

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



1354th  
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 8 October 1965,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NKO'O ETOUNGOU (Cameroon) (translated from French): "Peace, universal peace is undeniably the supreme good" said President Ahidjo at this rostrum just two years ago [1244th meeting, para. 30]. The subject of peace has been developed by the many distinguished speakers who have preceded me, among whom I should like to mention particularly the significant presence of the highest authority of Catholic Christianity, His Holiness Pope Paul VI. Peace is the boon for which mankind, individually and collectively, has been searching since its beginnings; it is the *raison d'être* and the aim of the United Nations.

2. I should like to put before you, frankly and sincerely, the point of view of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on this subject, in the hope that my modest contribution, added to so many others, may help to build a better world and eliminate the scourge of war and the tyranny of poverty.

3. Before doing so, may I, Mr. President, associate myself with the many representatives who have congratulated you on your election to the high office which you so worthily occupy and who, through you, have paid a well-deserved tribute to your dear country, Italy, with which Cameroon maintains relations of co-operation based on mutual respect, esteem and friendship. May our Organization, under the wise and clear-sighted guidance of a statesman of your culture and stature, be strengthened in its difficult task of fostering and maintaining world peace.

4. May I also, on behalf of my country and on my own behalf, offer sincere congratulations to that great son of Africa, our brother Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, who had the rare distinction of guiding the difficult nineteenth session of the General Assembly and of enabling the Organization to survive the lamentable paralysis which had been forced on it and which still threatens it in its striving for the noble aims which are so dear to all of us.

5. I must not fail to take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, U Thant, whose devotion to the United Nations arouses great admiration and esteem in my country, which has full confidence in him.

6. Finally, it gives me pleasure and satisfaction to welcome the three new members of the Afro-Asian family which have recently joined us: the States of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore. On behalf of the Government of Cameroon I offer their peoples every good wish.

7. I have to admit that ours is a sick world. It is a sick world because there is no peace, sick because peace is disturbed, because peace is threatened.

8. As with a sick person who is to be cured, there must be a frank and sincere diagnosis of this suffering world. Indeed, mankind must diagnose its own illness, must criticize itself, must carry out its own examination of conscience. Then it will discover that the root causes of its ills are, as I intend to show, failure to respect fundamental human rights, the fearful race towards weapons of mass destruction, the complex and dangerous crisis facing the United Nations, the continued opposition of certain backward and retrograde Powers to the decolonization of vast territories which they have occupied and are trying to keep under their domination in flagrant violation of the sacred principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and, lastly, the refusal of some people to acknowledge the virtues of genuine peaceful coexistence, which is applicable not only to political ideologies but to all communities, all religions and all races. Finally, mankind will also discover that its ills are inseparable from the existence of utterly anachronistic economic and commercial systems.

9. Mankind will then be able to prescribe remedies whose suitability and effectiveness I shall endeavour to explain later; administered with faith and courage, these remedies will save it from the collective suicide which threatens it but which, I am convinced, it truly desires to avoid.

10. In embarking on the diagnosis of our sick world, I shall begin by dealing with human rights, those immutable and fundamental rights on which the full development of the human person's enormous potentialities depends. Unfortunately, this development of the individual, an absolutely essential condition for a lasting peace, is still being hindered by evils which it has become more imperative than ever before to eliminate. Yes, by fostering in himself everything that is "infinitely small" at the expense of the "infinitely great", man is imprisoning himself in racism and intolerance. Worse still, despite the many eloquent lessons provided by history and the sciences, he has not yet

accepted the principles which constitute the pillars of the Organization: the equality of men and their sacred right to the pursuit of individual or collective happiness. What a strange contradiction! What a curious disparity between the hackneyed phrases of pious speeches and the unjustifiable inaction of some of us!

11. Thus it was that a few days ago [1342nd meeting] we listened to the spokesman for the Johannesburg impostors speak of this rostrum in defence of what is called apartheid and is in reality the humiliation, exploitation and even murder of man by man, all because of a difference in skin pigmentation. You listened to him, gentlemen, and it is strange that his words have not led you to uncover the threat to peace.

12. We, for our part, still consider the pernicious doctrine defended by Verwoerd and his accomplices to be a regrettable creation of the man who, small, vicious, but still human, commits himself to violence in the hope of thus ensuring his own safety. Yes, his words remind us of the terrible experience which the world underwent barely a quarter of a century ago and which, as you know, was war.

13. Should our action therefore amount merely to healing the wounds of war? Action by the Organization and by each of its Members is needed more than ever today. It is our bounden duty, the fulfilment of which would obviate the need for the peoples of South Africa to kill one another, for the African countries to intervene and for men who honour justice and respect for the human person to come to the aid of those who would be fighting to rid the world of a shameful scourge. Is it not a conflict of serious and unforeseeable proportions that is in prospect? It is, and the Members of the Organization must avert it, must avert this war which undoubtedly threatens us. I feel fond to deplore the extreme passivity of certain great Powers and their dilatory strategy of continually inviting us to begin, resume or reopen consideration of the applicability of sanctions to South Africa. Meanwhile, the Verwoerd régime is institutionalizing its criminal ideology.

14. No, the time has come for the international community to shoulder its responsibilities. In any case, as we all know, the 1964 London Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa reached the conclusion that economic and commercial sanctions are economically necessary, politically desirable, and lawful. Sanctions represent the last chance for the international community to solve the thorny problem of apartheid peacefully. In the name of Cameroon, of Africa and, indeed, of mankind, I declare to the Assembly and to all the Governments represented here that the only road to peace lies in the genuine application of sanctions, under the terms and in the spirit of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to South Africa, which persists in its odious policy of apartheid.

15. As I have said, apartheid is really no more than one manifestation of the many barriers that man contrives to raise to impede man's development. Yes, apartheid is a manifestation of racism to which my country is fortunately not subject. Racism, too, is merely one aspect of all the forms of moral and human

under-development from which our world is still suffering. My country denounces it in all its aspects. My country also solemnly condemns every obstacle to the full development of man's potentialities, every attack on his liberties, every distortion of his rights.

16. This is one of the important remedies we prescribe for fostering and maintaining the peace of this world in which free-born man, man of every epoch, should be able to live in all dignity.

17. Unfortunately, there are many other threats to peace which cause us concern, among them the arms race. At a time when hunger and poverty are prevalent in many regions of the world, there are countries in other regions which are wasting resources of a scale unprecedented in the world's history by manufacturing and accumulating weapons so destructive that peace is seriously threatened.

18. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which outlawed war, is no more than a memory of the past. The lessons of history, and in particular of the two recent wars, with their painful consequences for mankind, no longer seem to be of any value whatsoever. The frightening arms race challenges the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, although that principle is enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

19. Worse still, the possession of nuclear weapons, by conferring power and prestige on the State which has them, is a temptation to a growing number of countries, thus making the safety of mankind even more precarious.

20. It is therefore imperative that all responsible men should face the problem of disarmament with at least a minimum of goodwill and in a spirit of co-operation and realism. As President Ahmadou Ahidjo said during the eighteenth session of the General Assembly:

"...the process of true disarmament must be set in motion, and everything that represents a permanent threat of destruction hanging over mankind must be destroyed. We must achieve complete and controlled disarmament which will lead to a peace such as Jaurès defined at the beginning of this century, 'a deep-rooted, lasting, organized, final peace'." [1244th meeting, para. 33.]

21. The Federal Republic of Cameroon therefore advocates the adoption of the following parallel and simultaneous measures:

(1) The Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear weapons tests, which gave rise to confident hopes, should be extended to underground tests, so that the entire process of the manufacture of nuclear weapons may be stopped.

(2) The proliferation of nuclear weapons must be ended.

(3) My Government associates itself with the recent initiative designed to induce all States to undertake, in a way that has yet to be determined, never to use nuclear weapons.

(4) My Government is strongly in favour of the destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

22. In this connexion, my Government deplores the slow pace of the work done by the Eighteen-Nation Committee at Geneva, especially as the Disarmament Commission at its most recent meetings in New York this summer laid down a precise programme of work with a clearly established order of priorities.

23. This is the way in which my country would like to see the problem of disarmament approached. Furthermore, in order to give an impetus to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at Geneva and to invest it with a certain authority, my Government would like to see a world disarmament conference convened without delay. It therefore associated itself with several non-aligned countries at Cairo last year <sup>1/</sup> in putting forward the idea of such a conference, an idea which was taken up and adopted by the Disarmament Commission with the support of a very large majority of its members.

24. The United Nations is not immune to the convulsions which are shaking the world. The crisis which has been sapping its strength ever since its establishment, which reached its culmination during the most recent session of the General Assembly and which still persists, offers depressing evidence of this fact. It is not my purpose, however, to analyse that crisis or to go into its history. I shall confine myself to an examination of its most important aspects as they are seen by my Government.

