

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1134th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 27 September 1962,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN**  
(Pakistan).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PELAEZ (Philippines): I should like to take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, the warm congratulations of the Government of the Philippines, as well as my own as leader of the Philippine delegation, on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Your election confers a highly deserved honour not only upon your own person, but also upon Asia, which claims you as one of its most eminent citizens, and particularly upon your country, Pakistan, to which the Philippines is bound by strong ties of friendship and common purpose. We are confident that your well-known humane outlook and your balanced view of the perennial problems of mankind will contribute greatly to whatever measure of success our deliberations may achieve.

2. I should also like to congratulate the four newest Members of the United Nations: the Kingdom of Burundi, Jamaica, the Republic of Rwanda, and the State of Trinidad and Tobago. We welcome them most heartily and wish them well as they begin a great adventure in that taxing but rewarding exercise of freedom and responsibility.

3. My delegation attaches great importance to this annual exchange of views at the beginning of each session of the United Nations General Assembly. At a time such as the present, when vast changes are taking place with bewildering speed in the political, economic and social fields, it is essential that Member nations should know the sentiments and the thinking of their fellow Members on the grave problems that beset out international community, their approach to their own most pressing tasks, their hopes and even their fears for the future. Only in the unique international forum can we have a comprehensive view of the state of the world and consider particular problems in perspective. Only here can nations, large and small, exchange views and recount significant experiences, thus contributing to the mutual understanding so

indispensable to the United Nations, and to the fund of knowledge and information which Member nations may draw from, and perhaps find useful, in formulating their own policies and programmes of action. It is in this spirit that I should like to tell the Assembly something about the recent experience of my country, particularly in the field of economic and social developments.

4. The Republic of the Philippines, whose revolutionary beginnings go back to 12 June 1898, when the Filipino people proclaimed their independence from Spain and established the first Asian republic, has always been a democratic State, with a government freely elected by, and fully responsible to, the people, under a Constitution which guarantees their liberties and ensures that the State shall function for their welfare—not the other way round.

5. In November 1961, the Filipino people, in the free and peaceful exercise of their right of suffrage, elected a new administration under the leadership of President Diosdado Macapagal. I wish to state that this change of administration has not brought about fundamental changes in our foreign policy. Certainly, it has not diminished our faith in and our reliance upon the United Nations.

6. Within our borders, we Filipinos are seeking to translate into reality our ideal of a progressive and prosperous society whose members enjoy the fullest possible measure of freedom and opportunity. To this end the Government adopted last January an integrated five-year programme of social and economic development which we are not implementing with all the resources at our disposal.

7. In relation to our modest means, this programme is of such magnitude that it is bound to consume the best part of the national effort in the years to come. The primary responsibility for its achievement is ours; international participation, important as it is, will play only a secondary part. We are therefore striving to release and harness the creative energies of our people by offering to them every inducement to individual initiative in a system of free enterprise. Wherever appropriate, we are seeking to decentralize the massive concentration, dating back to colonial times, of governmental power and authority at the top. We have begun to extend to the villages in our predominantly agricultural countryside a greater measure of authority and responsibility, including the administration of local affairs by the people themselves.

8. Parallel measures are being taken to give maximum play to enterprise in commerce and industry. In short, our whole approach is premised on the conviction that an unregimented society will, in the long run, provide our people with the most effective instrument for the attainment of their prosperity in freedom.

9. Our preoccupation with problems of internal development should not be construed as denoting

indifference to international problems. It arises rather from our firm belief that the best contribution that a small or middle-sized country can make to international peace and stability is to put its own house in order.

10. As President Macapagal of the Philippines has said in a recent statement:

"Our aspiration is...for the Filipino people themselves to fulfil their obligation and play their role among nations in good faith and with honour and, by the efficient and effective administration of their affairs and the solution of their national problems on the basis of freedom, prove that democracy can work successfully in an Asian country like the Philippines as an effective instrument for the prosperity of the masses of the people—an achievement which will be the Philippines' best contribution to the freedom, peace and welfare of humanity."

This is so because we believe that, to the extent that we achieve political, economic and social progress at home, we strengthen our ability to withstand political subversion, economic penetration, and outright attempts at domination. At the same time, we acquire the capacity to assist other countries and to participate actively in the collective effort to expand the area of security and contentment in the world.

11. In line with this twofold concept, the Philippines is not only putting its house in order; it has also joined hands with its close friends and neighbours, Malaya and Thailand, in a co-operative venture for mutual assistance in the economic, social and scientific fields through the establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian States, better known as ASA. This strictly non-political organization is taking the first modest steps towards what we believe to be an essential and inevitable development in Asia, a development already foreshadowed in other areas of the world, namely, the augmentation of national efforts by freely agreed and mutually beneficial modes of regional co-operation.

