspices might promise

success. From that, let us get a situation in which South Viet-Nam, and North, is firmly guaranteed against attack. Let us have a programme of rehabilitation, administered by the United Nations, to repair the ravages of war.

31. With those steps taken, we can create the conditions in which Governments can emerge in South and North, truly representative of their people; and in which South and North shall be completely neutral, with no foreign troops or bases, and able by their free choice to determine their future relationship to each other. Those are the principles on the lines of which we believe that problem could be solved. But Britain has not been sought to put them into action. We are ready now at any time to join in reconvening the Geneva Conference. The Commonwealth Mission contains States which take different views as to the merits of the whole Viet-Nam situation, but which are united in a desire for peace. That Commonwealth Mission is ready to go to Hanoi or Peking as soon as those doors are opened. Sooner or later I believe peace will be made on lines not greatly different from those I have described. Why they should we delay?

32. We rejoiced when the courageous and timely efforts of the Secretary-General and the demands of the Security Council achieved an acceptance of a cease-fire—in the conflict between India and Pakistan; but the Security Council still has to hold to the course which it has charted if there is to be a final end to the conflict and an honourable and lasting peace.

33. There is however, the problem of Rhodesia. I shall mention that only briefly because talks about it are now proceeding in London. Because that is so, I say at this juncture only this: first, that when any country is given independence, that independence must be given in a form which safeguards the interests of all its people and not only those of a minority group; second, that it is greatly to be desired that this process should be carried through by consultation and agreement, as has indeed happened in so many countries of the Commonwealth who now take their places here with us in the United Nations.

34. These are some, but not all, of the problems that face us. Amid all these difficulties, how can the United Nations go forward with the task which His Holiness the Pope commented to us, the task of creating a peaceful world? I want to suggest to this Assembly four avenues along which we could advance: first, disarmament; second, peace-keeping; third, the peaceful settlement of disputes; and fourth, the economic and social work of this Organization.

35. First, disarmament. I know it can be argued that the piling-up of armaments is only a symptom of the disorders of the world and the tensions in it, and that therefore we cannot hope to make much progress towards disarmament until we have solved problems such as those to which I have referred. There may be some truth in this argument, but I think it falls far short of the whole truth. The presence all over the world of weapons, massive in quantity and unspeakably destructive in nature, is in itself something which creates fear and distrust and makes

the solution of political problems more difficult. We must regard progress in disarmament and efforts to resolve political differences as tasks which must be undertaken simultaneously. We ought not to use the existence of political differences as a reason for not making progress with disarmament. The tasks should be undertaken simultaneously, and any success achieved in the one makes progress in the other easier.

36. I fully recognize the importance of general and complete disarmament, but I none the less want now to stress two particular points on which progress can, I believe, be made now. The first is an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States<sup>2/</sup> and, more recently, the Soviet Union [see A/5976], have both presented draft treaties to this end, and we also have made our contribution. We in Britain are now studying the Soviet Union's ideas as I know they will be studying ours, and I believe that with patience we can reach agreement. The second step in the field of disarmament is the extension of the Moscow test-ban Treaty to cover underground tests. If all testing ceases, there is infinitely less opportunity for nations to devote skill and resources to the making of these weapons. There is also far less motive for them to do so, since a nation will hesitate before putting itself to enormous expense to produce a weapon it can never test.

37. In our view, the possibility of progress here depends in the first instance on a dispassionate examination of scientific evidence, so that we may discover what measures of control and verification may or may not be necessary for an effective agreement of this kind. The extent, if any, to which measures of control and verification are necessary for an effective agreement of this kind is a matter of scientific facts and principles. Let us proceed to the examination of scientific evidence and let us do it with a sense of urgency and a firm intention to reach agreement.

38. Next, after disarmament, I put the task of peace-keeping. The achievements of the United Nations in this field are considerable and, although peace-keeping only halts combat and does not remove the roots of the evil, the roots of the dispute, it is none the less an essential step. It was because we in the United Kingdom believed in the importance of the United Nations peace-keeping activities that we took the stand we did over Article 19 in the last Assembly. However, others took different views and, so that progress could be made, we have been prepared to put this disagreement to one side and to help the United Nations out of the financial difficulties that had arisen by voluntary contribution.

39. None the less, I do not believe that we can forever accept a situation where peace-keeping activities can be frustrated by what may be a short-sighted judgement by one nation alone of where its true interests lie. For in the long term, it is in the interests of us all that the peace should be kept. However, consideration of that problem lies in the future. For the present there are two practical

steps which could be taken now. First, Britain would welcome the organization of a peace-keeping fund which could be drawn upon for such future peace-keeping activities as may be necessary. Second, it will be helpful if an increasing number of nations pledge themselves to supply forces for peace-keeping. We welcome the pledges already given, in particular the increased offer made very recently by the Government of the Netherlands. We have ourselves made an offer of logistic support as earnest of how seriously we take this problem.

40. The more that can be done in that way, the sooner we shall get to the position where the essential instruments of peace-keeping are ready to hand for the United Nations, and it will no longer be necessary to go through the difficult process of improvisation whenever an emergency arises.

41. I mentioned that, although peace-keeping is an essential step, it is only a first step. It halts the combat and creates the opportunity for sober judgement of the causes of the dispute and the way in which it may be resolved. So I turn now to the subject of the peaceful settlement of disputes. This is something which Her Majesty's Government has proposed as an item for the agenda of this Assembly, and I wish to express my thanks to the impressive number of delegations who have made favourable references to this step which we have taken.

42. The principle behind our thought is simply this. In past centuries, war, inhumane and destructive though it was, was the instrument through which disputes were settled and sometimes the instrument through which injustices were righted, tyrannies overthrown and nations liberated. Today we must recognize that war is not an instrument which mankind dare employ. This leaves us with the task of establishing and improving other means of settling disputes.

43. Some disputes are of a purely legal character and capable of judicial settlement. For this we want to encourage greater use of the International Court of Justice, wider acceptance of its compulsory jurisdiction and greater readiness to have recourse to arbitration. There are references to this in the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/6001].

