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AGENDA ITEM 9

General Debate (continued)

1. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): Mr. President, since the delegation of Liberia had the honour, on 22 September, of extending congratulations on your election to your high office, I shall only add my own cordial felicitations and express the hope that you will draw on all your resources to revitalize and strengthen the General Assembly. In that difficult and arduous task Liberia wishes you well, and I assure you of my delegation's fullest co-operation and support.

2. I also wish to compliment His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the outgoing President, who presided over the Assembly with skill in one of its most difficult periods. He thereby won the admiration of all.

3. I extend fraternal greetings and a warm welcome to the Gambia, Africa's thirty-sixth independent State, and to Singapore and the Maldives—all of which have been admitted to membership of the United Nations at this session. We are pleased that they will be joining hands with us in the tireless and praiseworthy pursuit of peace and friendly co-operation among nations.

4. The General Assembly's twentieth session convenes in an atmosphere most sombrely tinged with doubts and fears. The undeclared war between India and Pakistan, the armed conflict in Viet-Nam and the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia make it abundantly clear that the disaster of which we stand in fear is no longer a small cloud on the horizon, but a threatening storm about to unleash its thunder above our very heads. To this swiftly unfolding menace must be added the persistent, if momentarily quiescent, problem of divided countries. All efforts must be exerted to find peaceful solutions to these conflicts and problems.

5. Faced with those explosive situations and the crises resulting from them which have seized the world from time to time, who will doubt that we must never relax in our attempts to find a solution to the

problem of disarmament? Though success has eluded our reach since 1899, when the first International Peace Conference on the Limitation of Arms was convened at The Hague, we must not accept such failures. The goal is worth the effort, and so we must continue to use our energies in its pursuit until every failure experienced in the past reveals its secret to us and leads us to success.

6. Between April and June 1965 the Disarmament Commission met here on the initiative of the Soviet Union. In his opening remarks,^{1/} the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed to the increasing dangers in the nuclear arms race and expressed the hope that solutions could be found for the problem of the discontinuance of all nuclear tests as well as for that of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

7. The discussions indicated the strong desire of all nations for urgent action to prevent proliferation of national nuclear forces and led to the resumption of the Seventeen-nation Geneva Conference. That Conference ended in September on a note of restrained optimism.

8. The arms race has not only resulted in extravagant military expenditures, but it is generally recognized that it has caused unnecessary diversion of resources needed to build progress and peace in the world. But what is even more ironic to the point of being ludicrous is that it has increased the insecurity which it was intended to cure. Even those countries with the most advanced military weapons feel naked before its terrifying and utterly devastating power.

9. Since the end of the Second World War, the genius of man in inventing nuclear and thermonuclear weapons has given rise to the fear of his own self-destruction. His ability to invent such destructive forces in quantity and quality has outstripped his capacity to devise adequate safeguards against his own annihilation. Nor has he developed, along with his vast accumulation of scientific knowledge, any comparable growth of wisdom which would enable him to bring these weapons under international control. This makes disarmament seem a long way off.

10. But we cannot forget that the main impulse behind the genesis of this Organization was the desire to maintain peace and to evolve a workable machinery for the settlement of international disputes without a resort to arms, so that our efforts would be turned to the pursuit of social progress, justice and a better life for all.

11. Because this basic purpose of the United Nations cannot be achieved under tensions arising from the

^{1/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, 71st meeting.

perpetuation of the arms race, we must never tire in our efforts to bring about world disarmament. Everything reasonable should be tried to get an effective agreement on disarmament. My delegation will therefore support the call for a world disarmament conference.

12. Perhaps if we are successful in achieving disarmament some of the immense expenditures for arms might be channelled into such useful ventures as would ensure to all mankind a better way of life.

13. The United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has continued its work.

14. The space programmes in the United States and the Soviet Union continue to make spectacular progress. We had hoped that the Dryden-Blagonravov agreement of 1962 on a weather satellite programme^{2/} would have been the beginning of further agreements. Unfortunately it does not appear that much has been done.

15. Now that a manned orbiting laboratory is to be launched and it is possible that military uses of outer space will be made, we hope that some progress can be made towards the exploration of those dangers that are likely to result from the destructive uses of outer space. Perhaps a regulatory convention on the use of outer space should be worked out.

16. It has been noted that, when the work of assistance for European refugees was nearing completion, new refugee problems emerged. We are pleased that the Secretary-General, in his annual report [A/6001 and Corr.1, chap. VI, sect. F], notes that a spirit of international solidarity has developed between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Governments as well as other organizations, both inter-governmental and non-governmental, interested in the work of his Office.

17. The refugee question has now developed into one of Africa's major problems and a commission of ten States^{3/} was set up in 1964 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to examine the problem. This Commission is fully organized and working toward the rehabilitation of the refugees in Africa. It is the hope of my Government that close co-operation will exist between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Organization of African Unity's Refugee Commission.

18. We hope also that the aid which the High Commissioner has given this problem will be continued. The work so far done by him in several parts of the world has been most commendable. We believe that greater financial support should be made available for this purpose.

19. In spite of the fact that many countries have recently gained independence, decolonization remains an important question before the United Nations in the light of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly on 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)].

^{2/} See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 27, document A/C.1/880.

^{3/} *Ad hoc* Commission for the Problem of Refugees in Africa.

20. The Portuguese Government continues its repressive military action in African Territories under Portuguese administration and has not taken any effective steps to implement the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1963.

21. At that time the Council—in resolution 180 (1963)—determined that Portuguese activities were seriously disturbing peace and security in Africa and called upon Portugal to recognize the right of the peoples of the Territories to self-determination and independence; to cease all acts of repression and to withdraw all military and other forces employed for that purpose; to promulgate an unconditional political amnesty and establish conditions that would allow the free functioning of political parties; to negotiate, on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination, with the authorized representatives of the political parties within and outside the Territories with a view to the transfer of power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples; and finally, to grant independence thereafter to all the Territories in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples.

22. The situation has deteriorated further. The Republic of Senegal was compelled to bring another complaint to the Security Council about violations of its frontier by Portuguese forces, and the African States will soon bring the whole matter before the Security Council again for its consideration and for action which will ensure compliance with its resolutions.

23. The case of South West Africa is presently being heard in the International Court of Justice. Nevertheless, it has been reported that the South African Government has been granting concessions to companies for the exploration and exploitation of the natural and human resources of that Territory and that some of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission, including the creation of non-European "homelands", are being implemented.

24. It is our opinion that South Africa's action in this regard should be condemned, for no action should be taken against the interests of the Mandated Territory and its inhabitants while the case is being heard.

25. The situation in Rhodesia, where a minority racist Government threatens a unilateral declaration of independence contrary to the will and interest of the African majority, is fraught with grave danger.

26. This matter was brought before the Security Council last April by the African States and was discussed in six meetings.^{4/} The Security Council adopted a resolution on 6 May [202 (1965)] in which it noted and approved the opinion of the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia that the United Kingdom should convene a constitutional conference; requested the United Kingdom not to accept a unilateral declaration of independence to take all necessary action to prevent such a declaration not to transfer to Southern Rhodesia's present Government any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, but to promote its attainment of independence by a demo-

^{4/} *Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, 1194th, 1195th, 1197th, 1199th, 1201st and 1202nd meetings.*

cratic system in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population; and further requested the United Kingdom to enter into consultations and convene a conference of all political parties in order to adopt new constitutional provisions acceptable to the majority.

27. It is well known that these requests have not been fulfilled.

28. It is very difficult for us in Africa to understand the position of the United Kingdom Government. On 25 October 1964, Prime Minister Harold Wilson issued a forceful statement of his Government's position on Rhodesia. In concluding that statement he stressed: "... A declaration of independence would be an open act of defiance and rebellion and it would be treasonable to give effect to it".

29. Yet the same Government has virtually stated that should the present minority Government in Rhodesia make a unilateral declaration of independence, the United Kingdom Government will not act militarily against such "defiance and rebellion". It is interesting to note that this was not that Government's attitude in Cyprus or British Guiana. In Aden today action is being taken by the United Kingdom Government to counter rebellion against constitutional authority.