25. The first of these aspects is the desire of the great Powers to transfer to a world organization the spirit of the former Concert of Europe. Although the United Nations was born of the general desire for an organization capable of ensuring that there would never again be war, the small countries' role in the Organization is rather limited. It seems to us that with the increase in the number of those countries, particularly as a result of the process of decolonization, they should be given an increasingly important place in the principal organs of the United Nations, which constitutes a forum for all.

26. As the Charter of the United Nations affirms the sovereignty of States and their juridical equality, it would be appropriate to translate those principles into fact by allowing the small countries to contribute effectively to the preparation of the decisions that are taken here. This international Organization should be made more democratic and its structure should be adapted to the realities of the contemporary world. My world would like here and now to express its satisfaction at the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

27. The second aspect of the internal crisis of the United Nations is, as our Secretary-General, U Thant, so rightly indicated a short time ago at San Francisco, the contradiction between the national interests of States and the general interests of the international community. There is, indeed, such a contradiction—or, to put it more exactly, there is an absence of the will to abide by the principles laid down in the Charter, particularly when those principles conflict with national interests.

28. The third and final aspect is the fact that some countries pay scant heed to the decisions taken here. Yes, once again, it is the attitude of South Africa and Portugal in particular which comes to mind in this connexion. That attitude, in our opinion, can lead only to the slow but sure destruction of the United Nations.

29. In these circumstances, the United Nations certainly cannot discharge its principal responsibility, that of maintaining peace. We think that the General Assembly and the Security Council should co-operate whenever there is a breach of the peace or a threat to peace. In this connexion, the Report of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations <sup>2/</sup> and the principles set forth therein constitute a valid basis for discussion with a view to the establishment of flexible but effective machinery which would enable the United Nations to carry out its responsibilities.

30. Finally, I come to colonization. When one speaks of decolonization—or rather of non-decolonization—one has in mind in particular certain parts of Africa where this phenomenon still exists despite the assaults which, thanks largely to the efforts of the United Nations, have been made upon it. Instead of helping to mobilize all our resources for the only truly worthy struggle—the struggle of man for man and not the struggle for man against man—inveterate and unrepentant colonialists continue to impose an odious régime of exploitation and humiliation on millions of human beings who are our brothers. In Southern Rhodesia, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea (Bissau), in South West Africa and elsewhere, men born free are subjected to injustice and sham.

31. As far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, I must confess that my Government finds the vacillating attitude of the United Kingdom surprising and disquieting in the extreme. Like the other African countries which are members of the Organization of African Unity, Cameroon, desirous of preserving the peace which is so dear to us all, urges the United Nations to remind the United Kingdom of its responsibilities in that Territory, particularly with a view to preventing any unilateral declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia by the Ian Smith team.

32. With regard to the Portuguese colonies, my country deeply deplores the attitude of all those who, while claiming to be friends of Africa, nevertheless continue to help Portugal in its desperate effort to retain its hold in that continent. From this rostrum Cameroon urgently appeals to all countries to associate themselves with the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to put an end to the enslavement by Portugal of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

33. As far as South West Africa is concerned, Cameroon, Africa and—we hope—all the Members of the United Nations will refuse to accept a fait accompli in that Territory.

34. Self-determination is a sacred principle. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples must be implemented to the

<sup>1/</sup> Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 5-10 October 1964.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex No. 21, document A/5915/Add.1, annex II.

full so that colonialism must be totally eradicated once and for all.

35. As I have mentioned the name of the Organization of African Unity, I should like to recall our philosophy with regard to this institution, which is very dear to us Cameroonians and whose existence is entirely in conformity with Article 52 of the United Nations Charter. The Organization of African Unity seems to us to be both a stage of the movement towards universality and a field of experimentation where we can test the principles on the basis of which my country believes that a better world can be built.

36. The United Nations itself, which, if it is to be viable, must avoid utopianism, should resolutely attack the problems of economic and social development within the framework of regional regroupings and should, first and foremost, teach all its Members the meaning of tolerance and respect for the equal sovereignty of all.

37. On this basis Cameroon is firmly confident that Africa will one day achieve unity in freedom and peace. It most earnestly cherishes the same hope for all the other parts of the world and looks forward to the day when America, Europe, Asia, Oceania and Africa will join in a great celebration commemorating the end of poverty, the end of injustice, the end of war.

38. Africa with its vestiges of the colonial era is not, unfortunately, the only part of the world where there is trouble, Europe, Asia and the Middle East, where many hotbeds of tension persist, have their troubles too. Many solutions have been advocated in one area or another. All of them are indicative of our common desire to safeguard peace. Cameroon, moved by that same desire, urgently recommends negotiation as the only means of settling all these disputes.

39. Thus, with scrupulous respect for the Security Council resolutions calling for a cease-fire, we urge India and Pakistan, those two brothers in our great Afro-Asian family, to refrain from applying any solution or taking any step which would have the effect of aggravating the controversy dividing them. It is essential that they should do so, for the persistence of a state of tension in that part of the world, where so much effort must still be made to promote economic and social development, would place on the United Nations the terrible responsibility of finding and imposing a solution which might be a harsh one for both parties.

40. We are likewise in full sympathy with the people of Viet-Nam, who have suffered so much and so long not only from war but also and primarily from foreign intervention. Cameroon has no doubt whatever that this sister nation must be allowed to choose in full freedom the régime which it prefers. Let the military at last withdraw and let the diplomats heal the deep wounds which too many years of suffering have inflicted on the Viet-Nameese.

41. Let the German people, to whom we are bound by very special historic time, also find peace after a fratricidal war, the last vestiges of which we earnestly hope will disappear.

42. In all the other conflicts, may the opposing parties, realizing that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword", put an end to the horrible spectacle with which war confronts us, bring their weapons to the forge to be transformed into useful tools and sit down at the conference table to negotiate.

43. The threat to world peace does not come solely from the grave situations to which I have referred. The condition of under-development which is common to the greater part of the human race is also unquestionably one of the most formidable dangers confronting it.

44. It is particularly significant that the twentieth session of the General Assembly is being held just half-way through the United Nations Development Decade and after the first session of the historic United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. These special circumstances should give each of us an increased awareness of his responsibilities with regard to the development problems of the backward countries. First and foremost, it would be advisable to take stock in order to establish whether the hopes which the Organization had aroused in the less favoured countries had been fulfilled and whether the machinery established, especially as regards the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, is such as to enable us to reach the goals we have set ourselves.

45. So far as the United Nations Development Decade is concerned, the Organization decided that by the end of this period a minimum annual rate of economic growth of 5 per cent should be achieved in the developing countries. Has this goal, which could not be described as ambitious, been achieved? Definitely not. This is clear from the statement made at the end of the thirty-ninth session of the Economic and Social Council by its President, who said, *inter alia*:

"It should be recalled, however, that this session opened with the acknowledgement that the results obtained up to the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade were disappointing; that the gap between rich and poor countries, measures by the per capita income, was steadily widening; that what could be expected of life differed shockingly from region to region, because of the difference in health standards and disparities in nutrition; that the highest rates of population growth were to be found in the poor countries and that the population question was one of the greatest worries; that agricultural output was not increasing sufficiently, particularly in the countries which had the most mouths to feed; that the assistance provided by the developed countries and the multilateral financing institutions was insufficient to support the efforts made by the 'Third World' to achieve development; that the indebtedness of the capital-importing countries was placing an extremely heavy burden on them, which was difficult to carry."<sup>3/</sup>

This is not a reassuring picture. It should give us serious food for thought.

<sup>3/</sup> For a summary of this statement, see Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, 1396th meeting, para. 49.



46. If the results for this first half of the Decade are on the whole disappointing, can we hope that the Trade and Development Board, which we established a year ago by resolution 1995 (XIX), will function effectively and satisfactorily? Despite the untiring efforts continually exerted by Mr. Prebisch, the Secretary-General of the Conference, to whom I should like to pay a well-deserved tribute on behalf of my delegation, we cannot close our eyes to the hard facts.

47. The implementation of the recommendations adopted by the Conference is meeting with the most serious obstacles. In many cases, the industrialized countries are finding in their development a common denominator for opposing the legitimate demands of the less favoured countries, thus refusing to honour the recommendations for which they themselves voted. Moreover, while they are able to agree to oppose the developing countries, as I have just said, the developed countries are no longer agreed among themselves as soon as the implementation of a recommendation requires the improvement of their respective economic systems. Then they no longer hesitate to transform the Conference into a confrontation, where the developing countries find themselves faced with a false problem—the problem of having to choose between a particular economic system used by this or that country.