44. Other disputes involve more than legal considerations. Those can sometimes be settled by conciliation or by the meeting of the parties concerned with the help of a mediator or the good offices of friendly nations. For this purpose we might establish, under the auspices of the United Nations, a small group of specially qualified people who would be available as mediators, as conciliators or as people who could undertake impartial investigation of facts. In this connexion, I would wish to acknowledge the proposals which have been made by the delegation of the Netherlands. Sometimes disputes can be settled through regional organizations, and I note that a study of this method is at present proceeding in the Council of Europe.

45. We have, then, a number of methods not always put to full use. On further examination, we are likely to find other methods in addition. I trust, therefore, that this matter will be debated at this Assembly fully and constructively. I believe —subject to what-

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, section A.

ever other procedures might be suggested in the course of the debate—that this Assembly should decide to refer the problem to a body of pre-eminent political and legal experts representative of the membership of this Assembly, men of outstanding ability who would study material provided by Governments and by the Secretariat, and we should, of course, put our own detailed proposals before them.

46. From such a group we could get recommendations which would produce not only an improvement of the methods already known for peaceful settlement, but also the creation of new methods. In the end we should get what I would call, to use a homely term, a handbook for nations on how to settle disputes and a set of tools for that purpose.

47. This matter of the peaceful settlement of disputes is particularly important today because we live in a rapidly changing world. Disputes do not necessarily arise because any nation is ill-intentioned or wishes to harm its neighbours. They may arise because economic, social and scientific changes create new situations which can render old settlements and old agreements out of date. In such circumstances, it is important that the process of revising such settlements should be by agreement and in a peaceful and civilized manner. But, for the reasons I have just given, this problem of the peaceful settlement of disputes is one that is permanently with us.

48. Finally, I want to refer to the economic and social work of the United Nations, and I feel I may do so with some confidence since Her Majesty's Government is the second largest contributor to this work. We ought not to think of this work as a mere side-line by comparison with the major political concerns of the United Nations. It is in fact an integral part of the task of making a peaceful world. We sometimes take it for granted that all men desire peace even if they do not always desire it zealously enough. We ought to remember, however, that so long as there are millions of people living in such poverty that peace seems to offer to them nothing but drudgery, insecurity and want, those people cannot be expected necessarily to regard peace as the highest good. Within the borders of any single State, citizens expect their Governments to be such that they can live in peace and under the rule of law. But citizens do not regard that as the whole duty of Governments. Indeed, the reason why they respect the law and keep the peace is that they believe that by so doing they promote prosperity, welfare and social justice. In the same way, on the world scale, we must demonstrate that peace is more than a mere absence of war but a condition in which prosperity can be achieved and justice established.

49. The United Nations is making some progress here through the specialized agencies, through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, through the Special Fund and through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. I am sure we are right to decide to bring these last two together in the proposed new Development Programme. We do not want this work to be hampered by unwieldy administration or the proliferation of committees. The amount of help given to the poor

sections of mankind is still so small in comparison to the need that it is imperative to see that it is wisely and economically administered. It is also important, if time and energy are not to be wasted, that discussions within the specialized agencies should be confined to practical and relevant matters and should not stray into political disputes for which the specialized agencies are not the proper forum and which can be more effectively discussed elsewhere.

50. There are, then, these four avenues—disarmament, peace-keeping, peaceful settlement of disputes and our economic and social work—along which we can progress, and every step we take along one of them makes progress along the others easier and gives to the United Nations as a whole a brighter prospect of success. For example, any progress, however modest, which we make in disarmament frees resources which could be given to our economic and social work; every advance we make in that work helps to remove tension and reduce occasions for dispute. Along each of these avenues I have tried to suggest steps which could be taken immediately or in the near future.

51. There are some who warn us against trying to make the United Nations undertake tasks for which it is not sufficiently strong or for which there is not sufficient agreement among its Members. This is a counsel of prudence; but if we are guided by prudence alone to the neglect of imagination, we shall deny to the United Nations any possibility of growth. The United Nations is twenty years old and if we set that twenty years in the perspective of recorded history, we cannot suppose that the United Nations has yet reached its full stature. If, therefore, in every department of our work we take steps which are now within the power of our Organization in its present form, but which at the same time encourage the Organization to exercise its muscles, we shall find that over the years the United Nations grows in stature, so that it becomes an effective guardian of the rule of law and, beyond that, an instrument through which law itself can be constantly refashioned so that it can produce political freedom and social justice and can meet the needs of mankind.

52. Mr. Mahmoud RIAD (United Arab Republic): Allow me, at the outset, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. Italy, which takes special pride in this event, has always been linked to my country with friendship and traditional ties. We both share in the great civilizations and cultures which have flourished in the Mediterranean. Moreover, we are confident that the work and endeavours of the present session of the General Assembly will be brought to success under your wise and able leadership.

53. The delegation of the United Arab Republic also takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey for the great efforts he exerted throughout the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We all know the difficulties which faced that session and the extraordinary circumstances which complicated its work. These circumstances required exceptional efforts and talents, and above all, an unshaken faith in this Organization and its Charter.



There is no question that Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey has further contributed to the legacy of the United Nations and to its record, rich in men and actions.

54. It is always gratifying to watch the growth of membership of this Organization. We see in this growth a positive mark along the road towards full and universal representation in this Organization. We therefore welcome among us, Gambia, the Maldive Islands and Singapore. We are confident that they will join with the other Members, in the vital task of enabling the United Nations to discharge its essential role.

55. The twentieth session of the General Assembly takes place in critical international circumstances. Armed conflicts are going on, with the potentialities of developing into wider and more general wars. The tendency towards the use of force in international relations is increasing. And the colonial Powers are persistently resorting to old and new methods in their attempt to suppress the great movement of our age for peoples' liberation.

56. With all these circumstances surrounding the meeting of the General Assembly, the question of universal peace emerges as the most urgent item on the agenda of the twentieth session. In our view, the present deterioration in the world situation emanates from a dangerous trend to use force in international relations. We consider this a grave setback to human progress. It further constitutes a great threat to international peace, in a world where methods of force have reached frightening dimension. Moreover, the use of force invites the further use of force, and leads to a chain of events and conflicts which could ultimately reach a point beyond control. In this respect, the principle of prohibiting the use of force acquires a new significance in our nuclear age, dictated by the realities of the world, and justified by the absolute obligation to safeguard human progress.