12. In the field of international security, the position of the Philippines remains basically unchanged. We are "committed" in the sense of belonging to a collective security organization—SEATO—operating within the framework of the United Nations Charter for mutual protection against the menace of Communist subversion and thinly disguised aggression, which is very real and pressing in Asia today. The cases of Korea, Tibet and Laos, the attacks against the Republic of Viet-Nam, the continuing violation of the borders of India, all these attest to the fact that aggression is still rampant in Asia.

13. At this very moment, the Republic of Viet-Nam is fighting for its life against a relentless communist invasion from the North. An uncertain peace has returned to the Kingdom of Laos, but recent reports on the non-withdrawal of foreign communist elements from that country cannot but cause us grave concern. The Philippines more than ever feel the need, in the words of President Macapagal, "to maintain constant vigilance, to take nothing for granted, to unmask communist deception and resist communist subversion and aggression wherever these manifest themselves".

14. These same considerations impel us to maintain our opposition to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. Since Communist China invaded Korea and fought United Nations forces defending that country, far from becoming a "peace-loving

State" within the definition of the Charter, it has continued to commit acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring countries in Asia.

15. Let me turn now to the United Nations. Admittedly, it suffers from deficiencies and weaknesses. But rather than discourage us, this fact should move us all to persevere in strengthening it. This task embraces three main aspects: first, the maintenance of the integrity of the Organization; secondly, support of specific United Nations measures bearing directly on the prevention of war or the maintenance of peace; and thirdly, support of the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in the promotion of human rights and of progress in the economic and social fields.

16. The maintenance of the integrity of the United Nations Organization is of immediate concern to this Assembly. The term of office of the Acting Secretary-General is due to expire next April. A new election for the post is in prospect. This has given rise to renewed efforts to alter the structure of the Secretariat by replacing the present incumbent with a three-man board representing the three main political divisions in the world today. We have opposed this proposal, and we continue to oppose it. We shall not belabour the arguments in support of our stand. We would make only one observation; the "troika" proposal would surely introduce the cold war into the one organ of the United Nations where it should at all cost be kept out—the United Nations administrative machinery.

17. The Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, has discharged his responsibilities with competence, distinction and an admirable dedication to the ideals and principles of the United Nations. The Philippines is prepared to support any move for his continuance in office for a full term.

18. Of pressing concern to this Assembly is the extension of full support to the specific peace-keeping efforts which it has itself authorized. Foremost among these are the United Nations operations in the Congo and in the Middle East. In the light of the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>1/</sup> on the matter, we earnestly hope that all Member countries will not heed the appeal of the Secretary-General to contribute their share of the cost of these operations [A/5161]. The Philippines is not only prepared to pay its share of these costs, but it has also pledged to subscribe \$750,000 worth of the bond issue which the United Nations has been constrained to float as a stop-gap arrangement.

19. If in the past we have stubbornly faced frustrations and failures, we must now as stubbornly appeal for a workable agreement on disarmament and the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. And now that the conquest of space has become a reality, we must, with equal insistence, ask that the Powers concerned arrive at an agreement to ensure that outer space shall not be used for military or warlike purposes. While the ultimate decisions on these grave issues lie in the hands of the great Powers, their consequences will affect all countries and are therefore of universal concern. We will state our position on these questions in detail before the appropriate committee of the Assembly.

<sup>1/</sup> Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

20. It is noteworthy that the two most revolutionary developments in human knowledge in recent history, the splitting of the atom and the break-through in space technology and planetary exploration, should have been born of the stress of war or near-war, and that both should hold for mankind the promise, either of unimagined improvements in human welfare or of the extinction of human life, depending on whether they are put to peaceful or to warlike uses. The choice of which end these momentous scientific developments will ultimately serve should rest with the collective will of the United Nations. But, as in the question of disarmament, at the moment the fateful choice lies in the hands of a few great Powers. It is our prayerful hope, as it must be the hope of all responsible Members of this Assembly, that these Powers will opt for peace and a more abundant life for humanity.

21. In nuclear science we have already seen, in the few short years since 1955, the tremendous benefits that can accrue to mankind from a scientific discovery initially intended to perfect the weapons of war. There is no valid reason why the more recent developments in space research and exploration cannot evolve similar benefits. There is no insuperable obstacle, given the collective will of the nations here represented, to the deliberate re-direction of both nuclear and space development to the betterment of man and the world in which he lives. The Philippines unequivocally aligns itself with those nations that believe in harnessing our new and revolutionary scientific knowledge of the atom and of space to the over-riding need for improving the lot of man on this planet.

22. My delegation has always attached the highest importance to the work of the United Nations in the promotion of fundamental human rights and of economic and social progress. We are pleased to note the significant achievements recorded in some aspects of this work during the past year.

23. We are particularly happy over the continuing progress in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism all over the world. We have already welcomed four new Members during this Assembly; we look forward to the admission of Algeria and Uganda before the conclusion of this session. We know from our own experience as a former colony that nations, like individuals, can give of their best to the community only in conditions of freedom and dignity.