30. One wonders then if this statement in advance by the United Kingdom Government was not intended to give the minority Government a freer hand in permitting it to make just such a declaration. An explanation would be interesting. In any case, let us remember that a real solution may be found if the properly expressed will of the majority is accepted.

31. The unprincipled and vicious policy of apartheid continues to be pursued by the Government of South Africa without shame, without compunction and with much obstinacy. This policy violates the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and denies the majority of the population basic and fundamental rights through a carefully prepared scheme of laws. Such a pernicious practice has been unheard of.

32. Unfortunately, the Organization has been unable up to the present, despite the words of nearly all its Members, to take the necessary bold and forceful action to reverse the trend in South Africa. World order and peace will never be built on such gross injustice. It is foolhardy to think otherwise.

33. While there have been several authoritarian régimes in the recent past which were guilty of degrees of tyranny, it is only the régime in South Africa which stands convicted over and over again of establishing and operating that most odious and degenerate form of tyranny—one based on racism.

34. Apartheid is not only morally repulsive. It is a clear and mounting threat to world peace and as such amply fulfils the requirements for the application of sanctions. The evidence is not lacking that the African population is being reluctantly but inevitably driven to adopt violence as a solution to its desperate plight in the face of repressive laws.

35. If we are to fulfil in good faith our obligation solemnly assumed under the Charter to promote and encourage:

"respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion",

then we must act resolutely to prevent one Member nation from flouting its obligation and from acting in contemptuous defiance of all its decisions and recommendations.

36. The Security Council's Group of Experts last year stated in its report^{5/} that the future of South Africa should be settled by all the people; that continuation of the present position would lead to violent conflict and tragedy for all the people of South Africa; and that efforts should be directed towards the establishment of a national convention representative of the entire people to establish a new future for that country. The experts also stated that if South Africa did not accept these recommendations total sanctions represented the only recourse.

37. Apparently unwilling to take such an important step without proper study as to its effectiveness, the Security Council created an Expert Committee composed of the 1964 members of the Council which has now submitted its report.^{6/} It will come up shortly before the Security Council.

38. The report states the conclusion that there were several areas of vulnerability in the South African economy and that the degree of effectiveness of economic measures would depend directly on the universality of application and on the manner and duration of enforcement. Thus South Africa's economy could be seriously affected by a total trade embargo and an interdiction of communications. There was discussion about the creation of adequate machinery to ensure that measures decided upon would not be circumvented by States and individuals.

39. These conclusions are not dissimilar to those reached at the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, held in London in April 1964.

40. This problem is a serious one and has continued for so long that positive action is necessary for trying to get a final solution. My delegation hopes that when the Security Council takes up this question in the near future it will no longer indulge in casuistry or pyrotechnics, nor hesitate to take forthright action.

41. One of the important achievements of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly was the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as a permanent organ of the Assembly to be convened at three-year intervals. It will promote concrete action in the field of trade and of trade in relation to development.

42. This could prove to have been a significant decision, coming at the mid-point of the United Nations

^{5/} Ibid., Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5658, annex.

^{6/} Ibid., Twentieth Year, Special Supplement No. 2 (S/6210 and Add.1).

Development Decade, especially as we are far from achieving its objectives. In addition, the economic situation for developing countries seems to be deteriorating, not improving.

43. The Development Decade aimed at a growth rate of 5 per cent in the developing countries by 1970. It is reported to have declined slightly. The aid being offered by donor countries has levelled off, while the developing countries have greater capacity to make worthwhile use of more aid.

44. Commenting on this in Paris recently, Mr. George Woods, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, declared:

"The present levels of debt service are dangerously high. They mean that a good deal of the proceeds of new loans must be devoted to servicing previously contracted obligation, rather than being invested in new productive development. When all service and dividend payments on both public debt and private investment are taken into account, the backflow from the developing countries offsets about half the entire gross capital inflow which these countries receive from all sources. Unless a major part of this existing gap is bridged on very easy terms, I believe that what lies ahead is an inevitable and a heart-breaking slowdown in economic development and even in international trade."

45. Moreover, there seems to be a tendency towards hardening the terms on which aid is given. These facts are bound to have an adverse effect on the steady economic growth of developing countries.

46. The Secretary-General, in a report submitted to the Economic and Social Council in June 1965,^{2/} revealed that the rate of expansion of economic structures continued to be slow and that international aid to developing countries had "virtually ceased to increase", while the population explosion calls for urgent action. Thus it appears the developing world would get poorer in the second half of the Development Decade unless governmental policies aimed at perfecting education, public health, and such other services were implemented and action could be taken to decrease the birth-rate, increase long-term investments, and so forth.

47. With a majority of people in the world living in substandard conditions, the economic picture here looks bleak for developing countries. That is why we still hope that developing countries will undertake policies that will increase income from the exports of primary commodities and enable us to earn our way. The long-range interests of all countries will benefit by this.

48. The developed countries must not forget that gem of wisdom spoken over a hundred years ago by the great American President Abraham Lincoln. He said: "While man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind".

49. The Economic and Social Council has concurred in the view that there should be a consolidation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The reasons given for this, such as streamlining activities, moulding over-all planning, co-ordinating the programmes, are indeed genuine and would make for greater efficiency. My delegation will therefore support this measure.

50. My Government has always stated as its position that peace-keeping operations are an important function of the United Nations and should be a collective responsibility of all Member States. It now appears that the big Powers and those smaller ones which they actively support will select those peace-keeping operations for which they will pay. This is unfortunate, in our opinion, but it appears to have been the only possible solution in this situation. Now the United Nations will have to work out guidelines between the primary responsibilities of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and the residual responsibilities of the General Assembly. In this connexion the proposal of Ireland [A/5966/Rev.2] should be given careful consideration.

51. As an indication of our support for the United Nations and our interest in the solution of the present financial crisis, my Government has made a voluntary contribution without conditions.

52. We are all celebrating International Co-operation Year. Our goal was to educate our people, particularly those of tender school age, in understanding the aims and values of this Organization as well as its achievements and shortcomings over the past two decades. We sought to stress what international co-operation means and how it should work among nations in order that we might improve our world.

53. It was just over twenty years ago that World War II, the most devastating war in history, ended with the use of nuclear weapons. After all the destruction of life and property, hopes were raised by the creation of the United Nations. It was felt that this Organization would maintain international peace and security and that man's efforts would be directed toward more wholesome pursuits such as the development of human and natural resources, social progress, justice and a better life for all. Thus the Preamble to our Charter reflected a great ideal.

54. These hopes have been shaken. The past year has been one of protracted and painful crisis for this Organization. Nor is our ordeal at an end, although today the Assembly is once more functioning normally, for we are still weakened by the burden of debt which somehow must be lifted before our full vigour and vitality can return.

55. Over the past years this Organization has had some successes and some failures. If for selfish reasons we permit it to be destroyed, we should consider the terrifying alternative. There must remain our mutual interest to maintain international peace and security. Whatever the problems that have led to the present, the challenge of today is that we make honest efforts to find suitable solutions that will strengthen and not weaken the Organization and that will also make it better able to fulfil its functions.

^{2/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 2, document E/4071.

56. The President of Liberia, speaking in Monrovia on 2 October 1965 about the world situation and his anxieties, declared:

"Recognizing the ever-present danger of anarchy and destruction, I call today for Liberia and Liberians, for Africa and Africans, and for all nations and peoples who fervently seek peace to join in demanding a rebirth of influence, confidence, authority and effectiveness for the United Nations because it remains the best, indeed the only, instrument in our hands potentially capable of eradicating war and all its terrors.

"To the nations for which the United Nations is the best protection, we must ask: 'Do we want the United Nations or do we want nothing?' Because if we do not support and insist upon the support of others for this sole instrument for peace, we will one day have nothing."

57. Who was not moved to a new reflection on the fate of this Organization when His Holiness Pope Paul VI, speaking in a similar vein as the President of Liberia, said: "The building you have made must never again fall in ruins; it must be perfected and conformed to the demands world history will make" [1347th meeting, para. 26].

58. In spite of present difficulties, let us all pledge ourselves anew to the fulfilment of the ideals of the United Nations. Let us try to bring an end to war for all time. Let us resolve to find solutions to the new problems and tensions which progress has brought in its trail.

