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*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK  
(Afghanistan).*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)\*

1. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to address to you, on behalf of my delegation, my warm and sincere congratulations upon your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-first session. Anyone who, like myself, has had the privilege of working at your side for over five years knows that despite the clouds now darkening the horizon your wisdom, your energy and your fairness will guide our work at this session to a successful conclusion.

2. The storms which issue from this mass of clouds periodically jolt our Organization—temporarily, it is true, but with an intensity which in the opinion of some eminent observers may prove fatal to the United Nations, heir to the defunct League of Nations. The reason is that the causes of these convulsions are permanent: poverty, territorial and expansionist ambitions, and distrust. Poverty holds nearly two thirds of the world's population in its grip, while the prosperous third lives in luxury and indulges in lavish expenditure with an almost shameless nonchalance. Territorial and expansionist ambitions give rise to military defence blocs. Lastly, subversion, itself caused by the division of the world into two ideological blocs, engenders distrust. And the end result is social unrest, famine, revolutions, coups d'état, border disputes, infiltration, subversion, cold wars and the other wars, dignified with ordinal numbers like dynasties: the First World War, the Second World War; and on the horizon, ready to burst, the black clouds of the third and final world war. Never have international peace and security been threatened as they are today.

3. Most of the under-developed countries, despite the efforts they have made with their own resources or with bilateral or multilateral assistance, continue to grow poor while the developed countries as a

group continue to grow wealthy. And the magnitude of these problems greatly exceeds the efforts made thus far, although those efforts have not been negligible. The time has thus come to take stock of the ways and means of co-operation.

4. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, despite the setbacks it has suffered through the selfishness of certain wealthy Powers, remains the instrument by which the deterioration in the terms of trade so detrimental to the centuries of the Third World can be brought to a stop through the establishment of a system for guaranteeing the prices of primary commodities, particularly agricultural products. This could be done, for example, by creating an equalization fund on an international scale. The fact that we lose more by price fluctuations—not to speak of their disturbing effects on our economic development plans—than we receive in assistance from the developed States no longer needs proof. That is why praise is due to the African States for the work they have done to establish customs unions, such as the West African Customs Union and the Customs and Economic Union for Central Africa, and to set up equalization funds to guarantee some of their primary commodities—for example, the sugar guarantee fund established by the States members of the Joint African and Malagasy Organization. We must also thank the Development Fund for Overseas Countries and Territories for the substantial assistance it is giving the countries associated with it, and the United Nations for the work it has done, despite its modest means, to help the African nations under the United Nations Development Programme.

5. The second cause of our problems arises from territorial claims and expansionist ambitions. That was an element inherent in the Second World War; it results from every country's desire to extend its borders, develop its system of government, destroy everything not itself, and thereby create a revolutionary dynamism based on intolerance. During the Second World War, one of the Allied Powers in fact observed that that war was not like past wars: a country which occupied a territory imposed its own social system on it; every country imposed its system as far as its army could advance, and the situation could not have been otherwise. Unfortunately, that was no mere figure of speech. States have changed régimes overnight, others have experienced civil wars; mistakes and weaknesses have been systematically exploited, and every great Power has methodically woven its network of alliances. Military blocs—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, the Warsaw Pact—have been forged, and the alliance upon which this Organization was founded has shivered. Nations

\*Resumed from the 1416th meeting.

once united like Germany, Korea, Indo-China, have been divided. The concept of negotiation from positions of strength has led to the arms race, the failure of the collective security system, and the paralysis of our Organization. All this has come about because the partisans of régimes have closed their eyes to the lofty purpose of the United Nations—the maintenance of peace—and calculate the advantage their neighbour might derive from every one of their actions.

6. "War", as Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, has observed, "has never settled anything conclusively, and whoever loses a war today can hope to win it another time. Would it not therefore be infinitely preferable to live in peace with one another?" The Ivory Coast has never been in favour of war and never will be; but while condemning war we also condemn subversion, which leads to the most tragic of all conflicts, civil war. As far as Viet-Nam is concerned, my country hopes that foreign intervention will cease, whatever its nature or origin. This conflict remains limited for the moment, but it may spread into a general conflagration, for it bids fair to get out of control. While there is still time, the Ivory Coast wishes to join its voice to those of the other small countries, which urgently need peace, in an appeal to the conscience of mankind. We beg the belligerent parties, those who support them and those who are able to influence them to work together to restore peace to Viet-Nam. That can be accomplished by putting an end to subversive activities in South Viet-Nam, by stopping bombings, intervention and infiltration, by a supervised cessation of hostilities and by returning to the Geneva Conference to solve the problem of unification on the basis of the sacred principle of negotiation and self-determination.

7. Proposals for negotiations have been submitted from this rostrum by the United States. While they were deemed unacceptable by others, the stake involved in this war is so great that we must not be discouraged, and the United States should make a solemn gesture by halting its bombings and air attacks. At the same time, we should encourage the convening of the Geneva Conference with a view to the initiation of negotiations for a return to the 1952 and 1954 agreements, and induce the belligerents to agree to a supervised suspension of hostilities until the Conference has come to a reasonable conclusion. It is the duty of each of us, according to our relations with the United States, the People's Republic of China, North Viet-Nam, South Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong, to persuade these parties to agree to negotiation—within the context of the Geneva Conference and with no preconditions—as the only means to save the peace.

8. We in the Ivory Coast believe in the virtue of negotiation and self-determination, and we are convinced that they remain the only answers to the distressing problems of countries arbitrarily divided by ideological conflicts imposed from outside. We are referring to Indo-China, Korea, and, above all, Germany, a nation which will not tolerate permanent division and which is a potential hotbed of war, inasmuch as the reaction to this division will in-

evitably be the awakening of an insurgent national consciousness.

9. In a letter to Marshal Stalin dated 29 April 1945, Winston Churchill wrote:

"There is not much comfort in looking into a future where you and the countries you dominate, plus the Communist Parties in many other States, are all drawn up on one side, and those who rally to the English-speaking nations and their associates or dominions are on the other. It is quite obvious that their quarrel would tear the world to pieces and that all of us, leading men on either side who had anything to do with that, would be shamed before history."<sup>1/</sup>

Of course, we are still suffering the effects of this crisis, but we should find comfort in the thought that it is not an insoluble one. Eastern and Western Powers are making commendable efforts to overcome it and inaugurate a more positive policy of peaceful coexistence, the coexistence of the two régimes. Only the People's Republic of China refuses to join in that effort; it wages insidious and often clamorous warfare against everyone—communist, capitalist and non-aligned nations alike—by promoting subversion everywhere, in African and other countries, in the name of some sort of international revolution.

10. Our position on the question of the People's Republic of China therefore remains unchanged. We hope that nation will realize that its intransigence is causing much turmoil throughout the world and is seriously injuring the small African States, which need an atmosphere of peace and fraternity if they are to overcome their lag in development.

11. Another cause of war, and not the least significant one, lies in the trend towards domination, for domination stifles freedom and engenders revolt, as witness the unrest brewing in the Portuguese colonies, the resistance to Pretoria's inhuman policy of apartheid, and the hostility stirred up by South Africa's seizure of South-West Africa. These policies, all based on violence, are to be condemned. The whites of South Africa have been unable to rise above their selfish privileges of the moment to build the South Africa of the future. Our policy in the Ivory Coast consists in calling upon our friends throughout the world to join with us in persuading the Whites of South Africa to refrain from accumulating hatreds which will overwhelm them when, in a few years' time, the balance of strength has changed. A situation imposed by force cannot last for ever.

12. The South West Africa issue is an international scandal. South-West Africa is the only Mandated Territory of the League of Nations whose future is uncertain, because South Africa wishes to annex it and is being abetted by many other States in its efforts to do so. South Africa's bad faith in this matter is obvious; its intention to annex South West Africa is clear, and the Ivory Coast condemned the Judgment delivered by the International Court of

<sup>1/</sup> Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1953, vol. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 497.

Justice on 18 July 1966<sup>2/</sup> because it was politically rather than juridically motivated. South Africa has violated its Mandate, and the United Nations must seriously consider revoking that Mandate.

13. Portugal, for its part, persists in applying in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea a policy of "assimilation" which no longer has any place in an independent Africa. We beseech Portugal to adopt a realistic policy based on self-determination, such as France carried out in Africa and plans to carry out for a second time in Djibouti.

14. With regard to Rhodesia, we have up to now placed our trust in the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom must now live up to that trust by refusing to allow the 200,000 rebel Whites of Southern Rhodesia any more time, time which they would use to organize themselves more effectively and arrogantly persist in their defiance of the civilized world. Without further delay, the United Nations must intervene under Chapter VII of the Charter.

15. I have intentionally omitted to mention the question of disarmament because when we analyse the causes of the arms race we realize that they lie essentially in distrust, a distrust which increases day after day, suggesting that the policies adopted by the various parties are intended only as diversionary or delaying tactics. There are some things which depend upon us and others which do not. If disarmament depended on the will of the Ivory Coast, I would say that we are in favour of total, general, complete disarmament. However, the duty incumbent on us is to create an atmosphere of fraternal understanding, and conditions which will allow the present temporary respite to become permanent and will render the accumulated armaments useless for want of work.