57. In view of this, we see in the continuation of the Viet-Nameese war, with its constant escalation, a matter which constitutes the gravest development in the present international situation. We believe that the international community has an indispensable responsibility to mobilize all efforts for the realization of peace, so that the Viet-Nameese people will be able to live and build their future according to their own free will.

58. The Viet-Nameese people have suffered enormously from colonialism. After the Second World War, they launched an admirable and heroic struggle for the liberation of their country. Ever since, they have been engaged in the great task of reconstructing their country and building a new and better life. They have won the admiration of all peoples for their courage and determination. The international community, therefore, cannot tolerate or condone the destruction of their accomplishments and the great losses which are being inflicted upon the Viet-Nameese people.

59. We consider that among the most dangerous aspects of the Viet-Nameese war are the raids and bombardments carried out by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. On all occasions

we have called for the immediate cessation of these raids. Moreover, we consider that the continuation of the raids and bombardments jeopardizes the possibilities of achieving peace in Viet-Nam. Meanwhile, we call for the absolute compliance with and full implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. This, in our view, is the course to peace in Viet-Nam.

60. It was with a deep sense of sorrow and pain that the United Arab Republic received the news of the armed conflict which has been taking place between India and Pakistan. We are tied to both countries with the strongest relations of the past and the present. We are also conscious of the potential repercussions of such a conflict and the dangers it presents to the solidarity and the common struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

61. It is, therefore, imperative that we exert all our efforts in an attempt to put an end to the state of deterioration and to help in the restoration of peace. We in the United Arab Republic have, from the beginning, supported the positive efforts which the Secretary-General has undertaken. We appreciate these efforts, which laid the groundwork for the steps and decisions adopted by the Security Council during the course of the crisis. I particularly refer to the Security Council resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September last. The acceptance by India and Pakistan to cease fire as requested in this decision, represents in our view a positive trend on the part of the two countries. It indicates that they will both continue to exercise self-restraint and co-operate with the Security Council for the implementation of all the provisions of the Council's decision.

62. In all sincerity, we believe that the implementation and the respect of these provisions will constitute an important step which could pave the way to a peaceful settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan. We also believe that the Security Council is in a position to assist both parties in reaching peaceful solutions to the sources of their conflict, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

63. While we are gathered here today, it is imperative that we recall recent events and developments in this Organization. The state of inaction, which has recently characterized the work of the international Organization, has demonstrated and proved the great importance and indispensability of the United Nations. It indicated the urgent need to strengthen the Organization's capacity to cope with international events.

64. We consider that present world conditions demand the consolidation and further strengthening of the international Organization, so as to reflect and fulfil the aspirations, and hopes, and the needs of all peoples of the world. These were among the considerations and motives which prompted the United Arab Republic and other non-aligned countries, at the Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in October 1964, to call for an evaluation of the work of the United Nations, with a view to increasing its effectiveness and mobility in the discharge of

its responsibilities with respect to the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of international co-operation.

65. In this connexion, we consider it essential that certain measures be taken. We believe that all Member States have a special responsibility to correct the abnormal situation in this Organization concerning the non-participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations. In our view, all attempts which are being made to perpetuate this situation are in contradiction with the objectives of this Organization and do not serve the interest of international peace. The representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its main organs is a matter of vital importance. It indeed acquires even greater significance for this Organization if the latter is expected to discharge effectively its role in international relations. In view of this, the delegation of the United Arab Republic considers it imperative that all Member States should contribute to the normalization of this situation, so that the People's Republic of China might occupy its legitimate place in the United Nations.

66. We are aware of the earnest and growing desire of all Member States to strengthen this Organization and enable it to perform its responsibilities fully and effectively. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that some basic differences exist among Member States in this respect. We therefore believe in the usefulness of continuing a dialogue on the ways and means of attaining this objective.

67. Our meeting here today takes place under the shadow of the crisis which prevailed in the work of the Organization until recently. This crisis, as we all recall, emanated from conflicting views on peace-keeping operations, either on the arrears of past operations or on the competence and methods for initiating future operations.

68. In this connexion, I should like to present some observations of the Government of the United Arab Republic: The responsibility for maintaining international peace and security is, by its nature, and according to the Charter, a responsibility of the entire membership of the Organization. Peace, as the right of all nations, is equally the responsibility of all nations. At the same time, we do not question the primary responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. We consider the Security Council, with the wide authority conferred on it by the Charter, to be the organ of the United Nations most competent to cope with situations affecting international peace and security. Nevertheless, we can envisage certain situations in which the Security Council would be unable to discharge its responsibilities. In such situations, it is essential that ways and means be found to secure the continuous operation of the principle of collective security, which is a basic principle of the Charter.

69. While we appreciate all points of view on the question, we consider it vital that the machinery of this Organization be flexible and realistic, so as to ensure the continuity of the principle of collective security as an integral part of the Charter. This

requires that we recognize the authority of the General Assembly to take practical measures when the Security Council is unable to act.

70. Meanwhile, it is our opinion that any attempt to legislate in the field of peace-keeping operations must consider the Organization's past experience, with both its positive and negative sides. It is essential, in our view, to lay down an appropriate system of administering and conducting peace-keeping operations — a system which should ensure against a repetition of the grave failures and errors which characterized the Congo operation.

71. The United Arab Republic calls for the mobilization of peace-loving forces to put an end to prevailing tensions and deteriorations in the world. It advocates the consolidation and strengthening of international institutions in the discharge of their tasks of containing sources of conflict and promoting opportunities for peace and international co-operation. This policy is in harmony with the principles of peaceful co-existence, which acquire a new significance in our nuclear age. The principles of peaceful coexistence emanate from the right of all peoples to be free to choose their own political, economic and social systems according to their own national identity and to exercise sovereignty over their territories and natural resources freely and without any interference or pressure from outside.

72. Consequently, it is our view that the principle of non-intervention assumes paramount importance in the present stage of international relations. Recent international events prove that it has become absolutely essential to affirm the principle of non-intervention and to assure absolute respect for it. Accordingly, the item proposed by the Soviet Union and included in the agenda of this session [see A/5977] offers, in our opinion, an opportunity for the General Assembly to undertake a timely and serious effort in this respect. We trust that all Member States will co-operate in this effort, with a view to reaching positive results which would ensure full respect for, and compliance with, the principle of non-intervention.

73. Adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence make it essential that the forces of peace and freedom shall never tolerate colonialism and foreign domination in any part of the world. Moreover, the principles of peaceful coexistence make it imperative for us all to support the cause of peoples struggling for their national liberation. The elimination of colonialism and foreign domination is, in our view, a prerequisite for reaching a stage of maximum international co-operation in a world of peace based on justice.

74. The colonial countries attempt, through methods of neo-colonialism, to subvert the basis of true and meaningful independence achieved by new States. Colonial countries should give up their policies of intervention, subversion and economic exploitation, which are ultimately bound to fail. They should learn to approach newly independent States with a new understanding, based on equality and genuine co-operation. Parallel to this, we consider that the military bases in foreign countries, maintained by colonial Powers for the purpose of intimidating and



threatening the nationalist movements of liberation, constitute a direct menace to international peace and security. Once again we insist on the liquidation of these foreign military bases, and we reject the underlying policies which motivate their presence.

75. The racial policies from which the peoples in Africa and elsewhere have been and still are suffering constitute an integral part of the whole colonial régime, bent on the full exploitation and subjugation of peoples. Thus, we consider the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa, both in South Africa and South West Africa, as the worst form of political and racial colonialism. We consider that the international community has a special responsibility to force the Government of South Africa to surrender to the African people in South Africa their inalienable and sacred rights. In this connexion, we maintain that the countries which have not yet implemented the various resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity concerning a boycott of South Africa should immediately comply with and implement these resolutions. For, through their transactions and co-operation, these countries are, in fact, enabling the Government of South Africa to pursue its colonial and racial policies against the struggling people of South Africa.

76. The combined forces of racism and colonialism committed in Palestine an aggression unprecedented in human history. Israel is the symbol and product of the ultimate form of aggression committed by these forces. Foreigners, armed and trained by international Zionism, with the active aid of British colonialism, occupied Palestine and forced its people across the borders. Thus, the world witnessed the greatest robbery in history: the homeland of the people of Palestine. The Israel occupation stands today as a manifestation of the most brutal and flagrant act of aggression ever committed by the joint forces of colonialism and racism.

77. These are the realities of Israel's aggression in Palestine, realities which have been veiled by the propagandists machine of Zionism and colonialism. But freedom-loving peoples all over the world are gradually becoming aware of the aggressive nature of the Israeli occupation. We are confident that those who are still prisoners of Zionist propaganda will soon come to realize the magnitude of the aggression planned and executed against the Arab people of Palestine.

78. At this juncture, we consider it imperative that this Organization should recall its grave responsibilities to the people of Palestine. I know of no other question in the United Nations in which the Organization has a greater responsibility; for I know of no other question in which the United Nations, and the League of Nations before it, has been used as an instrument to carry out such a colonial and racial plan of aggression. The questions related to Palestine in this Organization should, therefore, be approached and comprehended in that perspective. It should also be clear to all that the right of the people of Palestine to belong and return to Palestine is a right as legitimate as that of all other peoples to their homeland.

79. The struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to recover their sacred rights is a struggle for the most honourable and noble human objective. We in the United Arab Republic are therefore encouraged by the steps which have recently been taken by the Arab people of Palestine to organize and co-ordinate their efforts within the framework of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine. In this connexion we are confident that the representatives of Palestine will be afforded a fair opportunity to address Member States on their cause.

80. The United Nations faces today a serious challenge as a result of the military and oppressive measures which the United Kingdom has recently been enforcing against the people of Aden and the Protectorates. The British authorities in Aden are imposing a rule of martial law, launching a campaign of terror, and daily engaging in a constant violation of all the civil rights of the people of Aden. Such a state of affairs belongs to the darkest days of colonialism. The United Kingdom has been dispatching its battle-ships and its military aircraft and reinforcing its military base in Aden, all in a desperate attempt to force the people of Aden to submit to its colonial policy. The recent military and repressive actions of the British Government are not only a further aggression against the people of Aden, but they also constitute a deliberate affront to this Organization and its efforts.

81. The recently intensified policy of repression followed by the United Kingdom takes place simultaneously with the opening of the twentieth session of the General Assembly and the release of the report of the Committee of Twenty-Four on the question of Aden [A/6000/Rev.1, Chap. VI]. All delegations represented here are familiar with the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Committee of Twenty-Four on the question of Aden. In these resolutions the United Kingdom has consistently been called upon by the Organization to abandon its colonial policy and allow the people of Aden to practise their inalienable right of self-determination. These resolutions, furthermore, have repeatedly called upon the United Kingdom to cease its military operations against the people of Aden and the Protectorates; to abolish the state of emergency; to repeal all laws restricting public freedoms; to cease forthwith all repressive actions, release all political detainees, and allow the exiled nationals to return to the territory. Equally, these resolutions have considered the presence of the military base in Aden as a threat to peace and security in the region. Furthermore, the last report of the Committee of Twenty-Four expressed its considered belief that the action called for in these resolutions "constitutes the absolute minimum that is required and that nothing short of its strict implementation can be accepted" [*ibid.*, annex II, para. 73]. Yet, the United Kingdom has chosen to resort to a policy of force which violates all these resolutions.

82. In an attempt to justify their recent oppressive measures, the British authorities advance a familiar pretext. British spokesmen justify their aggressive actions with the claim that they were compelled to take these measures in the face of the so-called

acts of terror committed by the nationalists in Aden. This is a language which falls into the familiar colonial pattern of attributing terrorism to the national liberation movements which struggle to liberate their countries from colonialism and foreign domination.

83. But we all know that the real terror in Aden started with British occupation of the territory, that it has remained as long as Britain has occupied Aden, and that it will remain until the final liberation of Aden and the Protectorates from the forces of colonialism. The real terrorism in Aden lies in the British aggression against the people of Aden and the Protectorates. This aggression is systematically committed by the British armed forces which are engaged in military operations and in bombarding the peaceful citizens of the territory, forcing tens of thousands of refugees into neighbouring Yemen. The British military base stands both as a symbol and as an instrument of British policy of aggression and terror in the area.