24. We have placed on record our gratification over the peaceful settlement of the West Irian question. It is our earnest hope that the spirit of accommodation that led to the settlement of this long-standing dispute will likewise prevail in the settlement of similar problems.

25. I have in mind particularly the claim of my Government to the territory of North Borneo which was annexed by the British Crown in 1946. This is neither the time nor the place to go into the details of this question, but we stand on what we consider to be valid legal and historical grounds. Our claim has been put forward with sincere assurances of our desire that the issue should be settled by peaceful means, and without prejudice to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the inhabitants of North Borneo, preferably under United Nations auspices.

26. We have always had the most friendly relations with the United Kingdom and others who may be

interested in this question. We are determined to maintain their friendship, which we cherish. I should like to emphasize, however, that it is the intention of my Government to press this claim amicably but firmly until a just and satisfactory settlement shall have been reached.

27. We are prepared to assist in every way we can in the orderly liquidation of the remaining pockets of colonialism in the world. We believe that the early completion of this historic process is indispensable to the attainment of lasting peace.

28. We should also like to see the extirpation of remaining practices of racial discrimination, so repugnant to the principles of our Charter and so dangerously anachronistic at this time, when the mainstream of history is moving inexorably towards freedom and equality for all men and nations. We are particularly desirous of seeing the most extreme and blatant form of racial discrimination, apartheid, eliminated in South and South West Africa.

29. In the face of repeated censures by the General Assembly and indeed by all civilized opinion, South Africa remains impenitent. But how long does South Africa think this deliberate violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms can continue without exacting the bitter penalty of violence? It is inconceivable that repression, no matter how stringent, can abate the fierce desire for human status of the indigenous population of South Africa, now that they have been exposed to the bracing winds of freedom sweeping the world. As long as apartheid exists it will continue to be a potent threat to international peace.

30. The same deplorable situation exists in the mandate of South West Africa. That the problem has assumed serious proportions is evident from the report of the Special Committee on South West Africa. The report states:

"...it is quite clear that unless an early satisfactory settlement of this question were made, the situation could result in a serious political disaster with far-reaching consequences" [A/5212, para. 80].

The fact that this conclusion was reached unanimously by the Committee apparently does not disturb South Africa in the least. On the contrary, it has assumed an even more defiant posture, seeking perhaps in this way to mask from itself and from the world the true nature of the festering situation in South West Africa. We regret to have to say this, but how else are we to interpret the tactics by which South Africa now seeks to divert attention from the conditions in her mandate? Is it perhaps because it is unable to deny the ugly evidence of apartheid in South West Africa, and now, in a desperate effort to sway world opinion in its favour, has chosen instead to question the integrity and sully the reputation of those whose revulsion against apartheid is well known?

31. But we refuse to be deceived. We wish to state here our considered view that, unless South Africa co-operates in discharging its obligations in South West Africa as required by the Charter, then the time has indeed come for the Assembly, in the words of the Special Committee, to take firm and decisive action. We will abide by the wishes of the majority, noting also that as time passes the chances for alternative peaceful solutions progressively diminish. If, as has been pointed out, the only remaining alternative is to revoke South Africa's mandate and transfer administration of South West Africa to the United

Nations, we shall be prepared to support this course of action.

32. My delegation would like to focus attention on another threat to peace arising from the growing gap between the economically developed and the developing countries. This gap has been increasing in past years and it is one of the most challenging tasks of the United Nations to arrest this trend and to evolve constructive measures to reverse it.

33. The Philippines therefore views with appreciation the growing commitment of the United Nations to the cause of balanced, comprehensive, and massive attack on the problem of economic and social development of the developing nations.

34. My country has been committed since 1935 to the need for national planning, and more recently to the equally important need for the systematic training of manpower resources and the mobilization of savings as basic instruments for economic and social progress. Thus the Philippines finds it only natural and proper that it should subscribe to the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade and to hope, in concert with the vast majority of the Member countries, that the various instruments proposed to achieve those objectives be forged carefully and made ready for effective use in due time. We hope that significant progress will be attained without unnecessary delay in providing adequate sources and means of assistance to developing countries.

35. We realize, of course, that in the face of the immensity of needs on the part of developing countries, the United Nations resources for assistance would be relatively meagre. For this reason, aid projects must be carefully scrutinized to the end that aid funds should produce the maximum benefits. The choice must be for impact projects, or projects of special leverage, to borrow from the words of the late Dag Hammarskjöld; that is, projects that will build up productive capacities, generate a chain reaction of productive activities and build up the strength of the economy for self-sustaining growth.