16. That is possible because the world, fortunately, is governed not by force but by public opinion. We must therefore strengthen our Organization, which calms tempers, limits risks, and is the embodiment of our moral aspirations and the universal conscience.

17. In a world which is unfortunately a prey to dangerous and unpredictable upheavals, we have done well to entrust the United Nations with the mission of maintaining peace wherever it has been threatened. The creation of an Emergency Force has thus been fully justified. My delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the United Nations Emergency Force for the effective work it has done and is still doing, within the limits of its still too modest means; work, above all, which it has done in a spirit of noble impartiality. We hope, therefore, that the costs of maintaining and equipping the Force will be adequately and regularly met, now and in the future, by all concerned—particularly the wealthier States.

18. The Ivory Coast is happy to see that, despite the growing problems facing our Organization, independent countries continue to join the United Nations. My country, which was honoured to be Guyana's guest on the occasion of its proclamation of independence, takes great pleasure in congratulating that

friendly country and in welcoming it to the United Nations.

19. During the two years in which the Ivory Coast has been a member of the Security Council, we have been able to appreciate the difficulties which confront the Secretary-General in the discharge of the noble task entrusted to him. We cannot therefore leave this rostrum without paying a special tribute to him, by expressing our warm and sincere congratulations on the courage, energy and wisdom he has always demonstrated in the conduct of international affairs. On behalf of my Government and my President, it is my pleasant duty to reaffirm the complete confidence of the Ivory Coast in the Secretary-General.

20. It is our hope that the Secretary-General's courageous report for this twenty-first session [A/6301] will be deeply pondered, for the good of all mankind, by all States Members—and non-members—of the United Nations.

21. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Mr. President, speaking as one Asian to another, I extend to you the warm congratulations of my delegation and my personal congratulations. I should like also to express the hope that, inspired by Asian wisdom, you will lead the deliberations of this Assembly towards a fruitful and beneficial conclusion.

22. Our heartfelt appreciation goes to the outgoing President, Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani, of Italy, for his valuable services and his wise guidance in the deliberations of the General Assembly.

23. My delegation would like also to extend its warm felicitations to the delegation of Guyana, which was admitted to the United Nations family only a few days ago.

24. As in preceding years, many of us have come from all parts of the globe to take part in the United Nations General Assembly with our concern and worries, but invariably with inexhaustible hopes that, after our deliberations in this world Assembly, our cares may be lessened, our apprehensions assuaged and our problems moving towards gradual but satisfying solutions. This year seems little different from the years gone by, except perhaps for the fact that within a few weeks the term of office of our Secretary-General will expire, and, since he has already declined to offer himself for re-election, this important high office will become vacant with no one in sight to fill it. There is also the financial crisis which has beset our Organization for some years already and for which no solution has as yet been devised to relieve the crushing burden which has imposed an almost unbearable weight on the United Nations and has practically paralysed it. Finally, the dangers of large-scale warfare have markedly increased in South-East Asia, because those who launched the aggressive attacks against peace and freedom-loving South Viet-Nam continue to show an almost insane obduracy and refuse to join in any peaceful approach, preferring to expand still further their warlike activities.

25. With the exception of these differences, the problems facing us in this Organization and the world at large remain, at least in appearance, sub-

<sup>2/</sup> See *South-West Africa, Part II, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports, 1966, p. 6.*

stantially the same as before. The question, however, is whether we should trust appearances, which, in our opinion, are deceiving and conceal a disquieting deterioration in the situation both within our Organization and in the world at large, with particular reference to Asia as a whole and more specifically to South East Asia.

26. To our mind, the financial problem of the United Nations and the Secretary-General's reluctance to serve for a second term are unmistakably linked. Indeed, he has made it repeatedly clear on several occasions that the lack of funds resulting from the failure of certain nations to honour their financial obligations hinders the efficient discharge of his duties and, in some cases, renders it even impossible. Few people of impartial mind and dedicated to the support of the United Nations would think of disagreeing with him. They indeed sympathize with his plight and share his frustration brought about by those who pay only lip service to peace while actually doing much to impede various efforts to consolidate and strengthen goodwill and harmony. They seek in particular to restrict the Secretary-General's initiatives in the political and diplomatic fields which he considers an essential part of his functions and to make him, to quote his own words, a "glorified clerk".

27. This is the situation; what is now to be done?

28. Much as we would like the Secretary-General to continue in his office, we do not believe that, in order to save ourselves a great deal of prolonged wrangling and wearisome negotiations, we should follow the easiest solution for us and "draft" this distinguished Asian, thus compelling him to serve us and the Organization against his will and his better judgement, while on our side we continue to deny him the necessary means to enable him to perform his function properly. Such a course would be not only unreasonable but highly undignified. The only way to resolve our problem, as far as we can see it, is rather to strive to make those who caused this crisis realize their share of the responsibility and take the necessary steps to redress the wrong they have done. Through the clear expression of impartial opinions in this Assembly, the responsibility for causing these grave difficulties may be openly apportioned and the consequences of any further negative attitude properly established.

29. However, if such a procedure should fail to be adopted or to evoke a favourable response, the last resort may be to launch a world-wide appeal to the population of this planet, particularly those of the impoverished under-developed nations, to contribute whatever they can spare from their meagre resources to make up the deficit under which this Organization now labours, and to show to the great Powers that the poor peoples of this world can give of their flesh and blood so that those Powers may continue to enjoy their privileges without incurring corresponding obligations. In our opinion, other expedients are not likely to save this Organization, whose downfall may only be postponed and ultimately come at a time when the international situation will be the least apt to absorb the shock.

30. Another reason which prompted the Secretary-General to decline accepting further his present difficult assignment is said to be the lack of co-operation on the part of certain nations to solve a number of international problems, among which figures prominently that of the war in Viet-Nam. There again, we who live in South-East Asia fully understand and appreciate the disappointment and frustration felt by an international official whose primary duty it is to help bring international conflicts to an end and to develop and promote peaceful conditions in the world. For in spite of his desire to discharge conscientiously the responsibility of his office, the Secretary-General, more often than not, has had to face non-co-operation and even a completely negative and obstructive attitude from those who seek to extend their domination and further to expand their influence and control over others. That explains why, on more than one occasion, the Secretary-General has had to adopt a totally despondent posture and confess to the world at large that, much as he realizes that it is his duty to help resolve the present acute problem of the war in Viet-Nam, neither the Organization which is entrusted with the function of preserving and maintaining peace nor he himself, who is its chief executive, can do much, if anything at all, to carry out their peace mission. Accordingly, it is natural that an international official with a high degree of self-respect can find no alternative but to bow out with the full realization that, continuing in his present predicament, he would merely lend himself to be used as a scapegoat for the present and future failure of the Organization to fulfil its high purposes.

31. This leads us to consider why the problem of Viet-Nam, which is not only fraught with dangerous potentialities but also highly explosive, has so far defied various and many-sided efforts to solve it.

32. In the first place, the instigators who planned and initiated the war of aggression against South Viet-Nam have so far entertained a hope that they might be able to attain their objective of ultimately seizing that country and finally placing it under their ruthless totalitarian rule. That is why they still persist in their combined nefarious activities of infiltration, subversion and terrorism which have brought about untold sufferings and ravages upon their victims. On the side of the aggressors, they themselves have incurred heavy losses of human lives in the conduct of their ferocious and fanatic campaign of war and terror, as well as heavy destruction which has descended upon their homeland as the result of air attacks intended to reduce and slow down the infiltration of men and material needed to sustain them in their acts of aggression against South Viet-Nam.

33. Their hopes are not completely without support. They have been kept alive and in fact fuelled by the provision of the necessary wherewithal from their allies to wage war. Economic aid as well as military equipment has flowed from external sources into North Viet-Nam, which enables that country to carry on to this day its war of aggression. For countries siding with the aggressors, the war in Viet-Nam must be won for their friends and partners, as vic-

tory would further extend their ideological and political empire. Although not all of them are prepared to share the cost and bear proportionate sacrifices, they seem to be willing to show their solidarity to the extent of their immediate national interests and practical capability. At least on the propaganda side, they are willing to blare in unison that the war in Viet-Nam is a holy war of national liberation, which in effect serves to cover the stark fact that the people of South Viet-Nam are being subjected to a war of conquest and colonial expansion from across the northern border.