84. In view of this, the delegation of the United Arab Republic calls upon this Organization, with its various organs, to face the dangerous challenge presented by the United Kingdom and to initiate measures which would compel the United Kingdom to put an end to its present colonial and aggressive policy.

85. I should now like to refer to another part of the Arabian Peninsula. The people of Oman, whose problem is on the agenda of the twentieth session, are still subjected to colonial policies and foreign intervention. The Ad Hoc Committee on Oman has submitted its report,<sup>3/</sup> which brings the Omani question to a new stage in the United Nations. Despite the fact that the United Kingdom did not allow the Ad Hoc Committee to visit Oman, the conclusions and findings presented in the Committee's report shed an important light on the nature of the Oman question. The Committee ascertained the colonial character of the question and the flagrant armed intervention committed by the United Kingdom in the affairs of the people of Oman.

86. It is evident from the report of the Ad Hoc Committee that the people of Oman are unanimous in their demand for the withdrawal of British forces, so that they may be able to exercise their right to self-determination without any foreign interference. In view of this report, the delegation of the United Arab Republic considers it imperative that the General Assembly, at its present session, should move ahead and take appropriate steps to bring the Oman question within the framework of the machinery and institutions of decolonization.

87. The report of the Committee on Oman has also revealed the traditional colonial methods practised by the United Kingdom in the Arabian Peninsula. In the Arab Gulf, the United Kingdom still resorts to colonial methods designed to perpetuate conditions which are unjust and alien to the spirit of our time. These methods are also in contradiction of the international order envisaged by the United Nations

Charter and other fundamental international conventions which affirm the right of all peoples to self-determination and sovereignty over their territories and natural resources. We maintain that British policy in the Arab Gulf should no longer be permitted to continue, no matter how much the United Kingdom employs quasi-legal or illegal and unequal agreements imposed by force. The efforts of the United Nations still have to be extended to cope with colonialism in that part of the world.

88. Africa, whose peoples have suffered at one time or another from colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, today is still subjected in great part to the ruthless policies of colonialism and racism.

89. In Southern Rhodesia, the colonial authorities continue their aggressive policies against the native African population. The nationalist leaders are constantly subjected to the most oppressive measures. Their lives and liberties are continuously threatened with grave hazards and unlimited atrocities. Despite the change in attitude which has lately marked the policy of the United Kingdom, we still consider that the United Kingdom Government is responsible for the conditions in the territory and, consequently, is called upon to implement the various and repeated resolutions of the United Nations. Meanwhile, we have no doubt that the honourable struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia will inevitably overcome the policies of colonialism, racism and aggression and will attain for the people of Southern Rhodesia freedom, dignity and equality in their own land.

90. In other places in Africa—in Angola, Mozambique and in the so-called Portuguese Guinea—the Government of Portugal is still pursuing its colonial policy which has alienated it from peace-loving forces in the international community. We have absolute faith in the inevitable victory of the African peoples struggling against Portuguese colonialism; they will regain their independence, recover their freedom and ultimately join their brothers in the rest of the continent in the great task of building a free and progressive Africa.

91. It is imperative, in this connexion, to point out the role of those Powers which, through military and political alliances or for economic interests, acquiesce in the colonial and racial policies practised in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories. Those Powers bear a special responsibility for subverting the efforts and not complying with the numerous resolutions of this Organization and the Organization of African Unity, designed to force the Governments and authorities in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories to surrender to the will of the African peoples in those territories.

92. Today millions of people all over the globe stand absolutely determined to spare mankind the recurrence of a general war; for they are fully aware of the destruction beyond calculation potentially inherent in such a war. That determination forms the strongest guarantee for peace.

93. The arms race continues, and with it the hazards and dangers increase. The efforts exerted by the United Nations in this respect since 1946 have been

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 16, document A/5846.

with little value. This prompts us all the more to call for further efforts towards the goal of general and complete disarmament and with it the achievement of a more secure and better life.

94. Recent debates on disarmament have demonstrated the great necessity of concluding an international treaty to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons. This justifies the concern initially expressed by the African Summit Conference, held in Cairo in July 1964, and later by the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. We can no longer be indifferent to the fact that the world is in a desperate race with time in this respect. The question of concluding a treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, consequently, acquires an urgency which justifies its immediate consideration.

95. A treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should, in our opinion, be based on a balanced equilibrium between the obligations of nuclear States and the obligations of non-nuclear States. It should not be merely a commitment on the part of the non-nuclear States, with no corresponding commitment of equal importance on the part of the nuclear States. Meanwhile the treaty must ensure that nuclear weapons will not reach the hands of any non-nuclear State in any form or by any means. Furthermore, we consider it essential that such a treaty should provide effective guarantees for its full implementation and against any violations of its provisions. We consider that the conclusion of such a treaty is of great importance, not only because the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons requires urgent and appropriate measures, but also because it would constitute an important step towards the goal of total prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

96. As for the question of nuclear tests, the United Arab Republic believes that we have reached the point where appropriate measures should be undertaken in regard to the cessation of underground nuclear tests. The neutral countries in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva exerted considerable efforts with a view to reaching an agreed common basis. In this respect, I should like to refer to the suggestions submitted to the Conference at its 224th meeting on 17 August last by the delegation of the United Arab Republic. We trust that those suggestions will receive due consideration during this session; for we believe that without the cessation of underground nuclear tests the Moscow Treaty will remain an unfinished endeavour.

97. The question of general and complete disarmament remains the paramount objective for the international community. This fact justifies all the efforts which are being employed in this respect. The United Arab Republic, therefore, strongly supports the convening of an international conference on disarmament in which all countries will participate. We attach great importance to the convening of such a conference, and we trust that all countries will participate in it. We further hope that every opportunity will be provided for its success.

98. The delegation of the United Arab Republic considers that the present session of the General Assembly possesses great opportunities for achiev-

ing positive steps in the field of disarmament. Moreover, this session has the responsibility of formulating fresh directives to the Eighteen-Nation Conference in the field of general and complete disarmament, as well as undertaking appropriate measures with regard to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and cessation of underground nuclear tests; thus bringing the efforts of the last few years to more tangible results.