59. This is a great task. It is a challenging one, but we must meet it for the sake of mankind.

60. Mr. MANESCU (Romania) (translated from French): Allow me, first of all, Mr. President, to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania on your election as President of the General Assembly's twentieth session. We are glad that the Assembly's work will have the benefit of the authority and competence of one of the leading figures of Italy, a country with which Romania enjoys increasingly close relations since our peoples are bound together by an affinity of language and culture.

61. I should like to associate myself with the expressions of thanks conveyed from this rostrum to Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, for his valiant efforts to carry out the duties entrusted to him as President of the nineteenth session.

62. The most striking feature of the twenty years that have passed since the establishment of the United Nations is the appearance and consolidation of a large number of independent States. This has been a long historical process, at the beginning of which some hundred years ago, may I remind you, Romania and Italy were established as modern national States at virtually the same time. This process, which was to continue and gain momentum, now embraces virtually the whole of mankind. One proof of the power and dynamism of this process was the establishment within the past two decades alone of fifty new States. At this session we have pleasure in welcoming to our

Organization the most recent of these States, the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

63. The changes that have been made in the political map of the world are due to the struggle of the peoples for an independent existence. Fully in keeping with this historic trend, the final abolition at the earliest possible date of the last remaining forms of colonial oppression and the political and economic strengthening of the States which have recently gained their freedom have become ever more urgent objectives. On the modern international scene, these States are noteworthy for their full development as independent entities through the building of their own strong and enduring institutions, and through the implementation of national programmes of economic, cultural and social development that will enable them to make up the time they have lost under foreign domination.

64. The corollary of this objective phenomenon is the principle that it is the peoples themselves that must settle their own internal and external affairs in accordance with their aspirations to freedom and progress. This principle is a guiding rule of contemporary international life since it is indissolubly linked to the need to ensure equal rights for all States, be they large or small. It is only thus that the international community will be able to take advantage of all its material and spiritual possibilities and of the great diversity of resources and talents that all peoples wish to develop.

65. In order to take shape and organize themselves the new States have had to, and must continue to, overcome the resistance of forces which attempt to halt the march of history. In order to justify their political and economic interference in the affairs of other States, these forces stop at nothing; they base themselves on "theories" to the effect that sovereignty and independence are outmoded concepts, and do not even shrink from armed intervention. While the form of their action may differ, the substance remains the same: denial of the right of every people to determine its own destiny, and attempts to prolong indefinitely relations based on inequality and to maintain or restore former privileges.

66. Real and lasting peace can be established only by respecting the will and the legitimate interests of peoples. History shows that any peace which does not rest on these principles is unstable and, far from extinguishing the flames of conflict, stirs them up. Every people has the sacred right to choose the course of its own political and social development and to defend its freedom against any intervention from outside. That is why, in the Romanian Government's view, it is an indispensable condition for the multilateral development of international co-operation that each people should be able to assert its separate existence and its individuality and to enjoy without hindrance all the conditions essential for its material and spiritual progress.

67. The fundamental law of the Socialist Republic of Romania embodies that concept as a constitutional principle and proclaims that Romania's foreign relations shall be based on respect for national sovereignty and independence, on equal rights and the principle of

reciprocity and on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

68. At the time the Constitution was adopted, Nicolas Ceausescu, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, expressed these principles before the great National Assembly in the following words:

"The entire course of international life shows that respect for these principles is of decisive importance for the development of normal relations among States and for safeguarding the right of every nation to determine its own destiny and to conduct its own affairs as it wishes. Interference, in any form, in the affairs of other peoples inhibits their social progress, breeds tension and distrust among States, jeopardizes international co-operation, and endangers the cause of peace."

69. It is in Viet-Nam that we can see most strikingly today the aspirations of a people to freedom and independence being thwarted by a policy of force and of brutal interference. At this very moment, bombs are still raining on Viet-Nam and foreign expeditionary forces, thousands of miles from their own country, are sowing death and devastation among a people which is defending its right to a free life in a reunified country with courage and dignity. The military intervention of the United States of America in Viet-Nam constitutes a flagrant violation of the most elementary principles governing international relations, poisons the international atmosphere and gravely endangers the peace in South-East Asia and the world as a whole.

70. The Romanian delegation reaffirms from this rostrum the full solidarity of the Romanian people and Government with the heroic Viet-Nameese people. The Romanian Government firmly supports the position of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the South Viet-Nameese National Liberation Front, which, so far as solving the problem of Viet-Nam is concerned, is the sole legitimate representative of the people of that part of the country. That problem could be solved, and peace could be restored, on the basis of the agreements concluded at Geneva in 1954^{8/} through the cessation of aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the withdrawal of United States troops and armaments from South Viet-Nam, and respect of the right of the Viet-Nameese peoples to be sole arbiter of their internal affairs without any foreign interference.

71. It is clear from the debates which have already taken place during this twentieth session of the General Assembly that there is a concern, which we consider justified, to make our Organization an instrument which will really bring about international co-operation and which can serve the cause of a peace based on equity and justice.

72. In the view of the Romanian delegation, ways and means of strengthening the United Nations can be found only in the principles of the Charter, in the abiding concern to reflect faithfully the realities of the contemporary world and the changes that occur in it, in full respect for the right of peoples to self-

determination, and in the principle of the sovereign equality of States. The United Nations has been successful to the extent that its activities have been in harmony with the objective processes of history, and it has furthered the establishment and development of the new States to the extent that it has acted to promote the sovereign rights of the countries which have thus expressed the aspirations of their peoples to freedom and progress. On the other hand, every time it has been used to promote certain unilateral interests alien to the spirit and the letter of the Charter, the United Nations has found itself in a deadlock. Suffice it to recall in this connexion the last session of the General Assembly.

73. In the last analysis, the United Nations is only the sum of its parts, in other words of the States which, of their own free will and violation, join the Organization desiring to find a milieu in which they can assert their own personalities. The United Nations is the forum where each State should be assured of the right to make, in full equality, its own specific contribution to the search for the solutions that must be found to the great problems confronting mankind. In this regard, it should be noted that the States of Asia and Africa which have recently become independent have been given wider representation in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

74. Nevertheless, the United Nations still lacks one of the conditions essential for its effective operation: universality. The damage which the continuance of this situation does to the United Nations and to its ability to help in finding effective solutions to the important problems before it has long made it imperative to achieve universality in the United Nations. In its desire to make its contribution to the implementation of the basic principles that should govern the work of the United Nations, Romania has supported the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [see A/5771 and Add.1 and 2]. The refusal to restore to this great Power, a founding Member of the United Nations, the place which belongs to it by right is an illegal act which only does the United Nations harm; such major problems as disarmament and economic and social development illustrate how difficult it is to imagine that any viable solutions can be found so long as the United Nations continues to be deprived of the contribution that could be made by the representatives of one quarter of the world's population.

75. The important part which the People's Republic of China plays in international life is an undisputed fact which is reflected in the proposals made and the action taken by its Government—including, we might mention, the proposal to convene a conference of Heads of State with a view to the prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons, a proposal which a great many countries, including Romania, support.

76. Proposals to improve the work of the United Nations are many and various, and the desire to overcome the difficulties connected with the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations has, at the present session, also prompted suggestions and ap-

^{8/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva, 20 July 1954.

peals. In our view, the touchstone of all such proposals is respect for the fundamental prerogatives—the sovereignty and legal equality of all States. In that regard, it seems to us that the words spoken thirty years ago by Nicholas Titulesco, a Romanian statesman and outstanding European diplomat who was devoted to the cause of an effective international organization, are equally cogent today:

"As the international community is now organized, there is no place for a super-State. The super-State has been superseded by a voluntary association of free States which are obliged to submit to the law they have accepted in the exercise of their own sovereignty. Consequently, at the present time, international law seems to everyone to be not a law of subordination but a law of co-ordination, and the situation of each State in relation to the others seems to be not a situation of dependence but a situation of independence."

77. The discovery of atomic energy has opened up the prospect of utilizing a hitherto unsuspected force which is capable of harnessing nature and furthering human progress. While the realization of the hopes engendered by this prospect remains in the realm of the future, the present is darkened by the danger that atomic energy may be used against mankind and against the values created by mankind; the present is menaced by the spectre of nuclear war. The existence of enormous stocks of nuclear weapons heightens this danger and has a calamitous effect on international life as a whole.