34. The well-drilled chorus of martial singers seem to be bent upon pursuing to the end their war-path and have repeatedly spurned various suggestions to diverge from the escalating trend of war into a more peaceful approach. In appearance at least, they seem to be fortifying themselves with the belief that by rejecting every peaceful suggestion they are more likely to attain their war objectives. That is why, even though the call for peace and reason may have come from fellow Asians, they have contemptuously brushed aside the genuine yearnings for peace of Asian nations and have retorted with arrogant intransigence, which is in no way tempered by accompanying abuse of the lowest sort. Such a display of uncultured and un-Asian behaviour conceals not an inherent strength but rather a fundamental weakness which has come to the surface and, covered with a misnomer, is euphemistically called the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Up to now, while the defenders' side in Viet-Nam has shown its willingness and readiness to discuss unconditionally the ways and means to resolve peacefully the war in Viet-Nam, the aggressors' camp has consistently closed the door to every probe for negotiation and peaceable settlement.

35. The intransigence of the aggressors has in no small measure been encouraged and even enhanced by the lack of unity and by dissenting opinions of small and misguided minorities in various countries. These dissenting minorities, consisting of elements from legislative quarters, from the Press, from the church and from uninformed academic circles, are the least familiar with, and are even ignorant of, the true fact of the situation, but allow themselves nevertheless to be carried away by their abstract and unrealistic interpretations or by their belief in false liberalism and to voice suggestions and opinions which benefit and give comfort to no one except the enemies of freedom and liberty. While innocent victims are daily maimed, molested and massacred by fanatic terrorists, the so-called liberals commiserate not with the unfortunate victims, but rather with those who kill, torture and terrorize. Some of them even exceed the limits of decency by brandishing the aggressors' flag while they comfortably enjoy the rule of law and the fruits of liberty in their own countries. Others, inspired by unrealistic and unmitigated fear, tend to attribute to the other side greater military power to commit mischief and greater capability to wage war than it really possesses. Others still who are far away and in the midst of their opulence and comfort seem also to be seized with griping apprehension that events in Viet-Nam may adversely affect their present abundant and luxurious living by dragging

them into the spreading conflict. They therefore, and not quite altruistically, so advocate courses of action which would in effect sacrifice the victims and condone and consummate aggression. Such divergent voices, though infinitely small and outnumbered, have given the erroneous impression that the aggressors can count upon the defenders soon to become wearied and tired of the exactions of war, and that they may ultimately yield to force and aggression.

36. In the face of these divergencies and dissents, it is the hope of all freedom-loving people that the South Viet-Nameese, who are fighting for their survival and their future of liberty, will join together in presenting a solid front to the invaders and inspire confidence not only among their own people but also in the outside world which supports them in this vital struggle.

37. These are some of the factors which, through the naïve gullibility of some in the face of the aggressors' propaganda, tend to favour the enemies of freedom and thus have the effect, directly or indirectly, of prolonging the present conflict in Viet-Nam and retarding its early conclusion. Let us now examine whether there are ways and means which, though they may not immediately solve the problem, may at least begin to pave the way toward its peaceful settlement.

38. It has been said by some, and almost too frequently, that a military solution is not the solution for the present war in Viet-Nam. But this oracular assertion appears to be more of a truism than an effective solution. In any case, that assertion has never been gainsaid by the defending side in the Viet-Nam war, which is only too ready and willing to agree with such a contention. It is rather the aggressors who have consistently and stubbornly adhered to the military solution and tried to pursue it to the bitter end, in complete disregard of the sufferings of their own people and the peaceful aspirations of the rest of the world. On the other hand, it is not enough just to make a pronouncement that the military solution is not a real solution; one ought to be able to offer a workable alternative.

39. Some have suggested that in order to end the war in Viet-Nam there should be a unilateral cessation of aerial attacks on North Viet-Nam. In this connexion, they all seem to have forgotten that the bombing has been halted at least twice, the first time for five days and the second time for more than a month. In both cases the cessation of the bombing yielded no worthwhile results. On the contrary, it gave undue advantage to the other side, which made use of the lull to gather more strength with which to intensify and escalate the conflict.

40. Others have advocated that foreign troops now assisting South Viet-Nam, especially those of the United States, be unilaterally withdrawn from that country, while intruding forces introduced from the North are not mentioned and consequently are allowed to continue their depredations and aggression. The partiality and unworthiness of such views are too obvious to warrant any comment or discussion. Such suggestions are no doubt designed to delight

the aggressors. They amount in fact to delivering the victims to the attackers.

41. As any impartial observer may notice, many, if not all, of the solutions so far advanced by one party or another have tended to favour the side which instigated the war for the purpose of placing South Viet-Nam under its control, while the victims and those who helped repel aggression and conquest are considered trouble-tête, as a nuisance, for prolonging the ordeal and for not allowing the aggression to be more expeditiously consummated. Why should it be so, one may ask, why should the victims be penalized and the peace-breakers and law-breakers be treated with indulgence and even with direct or indirect encouragement?

42. From a pragmatic viewpoint, it may be too much to expect that ethical considerations should prevail in the discussion of such a hotly contested international issue. In reality, the question is much more complex, involving heterogeneous elements among which are ideological bias, acute self-interest, past private feuds and the instinct of revenge, or simply fears of losing the beatific enjoyment of present material abundance and luxury available in profusion in certain parts of the world. Some of these elements were already at play when the dark Hitlerite power threatened Europe with its domination and succeeded in cowing those endowed with clouded intellects and weaker knees into hailing that evil force as the true voice of German and European nationalism which deserved respect and support. Nowadays, these heads are again rising and by their wild clamours they try to delude the world into believing that a war of conquest is a war of national liberation. However, the most deplorable fact of all is perhaps that some nations and statesmen of this world should want to make use of the Viet-Nam war as an occasion to let loose their past rancour over inconsiderate treatment in bygone days, and to launch a vendetta to satisfy their long pent-up feelings. They disregard the consequences of their ill-timed revenge and fail to recognize that those who will be paying the price are not the ones who caused them displeasure many long years ago, but the innocent people of Viet-Nam, who had no part whatsoever in any humiliation which may have been inflicted in the past.

43. Whatever these views may be, they present one common characteristic: they are short-sighted. By cajoling and favouring the aggressors' side, they are paving the way for their own destruction, for, in due course and perhaps in not too distant a future, they will not be spared any more than the South Viet-Nameese have been spared.

44. To many of us in Asia who desperately try to keep our heads cool and clear, the solutions thus far put forward do not appear to be the real solutions likely to resolve the present difficulties and restore peace and tranquillity for any durable length of time, because they are tainted with ideological bias and prejudice or prompted by crying selfish preoccupations or by personal and individual considerations of a purely private nature.

45. A truly worthy solution to the Viet-Nam war must see to it that aggression shall not be rewarded and that South Viet-Nam shall be assured essentially of being able to maintain its freedom and independence and not be delivered with bound hands and feet to the conquerors. To us in Thailand, and I am sure to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, the United Nations and its officials or any Member of this Organization, however great or however small, have no right to sell away the inherent right of South Viet-Nam—or, for that matter, of any country—to exist and survive as a free and sovereign nation. If such an unfortunate precedent were to be created now, the survival of many other nations would become greatly compromised. As for the aggressors, although they deserve to be punished for their crime, we should be far-sighted enough not to be vengeful and should not seek to bring about their destruction. Rather, it would be in the interests of all to persuade them to renounce their expansionist designs and join hands with other peace-loving nations in building a future of peace, progress and prosperity.

46. With that purpose in mind, Thailand, together with Malaysia and the Philippines, initiated an appeal to all Asian nations to launch a Joint Asian peace move designed to bring the Viet-Nam conflict to a peaceful conclusion. Although two of the above countries, namely my own and the Philippines, are already militarily involved in South Viet-Nam because they seek to help repel aggression and prevent the enlargement of the conflict in South-East Asia, they are not precluded from genuinely desiring to end the conflict by peaceful means. The three countries have consequently suggested that Asian nations should join together in urging the parties involved in the Viet-Nam conflict to come to a conference table. This represents the first collective Asian initiative to suggest a peaceful approach to the problem of Viet-Nam. While there has been encouraging response and general support for a peaceful approach from the non-communist countries in Asia as well as elsewhere, it is becoming increasingly clear that the other side, in its unrestrained manifestations of displeasure, has shown a completely negative attitude. It is therefore crystal-clear now who is for peace and who is against it. If one side favours a peaceful approach while the other has so far rejected every move towards a peaceful settlement, there should be no room for doubt as to where the blame lies, and which side should bear the responsibility for the prolongation of the war.

47. Thus the Asian peace move, launched with a view to offering a fair and honourable approach to end the conflict, has met with a stone wall erected by the stubborn and obstructive attitude of the side favouring war and forceful conquest. If the appeal has so far failed to elicit a favourable response from the other side, it cannot be because it was initiated by nations which have openly subscribed to certain viewpoints. For, as is well known, many attempts to suggest a peaceful approach have been undertaken by various nations and personalities upholding different viewpoints, among whom is His Holiness the Pope; and up till now none has ever won the trust and confidence of those who broke the peace and



launched the hateful aggression. The realities are that the latter have no intention of trusting anyone, not even their own ideological comrades. Rather, they look upon all who try to halt their aggression as belonging to their enemies' camp.