99. The unity of our world is a living fact which is increasingly making an evident impact in all fields, on the State level as well as the individual level. In such a world, where distance is disappearing and the unity of fate is an established fact, the concept of international peace and security and the concept of the individual's welfare from a single reality. This reality necessitates the creation of just economic relations among States, so as to enable the peoples of the developing countries to accomplish in years what they have missed over the centuries. The fulfilment of that objective requires further mobilization of unilateral as well as collective efforts, with a view to affording the individual in the developing countries a decent and reasonable standard of living.

100. It must be borne in mind by the developed countries that the task of accelerated development in the developing countries would ultimately be in the mutual interest of both the developing and the developed countries.

101. The developed countries have the urgent responsibility of allowing an increased flow of financial resources to developing countries. In that connexion it is relevant to refer to some sobering figures which appeared in the last report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.<sup>4/</sup> The report states that 12 per cent of the total export earnings of the developed countries has been devoted to the servicing of their debts. In some countries the percentage has reached one-fourth of their total export earnings. It is our belief that these figures call for a review and exploration for radical solutions, with a view to allowing the developing countries to proceed with their great task of development in reasonable and favourable conditions.

102. On the other hand, the developing countries are urgently entitled to equitable, just and accessible markets for their products, raw and manufactures, in the developed countries. Moreover, we recognize the pressing necessity for the developing countries to cope with the population problem and improve their methods of exploiting and benefiting from their natural resources. In all those fields, the economic international organization has an essential role to play in the mobilization and co-ordination of efforts to render meaningful assistance to the developing countries.

103. It is relevant in this connexion to refer to the first two sessions held by the Trade and Development Board in the course of this year. The United Arab Republic is following the activities of the Board with a deep sense of expectation, justified by the positive results which emerged last year from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

<sup>4/</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Development Association, *Annual Report, 1963-1964*.

We do believe, however, that further steps of great impact to the developing countries remain to be initiated and pursued by the Board, so that the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development may be fully realized.

104. Man's struggle to attain a better standard of living in a secure and peaceful world remains today, as it has always been, his paramount objective. Today, both the promises and the dangers have never been greater. We look around us and realize that so much is at stake; equally, so much is promised. Our generation is credited with the attempt to channel the energies and cope with the differences of man, and to do both within a universal framework of collective action. It is our challenge to make that experiment a success. We are optimistic, for we know that the forces of human survival and progress are inherently stronger than the forces of destruction and reaction.

105. The present session of the General Assembly has the opportunity to make itself an important landmark along the road of man's collective efforts to achieve a better world.

*Mr. Solano López (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

106. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (translated from French): During the very brief previous session of the General Assembly, my delegation did not conceal its anxiety and its concern at the threat of a complete paralysis of the work of our Organization. It did not seem to us, in fact, that the purely financial difficulties were likely to remain indefinitely insurmountable. It was unthinkable that the international community would jeopardize the existence of so vital an organization because of a lack of resources, which after all could easily be found on either side of the opposing lines. The financial crisis was more the outcome of a political confrontation whose causes and consequences were not confined to the work or to the future of the United Nations.

107. Although untiring efforts were made here at the United Nations to find a reasonable solution to the crisis, it was in the context of wider international responsibilities that the will to co-operate and the urgent need for compromise finally prevailed.

108. The risk of rupture of the United Nations and the absence of any other effective instrument for harmonizing international relations seemed a great enough danger for the most powerful States to revert to a way of thinking in which political flexibility was given priority over the strict letter of the law.

109. Today, therefore, we cannot conceal our deep satisfaction at seeing the reasons for this crisis and its immediate consequences overcome, and at seeing this new session beginning its work according to the normal procedures and in an atmosphere of manifest willingness to unite in strengthening the United Nations and in restoring more peaceful relations among Member States.

110. Although this was achieved by the continuing efforts of a number of delegations and Governments, it was the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations that, by the variety of approaches it used and by the originality of all its suggestions,

made it possible both inside and outside the United Nations to reach this consensus on the willingness to overcome the crisis and on a number of arrangements for solving it in the near future.

111. However, my delegation's tribute is addressed above all to the outgoing President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who faced all kinds of difficulties with a courage and skill that we should like to emphasize here in a spirit of friendship and esteem.

112. As regards the prospects for the new work now being undertaken by the General Assembly, the unanimous confidence of Member States has placed its success, Mr. President, in your hands. The words I use in congratulating you naturally reflect the expression of my country's admiration for an Italian statesman who has dominated the national and international life of his country for the last twenty years. They also express the great esteem in which my sovereign, His Majesty Hassan II, holds you and which he had the pleasure to convey to you personally on several occasions in your country and in mine. May I also, since I have the honour to be the Moroccan Ambassador to the Italian Republic, recall with appreciation the friendly welcome that was extended to my mission and the positive support which I had from you as Head of the Government, Minister for Foreign Affairs and leader of a political family whose role remains decisive in your country and in Europe. Your wide experience and your authority are a guarantee of the success of our work, which will not always be easy.

113. To save the best instrument for preserving peace is certainly a worthy result. But to solve all, or at least the most urgent, of the problems threatening world peace is still, even in an apparently more encouraging atmosphere, an undertaking which, it must be admitted, will prove a severe test for our goodwill.

114. Until the last few years, international conflicts of interest were intensified by the intolerance of ideological confrontations and thus appeared to be problems that could not be solved otherwise than by the triumph of different philosophies or ethics. Now, however, the approaches adopted in seeking to resolve such conflicts are based more on national and international realities and are becoming once again much more a search for a balance of power than a struggle between ideologies. It seems to us, therefore that political skill may readily succeed where intransigence has inevitably led us to failure.

115. This confidence is not the expression of an easy optimism or the feelings of a country which has excellent international relations throughout the world and which would be tempted to minimize the difficulties at present facing the leaders of a seriously troubled world. It is rather confidence in a method that Morocco, which regained its independence scarcely ten years ago, firmly believes in and that it prides itself on having following strictly in dealing with the very complex problems involved in winning back its independence and effective sovereignty, the most serious of which it believes it has solved.

116. Although we have to accept the fact that occasionally we are misunderstood or even criticized, it

still remains the fundamental law and basis of our relations, even where our vital interests are at stake. Our position in the Arab community, as in the African community, with which our moral and material ties are developing very rapidly, has always been based on this method. The ever-growing esteem and friendship which is shown to us in different parts of the world encourage us to persist in this line of conduct.