36. We believe that it is wise and proper for the developed countries to help more substantially in the acceleration of the economic development of the new and less fortunate countries. We should like to stress, however, the concomitant obligation of the recipient countries to provide the essential measure of self-help, to administer the aid given with integrity, and to use it for the benefit of the masses of the people who need it most. International assistance for economic development is a two-way street. The aim should be not merely to prop up Governments in developing countries, but, more important still, to enrich the lives of their citizens in ways that would enhance freedom and human dignity.

37. The achievements of the United Nations in the economic and social fields are important in themselves, but to our mind they also serve a higher purpose. They contribute in a very real sense to the attainment of international security. They serve to de-fuse, as it were, some of the explosion points of the cold war. As developing countries gain more ground towards stability and prosperity, the arena of the cold war recedes. Contented and progressive societies are the best and strongest bulwarks of peace.

38. This is perhaps the most valuable service that the United Nations can perform, to help build up stout bulwarks of peace throughout the world in the form of

independent and prosperous societies, to keep open the avenues of negotiation, conciliation and peaceful settlement in international disputes and to prevent the ultimate catastrophe of war from cancelling all the constructive gains so far achieved by the world community.

39. To accomplish this objective, the United Nations needs time—which is the greatest gift that the nuclear Powers, who hold in their hands the choice between peace and war, can give to the Organization—time to find fair and reasonable settlements for explosive questions like that of Berlin; time for the evolving rule of law to become more firmly established; time for humanity's desire for freedom and security to take its course towards fulfilment, until the Charter's aim of banishing the scourge of war from the face of the earth and assuring a better life for all men shall have been realized.

40. Lord HOME (United Kingdom): Mr. President, like all the speakers who have preceded me, I am very proud that we are privileged to sit under your Presidency. You have, of course, given the most distinguished service to your own country and have been an ornament for a long time of the Commonwealth association of countries. We count ourselves extremely fortunate that all your qualities of character and intelligence have been put so ungrudgingly at the service of this Organization. I am sure that you will have the full support of the Assembly in the conduct of its affairs all through this session and I might add, Mr. President, that I think that you can do almost anything with us. You have already achieved the impossible of making the Assembly punctual, and that really is something.

41. I should like, too, to great as others have done the new Members who have joined us for the first time, with particular feelings of warmth for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, who are our Commonwealth partners.

42. Mr. President, before he died in the service of this Organization, for which he gave his life, you may recall that Mr. Hammarskjöld, in the introduction to his report to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly,<sup>2/</sup> left us a testament and a guide to the future of the Organization. He said that we were near a point of decision, and the choices, in his view, were these. We could mark time in a phase of static diplomacy, each country advancing its own claims, airing its own opinions, passing resolutions but doing nothing about them. Under this conception, as I see it, more and more Members could default in their financial obligations if they chose; and if we really wanted to bring this Organization to a grinding and impotent halt, we could cap it all with introducing the "troika" at the top. Or, we could choose the way of dynamic diplomacy, and while not stretching the Organization beyond its natural strength, for it is yet young, and while playing within the rules of the Charter, each of us would be willing, slowly and by degrees, but nevertheless deliberately, to subordinate our national interests to the collective will of the United Nations as a whole.

43. I would like to tell my colleagues in the General Assembly that I agree with Mr. Hammarskjöld's analysis and with his conclusions. The signs of the times point urgently towards interdependence in posi-

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement 1A, document A/4800/Add.1.

tive co-operation, and I find myself in the very closest agreement with what President Muhammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan yesterday said [1133rd meeting] that we are proceeding apace towards the conception of one world. It was the conclusions of Mr. Hammarskjöld, endorsed by our own reasoning, which led my country in association with the great majority in his hall to vote against the "troika", and I would like to say that if this proposal is renewed we shall vote against it again. Not only for the reason given by the representative of the Philippines, that this would introduce the cold war into the Organization; that is true, but also because if we introduced the "troika" it would ensure the extraordinary paradox that the world Organization would remain stagnant while the mainstream of international life passed it by. And, of course, it would introduce as well the most reactionary of all ideas when you are thinking in the context of this Organization, that a servant of the United Nations should give his first loyalty to his own country.

44. It is Mr. Hammarskjöld's analysis, and conclusions too, which persuade my Government to support the ruling of the International Court of Justice on the payment of dues. We believe that Members should pay their assessed levies both for the operation in the Congo and for the operation on the Palestine border. We do not like some features of the Congo operation, as I shall show, but nevertheless we pay our assessed dues and I hope that this Assembly will make it unmistakably clear that those who fall two years in arrears in their assessments should lose their votes.