48. The Thai Government and people, nevertheless, would welcome peace in Viet-Nam and in South-East Asia. Any proposal for an honourable and peaceful solution to the Viet-Nam problem from whatever quarter will therefore be assured of our co-operation and support. In the meantime, the freedom and independence of the South Viet-Nameese people must continue to be defended.

49. Such a belief has driven us to exert efforts to seek a more harmonious relationship among our neighbours in South-East Asia. We are particularly gratified to see that traditional Asian wisdom and far-sightedness have prevailed with our friends and neighbours, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, which have successfully resolved their differences and have resumed their normal intercourse within the South-East Asian family. It is our fervent hope that normalization of relations will bring the benefits deriving from practical and fruitful co-operation. Thailand is also happy to extend a warm welcome to the brotherly nation of Indonesia upon its decision to resume full co-operation with the United Nations. Indonesia's resumption of participation in the United Nations activities is indicative of her desire to uphold the lofty principles of international co-operation as laid down in the United Nations Charter. There can be no doubt that Indonesia, being the largest nation in South-East Asia, can greatly contribute to the effectiveness of the United Nations as well as to the stability and progress of that region.

50. In the same spirit, we have sought to ensure long-lasting peace in Asia by arousing the consciousness on the part of the Asian countries not only to coexist together but also to co-operate closely for mutual benefits. We believe that regional co-operation will bring not only direct benefits to the peoples of the region, but will also serve to strengthen the solidarity and enhance the security of our respective countries. Thus Thailand has joined with Malaysia and the Philippines in founding the Association of South-East Asia, which has recently been revived to serve the purposes of co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields. Recently, and on an even larger scale, the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) has been established at the historic meeting [14-16 June 1966] at Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea. Indeed, in a relatively short time since its inception, it offers promising prospects. Several other regional undertakings are also in the making. In this particular connexion, Thailand has welcomed Japan's initiative in convening the Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of South-East Asia at Tokyo last April, which will continue to meet in other Asian capitals. It should also be noted that an Asian Development Bank is being established for the benefit of the countries of the region. Thailand has actively taken part in all these worth-while projects, as well as the important project for the development of the lower Mekong basin under United Nations sponsorship. This worthy international

undertaking has proved its high value and has continued to function through the vicissitudes of political relationship between some of the participating countries.

51. Although the Asian nations in general have shown their profound faith in the usefulness and benefits of co-operation regionally among themselves as well as with outside countries, certain other nations of different ideologies have bitterly criticized these joint endeavours and have tried to allege calumniously that they are being instigated and sponsored by far-away Powers. Nothing can be further from the truth. Indeed, it does not take long, nor in fact is it really necessary to point out, that such criticisms are totally unfounded and have been motivated by the desire to see Asian nations divided and powerless so that those who nourish expansionist designs may, with greater ease interfere in the internal affairs of the thus weakened countries and eventually succeed in bringing about their downfall.

52. The main motivation which has prompted Asian nations to strengthen regional co-operation lies in their common desire to assume greater responsibility in regard to Asian problems and to prevent outside Powers from interfering with and dominating the life of Asian peoples. The experience of the past and particularly that of western colonialism have shown how disastrous the loss of control over our own destiny could be, not only to our national pride, but even more so to our fundamental interests. Nowadays, while the western type of imperialism has receded, a new and even more ruthless form of imperialism is attempting to step in and derive benefits from exercising influence and overlordship over our national life and patrimony. While a few nations in Asia have been cowed into submission or deluded into believing in alien doctrines born in the dark recesses of European ghettos and become oblivious of their lofty Asian heritage, many others remain faithful to the age-old ideals of Asia which uphold not only peace and friendship among the peoples of the world, but also the intrinsic worth and dignity of human beings. To them, the recent manifestations of the so-called Red Guards have nothing to do with Asian values and traditions, but represent the lower instincts of man brought over from beyond the confines of Asia. That is why a great many of us who believe in serving our people and our region deeply felt the urge of establishing an effective and fruitful co-operation which will bring to us all substantial mutual benefits. At the same time, when the world organization is passing through an anguishing period of stress and strain due to certain deleterious activities within the Organization, the existence of even a loose form of regional co-operation is a measure of comfort and assurance that international anarchy will not take the place of a world of law and order.

53. It will thus be seen that all these moves have been launched with a view to bringing about peace and prosperity for the entire region. In spite of grave difficulties and, at times, abuses and provocations from Cambodia, Thailand has refrained, in the interest of regional peace, from retaliating in kind. Instead, Thailand has kept calm and has shown restraint and moderation, and to avoid further de-

terioration and escalation, my country appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send a special representative to explore ways and means of easing tension between the two countries. This appeal has received sympathetic consideration from the Secretary-General who, with Cambodia's concurrence, has despatched his Special Representative to the two countries. The matter is now receiving careful attention with a view to achieving reconciliation. On the part of Thailand, the United Nations can be assured of the fullest co-operation from the Thai Government in this mission. In order to ensure and enhance regional peace and tranquillity, and in the event that Cambodia gives a similar response, the Thai people are prepared to extend the hand of friendship to their neighbours to the East and to forget past differences, for the peoples of the two countries should be aware that they are bound by traditional ties of friendship and close affinities. They shared in the past many common cultural legacies and their destinies in the future may hardly be apart. We are hopeful, therefore, that with wisdom and goodwill on both sides, and thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the two countries may soon find themselves back to their normal relationship.

54. Even though our efforts for peace and harmony are by necessity concentrated on our immediate vicinity and our area of South-East Asia, our genuine desire is to see peace and tranquillity prevail, not in our region alone, but as far and wide as possible, indeed, in the whole world. Consequently, we cannot help holding the view that Southern Rhodesia is a case of a troublesome problem in which an unruly white minority has usurped the authority of government and unconstitutionally arrogated to itself the right to dominate the other segments of the people and deprived them of their birthright of freedom. The illegitimate régime, condemned in this Assembly, can still breathe the air of insubordination, scornfully disregarding the ineffective measures taken against it, and will probably survive public disapproval because of a noticeable lack of adequate and meaningful sanctions.

55. Another example of international concern over the plight of a non-self-governing people is provided by the South West Africa case. The recent decision of the International Court of Justice does not in any way serve to improve the situation. The Court has regrettably found it convenient to reverse its own previous pronouncements upon its competence and has declined in this case to consider the substance of the question, thus retarding a possible settlement of the issue. Thailand has taken a keen interest in this case right from the very beginning, as its representative had served for many years in the five-nation *Ad Hoc* Committee on South West Africa set up by the General Assembly to implement an advisory opinion of the Court in 1950,<sup>3/</sup> and was Chairman of the seven-member Committee on South West Africa established by General Assembly resolution 749 (VIII) in 1953. In these capacities, Thailand has consistently upheld

the position that the General Assembly is the rightful successor to the League of Nations. Such a stand also received judicial endorsement in the advisory opinion of 11 June 1950. In consequence, the General Assembly is entitled, in our opinion, to exercise its supervision over the administration of South West Africa. My delegation will elaborate further on this matter in the debate on the specific agenda item [item 65] dealing with the question of South West Africa. For the time being, may we express the hope that the country responsible for the present administration of South West Africa will heed the unequivocal opinion of the overwhelming majority of nations in the world.

56. Similarly, it is a matter of deep regret that despite the nuclear test ban treaty<sup>4/</sup> concluded by practically all the nations of the world, large and small, there are a few countries still defying the conscience of mankind, which aspires to be free from the hazards of radioactive contamination and nuclear proliferation. No doubt one can see in this callous disregard of international opinion a persistent search for national aggrandizement, but in the long run it is doubtful whether the advantage thus gained will be commensurate with the danger which may build up all around in the world scene. Only the future will tell whether the investment in considerable resources has brought to the nations involved the benefits that they desire to acquire.

57. The problems as outlined above may appear to be hard to solve. If they are so, it is probably because, to some nations, the scoring of victory on ideological issues and the spreading of their political doctrines take precedence over the consolidation of peace and freedom. The attainment of their political objectives is of such paramount significance to them as to make the preservation of world peace and order recede into secondary importance. The latter is given consideration only when a rupture may entail their own annihilation. Only then will they relent in their inflexible submission to their political dictates and allow consideration for the general welfare to assume the importance that it deserves. Otherwise, human understanding, as well as the spirit of give and take, seems to be totally lacking. What prevails is rather a tendency to demand and to take without making concessions. There can be little doubt that if such a trend were to continue, if all of us were to come to this Assembly with an unyielding one-track mind and seek to make gains in our ideological and parochial stands, the pending crucial problems would scarcely have any chance of a reasonable solution. On the contrary, it is not unlikely that such problems would even increase in acuteness in the future, with dangerous implications for mankind. If instead we were to envision that long-term interests in peace and well-being can accommodate a measure of general understanding and rational compromise, the prospects for our nations to be able to live together in a more harmonious world in more secure and lasting peace would become infinitely brighter, for the benefit of our present and future generations.