78. It is our conviction, as the Romanian Government fully explained in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in numerous other bodies, that this situation requires us to make a major effort worthy of the confidence of the world's peoples and equal to the nuclear peril, to eradicate this danger, and consolidate international peace and security. That is why Romania stands for the unconditional prohibition of nuclear weapons, the wholesale destruction of existing stocks, the cessation of the armaments race and the achievement of general disarmament.

79. The experience of the post-war years shows that one of the sources of international tension and mistrust between States is the existence of foreign military bases and armed forces in the territory of other States. The elimination of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all troops stationed in the territory of other States is essential in the interest of strengthening the peace and abolishing all forms of interference in the affairs of other peoples.

80. Romania is also in favour of the establishment of denuclearized zones in different parts of the world, against the NATO plans to establish multilateral or Atlantic nuclear forces and for eliminating military blocks and wiping out the after-effects of the Second World War through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, in view of the fact that there are two German States.

81. We are also in favour of the proposal to convene a World Disarmament Conference^{2/} in which all States would take part.

82. Disarmament must be achieved not only because of the need to strengthen international security, but also because it is indispensable if all mankind's material resources and energy and scientific potential are to be devoted to economic development.

83. This necessity has become still more urgent, because rapid economic progress is today one of the primary concerns of most States Members of our Organization, which wish to lay a solid economic foundation for the political independence which they have gained, and to raise the level of living of their peoples at a faster rate. This common aim has to be achieved in historical conditions which are very different in each specific case; often these conditions vary from one country to another within the same region. The variety of views expressed and of forms and methods used is a natural result.

84. In a world of sovereign nations and States, each country must, if it is to achieve the expected results, base its economic policy on a realistic evaluation of its own needs and the intensive use of all its resources. In other words, the real solutions for each country lie mainly in its own backgarden; in order to find them, it must dig with care.

85. The United Nations must continue to show a deep interest in such an important problem as that of permanent sovereignty over natural resources.

86. Since nations and States do not live in isolation from one another, but are mutually bound by a thousand different ties, active international co-operation and the expansion of economic relations between States assume ever-increasing importance. With this in mind, the Socialist Republic of Romania has proposed the adoption of a code of principles which States should use to guide them in their mutual economic relations [see 1215th meeting, para. 106].

87. Basing itself on these considerations, the Romanian Government welcomes the exchanges of experience and views which have taken place in the great debates organized by the United Nations during the past few years. These exchanges have helped to bring about the present widespread recognition of certain fundamental requirements, such as the removal of out-of-date structures by means of land reform, industrialization and planning, the merits of which were still being questioned, even quite recently, by certain people.

88. At the same time, our Organization has an obligation to help the developing countries to implement the programmes which they wish to undertake. Romania supports United Nations activities aimed at making available to these countries the triumphs of modern science and technology, and at granting technical assistance and training specialists.

89. As I already had the honour of stating during the last session of the General Assembly, at its 1308th meeting, the United Nations Conference on Trade

^{2/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.

and Development, which was held at Geneva in 1964, marks the beginning of a new stage in our Organization's activities in this area.

90. We believe that the newly established machinery should now go on to put into effect the proposals which were made, in order to erase the adverse effects of the continued existence of certain forms of discrimination in international trade and of the deterioration in the developing countries' terms of trade.

91. We also believe that it would be useful for the United Nations to include the human factor, the subject and purpose of all economic development, when dealing with economic matters. It also seems to us that the time has come seriously to consider the advisability of concerted action by the Organization and its specialized agencies in making a complete study of all these problems.

92. The experience of Romania in building up its economy shows that its efforts to make use of all its natural resources and all its labour potential constitute the essential basis for providing a rapidly growing population with physical and cultural living conditions worthy of our time. Guided by this principle, we have based the harmonious development of all the sectors of our national economy on industrialization. The efforts which we have made towards that end have resulted in a rate of growth of industrial production which has risen more than 14 per cent over the last six years, and our industrial output is now ten times larger than it was twenty years ago.

93. Our Government's desire for peace and the increase in our economic potential have found their expression, *inter alia*, in Romania's policy of expanding its economic relations with all countries, regardless of their social and political system, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. During the last six years, the volume of foreign trade has more than doubled, at a pace considerably faster than that of the national income. We have quoted these figures because they show that the multilateral development of its national economy, undertaken as part of a steady process of industrialization, is the essential prerequisite for bringing each country more and more into the mainstream of international economic relations.

94. There is an inseparable link between the efforts to carry out a vast economic and social programme for the welfare of our people—efforts which are the principal goal of my Government's domestic policy—and the foreign policy of Romania, which is directed towards lessening international tension, developing co-operation between peoples and strengthening world peace.

95. It is only natural that the Romanian Government should pay special attention to the development of good neighbourly relations between the States situated in our region, and to do everything to further a rapprochement and mutual understanding between the Balkan States, in order to create a climate favourable to friendly co-operation in this part of Europe, that was once a trouble-spot. The improvement of the last few years in the relations between the Balkan States brings to light the opportunities which could be used for

the conclusion of treaty designed to make the Balkan countries as a zone of peace and peaceful co-operation.

96. The agenda of this session includes an item entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European States having different social and political systems" [agenda item 33]. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, the debate on this item should encourage better relations and co-operation in Europe. A favourable climate for the discussion and constructive solution of outstanding European questions could thus be created.

97. In our view, the General Assembly is in a position to proceed, at the present session, with the preparation of the declaration on the promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples [agenda item 66].

98. Finally, may I stress the firm intention of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with the other socialist countries and all peace-loving States, to make its full contribution, now and in the future, to the normalization of international relations, to the independence and prosperity of all peoples, and to peace and freedom in the world. The Romanian delegation will do everything in its power to ensure that the twentieth session of the General Assembly of our Organization contributes to the furtherance of these aims, in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the world.

99. Mr. ODAKA (Uganda): Mr. President, it is my pleasant duty to offer you Uganda's hearty congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that with your personal qualities, experience and able guidance the present session will be able to accomplish all its objectives and discharge its duties effectively.

100. Allow me to pay sincere tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, whose wisdom, statesmanship, and political sagacity enabled the United Nations not only to survive last year's problems over Article 19 of the Charter, but also to restore normalcy in the Assembly and thus pave the way for this session. His service has brought honour not only to Ghana, but to the whole of Africa.

101. The Uganda delegation warmly welcomes the admission of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore as full Members of the United Nations. Their admission brings nearer the day when there will be no more colonies and nations to admit, that is, when all countries will be free.

102. Uganda takes a very firm and unequivocal stand on the question of colonialism. As a member of the Organization of African Unity, and in co-operation with all peace-loving countries all over the world, it is our hope that Africa will soon be free.

103. When we assembled last year, dark clouds were hovering over the British colony of Southern Rhodesia where the minority Government was threatening to declare independence unilaterally. Our position on this question was clearly stated and remains unchanged.

104. The Uganda Government would welcome the admission of Southern Rhodesia a full Member of the

United Nations, as a member of the Organization of African Unity and of the Commonwealth after that country has regained its independence on the basis of majority rule and in accordance with the principle of one man, one vote.

105. Last June, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers urged the United Kingdom as the governing authority to take steps to convene a constitutional conference within the period of three months so that the British Government and the various political leaders in Southern Rhodesia, including the restricted leaders, could work out a constitution acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, no such conference has yet taken place. Reports are being received that the white minority Government, led by Ian Smith, is proceeding with the consolidation of its position and making friends with certain countries which are notorious for their complete disregard of world public opinion and democratic principles. It is reported that secret talks are going on between Smith and Her Majesty's Government. My delegation hopes that these talks are aimed at paving the way for a fully representative constitutional conference, and we also hope that Britain would not sacrifice the interests of the majority on the pretext that constitutional guarantees for the protection of majority interests have been entrenched in the Constitution.