48. The developing countries, for their part, are striving with the means at their disposal to put into practice the principles and recommendations of the Final Act of the Geneva Conference.<sup>4/</sup> In Latin America, Asia and Africa, efforts are being made to achieve organized economic growth. Regional integration, harmonized industrialization and development banks exist or are envisaged in each of the regions I have mentioned. The assistance of the United Nations regional economic commissions is extremely useful in this respect. Our efforts do not stop there, however; we think that wider co-operation would accelerate our process of economic development.

49. Consequently, within the framework of sub-regional co-operation, my Government has signed the treaty creating the Central African Customs and Economic Union, which at present comprises the Central African Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Chad and Cameroon. My country is also co-operating with other neighbouring countries—Nigeria, Chad and Niger—in the development of the basin of Lake Chad.

50. At the national level, my Government is trying to create better living conditions in the country through the diversification of crops, the stabilization of prices for certain exports such as cocoa, coffee and ground-nuts, and the national industrialization of the country by the creation of institutions suitable for rapid economic development.

51. On the subject of economic co-operation with the industrialized countries, allow me to reaffirm here that my Government remains profoundly attached to the principles of international co-operation among States, with mutual respect for sovereignty. It was

for this reason that Cameroon signed the Convention of Association with the European Economic Community, which provides a means of assisting the developing countries, particularly by establishing the necessary machinery for technical and financial assistance. We think that similar measures should be adopted at the international level to accelerate the economic development of the less developed countries. In this connexion, one of the recommendations of the Geneva Conference requests each industrial country to devote 1 per cent of its national income to international economic assistance.<sup>5/</sup> But how many countries represented here can say that they have honoured the unanimous vote they took on this occasion?

52. My Government supports all realistic and effective forms of economic co-operation, especially when, as is the case in most of the developing countries, the efforts made at the national level are in danger of being nullified by excessive fluctuations in commodity prices.

53. The studies of the United Nations show clearly that the developing countries' share in world exports has decreased still further over the past five years, as a result of the decline in commodity prices. The great London weekly, The Economist, wrote a few weeks ago:

"The vitally important exports from many tropical countries in Latin America, the West Indies and Africa are now being sold at prices which are lower, in absolute terms, than those prevailing at the worst moments of the slump between the two wars."

This is true of coffee, sugar and, above all, cocoa, of which my country is one of the largest producers. For the latter commodity, in particular, prices have never been so low as this year. The efforts made by my Government to stabilize prices at the national level will now be useless, for our Stabilization Fund can no longer bear the great weight of supporting prices in view of their continual and catastrophic decline. We are therefore awaiting with great impatience the results of the meeting of the Working Party on Prices and Quotas of the United Nations Cocoa Conference, which is to be held at Geneva on 18 October 1965 and one of whose principal objectives is to fix a minimum guaranteed price for the 1965-1966 season. It is essential that our planters should be able to receive a just remuneration for the work they do.

54. Generally speaking, we in Cameroon consider that only market organization by the conclusion of international commodity agreements can enable the developing countries to obtain fair, remunerative and stable prices. We feel that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is responsible for supervising the conclusion of such agreements, would have an easier task if the Governments represented here applied their political will to the attainment of such noble objectives.

55. This is how, at this stage of history, we see our suffering world. We are overwhelmed by a feeling of deep and serious anxiety about the sad future which

<sup>4/</sup> Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., pp. 43 and 44.

awaits mankind if it fails to become aware of its ills and, above all, if it does not courageously and faithfully apply to them the remedies I have just recommended, which are for us the Cameroonian way to peace. Yes, the Cameroonian way to the peace which depends on our joint efforts, the peace which will be achieved only by our concerted actions, the peace which we all seek.

56. Let us say it out loud: we do not mean only the peace which the prosperous nations tend to identify with their own security and simply with the absence of armed conflict, but also—and necessarily—the true peace, which is a framework in which human beings with a health spirit and a minimum of well-being can thrive in the plenitude and grandeur for which the Creator destined them.

57. If war is the enemy of peace and if peace is the supreme good of mankind, why should we not be the enemies of war and, in contrast, the friends of peace? Yes, the true peace as I have just defined it, the peace on which the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon focused the attention of the General Assembly at its eighteenth session, still merits contemplation and I should like once again to quote the memorable words which my Head of State spoke on that occasion:

"Twice in half a century, this civilization—our civilization—has shown that it knows how to wage war. Let us now prove that it is capable of keeping the peace." [1244th meeting, para. 102.]

58. Mr. AL-BAZZAZ (Iraq): Permit me, Mr. President, to join all my colleagues who have preceded me in conveying to you our heartiest congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. I am certain that your great personal qualifications and your wide experience in world affairs will ensure the success of our deliberations in this session.

59. May I also pay tribute to the Foreign Minister of Ghana, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, who presided over the nineteenth session amid unparalleled difficulties. His dedication and wisdom helped the Organization overcome the most serious crisis it had encountered in the two decades of its life. Thanks to his efforts and those of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly is able to meet for this twentieth session in an atmosphere of hope that contrasts sharply with the feeling of despair and gloom that prevailed last year.

60. My country is now entering a new phase in the process of evolution which began with our national revolution in 1958, for the establishment in Iraq of a progressive society dedicated to the promotion of fundamental rights, freedom and social justice. Despite the heavy responsibilities which the present stage of our development imposes on us, I felt that it would be necessary for me to come before this Assembly to give our views on some of the major problems besetting the world. The profoundly inspiring appeal of His Holiness Pope Paul VI for peace and renunciation of war has helped to focus our attention on the central problem of our time. Unfortunately, however, as we survey the international scene we find many areas of conflict and tension.

61. The differences which have arisen in connexion with the financing of peace-keeping operations have not yet been resolved and the future of the Organization as an effective instrument of peace is still uncertain. The issues involved are not merely concerned with the practical questions of establishing, organizing, directing and financing peace-keeping operations, nor are they confined to the constitutional problem of interpreting the Charter and defining the respective areas of responsibility of the Security Council and the General Assembly. They touch on the whole concept and philosophy of the United Nations. Peace-keeping operations, as experience has shown over the last ten years, are essentially actions designed to forestall and prevent armed confrontations before they endanger world peace and security. Although such forestalling actions have not been specifically provided for in the Charter, it is likely that the United Nations will be called upon to undertake more such operations in the future. For this reason it is necessary to devise, without delay, rules governing the conduct of such operations. The Committee of Thirty-three, which has been established to study the whole question of peace-keeping operations, will embark upon a thorough examination of the whole problem. In discharging its important tasks, the Committee of Thirty-three should be allowed maximum freedom and flexibility. We do not deny that a discussion of these issues during this session will be useful; but, in our view, the Assembly should avoid taking any final decisions, in order to give the Committee an unfettered opportunity to study the problem in all its aspects.

62. In Viet-Nam an explosive situation which threatens world peace and security is deteriorating steadily while the United Nations stands on the sidelines as a helpless spectator. It is true that the 1954 Geneva Agreements of Indo-China did not prescribe any role for the United Nations in this problem, but its total exclusion from any active part in promoting a peaceful settlement is perhaps symptomatic of one of the major weaknesses of the Organization, and that is its inability to deal effectively with any question in which great-Power rivalries and interests are involved. It is the view of the Government of Iraq that the conflict in Viet-Nam should be resolved on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. This does not mean that the United Nations has no useful role to play; on the contrary, it can strive to achieve a settlement within the context of those Agreements. However, we agree that no negotiations can be possible in the shadow of continuous military operations. A cease-fire which will include the cessation of aerial bombardment must precede the negotiations.

63. The Viet-Nam conflict has shown the folly of excluding the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. The question of China's representation in the United Nations must be resolved once and for all and in the only way that is compatible with the Charter—namely, the full and unconditional restoration of the right of the Government of the People's Republic to represent China in the Organization.

64. Closely linked with China's participation in the United Nations is the problem of disarmament, which remains the most crucial test facing the Organization. Of all the responsibilities of the United Nations, none

is more urgent and important than disarmament. The lack of progress at the recent meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee has been most disappointing. The deterioration of relations among the nuclear Powers and the escalation of conflicts in many parts of the world contributed, no doubt, to the failure of the Geneva talks. This has reinforced the view shared by many that progress in disarmament is difficult while so many major disputes remain unsolved and when one of the great Powers of the world is totally excluded from the United Nations.

65. For this reason, my delegation feels that, until this abnormal situation is rectified, another forum for disarmament negotiations should be found in which all States of the world will be represented. The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo, last year, recommended that a world disarmament conference be convened, and the Disarmament Commission adopted a resolution to that effect last spring.<sup>6/</sup> It is our hope that the General Assembly will endorse this proposal early in this session. Meanwhile, we hope that the interest which the major Powers have shown in regard to the proliferation of nuclear weapons will contribute to finding a solution to this very crucial and urgent problem. One of the pre-conditions of general and complete disarmament is the liquidation of foreign bases, which have been and continue to be one of the greatest sources of world tension and instability.