<sup>3/</sup> See *International Status of South West Africa, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 128.*

<sup>4/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.



58. While the leading industrialized nations have made important strides in scientific and technological fields of human endeavours, even to the extent of discovering a soft landing technique on the moon, they would earn an even more profound gratitude from the millions of this world if they could devise ways and means to end present earthly conflicts and avoid future ones.

59. Mr. HASLUCK (Australia): Mr. President, may I offer my congratulations to you, on behalf of the Government and people of Australia, on your elevation to your high and responsible office. Our two countries have been linked in friendship for many years and we are closely associated with each other in various regional organizations, such as the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Colombo Plan, and the Asian Development Bank; and, at the regular conferences of these and other bodies, the happy accident of the alphabet has meant that Afghanistan and Australia have sat side by side on many occasions. We have students from Afghanistan in Australia. This year a delegation of members of the Australian Parliament was most hospitably received in your country and brought back reports of the various developments in which we are jointly interested, as well as lyrical descriptions of the beauty of your countryside and the dignity of your people. It is therefore of special pleasure to us to see a citizen of Afghanistan in a position of leadership in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

60. In congratulating you, Mr. President, may I also echo what others have said to the effect that it is fitting in this year that the representative of an Asian nation should be President of the General Assembly. Asia is vast in area and large in population. Indeed, more than half the people in the world live there. A large proportion of the world's natural physical resources is to be found there and, as some of those resources are still latent, the Asian region presents an inspiring prospect of the riches that may still be yielded for the benefit of all mankind.

61. Speaking of Asia in this way is not to say that, in the United Nations at any time, one continent or one country is more important than another. Our concern is with all humanity. The phrase "We the peoples", with which the Charter opens, means the people of all lands, of all races, of all languages, and of all creeds. The purpose of the United Nations is to harmonize the actions of all of us in the attainment of our common aims. But in Asia today, events fateful to all mankind are rising to a crisis. The outcome of Asian struggles will be felt throughout the world either for good or for ill. The realization of Asian hopes will be of benefit to all peoples; and the frustration of those hopes would retard progress and welfare in all corners of the earth.

62. In Asia today a ruthless doctrine of revolution by the use of force and subversion is being applied and resisted. Asia today is the front line of both the power struggle and the ideological struggle and, no matter what interpretation any of us may put on that contest, and no matter whether the sympathy of any one of us lies in one direction or another, it is plain for all to see the fateful and tragic fact of a clash

between great forces and the effect of that clash on human life and human happiness.

*Mr. Siles (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

63. In Asia today, too, the slow and difficult path towards nuclear disarmament is encountering a new setback. Such hopes as we may have had for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and for the limitation of their testing or their use are imperilled today by the nuclear ambitions of mainland China, accompanied by Peking's total disregard for any international effort in the direction of disarmament or control.

64. But, at the same time as we notice these gloomy facts, we can also notice that in Asia today the tasks of development are offering opportunities both more complex and greater in size than anywhere else in the world; many new enterprises which could bring closer co-operation between the strong and the weak are being attempted in that continent.

65. I want to give the Assembly a double picture, a picture of a continent of danger, a picture of a continent of opportunity. As viewed by us in Australia, living on the fringe of the region, it is also a continent of great dynamism where the energy and resolution of its people are moving through great changes towards a new era. In speaking thus, I have in mind chiefly the great Indian sub-continent, the Malaysian peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago, the Philippines archipelago, the Japanese islands, and the whole range of South-East Asia. What the rest of the world—and particularly the Western world—needs to appreciate is that what is at stake in Asia today is not an old order but a new order; not the propping up of out-dated régimes or hopeless and decaying customs, but the establishing of a wider chance for the creation of a new life for the liberated peoples of Asia.

66. I have had the good fortune to travel throughout the region. I have had the opportunity of close conversations with the leaders of all the countries which I have mentioned. I have participated as the representative of Australia in several regional conferences. I have made personal friendships and have learned to value the wisdom of my Asian colleagues. And so I speak with the certainty that the new Asia, to be shaped by the Asian people according to their own understanding of their own needs and interests, is a forward-looking and enlightened area. And I am confident too that the present Government centered in Peking stands for retrogressive forces, and that the countries which are resolved to remain free from the domination of Peking are the positive and constructive forces in Asia today. Those countries are represented here in our midst and their representatives can tell the Assembly more eloquently than I can both of their needs and of their aspirations.

67. The great and immediate need of the whole of southern Asia today is for peace. This continent wants peace badly. But it must be a peace that will last, a peace that will be fair, a peace that will not infringe the rights of any nation, and one which will leave no country under the shadow of fear or in peril of domination by another. The sort of peace which is needed is not the peace of a temporary cessa-

tion from strife, but a peace with a future—a foundation for a better life for all our peoples. Do not let us mock those who have suffered, and are still suffering today, in Asia for the sake of their future by giving them only a future of despair.

68. Looking at the whole Asian situation, one can find some encouragement in the ending of the conflict against Malaysia. We in Australia supported the defence of Malaysia at the same time as we tried to keep the way open to co-operation with Indonesia for peaceful purposes. We are glad to learn that Indonesia is to resume its place as a Member of the United Nations and we also welcome the prospect that the ending of armed conflict with its neighbour may lead to closer co-operation between Indonesia and all its neighbours for the benefit of the region and of the world. We also note with pleasure the signs of progress towards better understanding between Thailand and Cambodia on matters that have long been controversial, and the cessation of fighting on the frontier of India and Pakistan, and in these events we recognize the good offices of the United Nations, and in one case also of the Soviet Union. And we can see elsewhere the way in which the nations of the region are working together in many useful ways. A great reconstruction for peace is going on all the time in spite of the conflict, and in this work nations outside the region are making a major contribution.

69. Yet all our hopes for the future face an immediate threat by reason of the war in Viet-Nam. Australia has a very deep interest in the events in Viet-Nam. The Viet-Nameese are our neighbours. Our co-operation with them began well before the present fighting developed. For over fifteen years Australia has been providing economic assistance to Viet-Nam. More recently, in response to requests by its Government, we have also been providing military assistance, at first limited to advisers and other technical military assistance, and subsequently including combat forces. We gave that military assistance on our own decision—as, indeed, on our own decision, we have contributed to defence in other parts of Asia—and we made that decision because we feel directly affected by anything that imperils stability and progress in that region. It is with this background of direct interest and military involvement on our part that I speak now on the present situation in Viet-Nam.

70. There existed in Viet-Nam, as the result of the Geneva Agreements of 1954, two separate Governments exercising jurisdiction in the north and in the south respectively. Although the Geneva Agreements looked towards the reunification of the country in accordance with the procedures and principles stated in those Agreements, reunification had not in fact taken place. The simple fact is that two *de facto* régimes have existed since 1954, and they could have continued peacefully side by side for the time being, provided that no attempt was made by force to upset this interim arrangement, this *modus vivendi*. There is, I submit, some similarity to the situations that have existed in Germany and in Korea. These countries, too, are divided and there exists a desire among many of the inhabitants on both sides in those countries for unification, but it now seems to be gen-

erally agreed that force should not be resorted to in order to attempt to achieve unification and that peaceful processes are in the interests of the people of the divided countries as well as of the world as a whole. Viet-Nam should be in the same position.

71. I do not pretend that the situation in Viet-Nam is a simple one. But, from an international point of view, what needs to be kept clearly in mind is that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, South Viet-Nam, particularly from 1959, was increasingly subjected to a campaign of subversion and terrorism and armed insurrection sustained and supported from North Viet-Nam. The aims of that subversion and violence were to disrupt and destroy the administration of the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam; the method was assassination and other forms of terrorism; the aim was to intimidate the local population so that they would withdraw their active support from their Government. Another aim was to slash through the economic sinews of the country, to hinder production and to disrupt communications. Those acts combined together were intended also to force the Government to employ increasingly severe measures to maintain law and order, thus making it unpopular and providing a chance to blacken its reputation.

72. Eventually, faced with this calculated campaign sustained with support from outside the country, the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam sought military assistance from other countries. In response to that request, Australia and, of course, the United States and other countries now have forces in South Viet-Nam. Those forces have grown in number and the operations have been intensified. Until last year, although North Viet-Nam was mounting increasingly vicious and well-armed attacks in the south, North Viet-Nam itself was left unmolested. It was only last year, after war had been waged on the soil of the south for over five years, that bombing of North Viet-Nam began, and even then, so far as human skill and techniques can achieve it, the bombing has been aimed at targets of direct military concern and not at civilian establishments.

73. Of course, we all share the distress at human suffering caused in this warfare. There is none of us that can claim to be more deeply moved by the human suffering than any other Member of the United Nations. There is suffering on both sides. The deliberate and cold-blooded massacres by Viet Cong terrorists, the victims often the wives and the children of the supporters of the Government, are sometimes even more pathetic than the victims of direct military operations. But all this suffering is a reflection of warfare itself. If we could stop the war, it would in itself mean the end of the bombing and the termination of other forms of killing and destruction.