106. In all former British colonies it was the minority which sought safeguards, and not the majority; we do not see any good reason why the white minority should, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, be expected to safeguard the interests of the majority. In the opinion of the Uganda delegation, such guarantees are not worth the paper they are written on and can be scrapped immediately after independence.

107. We in Uganda welcomed the strong warning which the British Government gave to Smith in October 1964 about the grave consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence. We are perturbed that Britain may now be shifting ground. Britain must not succumb to the pressures of the minority. Democracy must be established. This is the only way to establish a just and peaceful solution. We also, as last year, appeal for the release of all those African leaders who are restricted, many of whom the courts in Southern Rhodesia have ruled are being detained illegally.

108. The United Nations and the Special Committee of Twenty-four^{10/} have been considering for some time Southern Rhodesia's problem. Resolutions have been adopted, but the situation is not improving. The United Kingdom Government has the power to abrogate the 1961 Constitution, and we call upon the United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference before it is too late.

109. We would wish to see the United Nations consider seriously the situation developing in Southern Rhodesia. We urge the United Nations to take up this matter very seriously and to use all methods at its disposal to ensure that Ian Smith does not precipitate a catastrophe which will have dire consequences in

Southern Rhodesia, in the Commonwealth and in the world at large by unilaterally declaring his minority Government independent.

110. We reject the argument that the United Kingdom Government has no constitutional powers of intervention in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia because that colony has been self-governing since 1923 and because the United Kingdom has no army in the country. In other colonies which were self-governing, including British Guiana and Aden, these arguments were not raised.

111. As regards the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Uganda delegation rejects Portugal's argument that these are "provinces" and an integral part of Portugal. It is obvious that Portugal falls squarely into the category of those States Members of the United Nations which administer territories as defined in Article 73 of the Charter. A study of events in these territories reveals not "respect for the culture of the peoples concerned", not "just treatment, and ... protection against abuses", as the Charter stipulates, but torture, brutality, and a military build-up by Portugal to ensure that the liberation struggle is defeated and freedom-fighters exterminated. According to Portugal, this is the best way of promoting to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of its territories.

112. I do not intend to analyse in detail Portugal's colonial history, nor to explain how Portugal imposed its rule over the peoples of those territories. One thing is abundantly clear, namely, that the indigenous people concerned have never exercised their right of self-determination. It is also clear that, instead of receiving rights and services from metropolitan Portugal, they receive bombs and gunfire.

113. Portugal, in pursuance of its policies, regards the spontaneous uprising and struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea as a threat to its national security and integrity. Recent petitioners from Mozambique have reported to the Special Committee of Twenty-four that more than 12,000 inhabitants of Mozambique are homeless refugees in Tanzania, and many others have fled to Zambia and Malawi. The number of people leaving so-called Portuguese Guinea to seek asylum in Senegal and in the Republic of Guinea is increasing.

114. The General Assembly has, in recent years, adopted many resolutions urging Portugal to recognize the right of the people in its territories to self-determination and independence. Portugal has been requested to stop repressive measures and to free political prisoners whose only crime has been to demand their freedom. Instead, Portugal, contrary to the present twentieth century trend of thought, is determined to impose its rule by force of arms. We demand that Portugal review its policies.

115. The Uganda delegation welcomes the very encouraging words addressed to this Assembly by His Holiness the Pope last Monday [1347th meeting]. We are encouraged by his timely appeal for peace and the settlement of all disputes through peaceful negotiations. We are particularly glad that the Pope has warned us against pride which, in his words "provokes ... colonialism" [1347th meeting, para. 32]. His stand

^{10/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

against colonialism is a source of strength to all those, particularly in Africa, still under this terrible yoke and a warning against régimes established on the basis of pride and racial superiority rather than on humanity and equality.

116. The principal reason for the establishment of this Organization is the preservation of peace and security in the world in which we live. Members of this Organization have been so preoccupied with so many important roles which the United Nations has to play in the world that my delegation makes no apology for underlining once again the most important aim and objective of the Organization. It is not only the ideological conflict between West and East and the piling of armaments which menace the peace of the world today. The dictatorial and totalitarian governments, which are too much in evidence in the world, should be taken more seriously by this Organization as permanent obstacles to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is only by means of democratic institutions, and by that I mean the active participation of the people of Africa and elsewhere in governmental deliberations and decisions, that we can ensure international stability and prevent bellicose governments from resorting to war as an instrument of foreign policy.

117. Without political freedom and without social justice there can never be peace in the world. That is why my delegation wishes to reiterate the great danger to the peace of mankind that lies in the policy of racial discrimination which is being observed as an article of faith by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and in the incidence of colonialism in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. My delegation urges this twentieth session of the General Assembly to adopt and implement practical measures which will bring an end to apartheid in South Africa. Uganda has made it clear, not only here but at all other international meetings, that it does not recognize the South African régime or because it is unrepresentative, it is racist and it is not based on the ideals of human rights to which we are all committed. Above all, that régime is oppressive. Uganda as an African State cannot accept any régime which in any way suppresses human rights and makes the African a second-class citizen. We shall continue to support any efforts on the part of the Africans in South Africa until they regain their power.

118. The evils of the apartheid policy currently pursued by the Republic of South Africa within the Republic itself are so well known that the case for the prevention of the extension of such a vile system of South West Africa needs no lengthy elaboration. Uganda awaits with great eagerness the outcome of the ruling of the International Court of Justice on this issue. However, until any other ruling is given, Uganda and the United Nations must regard South West Africa as a Trust Territory whose peaceful and gradual development to an independent status has been thwarted by the extension of the apartheid policies of South Africa.

119. We in Uganda were shocked by reports of the outbreak of fighting between India and Pakistan. Our interest in this matter is not academic. Both

countries are fellow members of the Commonwealth and of the Afro-Asian organization. In addition, a large population of people of Pakistani and Indian origin are resident in Uganda and East Africa generally. Armed conflict between their countries of origin could quite easily, therefore, adversely affect the good relations which have been happily existing between the two communities in East Africa. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, therefore felt in duty bound to send an urgent cable appealing to both President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri to stop the fighting and withdraw their troops.

120. I should like to congratulate the Security Council on the prompt manner in which it handled this crisis and eventually brought about a cease-fire. Our thanks also go to the Secretary-General, U Thant, for the important role he played in bringing about a stoppage in fighting. In spite of current reports about the non-observance of the cease-fire, we still hope that both sides will respect the Security Council resolution and that neither side will try to exploit the lull created by the cease-fire for its national advantage. My delegation strongly supports the Security Council resolution [210 (1965)] appealing to both sides to withdraw their troops to the positions they held before 5 August. Now that the fighting has stopped, it is essential that the United Nations should redouble its efforts to seek a permanent solution to this very complex and delicate problem in accordance with the resolutions adopted by this Organization.

121. Many times leaders of delegations have from this rostrum repeated their belief in self-determination. We in Africa have observed a certain tendency which has disturbed us: because of the ideological conflict between East and West, certain big Powers take it upon themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of States and attempt to decide who should be in power and what path should be followed by certain developing countries in their economic or political development.

122. In the case of Viet-Nam, my delegation appeals to all the countries involved to transfer the conflict, as a matter of urgency, from the battlefield to the conference table. The Viet-Nameese people should be given a chance to exercise their right of self-determination, in accordance with their legitimate right to freedom, independence and sovereignty.

123. My delegation would be happy to support any initiative by this Organization to bring about a peaceful and lasting settlement in Viet-Nam within the framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

124. A close study of the world scene strengthens my belief that non-alignment is the correct policy for developing countries. We wish to concentrate our efforts on the eradication of ignorance, disease and poverty. We are ready to co-operate fully with any friendly country in our struggle to raise the standard of living of our people. However, we would reject without hesitation any co-operation if it is conditional upon the acceptance by us of ideologies not of our own choosing.

125. There are other factors that are proving to be obstacles in the way of our rapid economic development. Last year, in my statement to the General

Assembly [1293rd meeting], I explained that because of Uganda's central geographical position in Africa we had experienced an influx of refugees from the neighbouring countries of Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Sudan. More refugees have continued to flock into Uganda, and my Government has spent a large amount of money in affording relief and settlement. Our policy on refugees has been made very clear: while we are prepared to grant asylum to genuine refugees from neighbouring countries, we do not permit refugees or any other nationals to use Uganda, or the facilities afforded to them, to attack their own governments or to launch subversive activities in their countries of origin.