45. There are some other things that this Assembly ought to be doing if we were not frustrated by the cold war. We ought to enlarge the Security Council to take account of the changes in the structure of a modern world society. But, Sir, there is an even more pressing reason why we should take a decision about the future role of the United Nations in the world, because all of us are up against a choice which is even more stark than that posed by Mr. Hammarskjöld. Nuclear science has now brought weapons to a point of efficiency where a few missiles can destroy millions of people. I do not know if it is common knowledge to this Assembly, but the latest estimate that has been made of the casualties in the first exchange in a nuclear war is over 300 million people dead in the first few days. Three hundred million. That is almost incomprehensible, and I would add to that unpleasant fact that there is the near certainty that local conflicts, which draw in the great Powers, could not possibly be confined to wars with conventional weapons. We might try to do so, but with the best will in the world you cannot, with one kind of equipment, fight another kind of war.

46. I agree with Mr. Gromyko when he says that only a mad man could pursue policies of "positions of strength", so long as this stricture is directed against his own country as well as others. Therefore the over-riding fact, of which I believe no political system has yet assimilated the full consequences, is that we have arrived at a point in time when men and women and Governments everywhere have to decide whether we are going to continue in the old way, in which we tried regularly to solve disputes through the test of war, or whether we are going to try the new way of abandoning unilateral action in favour of negotiation, burying our emotions and our passions and making up our minds that, however long the process of negotiation and conciliation lasts, we are determined to carry it through.

47. The year 1962 has seen a case in point, in Laos. There you would have thought there was a country which was very far removed from the rivalry of the great Powers, yet the people were divided among themselves in the country, there was a local dispute and each side began to seek outside help. Eighteen months ago in Laos the great Powers confronted each other on the brink of war, and that war—and I am quite certain that both the East and the West made the same assessment—could not have proceeded very far before it got out of control and tactical nuclear weapons were used. The event, of course, would have brought ruin to South-East Asia and to much of the world as a whole, and the Powers looked over the abyss at the prospect and they did not like what they saw. They decided to talk it out and not to shoot it out. The process was not easy. There was very hard bargaining and, even now, vigilance is necessary to see that the agreement sticks, but nevertheless eighteen nations were able to sit down and reach an honourable settlement. There is peace in Laos, and this has been a demonstration of the practical working of the art of conciliation.

48. There are, Mr. President, certain lessons which I think we can learn, first, from the destructive power of the nuclear bomb and secondly from the negotiated settlement in Laos. The first is this, and it is perhaps the over-riding fact of our present situation. There is, in fact, today a stalemate in nuclear power and, because there is a stalemate in nuclear power, there is in the same way a stalemate in power politics. It is true that it is a stalemate of fear, nevertheless it has brought as a respite from war. It may be that we only hold the peace by the balance of terror; nevertheless the peace is held, and for that at least we should be grateful. However, it must be apparent to everybody who considers these matters and to all my colleagues here that, if man is to be certain of survival, clearly this situation is not good enough and we must do better. The way we can do better is this; so sure is it that fighting anywhere will start a chain reaction that we must draw the conclusion that fighting must not be allowed to start or, if it does start by accident, must be isolated and put in quarantine. Therefore, the first resolution that I should like the Assembly to pass, although I have not yet put it on paper, is this—that we should decide that in every situation, however testing, our minds must control our emotions and our passions. Men who live in a nuclear age and pick quarrels are fools. But men who live in a nuclear age and stir the pot of trouble when it is simmering are worse than fools; they are knaves.

49. There is another lesson that I would add. We must jettison the idea that the object of negotiation is to gain the victory round the table which you were not able to gain by force. Victories round the negotiating table are Pyrrhic victories. Those who suffer defeat at the conference table feel resentment, and resentment breeds revenge. Therefore the task of the diplomat and the negotiator is reconciliation and justice and order. I emphasize justice and order as the basis of interdependence, and indeed of progress, because I believe that I detect a certain suspicion in some minds that law and order is a trick to freeze the status quo. I should like to say that, in our experience, exactly the opposite is the truth; the observance of law and order is a sine qua non of peaceful change.

50. The point was made very well yesterday by the representative of Australia—and I need not elaborate it—that the rule of law is a lesson we have learned

from many mistakes and much suffering and it is only by submitting ourselves to the law that we can reconcile conflicting ambitions and serve the interests of progress [1132nd meeting].

51. That is why—because it is our British experience, in particular, in translating our colonial empire into a Commonwealth of free and independent nations—I have always insisted that it is the plain duty of this Assembly to uphold the rule of law and to support and strengthen its institutions. And the two most important institutions which we must support are the Charter and the International Court of Justice. If we do not set an example in observing the law, who will?

52. If what I have said is true, it is clear that peace will only be preserved if each and all of us are prepared to subject our passions and prejudices to strict discipline. And this, I suggest, is something that the United Nations should help us to do.

53. At this point, I do want to name certain dangers to law and justice, and therefore to peaceful change, which I detect as being present among us. I think it is best to put these dangers under the public eye, because it is only when they are recognized that they can be exorcised or controlled.