74. How can we stop the war? This is not a war that can be stopped by surrender, or by victory for either side. It can only be stopped by agreement. On our side, the strict and narrow limits of our aims and our readiness for agreement have been clearly stated. Our readiness to agree to cessation of fighting without any claim or penalty or gain has been plainly declared. Up to the present, unfortunately, North Viet-

Nam has made it clear that it wants to make gains and impose penalties and assert its own will. It wants not agreement but surrender. And there can be no surrender in that sense, for a principle vital to us all, combatant and non-aligned alike, is at stake.

75. It would be quite unhelpful for me to play with words or to try to elaborate the possible terms of a settlement. The overriding considerations in the mind of the Australian Government are that a deliberate and calculated aggression should not succeed in imposing a form of government on a free people, and that the form of government in South Viet-Nam should be acceptable to the people living there and be chosen by them. Surely each of us here would want that right for our own people and would not deny it to others.

76. I regret very much that the response in Hanoi and Peking to the statement made by the United States representative in this Assembly last Thursday [1412th meeting] has been negative. I hope that this negative response is only the routine and almost automatic initial reaction and that fuller consideration may lead them, either privately or publicly, to make a more positive reply to these overtures.

77. In connexion with events in Viet-Nam, I think that some misunderstanding has been promoted among residents in far continents by the familiar device of calling the invading force a liberation movement. We in Australia have long recognized a vast difference between the genuinely nationalist and patriotic liberation movements which brought independence to so many of the countries that are represented here before me, and the so-called National Liberation Front in South Viet-Nam. There is a vast difference between them. Elsewhere in Asian and in African countries, as many representatives here know far better than I, anti-colonial liberation movements were formed and led by teachers, civil servants, lawyers, professional men and members of the services. This important intelligentsia substantially formed the spearhead and the backbone of nationalist movements, and they won the people's support.

78. But it is precisely those groups which the National Liberation Front has failed to attract in South Viet-Nam. Indeed, quite the opposite is true: the Front has found them one of the major obstacles to its aims, and the Viet-Cong has therefore resorted to terrorism, by kidnapping and assassination, against these leaders of community life, especially in the villages and in the smaller provincial towns. The numbers murdered over the past six years now run into tens of thousands. These are not victims of the battlefield but the selected victims of terrorism exercised in order to annihilate the leaders of the community. In the first half of this year alone, over 2,000 village officials, teachers, agricultural officers, medical officers, and so forth, have been murdered by the Viet-Cong. What genuine national liberation movement has ever directed its activities in this way against the trained workers and the intelligentsia of the country that it is supposed to be liberating? In the past few weeks we have seen the spectacle of this so-called "National Liberation Front" directing further bombing outrages against the ordinary people of Viet-Nam who were engaged in the peaceful

activity of participating in an election. "Liberation" is a label that Peking and Hanoi have used on this and other occasions to cover policies and deeds that would lead to the enslavement of Asian nations which want to be independent and free.

79. Just over two weeks ago elections were held for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for the Republic of Viet-Nam, and that assembly is holding its first meeting today. These elections can be a significant step forward. Over 80 per cent of the 5.3 million registered voters cast their votes. The successful candidates come from a wide range, geographically, communally and in occupation. Over half of the successful candidates are under forty years of age. With this representative character there is thus a chance that many elements in Viet-Nameese life including younger men and women, will be brought into the processes of political change. These elections, so successfully held in a war-torn country that has a disrupted political structure, could lead to a broader base for the régime and open the way to still further liberalization.

80. It would be a great contribution to the peace of the region, and indeed to world peace, if a just settlement were achieved in Viet-Nam. By the same token it would be dangerous to peace in the region, and dangerous to world peace, if hostilities ceased on unjust terms or in a way that gave encouragement to further subversion, infiltration and terrorism in South-East Asia and other parts of the world, in accordance with doctrines and practices originating in or inspired or supported by Peking.

81. That brings me to the question of China. This question has been before the General Assembly for many years. It particularly to the fore in the minds of the countries of South and South-East Asia and the Pacific. For mainland China overhangs the region; it has a population of 700 million; it is under a régime which, while calling itself communist, represents all that is most illiberal and backward-looking and violent in communist thought.

82. Without going too far back in time, let me remind the Assembly that within the past four years Peking has engaged in armed aggression against India and is continuing to maintain a threatening posture along the borders of that country; that it has engaged in infiltration and subversion in Viet-Nam, Laos and Thailand, to mention only three countries; and that its leaders and spokesmen, including Lin Piao, who is now coming to the top in Peking, have proclaimed world revolution by violence, not only in Asia, but against most of the Governments represented in this Assembly. During the past month the so-called Red Guards have been stamping out those elements in China which by any stretch of the imagination might be regarded as not conforming slavishly with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

83. Mainland China is therefore an uneasy neighbour for the countries around it. The great question that faces all of us is how to live with mainland China. That is a complex question. I would only submit this thought. Achieving the means of living with mainland China does not rest with us alone. Peking has to make its contribution too. Yet, far from trying to

make the idea of its admission to the United Nations more acceptable to other countries, Peking seems bent on challenging the rest of the world. Even this week, timed for the opening of this session of the General Assembly, have come fresh public statements in Peking of demands it is making about the United Nations.

84. I repeat that the big question that faces us is that of living with the Peking régime and helping to fit it into the international community. Recognition of Peking and its admission to the United Nations would not in themselves be solutions of the bigger problem of relations with China. That problem would remain. Therefore we should avoid over-simplifying the question of China and should avoid seeing that problem simply in terms of recognition or of admission to the United Nations.

85. Australia regards the Charter of the United Nations as a treaty to which all Members have become parties. Peking has made it plain that it does not accept the terms of that treaty. If it enters the Organization at all, it will, it says, do so on its own terms. It has denounced the United Nations in its present form. Some of my colleagues here—and I say this with deep respect for them—seem to me to be arguing that this is a matter about which there can be negotiation after Peking has been admitted to membership. Surely, if it is seen that some negotiation is necessary in order to adjust the views of the candidate to those of the established Organization, that negotiation should be commenced before and not after admission. Is Peking not to give any sign at all that it will pay regard to the Charter? China asks the United Nations to change. Is China itself not to make any change to fit itself into the United Nations?

86. Another point which is fundamental in the attitude of the Australian Government is that the Government of the Republic of China, centred on Taiwan, should not cease to be a Member of the United Nations and should not be handed over to the rulers of Peking. Taiwan has a population of about 14 million people. That is more than the population of most Members of the United Nations, and none of those Members with the same or smaller populations should easily agree that because Taiwan is much smaller than mainland China, it should be sacrificed in order to reach a settlement with Peking. Would any of us like to see our country sacrificed in order to reach a settlement with some country greater in size than ours? Taiwan is a prosperous and developing country and if Peking took it over its people would undoubtedly suffer materially, quite apart from the savage reprisals they would undergo. We have all read with horror of what the Red Guards are doing today on the mainland of China to stamp out the slightest diversity of thought or conduct, even after eighteen years of rule by Mao Tse-tung. It needs little imagination to think of what those same Red Guards would do if let loose today on Taiwan as a result of any decision which we might take. Surely we cannot, in common humanity, quite apart from political considerations, acquiesce in turning this island and its people over to Peking, nor should we acquiesce in such a change in its represen-

tation in the United Nations as would call into question its right to exist as an international entity and to enjoy the protections belonging to a Member State of the United Nations.

87. Hitherto, I have spoken entirely of Asia. Australia is a country of the ECAFE region, and so it is natural that we should think primarily of the region to which we belong. But we are part of the world as a whole. The future of individual nations, including ourselves, is vitally affected by relations between the great Powers and by developments in great issues like disarmament and nuclear weapons. Australia, I think we can claim, is not neglectful of its obligations in respect of the rest of the world apart from its own region. In the field of security, outside that region, Australia has participated in two world wars, making very substantial contributions and suffering losses in Europe and the Middle East; and it was a big contributor through UNRRA to the relief and resettlement of Europe. At present Australia has a police contingent in Cyprus and has been, and still is, a financial contributor to programmes like the relief of Palestine refugees, the United Nations Emergency Force and to United Nations operations and programmes in Cyprus and the Congo. We have tried to take our place in world affairs.

88. We are also, of course, aware of the difficult problems of Africa, particularly through our own diplomatic missions there and because we have common membership with many African countries in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Australia has contributed to technical assistance programmes in Africa. We have African students in Australia. We have had welcome visits also from many Ministers and distinguished citizens of African States. African educationalists and technical experts have assisted us with their advice on the administration of the dependent Territory of Papua and New Guinea. We look forward to all these contacts and more between our country and Africa increasing.