126. On a number of occasions my country has had its territorial integrity violated by the forces of neighbouring States which, either accidentally or knowingly, have crossed into Uganda in pursuit of their own refugees. I do not need to elaborate on the problems created by such incidents.

127. While Uganda is appreciative of the help so far given us by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, we should like to see a fresh approach to this problem. We therefore suggest that all refugees, irrespective of their origin, should be recognized as refugees and should be given help by one central United Nations refugee organization.

128. For our part we are prepared to co-operate with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to ensure that the conditions which compell large numbers of people to flee their countries are removed. We are ready to enter into bilateral negotiations with our neighbours and with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees so that satisfactory arrangements may be made to repatriate refugees as soon as conditions in their countries of origin are sufficiently stable.

129. The Uganda delegation heartily welcomes the decision to enlarge some of the main organs of the United Nations. We are confident that the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council will truly reflect the change that has taken place in the membership of the United Nations in the past twenty years.

130. I should now like to turn to the perennial problem of the readmission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. My Government's views on that subject remain the same as stated last year. If this Organization is to continue to play the major role in international life that we are all confident it will and must play, the readmission of the People's Republic of China should not be delayed any longer. We have stated time and again that China represents one quarter of the world's total population and is a great and significant Power, not only in Asia, but in the world. It is involved in and affected by all the events happening in Asia. It can therefore be excluded from the United Nations only at our own peril.

131. No other country is required to satisfy the United Nations about its peace-loving intentions before it is admitted to the United Nations, and we fail to see why that should be required of China. If that argument were pushed to its logical conclu-

sion, then South Africa and Portugal, which have persistently flouted the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, would have to be excluded forthwith from membership of the Organization. Cold-war considerations should, in our opinion, be divorced from this matter. Justice to the 700 million Chinese must be done if the United Nations is to avoid the danger of becoming an exclusive club.

132. In May of this year Uganda played host to the African Conference on Progress through Co-operation, organized by the Council on World Tensions. The Conference was organized in the knowledge that factors which create tensions and impede development in the African nations are of world-wide concern. Better understanding of those problems and adequate aid on the part of other nations are essential if African nations are to mobilize fully their material and human resources, effectively utilize foreign aid, and ultimately take their place in the expanding economy of the world.

133. There exists a phenomenally pathetic situation, in which the developed countries are anxious to assist the developing countries and yet their generous intentions are frustrated by their own rules about the financing of local costs. In a word the donor countries are anxious to give and the developing countries are equally anxious to receive, but the non-availability of the funds needed to meet local costs has effectively prevented many useful programmes from being carried out. Aid can best be utilized if the conditions of procurement which make it obligatory for receiving conditions to buy exclusively from donor countries are relaxed.

134. We note with great anxiety the widening gap between the economies of the developed countries and those of the developing countries. Like most developing countries, we in Uganda have made and are making great efforts to raise the standard of living of our people, but our efforts are frustrated by a lack of capital and a shortage of trained manpower. Furthermore, forward planning is made difficult and often impossible because of the frequent fluctuations in prices of the vital commodities on which our economy depends. We attach great importance to the role of the United Nations in the economic field.

135. If the United Nations Development Decade is to have any meaning, the industrialized countries will have to make a greater contribution to bridging the gap between themselves and the developing countries.

136. The Uganda delegation feels that the United Nations can play an important role in raising the standard of living of the developing countries through the machinery recently set up by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). While welcoming that as an important first step, we note that there has so far been no progress towards the implementation of the UNCTAD resolutions and recommendations. We feel that immediate steps should be taken to solve the outstanding issues which were not fully settled by that Conference.

137. The question of preference measures in the field of finance and the problem of trade expansion among developing countries are among the issues

whose settlement cannot be long delayed if the modest gains so far made and the great hopes entertained are not to be lost. Uganda, together with other developing States, intends to continue to press for the early settlement of these and other economic issues.

133. My country, like many other agricultural developing countries, is dependent on the prices payable in the world market for its two major crops, cotton and coffee. Through UNCTAD and other organs, we hope to find a lasting solution to the problem presented by the falling prices of primary products which we export and the rising prices of manufactured products which we import.

139. As the Secretary-General, U Thant, stated in the introduction to his annual report to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly:

"... the present division of the world into rich and poor countries is, in my opinion, much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds."^{11/}

140. Lastly, Uganda welcomes the suggestion so aptly made by His Holiness the Pope that, after swords have been beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, the proceeds and savings should be used for economic assistance to developing countries.

Mr. Aznar (Spain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

141. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Mr. President, it is my turn now to offer you the warm congratulations of my delegation and of my Government. I do so with the greatest pleasure. Knowing your high qualifications and your long and rich experience, we feel reassured that the affairs of the United Nations are in good hands indeed, and that under your wise and inspired guidance the deliberations of this Assembly will yield concrete and effective results. Our good wishes go to you.

142. I should like to pay tribute also to the outgoing President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey of Ghana. He held the office of President of the General Assembly at a most difficult time, but we all know he discharged his duties to our utmost satisfactions.

143. I should like also to offer our warm congratulations to the new Member States which have been admitted to the United Nations—the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

144. The United Nations has just reached a point which is significant in the life of human beings and international organizations. Twenty years have passed since nations—victors and vanquished alike, with their lands laid waste, their resources exhausted and millions of their youth sacrificed in a most destructive war—dreamt of a better new world where the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, would be observed and respected. They strove to establish the rule of law, but especially they hoped that, by establishing this Organization, they might

"save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Now that two decades have gone by, what has become of those dreams and hopes? The answers to such a question will probably vary.

145. For those who come from places such as Europe or North America, where life is secure and plentiful and where peace is not immediately threatened, the reply may be optimistic. But for many, like myself, who come from the centre of storms and turmoil, where fighting, on a large or small scale, has become commonplace, where threats to crush one another burst out angrily like the daily cracklings of mortars and machine-guns, and where, in between the tragic happenings of death and destruction, millions of haggard human beings scrape the soil to eke out a meagre subsistence, the answer can only be somewhat less enthusiastic. For us, the objectives set forth by the founders of the United Nations are still distant, if indeed they seem to be within reach at all. For us also, some of the words uttered in this Assembly have a strange ring in our ears, for those words seem to have little, if any, relevance to the facts of everyday life as they actually prevail in our part of the world.

146. In coming here, therefore, I carry with me a simple message from the people and Government of Thailand which is to be transmitted to you, and through you, to the good peoples of your respective countries, in the plain and candid language which the Thai people like to use and which they can readily understand. It is, of course, our hope that other peoples of the world will give to it whatever attention and consideration it may deserve.

147. The people in my country are aware that the United Nations is dedicated to peace—to the preservation and strengthening of peace. They also know that when representatives of various lands come to speak annually in this Assembly or, through the year, in other forums of the Organization, they voice the profound belief of their respective peoples in the necessity of having peace in the world. So far as I know, none of them has spoken against peace.

148. The only exception—and a very significant one—has been a statement made by a leader of the People's Republic of China, excerpts of which were quoted here for our edification, in which war is glorified as a great school for tempering peoples and nations. These are, indeed, unusual words and on hearing them even those of us who have been accustomed for some time to such words cannot help feeling shudders running through our bodies. Since then, further irresponsible outbursts and insults have poured out from the same quarters against our Organization, as well as against its dedicated Secretary-General, thus deriding our common endeavour to find a way to achieve world peace and order.

149. Yet, in spite of this ghastly philosophy which runs counter to the aspirations of all mankind, there are some who still want to bring such a nation into our midst. They even insist that the increasing bellicosity shown by those leaders makes all the more urgent their admission into our fold, piously hoping that the climate prevailing in this Organization may cure them of their warlike psychosis. On our part,

^{11/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1 A (A/5201/Add.1), sect. VI.

we are unable to share that wishful thinking since the United Nations, not being a reformatory school or a psychopathic ward, will hardly be in a position to administer such a redressing and healing treatment.

150. With that unfortunate exception, we may say that in this Organization peace is consistently held as the ultimate objective of the world community.