66. In our part of the world, the Cyprus problem still defies a solution. Iraq is interested in seeing a just settlement of the problem on the basis of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, with essential guarantees for the basic rights and legitimate interests of the two communities inhabiting the island. The United Nations should continue its efforts to find a just solution of the problem in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

67. Another serious problem that is causing grave concern is the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. It is needless for me to recall the historic ties that bind us to these two great countries of Asia, now locked in a fratricidal conflict that has caused untold suffering to their people. The cease-fire demanded by the Security Council was indeed an important first step on the path to permanent peace. We owe the Secretary-General a debt of gratitude for the patient and skilful way in which he handled the difficult negotiations leading to the cease-fire, which unfortunately has not yet been fully observed. I said that the cease-fire was a first step, because the duty of the United Nations cannot and should not end with the cessation of hostilities. It has a primary responsibility to deal with the causes of the conflict, with a view to promoting a peaceful settlement. At the recent Conference of the Heads of Arab States in Casablanca, the India-Pakistan conflict was discussed at length. We came to the conclusion that a lasting solution of the Kashmir problem must be based upon the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the competent organs of this Organization.

68. On the agenda of the present session there are three questions which are of particular interest to my

country. The first is the question of Palestine, whose people have been victims of the worst type of colonialism and the gravest injustice of our time. The Zionist aggression in Palestine was not merely an armed invasion of a country and the imposition of alien rule on its inhabitants. Its aim was to destroy the Arab community of Palestine and permanently detach for the rest of the Arab world a country which had been an integral part of it for more than fourteen centuries. In no other occupied territory in the world has the physical removal of the inhabitants, through mass expulsion, been the avowed objective of the alien usurpers. For this reason, the problem of Palestine must be viewed as a conflict between the people of Palestine, who are determined to regain their homeland, and the Zionist invaders, who wish to legalize and consolidate their aggression.

69. The Arab refugees of Palestine are a living reminder of one of the gravest crimes committed against any people. They continue to demand to go back to their ancestral homeland. Their right to do so is not negotiable. It is an absolute and unconditional right that has been solemnly proclaimed and reaffirmed in every resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the refugee problem since 1948, but consistently flouted and violated by Israel. The Palestinians will continue the struggle for their usurped homeland, supported and sustained by the entire Arab nation.

70. The situation in Aden and the rest of the occupied south provides a glaring example of the violation of the principle of self-determination. Two years ago, the General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority, resolution 1949 (XVIII), by which it recognized the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and freedom from colonial rule and recommended certain steps to be taken with a view to ascertaining the wishes of the people and establishing free and representative institutions for the whole territory prior to independence.

71. The General Assembly also called upon the Administering Authority to lift the state of emergency, cease forthwith all repressive measures and military actions against the people of the territory, repeal all laws which restrict public freedoms, and release political prisoners. After the adoption of this resolution in December 1963, the Committee of Twenty-Four continued its review and examination of the situation and adopted a number of resolutions, which have all been flouted and disregarded by the Administering Authority. It is true that the British Government declared earlier this year that it subscribed to the basic objectives of resolution 1949 (XVIII) and would consider setting up a unitary state, as demanded by the people of the territory and recommended by the General Assembly and the Committee of Twenty-Four.

72. However, deeds speak louder than words. In at least five instances, the United Kingdom Government has violated or disregarded these resolutions: firstly, by the maintenance of the state of emergency; secondly, by the continuance of military operations against the people of the territory; thirdly, by its refusal to consider the eventual liquidation of the military base in Aden.

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/224.



73. Fourthly, the British Government has disregarded United Nations resolutions by its decision to break up the preliminary talks with political leaders last August because, and I quote the words of the British Colonial Secretary, "of the insistence of certain delegations on a hundred per cent acceptance of resolution 1949 (XVIII) of 1963, without qualifications".

74. Fifthly, on 25 September, the British Government suspended the Aden Constitution and gave absolute powers to the High Commissioner who dismissed the Government of Aden headed by Mr. Mackawee. These measures were taken at a time when the British Government was ostensibly attempting to improve its relations with the Arabs. It could not have escaped those in positions of responsibility in London that such measures and their extraordinary timing could lead only to further deterioration in Arab-British relations. More than 700 people were arrested in one single day recently—this is according to the British Press and other media of information, and only God knows how many have been arrested and detained by now—and other arbitrary and repressive measures have been taken against the people. The magnitude of this figure can be better understood if we remember that Aden is only a small town, and all these arrests were just in one quarter of the town.

75. It is not enough to state that the policy of the British Government is to grant independence before 1968. The question is what kind of independence? Will it be a shadowy independence that will perpetuate the power of the trusted clients of British colonialism in the territory, and maintain the military base in Aden whose early removal was recommended in 1963 by the Assembly which declared it to be prejudicial to the security of the region?

76. The General Assembly is called upon in this session to take firm measures to deal with this situation that constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The minimum required of the British Government is that it should declare unequivocally its unconditional acceptance of resolution 1949 (XVIII) and its readiness to implement that resolution faithfully. It is only in this way that a beginning can be made in dealing with the problem and enabling the people of the territory to attain their freedom in a peaceful and orderly manner.

77. In Oman, colonialism continues to suppress the aspirations of the people for freedom and deny them their right to self-determination. At a time when the winds of change are blowing in all parts of the world and the colonial system is retreating from one position after another, we still see in Oman and in the neighbouring territories in the Gulf region and in South Eastern Arabia, a stubborn reluctance to face realities. Colonialism is desperately trying to maintain, in that part of the Arab homeland, an anachronistic situation where colonial influence is maintained by a variety of indirect means and ill-concealed subterfuges. An example of British colonial repression in the Gulf area is the arbitrary removal of the Sheikh of Sharja—and this is his gravest mistake and greatest crime—because he asked for technical aid from the League of Arab States. It is our fervent hope that action will be taken this year to

accelerate the attainment of freedom by Oman in accordance with the firm resolve of the United Nations that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples be speedily applied to all territories that have not yet attained their independence.

78. These are by no means the only colonial problems facing the United Nations. In Africa, the struggle continues to eradicate the last remnants of colonialism. In Rhodesia, the British Government is called upon to take all necessary measures to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence by the racist minority Government. That and they alone, as the Administering Authority, are held accountable to the United Nations in accordance with the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

79. Portugal's desperate efforts to maintain a foothold in Africa will no doubt crumble before the mighty tide of African nationalism. All Members of the United Nations, particularly those with special relations with Portugal, must shoulder their responsibilities in helping to bring about the speedy liquidation of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa. South Africa continues to defy the United Nations and world opinion by its illegal occupation of South West Africa and by its apartheid policies. My Government will do everything it can to alleviate the suffering of the victims of apartheid and will support any action taken by the United Nations to ensure the compliance of the South African Government with the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in this regard.

80. In the field of development, and economic and social co-operation in general, the United Nations has recorded impressive achievements. Its activities in these fields have expanded to an extent that was not thought possible when the Charter was signed more than twenty years ago in San Francisco. However, this should not blind us to the fact that what has been done so far is woefully inadequate.

81. The problem of closing the gap between the developing and developed countries has not yet been seriously met. The Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund have made valuable contributions, but their resources are limited and they touch on only one aspect of this vast undertaking. The United Nations is still not permitted to deal effectively with the crucial question of financing development. While we fully agree that the key to the problem of financing is trade rather than aid, we feel that action is now overdue to divert a much greater proportion of financial assistance through multilateral channels.

82. In trade, the net earnings of the developing countries have declined in the last twelve months. This has added urgency to the action to be taken by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, but, unfortunately, few of the recommendations of the first Conference have been implemented and the two sessions of the Trade Board this year have not been encouraging. Thus the problem of closing the gap between the developing and developed countries remains as serious and as difficult as ever.



83. The first five years of the United Nations Development Decade have been disappointing. The rate of growth still falls short of the 5 per cent envisaged in resolution 1710 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly in 1961. The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Economic and Social Council are required to take vigorous action to reverse this trend during the second half of the decade. This can be achieved only if there is a greater willingness of the part of the developed countries to bring their trade and economic policies in closer harmony with the objectives of the decade. The developing countries, in their turn, must exert greater efforts and adopt sound and progressive economic and fiscal policies and planning to help them traverse the long and difficult road that lies ahead. Organizationally, the United Nations must adapt itself to the changing pattern of international economic and social co-operation, and improve its machinery in order to be able to discharge its rapidly increasing tasks and responsibilities in this vital field of human endeavour.

84. These are some thoughts which I wished to share with representatives gathered in this Assembly, in the hope that our deliberations at this important session will bring the world nearer to its cherished goals of just peace and human welfare.