89. There are before the present session of the General Assembly a number of items relating to southern Africa: Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, South West Africa and South Africa itself. On the principles and objectives relating to all those countries, the Australian position can be stated very simply. Australia believes that a society and form of government cannot, and should not, persist where a minority dominates a majority and where basic human rights and opportunities are denied to any of the population. We believe in basic human rights and participation for all persons in the life of a country. We believe that neither a majority nor a minority should be oppressed, or denied human rights or shut off from opportunities of participation in government.

90. What I have just said determines the Australian position on Southern Rhodesia. It was stated by us some years ago in the United Nations before the Rhodesian question became the burning subject which it is today. Australia has refused to recognize the unilateral and illegal declaration of independence by the régime in Rhodesia. In response to the request of the United Kingdom Government, which Australia recognizes as being sovereign in Rhodesia today,

Australia was one of the first countries in the world to apply sanctions against Rhodesia.

91. Since the General Assembly is now debating South West Africa concurrently in plenary session, I shall not occupy time in this general debate by speaking in any detail on this subject at the present moment. Let me say only this: in the final meeting of the League of Nations Assembly in 1946<sup>5/</sup> Australia took an active part in negotiating the resolution under which the international obligations of all the Mandatory States were held to continue after the League ceased to exist. Today we regard South West Africa as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, one in respect of which there are specific international obligations. We shall follow the debate in the plenary meetings concurrently with this general debate, with deep attention and care and as occasion may require we can express our further views on this subject in those meetings.

92. Earlier in my speech, I spoke of the need for peace as a foundation for the future. I have necessarily been preoccupied with some of the immediate dangers to peace. Briefly, but most emphatically, I want to say that the fruits of peace will not be gathered for all peoples in all lands unless concurrently, with great energy, with a deep and penetrating wisdom and a common purpose, we can work together to help each other master the tasks of economic and social progress, remembering that the gain from economic success is not to enable only a few to benefit, but to allow the whole international society to live a better life. Full prosperity cannot be achieved or maintained by any nation, great or small, in isolation from others. The economic handicaps suffered by any one nation are a handicap to all. We need each other; we are important to each other.

93. We can see plainly certain problems. One is the production of more food and the freer availability of food at prices remunerative to the producer and practicable for the consumer. While we are all engaged either as givers or receivers in international aid programmes, aid is not the permanent and complete solution. The fuller development of resources, particularly in the developing countries, with the attendant problems of access to markets, capital investment, the sharing of technology and the availability of technical and managerial skills, challenge us all to more resolute efforts to work together constructively. In that work Australia will endeavour at all times to play its due part.

94. In our view, too, these problems are inseparable from the total problems of world economic conditions. The strong economies have to be kept strong and vigorous at the same time as the weak economies are being strengthened. We can all swim well together, but we can also all sink together. The great Powers have a responsibility—as well as an enlightened self-interest—to use their strength for the common good. They can do this only if they themselves can maintain a high level of economic activity. So I say the example for both great and small Powers to follow is one of growth and not restriction.

95. This morning I shall not expand our views on major aspects of this great problem, but I wish to refer in passing to two ancillary matters arising in the United Nations itself. First, I express the hope that the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development will press on with its work in a way that will have a practical impact upon national and international development programmes. Secondly, I think it is important that the work of the United Nations in the economic field should be efficient and that resources should not be wasted on administrative machinery where they could be better devoted to development itself. We have to guard against fragmentation of work in the United Nations family, and there are a few disturbing signs of this. I draw attention also to the valuable report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. The report is relevant to international work in the field of economic development as well as to some other matters.

96. In conclusion, I just want to say this: Australia keeps in the forefront of its foreign policy support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. We value the associations we form within the Organization and at the meetings of its specialized agencies. It was against that background that some time ago we made known our deep appreciation of the services of the Secretary-General, and expressed the hope that he would continue in office. Should U Thant find it possible to do so, that would be highly agreeable to us.

97. It is quite understandable that the United Nations, having no life except that which its Members give to it, should show evidence of the maladies that are present in the world today. Having no will except that which its Members give to it, the United Nations reproduces the tensions and the strains of international affairs. Organizations that are formed by the membership of political States cannot have virtues higher than those of international politics. We should not perhaps expect too much. What we do have, however, is a Charter in which the statement of purposes and principles gives us always a central point of reference. What we do have is an organizational framework and a meeting place where nations talk together and try to work together. We should call for tolerance and patience and a constant striving for a common faith; and although these are not days of quick achievement, let us all continue to work as best we can for peace, for security and for the welfare of all our peoples.

98. Mr. CARILLO FLORES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I am happy to add Mexico's congratulations to those the President of the General Assembly—whom I have just had the honour to greet—has already received on his election. I wish him success in his difficult work for the good of our Organization.

99. I should next like to repeat the views which the President of Mexico expressed recently when the Secretary-General visited my country. We feel that the spirit in which U Thant has served the United Nations during his term of office has been exemplary. We understand the considerations that prompted him

<sup>5/</sup> Seventh meeting, held on 18 April 1946.

to make his recent statement, but we still hope he will be able to continue to serve the United Nations in his present post. We say that not as a mere formality, but as an expression of our deepest conviction.

100. I wish to welcome Guyana as the newest Member of the United Nations. My delegation is certain that this new American State will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations.

101. I do not intend to comment on all the many items on our agenda; I shall single out only those which my delegation feels are of the greatest interest and those on which I believe Mexico's voice should be heard.

102. Although the resolutions which the General Assembly adopted a year ago offered some ground for hope, the results of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have been rather discouraging. Differences on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons were not resolved, nor has any substantial progress been made on the cessation of underground testing. The question of general and complete disarmament has not really been studied, and the idea of holding a World Conference on Disarmament has as yet borne no fruit.

103. It is an undoubted fact that the final success of these endeavours depends on agreement between a few States, but it is no less a fact that the international community must shoulder all its responsibilities, for the dangers affect all peoples equally. In view of the meagre results achieved, it is the Assembly's bounden duty to redouble its efforts, not only by convening future meetings of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, but also by taking a more direct part in the work, either by thoroughly exploring the possibilities of new terms of settlement or, in the last resort, by confronting the individual attitudes of the various States with the supreme interest of mankind.

104. We need to determine, for example, whether the verification of underground testing is really the obstacle to the complete and final cessation of all nuclear tests. Our debates in the Assembly should throw some light on the diametrically opposed views regarding on-site inspection.

105. We believe it would be useful to discuss why the proposals of the non-aligned States have not been accepted. We should like the Powers concerned to make public their objections to—or, perhaps, their support of—proposals such as those relating to inspection by unilateral invitation and a seismological "detection club", presented<sup>6/</sup> by Sweden, and those relating to the prior formations of a panel of inspectors and agreement on a temporary voluntary moratorium on underground testing.

106. The treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has had a similar fate. Resolution 2028 (XX), adopted last year, laid down five general principles on which that instrument should be based. Inasmuch as some of them have been so variously in-

terpreted in the Committee on Disarmament, the General Assembly would do well now to define the meaning and scope of the resolution in more precise terms.

107. My delegation, like many others, last year supported the suggestion, originally made by the Nigerian delegation that the treaty should include an undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons and not to threaten to use them against States which do not have these instruments of destruction in their territories.<sup>7/</sup>

108. In our view that idea, besides having intrinsic merit, is consistent with our desire and intention of set up denuclearized zones. We believe that neither the idea itself nor the general principle of which it is a corollary—the principle that the treaty must establish an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations as between nuclear and non-nuclear States—is a strictly technical matter and that both lend themselves well to thorough discussion in an organ such as the General Assembly. We should like to hear what fundamental objections there are to this proposal, if any exist.

109. Finally, we must insist that it is absolutely essential that the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be signed without delay, before it is too late, and before the number of States possessing these weapons grows and then multiplies.

110. In contrast to the meagre progress made at Geneva, Latin America presents an encouraging picture as regards the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons—a picture of continuous, dynamic progress destined to culminate in the conclusion of a Treaty on the Denuclearization of Latin America which will perpetuate the absence of nuclear weapons on that continent and, as the President of my country has said, to ensure that the atom's incalculable power is used in the interests of life rather than death.

111. Last year, speaking from this same rostrum [1346th meeting], I described the origin of the Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America—for which Mexico is honoured to serve as host country—and the results of its first two sessions, held in 1965.

112. Today, I am happy to add that 1966 saw another meeting of the preparatory Commission which was undoubtedly the most fruitful and constructive of those yet held. At that meeting we adopted a basic document, "Proposals for the Preparation of the Treaty on the Denuclearization of Latin America" [A/6328], which will certainly occupy the same place of honour in the Treaty's immediate prehistory as do the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in the history of the United Nations.

113. There is already general agreement on about 90 per cent of the Treaty's terms. As for the remaining 10 per cent, perhaps only one article, article 23, which deals with the conditions for the entry into force of the Treaty, presents difficulties—which, while they may seem serious are far from insurmountable.

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement, January-December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, sect. B.

<sup>7/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, First Committee, 1369th meeting, para. 14.