151. Yet such an objective needs to be clarified further. Peace cannot only mean an absence of a major war, a nuclear war, or a war between the great Powers endowed with the most potent means of mass destruction. The millions of people in South and South-East Asia, which has been the scene of strife and conflict, cannot feel completely satisfied with the nuclear Powers being presently at peace with one another. For them, it is not enough that the prospects of a nuclear showdown seem unlikely in the foreseeable future, although they and their Governments wholeheartedly support the efforts of the United Nations and other agencies in the field of disarmament as well as in preventing further dissemination of nuclear arms. This can be seen from the fact that their nations have joined an overwhelming number of other countries of the world in acceding to the nuclear test-ban treaty^{12/} and are in favour of extending the agreement to cover underground tests. Nevertheless, the general efforts to ensure global peace, while undoubtedly beneficial to them as to the world at large, do not carry with them full significance since in their daily life they have to meet with death and the other ravages of regional and local fighting with which they have had to come to grips almost at every moment of their existence. That is why those simple folk would be even more deeply interested in seeing greater efforts devoted to thinking about and taking measures to ensure the kind of peace that they can feel and that they can enjoy.

152. Unlike Europe and the America, a good part of Asia has become a centre of trouble and turmoil. South Viet-Nam, suffering from the legacy of a long period of past colonial servitude, had to face, after the so-called liberating tentacles which for years have been attempting to choke the life out of its free existence. It has been, in particular, confronted with an ambitious and expansionist neighbour and brother to the North which is not content with achieving a sovereign status for itself, but seeks to extend its domination further across the border. This expansionist proclivity from the North has been disguised under the cloak of a liberation movement in order to deceive unaware and unformed world public opinion. Its true nature, however, can easily be discerned as being no less than an attempt by an expansionist Power to impose its physical and ideological rule upon an unwilling neighbour. In this undertaking it has been abetted and supported by another like-minded and much more powerful régime, which likewise aspires to dominate not only the continent of Asia, but the whole under-developed world. Of course, those of us who live in the vicinity of the actual scene of conflict and are directly or indirectly affected by it can easily see through this cloak of liberation and recognize it as nothing but a disguised version of

colonial conquest. Indeed, if any true liberation is to be carried out in Viet-Nam, it is the people of North Viet-Nam, living under an utterly oppressive régime, who ought to be liberated. Thus, the North Viet-Nameese régime and indeed its allies are in no way qualified, let alone having any right, to take upon themselves the task of liberating others. It is no wonder, therefore, that the South Viet-Nameese people have categorically rejected this so-called liberation attempt by the North, and have put up a long and heroic resistance right up to the present day.

153. Although the situation in the Kingdom of Laos is now quiescent, that country has also been a victim of the same pattern of "liberation". There the aggressive forces from the north, for some years, have been infiltrating, subverting and organizing insurgency activities which they euphemistically call a "liberation movement". In fact, such a troupe of misled people, known as the Pathet Lao, is no more independent from the control centres in Hanoi and Peking than a province of any of the two countries. They are entirely subservient to directives and control emanating from there and can subsist only with support and supply from those two sources. The troops which have been committed to fight against the legal Government of Laos have been trained, equipped and staffed with cadres from those two nations. In spite of the fact that the Geneva Agreements of 1961-1962^{13/} gave it a legal foothold in the coalition Government set up thereafter, this pro-Communist faction was not satisfied with the benefits it had derived from those Agreements and it aims at securing complete control over the entire Kingdom. When its intrigues were foiled, it resorted again to force in order to overthrow the legally constituted Government.

154. In the two above-mentioned countries, South Viet-Nam and Laos, the pretence of liberation has been, to some extent, successful in creating doubts in the minds of far-away people unfamiliar with the situation in our part of the world. However, when those aggressive forces sought to extend their expansionist campaign against my country, Thailand, the mask has had to be dropped. Instead of announcing their programme of liberation, they have had to declare plainly and openly that they intend to carry out guerrilla warfare against Thailand. This naked admission was unavoidable because they happened to know that my country has been independent all through its history and stands in no need of liberation. They have therefore had to fabricate charges and to set up so-called patriotic fronts which, as we all know, are nothing but their own creatures.

155. In all these activities, the trend can be clearly seen through, and that trend is pure expansionism aiming at aggression against and control over free countries and peoples. The camouflage they have thrown over their evil designs is too thin and too transparent to deceive anyone, and only people like the Cambodian leaders, who share in similar aggressive policies, can be deluded into supporting these nefarious enterprises. In this connexion, I should like to say that I will not waste the time of this Assembly by replying to the many statements recently

^{12/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

^{13/} Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed on 23 July 1962.

made by the Cambodian representative, as they contain nothing worthy of consideration except the usual propaganda elements to further a noxious policy against peace and stability in South-East Asia.

156. The question as it is actually posed in practice is not whether nations like South Viet-Nam or Laos should or should not be free to choose their form of government and to shape their own societies. Being sovereign States, they are fully entitled to follow the national course which is desired by their people. The difficulty arises when their neighbours to the North seek to thrust upon them a political and social system which is not to their liking as it tends to make them subservient to outside control. They therefore prefer the agony of long and bloody struggle rather than bowing to the dictates of outsiders and losing what they hold dear: their freedom and independence.

157. This Assembly, which is composed of many former dependent territories, is well aware that the process of decolonization has been proceeding satisfactorily thanks to the persistent efforts of the United Nations. What is now taking place in certain parts of South-East Asia does not aim at hastening that process but at reversing it, and placing the nations recently liberated from colonial shackles under an even tighter and more enduring bondage.

158. As this struggle goes on, its full meaning can well be realized. The stake involved therein is not only the life or death of two or three nations in South-East Asia, but even more importantly, the future security and well-being of many countries around the world. The objective of the aggressors in South-East Asia is not merely to deprive a few nations of their free existence; rather they seek to shatter the present precarious world order and replace it with their own imperialistic grand design. If they are allowed to accomplish just that, the world may be plunged into the greatest of cataclysms from which many stand to lose.

159. This is the problem which touches our simple people of South-East Asia even more closely than those of nuclear warfare and nuclear proliferation. Even though it now makes its effects felt mostly in our part of the world, there is no guarantee that other areas, such as Africa and Latin America, are completely immune from its infection. In fact, we already know that these aggressive undertakings are being extended across the oceans and well beyond South-East Asia, to similar aggressive attacks, they may be interested in watching our own experience in warding off the threats and dangers to our freedom and independence. Furthermore, since all these nations share a similar stake in preserving their hard-won sovereign independence, they may also want to join together in exerting at least a moral authority against the insatiable aggressors.

160. After all, what the simple folk in Africa, Asia and Latin America desire is the basic freedom to enjoy the gifts with which nature has endowed their lands, without the oppression of foreign overlords or indigenous proconsuls who would take orders from faraway lands and compel them to live under iron-

fisted régimes which are alien to their traditions and philosophy.

161. Because of this threat to our free existence, nations like mine have no other choice than to redouble their efforts to increase their national strength and, when necessary, to join up with like-minded friendly nations in resisting and combatting encroachments on their national heritage. As far as possible, we prefer to rely on our own resources to safeguard our national patrimony. However, facing the massive forces threatening our existence, our strength alone may be inadequate. That is why, in the case of South Viet-Nam, the people and Government of that country have been compelled to ask for assistance from outside. Had it not been for the timely intervention of nations willing to undertake the heavy responsibility for peace and freedom, the people of South Viet-Nam might already have succumbed to the vicious onslaughts from the north. Intervention in this case has been beneficial to freedom and to peace. Without it, some 15 million free men and women could by now have joined a so-called "liberated" concentration camp, and another aggression would have been consummated. But even if South Viet-Nam had been lost, the threat of aggression would not have ended there. Other aggressions would almost inevitably have followed and the whole of South-East Asia might well be aflame and might eventually lead to another world conflagration. In that respect the situation in South Viet-Nam in the course of this year presents certain similarities to that of Europe in 1935-1936. The difference between what existed then and the situation now may be that the seeds of world-wide conflict have been rendered sterile by the opportune intervention.