85. Mr. LIU (China):<sup>7/</sup> Mr. President, let me first of all extend to you the warmest congratulations of my Government and delegation on your election to this high office. This is a tribute not only to your great country but also to your achievements as a statesman. I am confident that under your guidance the twentieth session of the General Assembly will be marked as one of the most memorable sessions in the history of the United Nations.

86. Now that the controversy over the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter is out of the way, the General Assembly can once again move ahead and get on with its business along normal lines. There is widespread relief among those who feared that the controversy which had paralysed the nineteenth session could, if pushed to its logical conclusion, jeopardize the very existence of the Organization.

87. My delegation shares this general sense of relief. We cannot but feel, however, that a compromise with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter could, as the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, warned, weaken "the Organization in a way representing a definite loss for the future that cannot be balanced by any immediate advantage achieved".<sup>8/</sup> In the present case, it would be idle to pretend that no vital Charter principles have been compromised. It remains to be seen what effect this turn of events may have on the future of the United Nations.

88. The paramount purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end, the United Nations is required to take effective collective measures for the suppression of

acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about settlement of international disputes by peaceful means in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. These are the obligations which Member States have pledged themselves to discharge. Indeed, one of the most important conditions for membership is the ability and willingness to carry out these obligations.

89. I do not intend to review here the failures and frustrations which the United Nations has experienced in the maintenance of peace and security. It is not irrelevant, however, to say that the provision regarding collective measures against acts of aggression, as envisaged by the framers of the Charter, has been allowed to fall into disuse. The solitary exception was the Security Council's decision in 1950 to suppress aggression in Korea. That decision, let it be remembered, was made possible only by a concatenation of special circumstances.

90. In this connexion, it is gratifying to note that the Security Council has been able to secure the acceptance by India and Pakistan of a cease-fire in their war over Kashmir. This development encourages the hope that the Security Council may once more play an effective role in the maintenance of peace and security.

91. By and large, however, it may be said that the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations of today involve little or no enforcement action. For the most part, they are not directed against a pronounced aggressor. They call for no collective military action. Armed forces are used, not for the suppression of aggression, but to interpose between embattled groups to prevent the expansion and escalation of conflict. And the armed forces are contributed by Member States on a voluntary and ad hoc basis.

92. This is a development made inevitable by the frequent lack of unanimity among the great Powers. While the current peace-keeping operations are not intended to enforce the peace, they are useful to the extent that they are ancillary to vigorous efforts at political settlement.

93. It is to be regretted, however, that even this form of peace-keeping has now received a serious setback. Henceforth, all peace-keeping operations must be financed by voluntary contributions. If past experience is any guide, voluntary contributions are not always easy to come by. This means that the Secretary-General, in order to continue the existing operations, even on a much reduced scale, has to do his level best to rattle the collection box and stave off the creditors. This means also that no new operations can be undertaken without prior assurance that some Member States will be generous enough to foot the bills. In short, the latest turn of events, far from strengthening the United Nations, has immeasurably weakened it.

94. The twentieth session of the General Assembly has been convened in the shadow of increased tension and deepening crisis. Though the Security Council has been able to bring about a temporary cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan, the basic issues remain unresolved. The danger of a renewal of armed conflict cannot be discounted; nor can the

<sup>7/</sup> Mr. Liu spoke in Chinese. The English version of his speech was supplied by the delegation.

<sup>8/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 1 A (A/4390/Add.1), section V.

threat of Peiping to the subcontinent's security be ignored. The Federation of Malaya continues to suffer from the military harassments of a neighbouring country. The war in the Republic of Viet-Nam has grown in violence and intensity. The United Nations was created to keep the peace, but peace has been broken in many parts of the world. This is because the machinery for collective security is not in working order.

95. In the absence of any effective international action to check aggression, national power has to step in to fill the vacuum. The result is that a government faced with armed aggression with which it cannot adequately cope has no alternative but to call on some friendly Power or Powers to come to its rescue. And this is what is happening in the Republic of Viet-Nam.

96. It has often been asserted that the war in South Viet-Nam is not one of external aggression but one of internal revolt. We are told that it is the Viet-Name people who must choose their own path in the future; and that to intervene in the civil strife of South Viet-Nam, as the United States has been doing, is to obstruct the process of self-determination and to deny the Viet-Name people the exercise of a legitimate right.

97. Those assertions, however, are not supported by facts. There has been, undeniably, an internal revolt in South Viet-Nam. But that revolt is externally inspired, externally supported and externally directed. The Viet-Cong rebels do not represent the Viet-Name people. They represent Peiping and Hanoi, which have never made a secret of their intention to conquer that unhappy country for communism. This is as much a contest of will and purpose as it is a contest of force and violence. Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh are determined to get what they want. They desire neither peace nor negotiated settlement. Nothing short of complete subjugation of South Viet-Nam will satisfy them. When Secretary-General U Thant expressed a desire to go to Hanoi to sound out the possibilities for a peaceful settlement, the People's Daily of Peiping, in an editorial under the dateline of 12 April 1965, rudely rebuffed him in these words:

"We should like to tell him in all seriousness to spare himself this trouble. The United Nations has nothing to do and is not qualified to do anything in Viet-Nam—in fact, it is open to doubt whether the United Nations, discredited as it is, has any right to say anything."

This insulting language reflects the Chinese Communists' utter contempt for and open defiance of the United Nations.

98. The Republic of Viet-Nam has today become the proving ground for a host of subversive tactics which, if successful, will be used to pick off non-Communist Governments one by one in the vulnerable areas of the world. The war in Viet-Nam is thus anything but local and isolated; it is an integral part of the communist design for world domination. Upon the outcome of this struggle will depend the fate of the whole of South-East Asia, with all the far-reaching implications for the future of mankind.

99. Chinese Communist aggression is not always as naked and flagrant as it is in South Viet-Nam. It is more often concealed and clandestine than open. But, open or concealed, the objective is the same, namely, to encourage violent internal revolts against established Governments in order, eventually, to replace them by communist régimes. The aggression is perpetrated in the name of "national liberation". But the victims of aggression are more often than not States which have already achieved their independence.

100. Chou En-lai, Peiping's so-called Prime Minister, said in a speech in Tanzania on 5 June 1965: "An exceedingly favourable situation for revolution prevails today not only in Africa but also in Asia and Latin America." What does he mean by revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the peoples are already free and independent? Anyone who is at all acquainted with communist doctrine knows that to the Communists there are two distinct and separate revolutions: the national-democratic and the proletarian. In the former, the proletariat must ally itself with the bourgeoisie and other elements to overthrow imperialism. Once imperialism has been overthrown, the proletariat must transform the national-democratic revolution into a communist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. When Chou En-lai talked about revolution, he was thinking of the communist revolution. The target of this revolution is not imperialism but all non-Communist Governments.

101. The Communists did not create the national-democratic revolution; nor did they create the conditions which made it possible. But they seek, by a variety of tactics, to ride the crest of its waves, to capture its leadership and to divert it to communist channels. This poses a most serious challenge to national independence and freedom, and a threat to world peace.

102. Ours is an age of revolutions. In Asia and Africa we have witnessed, since the end of the Second World War, the greatest nationalist revolution in history. New nations have emerged in rapid succession and taken their rightful places in the world community. It is now estimated that less than 2 per cent of the world's population still lives under colonial rule. My delegation looks forward to completion of the decolonization process. We believe that the domination of one people over another is contrary to the spirit of our times and will soon be swept into the dustbin of history.

103. The newly independent peoples, as well as the peoples of all developing countries, have now come to realize that political freedom must be sustained by economic progress; that the ancient evils of hunger, disease and ignorance must be fought and overcome; and that there are means available by which they can improve their lives.

104. But problems of economic development are many and difficult. There are no short-cuts or easy solutions. For sound economic development, the first prerequisite is sound planning. When it comes to implementation, the main difficulty confronting the developing countries is the shortage of

capital needed for development. The establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and its subsidiary organs, by resolution 1995 (XIX) of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly signifies the general awareness of the urgency and necessity of helping to improve economic growth by the concerted efforts of both the developing and developed countries. China shares the hope of the developing countries that positive action will be taken by the developed countries in order to achieve the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade. The establishment of an Asian development bank, as advocated by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, will constitute another step towards closer economic co-operation in a developing region.

105. The two large development assistance programmes—the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund—which are to be merged to form a new United Nations Development Programme, have demonstrated both the feasibility and the value of concerted action in meeting some of the most pressing needs of the developing countries. These are supported by voluntary contributions, and it is gratifying to note that the suggested annual target of \$200 million has received the support of a number of Governments.

106. In view of the magnitude of the needs, the resources at the disposal of the United Nations are far from adequate. Aid through bilateral agreements continues, therefore, to play a vital part. But the political overtones, the sense of rivalry and the pressure with which this form of aid is so often beset, add to the political dilemmas of the developing nations. When a new nation is faced with the enormous complexity and variety of economic and political problems that are inescapable after independence, the temptation to accept panaceas and ready-made solutions is always strong. But the inherent danger should never be overlooked.