117. Wherever we have to take part in some activity, we range ourselves with the party which gives priority to the peaceful solution of the problem. This is still the policy of Morocco in dealing with the acute and chronic conflicts which confront us today. I should like to express briefly the views of my country concerning a number of those conflicts whose developments are increasingly poisoning relations between neighbouring countries or which are degenerating into international conflicts.

118. A certain section of international opinion, manipulated by skilful propaganda, seems to lose interest in a conflict which takes on the aspect of a chronic crisis and turn its attention to conflicts the gravity of which seems to be determined by their topicality. The events convulsing Asia, although connected with problems stemming from long-standing situations, undoubtedly merit the attention they are now receiving from the entire world. But whereas their development depends on factors which are sometimes external to the problems themselves and is mainly determined by their effect on the interests of great Powers, there are problems whose chronic nature should not be allowed to hide the fact that they are a serious and constant source of danger.

119. The fate of Southern Rhodesia now seems to have been left somewhat casually in the hands of Mr. Ian Smith alone. The threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia to the benefit of a foreign minority that is colonialist in origin is becoming more and more apparent. For several years the African delegations have taken seriously and voiced their concern at the steps taken by the white Government of Salisbury to attain this objective. At African meetings, at the Afro-Asian conferences, at every anti-colonialist gathering, here in the United Nations General Assembly and on many occasions in the Security Council, Africans have raised this problem in one way or another, showing ever more clearly the direction in which the white minority was heading and denouncing what they rightly regarded as the impotence or indifference of the successive London Governments.

120. I have chosen to deal with this problem first, because I propose to demonstrate later, in connexion with other problems, that their beginnings can be traced back to international situations in which indifference or acceptance of the fait accompli seemed, to the Powers then in a position to influence events, to offer a solution more in line with their own interests or, at best, with what they believed to be the interests of peace.

121. Mr. Michael Stewart, who addressed the Assembly just now, might very well be able to convince many of us that particular circumstances sometimes

made it necessary for him to remain silent; but we very much hope that in London he will be able to make Her Majesty's Government understand the reasons for our continuing concern.

122. The African countries, whose Heads of State are holding a conference in a few days' time, are aware that they will be meeting either on the eve of a courageous decision by the British Government, or on the morrow of an irreparable decision by Mr. Ian Smith. They have already indicated that they have great hopes for the former, but that they are ready to take up the challenge of the latter.

123. Mr. Smith's recent contacts with South Africa and Portugal reveal even more clearly the plan for a triple alliance, which if formed would sow in Africa the seeds of an inevitably painful future.

124. South Africa has been encouraged in the last few years by the indifference of the great Powers, and Portugal, even today, is encouraged by their complicity.

125. Most of the crises now occurring in two or three continents can be traced back to such attitudes, which were particularly to be found at the end of the Second World War.

126. The division of Europe and of Germany, which tore a nation apart and separated the peoples of a single community, was a result of this negative form of realism. In Europe, however, where the interests of the blocs have long seemed to be at the root of this two-fold mutilation, a movement which is beginning to look like the end of an era is giving rise to, and in some cases even fulfilling, the hope that the free will of the peoples will be able, when the interests of the great Powers once more coincide, to restore the unity that has for so long been destroyed. In Asia, on the other hand, where the destiny of the newly-established States and the future of a number of its peoples seem to have counted for little in the calculations of certain great Powers, artificial divisions have for nearly twenty years been creating a cleavage which has almost put an end to all hopes of peace.

127. Since 1940, the Viet-Nameese people have been fighting against successive conquerors. In the former French Indo-China, an international war gave way to a perhaps even more murderous war of liberation. Yet the end of that war and the proclamation of independence did not bring to that intelligent and courageous people the peace for which they had sacrificed more than any other people have done in the last twenty-five years. In fact, those who had welcomed the Geneva Agreements of 1954 — and we were among them — were unable to conceal their fears at the division of Viet-Nam, even a temporary division guaranteed by agreements freely accepted by all parties. Those who in recent years have taken the initiative, both inside and outside Viet-Nam, in seeking that unity which both parts of the country equally desire, but who have used violence instead of the legal means that had been established, have made a tragic mistake which the entire Viet-Nameese population is paying for today in a war in which its true interests have been lost sight of or have become

closely linked with problems of regional or international antagonism.

128. The military effort undertaken by those who are politically or morally responsible for the present situation has reached incredible proportions. If it is agreed that the present violence is not likely to lead rapidly to a solution, it is also generally agreed, and rightly so, that a return to strict observance of the 1954 Agreements, and even of the 1962 agreements as well,<sup>5/</sup> could lead to the restoration of peace in Asia and possibly elsewhere as well. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the direct and discreet action which he has been taking in different ways in an attempt to secure recognition, in the five great capitals of the world, of the need for such a solution.

129. In Asia, again, the dispute between India and Pakistan has suddenly jumped out of the low gear, as it were, in which both sides have been trying to keep it for the last seventeen years. The United Kingdom believed in 1947—sincerely, no doubt—that it could enable the two new States of India and Pakistan to avoid a useless fratricidal conflict, which local conditions, and only the local conditions prevailing at that time, could make particularly serious. The first years of the two countries' coexistence in Kashmir revealed the fragility of this solution, fragile because it was a hasty one and because it was intended to serve as a long-term answer which by its nature it was not. Since then, the Security Council has tried, both during and between crises, to bring the collective wisdom and goodwill of its members to bear on the problem. It has taken certain decisions, which seemed, at times, to have the agreement of the two parties. It remained for the party responsible to restore to Kashmir the rights which the Security Council had recognized for its people. Unfortunately, the attempts made in recent years to make Kashmir's provisional institutions evolve along certain lines and the attempt to integrate them by means of a legal device into the national constitution of India, in violation of earlier decisions, caused a crisis which led by stages to the regrettable events that occurred at the beginning of September. If the situation in Asia now makes it essential for the two parties to listen to the voice of reason, this same situation, which is constantly changing and which contains certain elements that may determine today the future of the continent, would seem to impose upon Pakistan a duty not to let the future of Kashmir depend solely on the hazardous chances of a solution which, though fragile, might give permanence to a *de facto* situation. The principles which the Security Council put forward at that time and which relate, among other things, to the right of self-determination, seem to the Moroccan Government—and the same view should be held in this Organization—to offer a fair and honest means of granting the people of Kashmir a right which the international community has finally, owing to the untiring efforts on the international scene of India among others, recognized as a right of all other peoples in the world. The friendship

which binds us to India and Pakistan and which Morocco has been able to develop—I say so openly—further with India in the organizations and conferences in which we have participated and worked together, leads us today to associate ourselves with any appeals and any action designed to establish fraternity between these two peoples and, without any doubt, to open up a broader prospect for the search for peace in Asia.