162. What has been said above will no doubt have a bearing on the commendable proposal for this Organization to issue a declaration on non-intervention. We certainly will support such a proposal, provided that we reach a clear understanding as to the meaning and scope of application of the proposal. If non-intervention were to apply to all without exception and were not limited to certain quarters; if that notion would not exempt from its application certain activities known as "national liberation movements"; and if ultimately non-intervention were to apply from the start and not at a certain stage of development of any given situation when a previous intervention had already taken place, such as in the case of Viet-Nam, then we would gladly concur with the proposal. For what we seek is not to intervene in other people's affairs, but to prevent outside intrusion into our own.

163. While we were preoccupied with the threats to the security of our neighbours and our own land, we were distressed by the armed conflict which broke out between two countries with which Thailand entertains close relations. Although we are aware that important differences have existed between them for some time, we had not thought that force would be resorted to. Fortunately, wisdom has now prevailed and the two sides have shown willingness to cooperate with the United Nations in agreeing to the cease-fire call. Much no doubt, remains to be done, and further efforts by the parties as well as the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council, will have to be exerted to re-

solve this delicate and complex problem. It is to be hoped that all the means now at the disposal of the United Nations and the past endeavours to compose the differences may serve as a basis or as guidance for future attempts to settle this thorny question, as its continuance benefits no one except those who desire to further the policy of their own aggrandizement and who would not hesitate to plunge Asia into greater confusion and chaos.

164. While the over-all picture of Asia has become more sombre as a result of new conflicts that have broken out, a new trend appears to emerge that may be beneficial if it can be further pursued. The major Powers which so far have not been able to act without coming into opposition with one another have for once taken collateral measures directed towards the same objective, namely to bring about the end of hostilities in the sub-continent. This may be an isolated instance of fortuitous understanding. Our hope is that it may become generalized and its application further extended to other areas of disagreement. If that could happen, the world at large would benefit, while strife-torn Asia might find a relief from the effects of world-wide confrontation and concentrate more effectively on the more strictly regional difficulties.

165. Such infrequent occurrence of co-operation is particularly needed in the internal problems of the United Nations. As the challenges to world peace and order increase, it hardly seems to be the moment to weaken the United Nations, which has been and remains the one and only international organization available to deal with various international crises. Although the General Assembly has been able to function again, it is of no avail to close our eyes to the fact that the financial problem is still with us and that such a problem more or less cripples our Organization.

166. It is true that the nineteenth session of the General Assembly decided, in resolution 2006 (XIX), to set up a Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with a particular mandate that the Committee would undertake a "comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations" and that, in a spirit of compromise and co-operation by the various parties, the Special Committee, on which Thailand was invited to serve, succeeded in reaching a consensus that enabled the twentieth session of the General Assembly to carry on its work normally in accordance with its rules of procedure.

167. It may be too soon to know whether the decision not to involve the General Assembly with the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter would in fact have any adverse effects on the life of the Organization. We, however, sincerely hope that the concession on the part of some Member States will encourage others to offer voluntary contributions so that the financial difficulties of the Organization can be solved.

168. In this connexion, I should like to pay a tribute to those well-meaning Member States which have made worthy contributions to tide over the present difficulty. But the problem will be removed only when those who are in arrears in paying their assessed contributions begin to take steps to reverse their hitherto unco-operative attitude.

169. How we are going to solve this question is, no doubt, an urgent and weighty task from which we can hardly escape. It may be an understatement to say that the future of our Organization hangs in the balance, and that if no way out can be found owing to the lack of spirit of compromise, the United Nations may well founder. The hope of mankind for a future of universal peace and order will be shattered, the smaller nations in particular will have no reliable anchor and may find themselves adrift and at the mercy of larger predatory Powers.

170. It is also of interest to note that during this session of the General Assembly discussions will take place on the mandate of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, and that there will be decisions on the modalities for the continuance of its work. We believe that if the United Nations were to be true to its Charter, it would indeed have to face up to the problem and define the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly on the questions of maintenance of international peace and security. We, of course, recognize that the Security Council has a primary responsibility in this matter, but at the same time we are convinced that the General Assembly has a residual power which, in the absence of a Security Council action, can initiate a United Nations peace-keeping measure for the prevention and removal of threats to peace. This peace-keeping operation should, as far as possible, have the support of the majority of the Members of the United Nations, and should also, in our view, be adequately financed.

171. If I have dwelt at some length on the problems of peace and security and also on the financial problem of the United Nations, it is because, in our opinion, they overshadow all others. It should not in any case be construed as a lack of interest on our part in the discreet but highly constructive work accomplished by the economic agencies and bodies of the United Nations, particularly the Special Fund, the technical assistance programmes and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Thailand supports to the full those beneficial activities and, as a token of its appreciation, has decided again to increase its contributions to the first two agencies. My country will do whatever it can to increase the effectiveness of these activities by extending its wholehearted co-operation. We shall do so with the belief that they will complement our all-out efforts to tackle the problems of development and economic and social advancement. Indeed, for some years already, a quiet revolution has been under way in Thailand. It is not the kind of revolution in which men and women are launched into the streets with empty stomachs and in rags to sack, to burn and to kill, but a revolution to build new schools, new roads and new hospitals, to dam rivers for irrigation and power, and to reclaim new lands for wider cultivation. As our revolution moves on, our people can look back to the path that they have covered, the path that will not be littered with destruction and decay but with achievements as milestones along the road towards progress. We are thankful that in those momentous efforts, we have been assisted by the United Nations and by many well-intentioned friends. Our gratitude goes to each and every one of them.

172. In this connexion, our Government and people are pleased to welcome President Johnson's proposal to assist in the development of South-East Asia and particularly in the implementation of the Mekong River Project. As this is a proposal likely to lay a firm and constructive basis for a long-lasting peace, it is our earnest hope that other industrialized countries will participate in this gigantic and worthwhile task of uplifting the economic and social well-being of the peoples in the South-East Asian region. We are also gratified at the enthusiastic support from various quarters for the creation of an Asian Development Bank. The Thai Government, in view of convenient facilities and the existence of many other United Nations agencies in Bangkok, would welcome its establishment in our capital.

173. In our present world of diversity, contrast and contradictions, frictions and even clashes are bound to occur. While, in general, efforts to smooth them over can be successful, nevertheless, some differences inflamed by highly charged emotions have developed into conflicts with resort to force of arms. These are the possibilities we have to reckon with. However, with the present destructive power of modern weapons, the risk is too great to allow any conflict to take place, for it may develop into world-wide conflagration. For these reasons, it is always preferable to prevent it from happening than to halt it.

174. As in the past, the seeds of present, and possibly of future, conflicts lie in opposing ideas or ideologies and, of course, national interests. If the nations of the world, both within and outside this Organization, could be persuaded to adopt a live and let live attitude of recognizing for others the same freedom they want for themselves to choose the political and economic system or the ideology which they consider to be most suitable for their own development and interests, and not to seek to impose on others the system of their choice, then some of the causes of serious frictions would have

been removed. If such could be the case, peoples would be able to enjoy the benefits of true coexistence, which will be more permanent than a temporary truce.

175. On the other hand, powerful as ideas and ideologies may be, national interests have played and undoubtedly will continue to play, a dominant role in the conduct of international affairs. On occasion, when ideologies come blatantly into direct confrontation, the realization of one's own national interests, especially the interest of preserving global or regional peace, may help put the ideological conflict into proper perspective and thus prevent its effects from upsetting the general peace. It is our hope that this reality may be borne in mind when sustained efforts are being made to resolve the difficulties in Viet-Nam.

176. On the other hand, national interests themselves may not always be concordant. However, with far-sightedness and a spirit of give and take and compromise, they could be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of all the parties concerned and remain on the path of peace and harmony rather than that of discord and conflict. The United Nations, to us, has been and will remain for a long time to come a useful centre for harmonizing the conflicting ideologies and national interests. If we know how to use it with moderation and due considerateness, this Organization of ours can faithfully serve our individual and collective interests and, above all, the cause of international goodwill.

177. As a Buddhist whose faith is fundamentally based on peace—peace for all men as well as peace among men and among nations—I prayerfully join in responding to the ardent plea made by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose visit to this Assembly has brought us a profound spiritual inspiration that peace must guide the destinies of men and nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.