107. The Republic of China is a developing country. It is a matter of some satisfaction to us that we have been able to make considerable headway in our economic development during the past decade. This has been the result of patient efforts and the way we have made use of external economic aid. Our economic progress has now reached such a stage that we are able to support the accelerated development mainly through increased production and a favourable balance of trade. In a small way, we have launched our own programmes of technical co-operation, where our experience in land reform and agricultural methods may be shared with other developing countries.

108. Disarmament and arms control have continued to occupy a place of priority on the agenda of the Assembly. The conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban Treaty in 1963 and the adoption of resolution 1884 (XVIII) at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly calling on all States to refrain from placing weapons of mass destruction in outer space encouraged the hope that further progress toward disarmament might be possible. Since then, however, little headway has been made on major issues. The Eighteen-Nation Committee, which resumed its work at the end of

July, has thus far failed to bridge the gap between opposing positions.

109. Lately there has been renewed interest in the possibility of reaching an agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. The desirability of such an agreement is recognized by all, particularly in view of the fact that the development of nuclear weapons is within the capabilities of quite a number of countries. There is no doubt that the proliferation of nuclear weapons will increase the chances of irresponsible action. The Geneva talks, however, seem to show that under present conditions swift agreement is not yet in the cards. But the effort must go on.

110. In this connexion, the Government of the Republic of China condemns the utter irresponsibility of the Chinese Communist régime, which, in defiance of world opinion and contrary to the true interests of the Chinese people, has ventured into the nuclear field. While professing self-defence and peaceful intentions, the régime has not been slow to use its embryonic nuclear development to advance its aggressive objectives. In the hands of such a régime, a nuclear potential becomes a dangerous weapon of political and psychological blackmail.

111. It will be a long time before the Chinese Communist régime can produce some sort of a nuclear arsenal of its own. To use its limited nuclear capability to threaten a major nuclear Power is to invite retaliation and destruction. It is logical to conclude that at the present stage the régime's explosion of atomic bombs can serve only as a weapon to pressure small and weak States into submission. That being so, it is these States which must make their voices heard in this matter. It is they who must come out to condemn the Chinese Communist nuclear development in unequivocal terms.

112. Nor are the great Powers, particularly the United States, without special responsibilities. Whether the Chinese Communist régime can succeed in its nuclear blackmail against the small and weak nations depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of the United States nuclear umbrella over them. Indeed, the future security of the non-Communist countries of Asia will test not only the courage and fortitude of their peoples to defend their own independence and freedom, but also the will and resolution of the United States, as the leading nation of the free world, to carry out its defence commitments. It is not without reason that the Chinese Communists regard the United States as their main target of attack. Were the United States to withdraw from Asia, all the non-Communist countries on that vast continent would feel the impact. The non-aligned or non-committed countries are no exception. For, after all, Asian neutralism is possible only as long as the United States and its allies are committed to Asia's defence. It is imperative that the Chinese Communists should not be given a free hand to consolidate their power to threaten and dominate the Asian continent.

113. There are those who, in their anxiety to usher in a world without arms and a world of enduring peace, argue that it is unrealistic to bar the Chinese Communists from disarmament talks, now that they

have the bombs. My delegation is all for a world without arms, a world of enduring peace, about which mankind has been dreaming for ages. But we are not so naïve as to think that the Chinese Communists can help bring this about. To them, there can be no international peace before the victory of Communism on a world-wide basis. And this victory can be achieved only through violent revolution. Let me quote a few excerpts from the ideological mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Central Committee, the Red Flag, of 31 March 1964:

"Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent revolution and the new experience of the proletarian revolution and the people's democratic revolution led by the proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated dictum: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'.

'Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: 'The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of issues by means of war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution...'

"He stated further: 'Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed'."

This is the credo of war and not of peace. "War", declared Lin Piao, Peiping's so-called Minister of Defence, a month ago—on 3 September 1965—"can temper the people and push history forward."

114. In the light of those militant pronouncements, it is difficult to imagine how the Chinese Communists can contribute constructively to disarmament talks. They scoff at the idea that disarmament can lessen international tensions. To talk about disarmament before the victory of Communism and the removal of the "social and national causes of all wars", according to the official organ of the Chinese Communists, the People's Daily on March 1963, is to talk "nonsense", to be "totally unrealistic" and to "put the cart before the horse". United Nations efforts at disarmament and arms control can, therefore, serve only "as a shield for United States imperialism's frenzied arms drive. ...the longer the disarmament talks are dragged out, the bigger becomes United States military expenditure and its stockpile of arms", said the People's Daily, on 14 January 1965.

115. For propaganda purposes, however, the Chinese Communists advocate the convening of a world summit conference "to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons". It should be observed that such destruction, if carried out, could alter the world balance of power in favour of the Chinese Communists. Their nuclear arsenal is still practically non-existent, and it would not be much of a sacrifice to have it scrapped. But they can still use their massive armed forces to bully their neighbours. The economic weakness, communal conflicts and political instability of some of the Asian countries will provide the Chinese Com-

munists with opportunities to use military pressure in the promotion of strife and insurrection.

116. For all its blustering, the Chinese Communist régime is not, in fact, militarily strong. Its army—the so-called People's Liberation Army—is still primarily an infantry organization equipped with obsolescent weapons. Its air force has rapidly deteriorated since the withdrawal of USSR aid. The navy is the weakest of all the armed services.

117. The only factor to be reckoned with is manpower. This accounts for Mao Tse-tung's insistence that people, not weapons, decide the outcome of a war. But this man-over-weapon doctrine is not likely to carry conviction in this nuclear age. Nor does it carry conviction with some of Mao's own top military leaders. Peng Teh-huai, for example, who once commanded the so-called volunteers in Korea, questioned its soundness as early as 1956, and he was promptly relegated to limbo for his temerity. Since then the morale of the "People's Liberation Army" has steadily declined. Last June, in an effort to boost the fighting spirit of the common soldier, differences in uniform, insignia and other external distinctions between officers and men were abolished. Political control has been tightened and indoctrination intensified. A régime that must resort to continual and never-ending purges and indoctrination to maintain the morale of its armed forces cannot be said to be very sure of their loyalty.

118. Nor is the régime very sure of the loyalty of the people. After a temporary pause following the débâcle of the "Big Leap Forward", terrorism has once more become the tool of control. This omnipotent terror permeates every aspect of society. It penetrates the homes and schools, hits the masses, and extends itself to Party members.

119. The Chinese Communists are thus not nearly as invincible as their propaganda would have the world believe. No country with faith in its future and with the will to resist aggression should allow itself to be intimidated by the much vaunted Chinese Communist military strength. There is no surer way to invite aggression than to succumb to defeatism. Only those who are ready to fight for the preservation of their freedom and independence deserve to enjoy them.

120. We of the Republic of China never for a minute doubt that the Communist régime can be overthrown. We are as determined to restore freedom to the enslaved millions on the mainland as they themselves are determined to regain it. The accomplishment of this task—I can assure you that it will in time be accomplished—will contribute, in no small way, to the consolidation of world peace.

121. The Chinese Communist régime is the greatest threat to world peace. No accommodation, no appeasement can deflect it from the prescribed course of expansion and conquest. India's long-standing friendliness and goodwill have been rewarded with implacable enmity. The ultimatum which Peiping served on India a few weeks ago was not merely motivated by a desire to fish in troubled waters; it was a calculated move to create confusion and chaos in order to prepare the eventual domination of the sub-continent. It is time for those who have cherished any illusions



about Mao Tse-tung and his criminal gang to face up to the realities.

122. To the evil men of Peiping there can be no "peaceful coexistence" of different social systems. Those Communist Governments which have advocated "peaceful coexistence" are reviled for their "revisionism". The Soviet Union, in particular, has been the target of Mao's abuse. The charges cited in support of the Soviet Union's betrayal of the world communist movement include: conspiracy with the United States "to set up a permanent United Nations force, to organize an international gendarmerie for the suppression of the people's revolutionary struggles"; the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty; the maintenance of "close contact" with the United States; advocacy of peace negotiations in regard to Viet-Nam while making a gesture of aid to the Viet-Cong; and courting the favour of "such faithful lackeys and precious pets of United States imperialism as Tito and Shastri", while avowing "opposition to United States imperialist aggression". These, according to the People's Daily of 14 June 1965, are the "facts" proving that the "revisionists" of the Soviet Union have been "collaborating" with the United States "for world domination". A more fantastic indictment it would be difficult to imagine.