54. The first and the most dangerous cause of conflict is the communist intention to impose their system on the rest of the world by the type of political warfare backed by force which is curiously called "peaceful coexistence". Neither my country nor any other country has the right to criticize Russia or China if they wish to adopt the communist philosophy and wish communism to be their own political system. But what we cannot tolerate, and what no free people that wishes to practise another philosophy can tolerate, is that we should be press-ganged into the communist service. And attempts are being made, as everybody knows, to do that up and down the world.

55. Mr. Gromyko said, rather rhetorically, last week, in connexion with the United States-and-Cuba situation: Does this mean that a stronger State has the right to gobble up a weaker one? Well, he ought to know and, if he does not know, he might perhaps ask the Chinese. When we come to the debate, I shall look forward with the greatest of attention, I am bound to say, to Mr. Gromyko's promised proposal on the economics of disarmament. I agree with him, it is a terrible thing that we should all be forced to pay millions of our wealth to sustain these huge armaments and these colossally expensive arms. I hope this inquiry, when we come to debate that resolution, will not embarrass Mr. Gromyko, because I am going to ask him how the Chinese invasion of India, which forces India to arm, fits in with his thesis. The Chinese are now 150 miles inside Indian territory. The Indians are forced to rearm. Everybody knows they are a peaceful people; everybody knows they are being subjected to aggression. I shall look forward to this resolution of Mr. Gromyko's with some anticipation and interest, because there are some questions which must be asked.

56. I know that there are a number of people here who want to keep out of the cold war, and I have every sympathy with them. They can ignore it if they choose. But, if India is not immune from it, who is? And self-interest, if nothing else, should encourage those people to look at its origins and causes.

57. It really is too dangerous to all of us in these days to allow politico-ideological crusades backed by arms. We cannot have that in the late twentieth century.

This is more than ever true—and, if we are realistic, I think we must take account of it—when the emancipation of a great many small nations from colonial rule has given a strong impetus to nationalism. We have been in the first ranks in bringing our colonial territories to independence, and I am strongly in favour of having that policy proceed with all speed. But I must say that, when one looks round the world, it is extremely disheartening to find that there are so many new countries which have not advanced some claim against the territory of a neighbour. Because that is so, I think it does enjoin upon this Assembly and upon Governments a need for constant vigilance, to see that the legitimate enthusiasm of patriotism does not overflow into aggressive nationalism. Here I would touch on an even greater evil, and this is racialism, I would not excuse a great many things that the old nations did in the past, I have no doubt they were very often wrong in what they did and were sinners, but it would be a tragedy if, in revenge for what the new nations conceive was white arrogance in the past, they allowed the prejudices of colour and race to have full rein.

58. The Charter recognized the importance of change based upon order, and it gave to this Organization the twin task—and let us not forget it—of keeping the peace and assisting peaceful change. The authors of the Charter recognized that neither task could be achieved unless there were rules and disciplines which were observed by the Members of the Organization.

59. Because I believe in facing facts, I am going to say a word about Article 2, paragraph 7. I know some people find this very irksome, particularly those who wish to see the rapid emancipation of countries to be brought to independence. But the authors of the Charter embodied this rule for very good reasons, and they did so deliberately, because they realized that if the United Nations was ever tempted to interfere in the internal political situation of independent States, or in matters under their jurisdiction, that would create trouble and not calm it down. I would ask my fellow colleagues in this Assembly this: if each of us thinks of this rule in relation to his own country, I think he will be bound to admit its wisdom. To play according to the rules of the Charter, is not easy, but I submit that unless we do, the United Nations will not succeed in its role as a peace-maker.

60. I would like to apply some of these considerations which I have advanced to some of the situations which confront us and which have been mentioned by speaker after speaker in this debate. It is this paramount need for conciliation which has greatly influenced the attitude of my country to the problems of the Congo. It is quite clear that what is required above all in the Congo is a reconciliation of the interests between the provinces and the centre, and one other thing is surely clear, that this conflict of views can only be resolved by the Congolese themselves. If we were tempted to try and impose a solution by force, it would not last a day, unless the United Nations was prepared to assume the role of an occupying and administering Power and assume it for years. With all our many qualities, and we have a great many virtues and a great deal of strength, we are not equipped to do that yet. It may be that we shall be some day. Therefore, I have insisted always that the role of the United Nations in this affair must be to help the Congolese to find and agree on a settlement among themselves. We must use all the patience in the world to achieve that.



61. Therefore, we in the United Kingdom were extremely glad when the Secretary-General decided to concentrate everything on this plan of reconciliation, which has our full support and which has been accepted in principle by Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombé. I have not yet seen—and I do not think anybody in this hall has yet seen—the form of the draft federal constitution. I think, as I said at the beginning, that the main problem in the Congo is the relations between the provinces and the centre, and that the nature of the Federal Constitution is the key to peace in the Congo, the key to everything. I hope that this plan of reconciliation will be adopted and accepted, and we shall work for that as hard as we can, with the hope that before too long the United Nations activities can be transformed from a military operation to one of economic and technical assistance.