130. There seems to us to be another way of moving towards the restoration of peace in Asia and the world. Since 1958, our country has had diplomatic relations and considerable trade with the People's Republic of China. We associate ourselves again this year, as we have done consistently since 1958, with efforts to restore the full rights of the Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

131. I have just outlined some of my Government's views on certain situations in Europe, Africa and Asia. If I have kept my comment on the Middle East till last because I wished to show, in the light of the problems to which I have just referred, at least the existence of an identical cause underlying all these different crises, namely: the actions of the ruling Power, in the case of colonial problems, or, in the case of conflicts of interest, the actions of great Powers. It is this underlying cause that has determined the nature and rate of development of these conflicts.

132. Exactly the same is true of the question of Palestine. The decision of the great Powers to establish the State of Israel in Arab territory, having as fatal consequence the massacre and the expulsion of the people of Palestine from their country, is the root cause of the continuation of the dispute. It has been deliberately treated, in various places—and here more than elsewhere—as a bilateral issue between the Arabs and the Israelis. We have given on various occasions our views on the long history of relations between the Arab peoples and the people of Israel, but it is in fact a problem between the plundered Arabs and the foreign invader, whose children, gathered from all the capitals in the ports of Europe, have certainly suffered injustices, but have found throughout history a preferred place in all the Arab countries, and particularly in the countries with Moslem communities. While we must remember that there is a confrontation between the Arabs and Israel, it is nevertheless an international problem and we must therefore see it in its original context and recall the various stages of its development, which have been marked by the great Powers' constant support for Israel, by constant reaffirmation of the validity of the tripartite guarantee and the manifest conjunction of interests between certain great Powers and Israel, which was clearly revealed during the Suez crisis. The criteria which the Organization tries to adopt or often does adopt in seeking a solution in countries where national unity has been broken, where part of the national territory has been despoiled, the criteria it has adopted in settling international disputes, are the only basis and the only principle which should apply in the vitally necessary search for an international solution to this problem.

<sup>5/</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.



133. The other problems of the Middle East, connected with the maintenance of colonialism in the region, are no different in origin. Created and perpetuated by a colonial Power, they appear always in the form of a foreign desire to dominate. Whether in Oman, where delaying tactics are holding up a solution, or in Aden, where the occupation is backed by a military presence, the peoples of the Middle East are coming together and have found support outside their own community for their insistent demand for a settlement of this fundamental problem and of their problems, which I will call secondary by comparison but the solution of which is also essential for the independence of the peoples of South Arabia and Aden.

134. I have not discussed those aspects of United Nations activities which relate to economic and social development. Since these matters have acquired an exceptional importance in recent years, it seems to me that we could deal with them more effectively in the Committee whose main task is to consider them. I should like above all to hail the efforts made at Geneva at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and to pay a tribute to the Special Fund for its increasing activity in the less developed countries. My country has a special reason for congratulating the Managing Director of the Special Fund, who established several years ago a co-operative relationship with Morocco which has yielded beneficial results and which the Special Fund itself describes in its statements and reports as an example of its objective and of successful co-operation between the United Nations and Member States.

135. I should not like to leave this rostrum without addressing my delegation's congratulations to the three new States which, this year, at the proposal of friendly countries, have entered our international Organization. My delegation is glad to welcome Singapore, which was admitted in special circumstances, the Gambia, whose independence was proclaimed at the beginning of this year and whose relations with Senegal, a great friend of Morocco, are an example of co-operation, and the Maldives Islands, of whose existence we have suddenly become aware, but whose new destiny is a source of satisfaction to us, and it hopes to have the pleasure, one day, of granting just as legitimate a place to bigger Powers.

136. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Cambodia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

137. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): I apologize for returning once more to the rostrum at this late hour, but the statement

made yesterday [1350th meeting] by the representative of Thailand has obliged me to ask the President for permission to reply to that statement in a few words.

138. As all representatives in this Assembly could judge, to the specific and recent facts that I cited during my statement of 5 October [1349th meeting] as proof of Thailand's ill-intentioned policy towards Cambodia, the representative of Thailand was unable—and for good reasons—to produce any denial supported by evidence. Being short of arguments, the representative of Thailand could do no more than point out that:

"During the past few days the Cambodian Chief of State was received in the capital of the People's Republic of Thailand with unusual warmth and enthusiasm". [1350th meeting, para. 107.]

And in conclusion the representative of Thailand said:

"His vanity might have been inflated to such a scale that he allowed himself and his representative to become the mouthpiece and subordinate of China..." [ibid.]

of China.

139. It is sad to see the representative of Thailand reduced to such statements. I said, and I repeat, that if Prince Norodom Sihanouk was received with "unusual warmth and enthusiasm", it is quite simply because the Cambodian Chief of State has succeeded in persuading the entire Cambodian people to adopt a courageous policy of independence and strict neutrality. If China is at present our number one friend, that is firstly because relations between Cambodia and China do not date from yesterday but go back over two thousand years and secondly because, although it is a very big country, China always treats Cambodia as a friend and an equal. It does not have a great Power's chauvinist complex towards us.

140. If Cambodia were really China's subordinate, its illustrious representative Prince Norodom Sihanouk, would not have been received, as the representative of Thailand recognized, with unusual warmth and enthusiasm, since subordinates or satellites are normally treated with contempt.

141. If the representative of Thailand is jealous of the welcome extended to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Chief of State of an independent and non-aligned country, he might suggest to his Government that it should revise its policy so that his country will no longer be a satellite and base serving the interests of United States imperialism—which are at variance with those of the Thai people—and return to the community of non-aligned nations of Asia and Africa.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*