123. My delegation has no reason to believe that the Soviet Union has abandoned the policy of world domination through global revolution. But its recognition of the horrors of nuclear incineration and its reluctance to regard the United States as a "paper tiger" have earned for its leaders the contempt and scorn of Mao Tse-tung, who is bent on communizing the world in a hurry and will stop at nothing to achieve it. To him, all communist leaders who refuse to go along with him are "revisionists" and traitors to the international communist movement.

124. Members of the Assembly may have read excerpts of Lin Piao's recent pronouncement published in The New York Times of 4 September 1965. If they have, it is not likely that they will ever forget the nightmarish blueprint of world conquest he has put forth. Lin Piao, Mao Tse-tung's most trusted military commander, has minced no words about Peiping's intention of inciting a series of guerilla wars throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is aiming at a multitude of Viet-Nam-like conflagrations that will dissipate and finally destroy the strength and resistance of the free world. Much of this blueprint has already been translated into action.

125. The United Nations has just entered its third decade. Twenty years ago, when the war in the Pacific was still in progress, nations of the world, in a mood of idealism, avowed their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Today the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter are under challenge. And the challenge has come from the Communists of my country. They want no peace. They promote conflict and war. They act not according to the noble words of His Holiness Pope Paul VI that "relations between the peoples should be regulated by reason, by justice, by law, by negotiation; not be force nor by violence nor by war, neither by fear nor by fraud" [1347th meeting, para. 27]. They

act upon the conviction that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and seek to build on the ruins of a nuclear holocaust, in Mao Tse-tung's words, "a civilization a thousand times higher than that under the capitalist system". Mao Tse-tung has spelled out his designs in terms no less candid than Hitler did his in Mein Kampf. It is tragic to reflect that Hitler was not believed until the world was in flames. Will the world community again commit the same mistake and choose the suicidal road of appeasement? Will it strengthen the forces of evil and make the United Nations subservient to the interest of warmakers and international bullies? Will it forfeit its own *raison d'être* by throwing overboard both the spirit and the letter of the Charter?

126. The United Nations has now reached the most critical stage of its history. Let us remind ourselves that when the League of Nations failed in the nineteen-thirties to live up to the promise of the Covenant, the world was soon plunged into an unprecedented catastrophe. The League failed, as the late Sir Winston Churchill pointed out in 1946, "because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts and act while time remained". We still have the time to face the facts. Let us hope the disaster which befell the League and the world will not be allowed to happen again.

127. Mr. DUALEH (Somalia): Mr. President, the Somali delegation is particularly happy to extend to you its sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twentieth session. The fact of the long and fruitful relationship between our two countries needs no repetition here. But it is most opportune for us to recall that, as one of Italy's foremost statesmen, well known for your progressive views, you have had a direct influence on the development of our country from a Trusteeship Territory to an independent nation.

128. Your influence on our development has not been confined to the political sphere, and we have reason to be grateful also for your scholarly accomplishments which have been brought to bear on some of our problems. But I must not dwell only on those qualities which have particularly affected the Somali people. Your reputation for diplomacy, for impartiality and for determined support of the principles upon which this Organization is based is well known. My delegation is happy to participate in this session of the General Assembly under your wise guidance.

129. I should also like to pay a special tribute to the work of your predecessor, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey. This Assembly has seen a number of difficult years, but there are few years in its history which have been more difficult than this last one. When we recall those anxious meetings of the nineteenth session, and when we contemplate the agreement, however limited, which has been reached on the matter of the financing of peace-keeping operations, we cannot but recognize the enormous debt which we all owe to the tireless energy and determination of Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey.

130. We are very happy to welcome the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to this Assembly,

and we wish them every success as independent States and as Members of the United Nations. We have always been convinced of the importance of the part played in the United Nations by the smaller nations and we feel sure that the new Members will bring valuable contributions to the deliberations of the General Assembly.

131. The very fact that we are able to resume our normal work in the General Assembly is cause for considerable satisfaction. While we have not yet been able to find a solution to the issues of principle which were the reason for the suspension of the activities of this Assembly last session, the crisis has not weakened our great Organization. In fact, the crisis presented us with our greatest test, and it is a source of comfort to know that we emerged from the experience strengthened in our resolve to preserve and improve this unique instrument of peace.

132. When the question of peace-keeping operations receives further consideration by the Committee appointed for this purpose, it is the earnest hope of my delegation that Member States will adopt a view of this matter which transcends purely national interests and will concentrate upon the common interest which all States have in enabling the United Nations to maintain the peace and security of this troubled world.

133. The work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has really only just begun. We are by no means sure as yet of any final, comprehensive agreement on methods of financing future peace-keeping operations. Even when we have reached that stage, there will be much that remains to be done before the United Nations is properly equipped to handle the peace-keeping role which is the most important, single task that can be entrusted to it. In speaking before this Assembly last year, I asked a question. That question was whether the time had come for the members of the Security Council to make a new attempt to negotiate the agreements provided for in Article 43 of the Charter. I again pose that question. This would by no means prejudice the question of financing since that question could be looked at in the whole context of arrangements under Chapter VII of the Charter. Nor would it prejudice the question of whether limited action by the General Assembly could be taken to provide for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Organization in cases where, because of the veto, the Security Council is unable to act.

134. Further, I should add that my Government is not enthusiastic over the possibilities of a new Chapter of the Charter to deal with peace-keeping. We consider that, given the difficulties of Charter revision, and given the fact that the Organization has already conducted peace-keeping operations on the basis of its present powers, there is no need for a revision of this magnitude at this stage. Later on, when the Organization has had experience of some kind of permanent machinery for peace-keeping, and of the operation of any agreements concluded under Article 43, it may be appropriate to "codify" that experience in the form of a new chapter to the Charter.

135. The possibilities of restoring to the Security Council the role originally designed for it are, to my

mind, greatly increased by reason of the increase in membership of that organ. The Somali Republic whole-heartedly welcomes the increases in size of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. These increases reflect the change in size of the Organization itself and attempt to remedy the former, totally inadequate representation of Africa in particular. The effects of these changes are by no means certain, but the Somali Government hopes that within the Security Council the permanent members will be less ready to exercise their veto than hitherto. In an organ more truly representative of the world community, the degree of acceptance by that community of the policies of any permanent member should be far more readily apparent. It is possible, therefore, that a permanent member which sees in the proceedings of the Council that the majority opinion of the world community is against its policies will henceforth be less ready to pursue those policies by means of its veto power. Certainly, the Somali Republic hopes that the permanent members will respond in this way.

136. It is also the hope of the Somali Republic that this Organization can review its existing techniques for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Peace-keeping, in the sense of the employment of military forces, is not an end in itself; for unless the disputes which have necessitated the presence of those troops can themselves be solved, we reach a position in which, as in Kashmir and the Middle East, those forces become indefinitely committed. No one would dispute the range and variety of the existing techniques for peaceful settlement, but their effectiveness is not a matter for great pride. In particular, the Somali Government believes that a considerable improvement in the fact-finding techniques available to this Organization is possible. Frequently, one has only to receive an objective account of the facts of a situation for the merits of the case to be apparent and for the kind of reasonable solution appropriate to the case to become discernible. The Somali Republic believes that there is a greater need at this time for an improvement in the techniques of peaceful settlement and peace-keeping than in the definition of the rules of law which apply, or which are alleged to apply, to disputes between States. We do not see the utility of general resolutions or declarations which, in effect, do no more than spell out what is already perfectly clearly stated in the Charter. Moreover, we deplore any attempt by States to distort the Charter principles by means of resolutions which, in the guise of an elaboration of those principles, seek to define them in such a way as to prejudge important issues between States in a way suitable to their own policies. In particular, the Somali Government is determined to oppose, and can never accept, any attempt by this Organization or any other organization to pervert the principle of the territorial integrity of States into a principle that all existing territorial holdings are sacrosanct, irrespective of their legality.

137. This Organization must recognize that States always have had, and always will have, territorial disputes. These can no more be eliminated than can disputes about land in private law. The intelligent and realistic way of dealing with these problems is to provide adequate machinery for their peaceful

solution and to outlaw any attempt to solve them by the use of force. There are probably few States more acutely affected by territorial problems than the Somali Republic. Those problems are derived from the policies of certain Member States in which they can have little pride. This Assembly itself shirked its responsibilities in endorsing the independence of the Somali Republic without solving the territorial problem which the Assembly must have known would cause endless trouble. The Somali people are tired of asking for some justice in this world, and they are tired of the burdens which now face them. But I would not wish this Assembly to be under any misapprehension. Amidst all our troubles, the Somali people will never cease their quest for justice, and by "justice" we mean simply the right of our people to be united under a Government of their own choice; in short, the right of self-determination.