114. As to the nature of the Agency for the De-nuclearization of Latin America whose establishment is envisaged in the Proposals with a view to ensuring compliance with the obligations assumed by virtue of the Treaty, it should be pointed out that under the provisions already adopted on that subject the Agency will be an autonomous and essentially Latin American organ.

115. Another point on which I feel I should also comment is the co-operation which we expect from the nuclear Powers. The position of the Mexican Government on this subject has always been very clear: we feel that the Treaty on the Denuclearization of Latin America will fully enter into force from the very moment the States wishing to be parties to it have ratified it.

116. Hence, my delegation has never used the word "guarantee"—which might suggest a kind of tutelage—when referring to the co-operation we would like to have from the nuclear Powers. By co-operation, we mean only that those Powers should discharge a general obligation deriving from the United Nations Charter: the obligation to respect a treaty concluded by a group of States in the legitimate exercise of their sovereignty.

117. Hence, too, we were pleased to read the communications from the Governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom informing the Preparatory Commission of their respective positions on this matter, which, I believe, correspond in substance with the position I have just outlined.

118. The Preparatory Commission for the Denuclearization of Latin America was to have held its fourth session starting on 30 August last. However, in compliance with the wishes expressed by some of its members, the Commission agreed to postpone its session until 31 January 1967. We trust it will then successfully complete its pressing work, from which the peoples of Latin America expect so much.

119. Three years ago, in a resolution adopted unanimously [1884 (XVIII)], the Assembly embodied a proposal which Mexico had the honour to present, to the effect that the nuclear Powers should refrain from orbiting nuclear weapons around the earth.

120. We are now happy to note that the major nuclear Powers seem willing to transform the moral obligation they assumed when they approved that resolution into a legal commitment, by subscribing to a treaty which my delegation hopes will be successfully completed in the near future.

121. The Government and people of Mexico are deeply concerned over the conflict in Viet-Nam, which undoubtedly constitutes the most serious threat to world peace since the Korean War in 1950. Unfortunately, for reasons known to all, the United Nations is not now in a position to take action to settle that conflict. Mexico is nevertheless ready to lend its moral support to any practical proposal that will enable the parties directly involved—and those whose participation might transform the conflict into a confrontation catastrophic for all mankind—to begin negotiations as soon as possible to end this war, in which the principal victims are the Viet-

Nameese people, who have been shedding their blood for years and years.

122. The conflicting forces, interests and ideologies are such that the co-operation which countries not involved in the conflict can offer, especially those without great military or material power, lies not so much in suggesting practical measures as in solemnly exhorting the Powers with major responsibility to keep open all channels of communication that may lead to a cessation of hostilities or at least prevent escalation.

123. The many serious crises that arose since the end of the Second World War were resolved, over a period of time which by now exceeds that between 1919 and 1939, through agreements that have saved the world from a general holocaust. There is therefore no reason, or at least there should be no reason, for failure now in Viet-Nam, when crises as serious as those of Berlin, Korea, Suez and of Cuba in October 1962, were settled. We live at a time when all of us, strong and weak alike, must show imagination, courage and prudence, prompted by the realization that there is no material, ideological, national or regional interest in the world pursuit of which can justify—in a tragic and incredible paradox—millions of innocent lives and much of what man has built up through centuries of sacrifice and toil being destroyed by the awesome technological advances of our era.

124. I should not like to go on to another topic without mentioning the Secretary-General's untiring and patient efforts in the Viet-Nameese conflict. Although he has not yet achieved what we all desire, all men of goodwill are in debt to U Thant.

125. Mexico has always been in favour of peaceful settlement of international disputes. That is why we also attach particular importance to those United Nations activities which are known as peace-keeping operations, since they can do much to avert recourse to violence. We have participated zealously in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, and we feel that the results of its work this year, while not all we should have wished, have been useful. We hope that during the current General Assembly session the permanent members of the Security Council will reach an agreement on common guidelines which will enable the Special Committee to complete successfully its task, which is part of the primary purpose of the United Nations under the Charter as guardian of international peace and security.

126. As happens every year, economic questions occupy an important place on our agenda. The fact is, as has been repeatedly stated, that there is perhaps no greater threat to world peace than the widening gap between rich and poor countries. We must all band together to remedy this situation, or at least to prevent it from growing worse; therein lie both the greatest opportunity and the greatest challenge for the statesmen of our time.

127. We have passed the half-way point in the decade we have called the Development Decade. It would be unfair to ignore its positive achievements, particularly in identifying and studying the problems and even in

tracing some solutions. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development of 1964 would certainly not have been held without the stimulus provided by the United Nations.

128. We all know how difficult it is for any Government to adopt measures affecting the interests of some one of its social groups, particularly when, as in the case of countries producing raw materials, the group is usually the least well off.

129. Considering, however, that the major part of the exports of the developing countries consists of commodities, we who represent those countries must on every suitable occasion stress, as I am doing now, how important it is to comply with the Geneva recommendations.

130. While we are aware that such machinery is far from perfect, we still believe that international commodity agreements offer the best method to achieve price stability at reasonable levels through the equitable adjustment of production to consumption.

131. It should not be surprising that such agreements work better when all the producers are developing countries, and that the situation becomes much more complex when the highly industrialized countries also export such products in large quantities. The reason for this is clear: these latter countries not only have the technological wherewithal to reduce costs and increase productivity, but are also able, directly or indirectly, to use their great economic resources to absorb any loss they may incur in exporting such products.

132. In view of such a complex and unfavourable situation, I should like to recall once again the principle which a committee of experts appointed by the Secretary-General unanimously approved here in January 1961, namely, that it should be recognized as a rule of higher strategy that, since the export of commodities is undoubtedly the most difficult way to finance economic development, the highly developed countries should ease the burden by granting priority or preference for this type of trade to the poorer countries.<sup>8/</sup>

133. We also believe, as was agreed at Geneva, that in order to foster our countries' further industrial development the highly industrialized nations should consider preferences which would not divide the world into separate blocs. That is basically why Latin America continues to be concerned over the preferences which the European economic community has granted to certain countries, to the exclusion of others.

134. Although Mexico has had access, particularly in the past fifteen years, to a growing volume of foreign credit to supplement its internal resources—which have fundamentally financed its economic development—our solidarity with the great community of developing countries prompts us to point out that the total available resources for long-term financing have not increased during this decade as had been hoped. We therefore shall support in this forum and in any others—world-wide and regional—in which

we take part, all efforts to increase the volume of those resources and to ensure that loans are granted on the most favourable and flexible terms as to purpose and amortization and interest rates.

135. In present circumstances, where some highly industrialized nations—which have been major suppliers of those funds through public and private channels—face balance-of-payments problems, it is all the more urgent to appeal to them to adopt such financial corrective measures as will not make it harder for the developing countries to satisfy their international financial needs within reasonable bounds.

136. I shall mention only one argument in support of this point of view. Direct and indirect investments in developing countries are not the cause of the balance-of-payments problems; a way should therefore be found so that those countries will not suffer from the corrective measures just mentioned. The number of national and regional planning organizations has greatly increased and the highly industrialized nations need not fear that their resources will be wasted or misused. We expect much in this area from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, which will begin its work very soon.

137. To conclude their brief comment on financing, I should like to say that in our geographical region, the Inter-American Development Bank—established after sporadic efforts covering nearly half a century, despite the scepticism of many—has in only five years become a vigorous, respectable and respected institution. We hope it will continue to grow in strength.

138. We support the Economic and Social Council resolution calling on this General Assembly to designate 1967 as International Tourist Year. Mexico sees in this not only an economic interest, but also, and most significant, an opportunity to make Governments and peoples increasingly aware of the need to foster mutual understanding in a world which, if it is to live in peace, must accommodate itself to different ideas, customs and ways of life.

139. I am speaking in the general debate at a time when the work of the General Assembly's twenty-first session is just beginning. It is at times such as this that we ask ourselves what this most representative United Nations organ will accomplish during its latest session to attain peace and help mankind. Certainly the problems are many, and some are distressing. To solve them, we barely count on an Organization which has often been criticized as a mere debating forum. Rightly intent on accomplishing more, we sometimes overlook the good we have already achieved. For the United Nations, with all its shortcomings, brings us through common concern around the same table to solve the problems affecting us all. Is this not perhaps what we are trying to achieve in another realm, to transform a bitter and active conflict into the preface to a peaceful agreement?

140. I conclude, then, with an expression of faith and confidence in our Organization. We must search our conscience, concerned as we are with the major issues facing us, which the Secretary-General has reviewed in his report to the Assembly. But this searching must be affirmative, and it must be genuine: an international institution does not come into being

<sup>8/</sup> See *International Compensation for Fluctuations in Commodity Trade* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 61.II.D.3), para. 189.

every day, nor can its prestige be enhanced overnight. Let this be an opportunity to moderate our national policies in the general interest and to increase our efforts to make the United Nations a tempering force for relations among nations, as was planned

when the Charter was adopted at San Francisco in 1945 and contemporary history began.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*