62. I would like to say to the Secretary-General how very grateful I am for the patience with which he is dealing with this problem. He and Mr. Gardiner deserve our gratitude for the tact and forbearance which they have used. These are the qualities the world will need if the world is to survive.

63. If the problem of Laos, the problem of Algeria, the problem of West New Guinea and the problem of the Congo could be settled peacefully in 1962, then the principle of order in international affairs, for which I am pleading, and of conciliation, would have won a notable victory.

64. There are other cases where the duty to negotiate is matched by the duty to uphold international law in the defence of freedom. I refer—and Members will not have any difficulty in realizing this—to Berlin. Reference has been made to the wall which has been raised by the East Germans and the Russians through the middle of the city—as Mr. Holyoake reminded us [1133rd meeting], surely the most extraordinary thing that has ever been done—a wall to shut people in and not to shut people out. I was there a very short time ago. I would like everybody in this Assembly to go and look at that wall. The day before I was there a boy tried to bring through his father and mother-in-law-to-be in order that they might attend his wedding. All three of them were shot at the point where I stood the next day. Every day people die on that wall. Only a short time ago a boy of eighteen, as everybody knows, was left to bleed to death in front of a whole lot of mocking East Germans, with 3,000 people watching this happen over one and a half hours, impotent to go to his assistance in anyway. It is an almost intolerable provocation to civilized people that this sort of thing should be allowed to happen in these days; it is an affront to all who recognize and respect man as a child of God.

65. But although we despise, from the bottom of our hearts, a system which can allow such callous cruelty, nevertheless the highest duty, and this is recognized by the people of Berlin themselves, compels us to control our emotions and to seek a settlement consonant with the obligations that we have as trustees of free and independent people. Only a settlement which is negotiated and a settlement which is just can bring lasting security to Europe and, I might add, to Russia.

66. The only permanent solution is one on which I hope this Assembly, if it is true to itself, will insist and that is self-determination for both Germanies. I hope that this will be conceded unanimously by this Assembly: that there should be self-determination for West Germany and for East Germany and they should

be allowed to settle their destiny. But, as for the present, Russia, which preaches self-determination for everybody else—I have heard that done time and again from where I am standing now—refuses to allow self-determination to East Germany, and all we can do is to seek a modus vivendi.

67. Now I can think of a number of solutions, Mr. Gromyko is aware of them from many talks with myself and with Mr. Rusk. These solutions would be acceptable to the allies. But I must tell this Assembly quite firmly that what the allies—and I believe the United Nations Organization and this Assembly would feel the same—cannot accept is a settlement of the Berlin problem which would be simply a cloak for a communist take-over of 2.5 million free people. That simply is not negotiable. So we must seek a modus vivendi which is fair and just.

68. I do not know whether the Berlin problem will come to this Assembly, but if it does I hope that everybody will make it unmistakably clear that this artificial crisis must be stopped, that the tensions on the wall and the cruelties on the wall must be ended and that a negotiated settlement must be made which would respect the rights and interests of all the parties in both West and East Berlin. It can certainly be done.

69. If the Assembly will have patience for a moment I should like to say a word concerning a wider question which affects us all, and that is disarmament. It would be foolish to suggest that the Geneva Conference has brought us even to the approaches of general and complete disarmament, although the meetings of the seventeen nations have given us all a deeper insight into the problems of total and physical disarmament. During our discussions, when this question comes to be debated, we shall find that we shall return time and again to two principles, each of which is basic to the success of disarmament, and each of which presents great problems, let us admit it, in its application. The first is that at all stages of disarmament the balance of strength must not be disturbed. If what I have said at the beginning of my speech today is true, that the peace, although it hangs precariously, depends on the balance of power being held, that is one of the principles which we must observe. And the other is that there should be adequate verification of disarmament to see that paper plans are fully observed.

70. On the first principle, the Western plan provides for a percentage cut across the board divided into three stages until disarmament is complete. At each stage, therefore, you will see that the relative strength, as it is at present, is maintained. I have got no particular brief, I must say, for the present balance of strength where one side has an advantage in nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, and the other side has a larger advantage in conventional forces, weapons, and the advantage, of course, of central communication. The point is that the present balance exists, and starting from there, percentage cuts can be fairly applied across the board. But if we begin trying to change the balance, then, of course, it is clear that the greatest complications will emerge.

71. I think, myself, that the important thing is to start some physical disarmament and turn the rising curve of armaments down. If that is what the Assembly wants, the way to do it, I think, is a percentage cut across the board.

72. At present, I am bound to say to the Russian delegation that the Soviet plan is uneven in its pro-

gramme for disarmament, mainly because it places, in phase one, the abolition of all nuclear delivery vehicles and all foreign bases. In the Western plan these categories are eliminated altogether, at the end of the day, but not all in one stage. If you put them into the first stage, of course, you immediately offend against the principle of balance, which I named, and the advantage must most definitely accrue to the Soviet Union.