138. It may be thought that, being ourselves denied this right, the Somali people would have no particular enthusiasm for seeing that other peoples in the world are granted that right. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Somali Republic has always given and will always give its complete support to the termination of all forms of racial discrimination and of colonialism which have denied to any people their right to a free and equal choice in their political future. It is on this basis that we have bitterly opposed the apartheid policies of the Union of South Africa and the continued presence on foreign soil of Portuguese, British and French colonial administrations, troops and bases. Adjacent to the Somali Republic lies French Somaliland, a territory which, whatever the constitutional forms in which it is dressed, remains a colonial territory under French domination. That domination must cease.

139. In Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Smith has erected yet another "facade" of constitutional forms which purport to show that his régime rests on the will of the Rhodesian people. As the report of the Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia clearly shows, Mr. Smith's notions of consulting the people involves consulting a few selected chiefs and headmen, carefully secluded from the outside world and entertained by an impressive show of force, which includes a paratroop drop.

140. Is it too naive a position to say that this Organization is entitled to know the true wishes of the peoples of Rhodesia, of French Somaliland, of the Portuguese colonies, of Aden and the British Protectorates, of Viet-Nam? This is not to suggest that the situations in these territories are comparable, but it must be clear that on cardinal elements essential to any settlement of these questions, and common to them all, is the nature of the wishes of the people in the territories themselves. To think of imposing a solution contrary to their wishes is to invite continuing strife and tension.

141. On the question of the unfortunate conflict which has taken place between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, my delegation sincerely hopes that every possible step will be taken to bring an end to this unhappy situation and to settle this matter over the negotiating table and not on the battlefield. We appreciate the energetic steps which have been taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by

the Security Council to bring about a cease-fire, and it is our hope that these two sister nations will honour the undertakings which they have given in the matter.

142. The Kashmir problem has become difficult and complex because it has been allowed to drag on interminably for the past seventeen years. However, circumstances have not changed the only real formula for an equitable and just solution. This formula, which was embodied in a resolution adopted by the Security Council as far back as 1948, is based on a cardinal principle of the United Nations Charter—the principle of the right of self-determination. We appeal to both sides to pave the way for the implementation of the Security Council resolutions on this problem.

143. In relation to Viet-Nam, the Somali Government finds it an extraordinary commentary on the work of the United Nations that this highly dangerous situation does not even figure on the agenda for this session. The attempts to deal with this situation outside this Organization have clearly failed. It is therefore time that this Organization assert its responsibility for world peace, and it would be the wish of the Somali Government to see the General Assembly give its support to the establishment of a committee of good offices on Viet-Nam, composed of Afro-Asian States.

144. The question of independence for Aden and the Aden Protectorates is not a new matter for this Assembly. In fact, this matter was brought before the General Assembly at its eighteenth session. There emerged from the Assembly's deliberations a very important resolution—namely, resolution 1949 (XVIII). That resolution contained the essential conditions for bringing about a situation in the territories which would lead to the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the people for freedom and independence. The first basic condition is contained in operative paragraph 4 of the resolution, by which the Assembly

"Reaffirms the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and freedom from colonial rule in accordance with the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples".

145. The other conditions, which are equally important, call for the military base to be removed; restrictions to be lifted on public freedom; political prisoners and detainees to be released; and a representative Government established in the whole territory following general elections. It is a matter of regret that none of these conditions has been fulfilled by the administering Power. On the contrary, the United Kingdom has not only dismissed the Aden Council of Ministers but has also dissolved the Legislative Council and suspended the Territory's constitution. The British High Commissioner in Aden now wields direct power and responsibility for the administration of the area.

146. My delegation cannot help expressing its serious concern at this unhappy situation, which endangers the security and peace of the region. We hope that the United Kingdom will take immediate steps to normalize matters and implement the provisions contained in the United Nations resolution.



147. The Somali Republic shares the very general concern over the lack of real progress in the disarmament negotiations. The Disarmament Commission has rightly urged on the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that priority be given to two collateral measures—the extension of the test ban Treaty to underground tests and the consideration of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons—precisely because there is an urgent need to break through the present deadlock. Nothing that has taken place since the reconvening of the Eighteen-Nation Committee in July leads one to entertain great hopes. There is therefore, a case for some initiative elsewhere. In the view of the Somali Government, this initiative could well come in two ways. First, it could come from a world disarmament conference such as has been proposed by the Disarmament Commission, which would include, we should hope, the People's Republic of China. It is the earnest wish of my delegation that this present Assembly will call such a conference into being.

148. I do not wish it to be thought that, in supporting the movement for such a conference, the Somali Government expects that all the major barriers to disarmament will thereby be removed. We have no such delusions. In fact, we tend to share the view openly stated by the major nuclear Powers that agreement on disarmament will require complex, lengthy and detailed negotiations, which are not possible in so large a conference. However, a world disarmament conference could perform an important function in what I might call mutual education. It would enable the major nuclear Powers to explain to all States their views on the problems which now prevent agreement between them, and it would enable the smaller Powers to express to the major Powers their own reactions to those views. The Eighteen-Nation Committee could then perhaps resume its work, knowing, for example, whether the majority of the rest of the world does or does not share the view that on-site inspection is essential, of that on-site inspection will be utilized for espionage, or that the concept of the multilateral force involves a breach of the principle of non-proliferation, and so forth. In short, there is a possibility that States which have failed to convince both the other side in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and the majority of the rest of the world may abandon their positions or modify them.

149. The second opening for a new initiative comes, I believe, from the declarations which have already emanated from the Latin American States at their meeting on the Denuclearization of Latin America, held at Mexico City in November 1964,<sup>2/</sup> and from the African States at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, of the Organization of African Unity at Cairo in July 1964. These declarations, it will be recalled, embodied an acceptance of the principle of "nuclear-free zone". The Somali Government is well aware of the work already done by the Latin American States to implement that declaration by a solemn treaty; it is equally aware of the special difficulties which face those States in producing an agreement acceptable to all States within the zone. But there is no reason why this Assembly should not avail

itself of the offer made by the African States and proceed to draw up a treaty which will give legal effect to that declaration.

150. Here, again, the Somali Government is under no delusions about the incompleteness of such a measure. Ideally we should have a series of integrated agreements embodying agreements of non-transference and non-use of nuclear weapons by the nuclear Powers, together with guarantees of the security of the non-nuclear Powers. However, what is now vital is that a start should be made somewhere, and that we should accept a temporary incompleteness, and even a temporary risk to our security, in the hope that other States will thereby be encouraged to begin to implement those other parts of the entire structure of disarmament. Not the least of these would be those parts to which I have already referred, namely, an effective United Nations peace-keeping machinery and an effective system of peaceful settlement of disputes.

151. Ever since my country became a Member of the United Nations, we have advocated the restoration of the People's Republic of China to its proper place in this Organization of ours as the true representative of the Chinese people. Universality is one of the basic concepts of the United Nations, and this concept is continually being weakened by the exclusion from our midst of the most populous and one of the most powerful nations in the world. Not only does China's exclusion undermine our basic concept, but it also affects us in the field of practical politics. It is unrealistic for us to make decisions here on issues whose successful outcome depends on the co-operation and active participation of that great country.

152. If I have so far concentrated on what may be termed the "political" aspects of the work facing this present session, it is not because the Somali Government is unaware of the importance of the less ostentatious but highly significant steps taken in the economic and social fields. The interrelation of much of this work can be amply illustrated by the emergency situation which the Somali Republic faced in the early months of this year, and which still continues. A combination of factors, some of a political nature and others arising from drought and famine conditions, have produced a very substantial influx of refugees into my country. We are therefore fully aware of the need for better co-ordination of, and improvement in the capacity for, United Nations assistance in cases of natural disaster. We endorse whole-heartedly the extension of the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to Africa. We equally endorse the recommendations of the Council of FAO that the World Food Programme should be extended.

153. Of course, the capacity of many countries to cope with such problems is drastically reduced by the inescapable fact of their under-development. Frankly, the Somali Republic is sceptical of the prospects of achieving a 5 per cent growth rate for developing countries during the present United Nations Development Decade. The rapid transformation of the Special Fund into an augmented capital development fund is therefore highly desirable, and we would urge on the

<sup>2/</sup> See document A/5824.



under-developed countries an approach to aid which does not start from an attitude of charity, but from an attitude of determination to make the maximum possible use of the world's resources in the shortest possible time.

154. In closing, I should like to end on a somewhat optimistic note. Less than a year ago, many people in the world saw what they believed to be the first signs of the end of the United Nations, brought about by the financial crisis. Well, we survive still and we expect to continue to survive. Without exaggerating

the limited area of agreement so far achieved, I believe it is true to say that this last year has proved again that the United Nations has a resilience and an indispensability which no other world organization has ever before possessed. The Somali Government therefore believes that, in the long run, this Organization will in fact see brought about the full achievement of those lofty Principles and Purposes which were laid down twenty years ago at San Francisco.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*