73. Mr. Gromyko made a new proposal the other day when he spoke to the Assembly [1127th meeting]. He suggested that, instead of destroying all nuclear weapons in the first stage, that you might have a limited number and an agreed number of inter-continental ballistic missiles which should be retained by the Soviet Union and the United States, I leave aside for the moment that he left the United Kingdom out of the picture altogether, but we will consider any proposal of this kind, if it is fruitful. At first sight, and I hope I am wrong, it seems to me it is designed to eliminate the West's present superiority in nuclear delivery vehicles without considering the advantages which the Soviet Union has from its superiority in conventional forces now. However, I am only too glad to consider this new proposal. In addition, he raised the question of the possibility of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons and also an arrangement between the NATO and Warsaw Pact Treaties. Well, we must consider all these. One other question, in connexion with what he proposed, occurs to me. It is this: if the United States and Russia are to retain a certain number of nuclear weapons, and if those quantities are to be limited and agreed, how are the numbers to be verified? I noticed he did not say anything about that. Mr. Gromyko cannot, I think, be proposing that in such a vital matter as this, that the West should take the Soviet Government's word for how many inter-continental ballistic missiles they have retained, or that Russia should take the word of the West. If this means that the Soviet Union is willing to take a realistic attitude on the verification of remainders, then we are a long step forward; if they are not so prepared, then I am bound to say that the proposal means nothing at all.

74. In this context, I hope that Mr. Gromyko will take a long look at verification because in the field of general disarmament there can be no advance unless there is inspection. I cannot understand, I am bound to say, why, when every other country in the world is willing to grant this amount of inspection in order to save the world from this arms race, Russia is not willing to do so. Is all the world out of step except Russia and its friends?

*Mr. Spaak (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

75. Meanwhile, if general and completed disarmament needs more consideration, I must say quite definitely to this Assembly that we could have a nuclear test ban agreement and we could have it now. All the world wants it, therefore I hope we can get it, I should like to say why we could have this test ban now and to inform the members of this Assembly what options are open to our Russian friends. We have made two proposals. This is the first and the best: that there should be a comprehensive ban on all tests, with on-site inspection limited to those cases only where the international control authority says it cannot decide the nature of the noise unless somebody goes and looks. The international authority, in other words, will say, "We do not know whether this is an earthquake or a

nuclear explosion. We want somebody to go and look." This could be done on the basis of every suspicious event being investigated, which is the implication of the proposals being forwarded by the eight neutral nations, or it could be done on the basis of a quota only of such events chosen by each side, which is the proposal put forward by the United States and the United Kingdom. I do hope that the Soviet Union will be willing to concede this amount of inspection—a very small amount of inspection—in order to achieve a test ban. But I should like to put forward the second option, which has been given to the Soviet Union. It is this: that there should immediately be a ban on tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under the sea, with no conditions and no inspection. The object of that proposal, put forward by the United States and ourselves, is to save the world from fall-out. The Assembly will want to know why, with the objection of espionage removed—because there is to be no inspection and no condition—the Russians, along with their friends, are refusing to allow the fall-out to end.

76. Mr. Gromyko referred in his speech recently to a Soviet offer of agreement in these three environments. Well, I studied it. It amounts to a moratorium again which is unpoliced. I am afraid the answer must be that the Soviet Union itself, by breaking its word the last time, destroyed the currency of moratoria. But knowing that Mr. Gromyko was likely to refuse a ban and to say that a ban in the atmosphere was tantamount to legalizing underground tests, an argument which I do not accept, I am bound to say I made another proposal at Geneva. I proposed that we should have the atmospheric ban and end the fall-out, but that at the same time we should set our scientists to work—Soviet scientists, United States scientists and British scientists—and tell them that within six months we wanted an agreed recommendation on how to deal with detection and verification. I believe that if that meeting were to take place we should find the answer. There is everything to be said for that proposal, and I hope that the Assembly will press it upon the Soviet Union. If they refuse again, it can only mean that they are indifferent to the call of mankind to end the fall-out and wish the arms race in nuclear weapons to continue. But I do pray that they will think again.

77. My plea then, today, is for more conscious and active use of the processes of conciliation everywhere. How much better it would be for our Development Decade if the cold war could end and the money which we spend upon it could be set to better use, to the provision of more food, better houses and schools and universities: the things the people want.

78. I suppose that the Soviet Government and its communist friends could claim that that is their ambition too, that they are making progress towards it, and indeed that this is what they mean by the victory of the proletariat. But civilization demands something more of people than materialism. It is not an accident that all the great religions of the world charge their members individually and collectively with a duty towards their neighbour. That is the flaw in the communist materialist doctrine. I have no doubt that all the countries which observe the great religions have lapsed from virtue, but the difference between a religious society and a purely materialist communist society is this: that upon the religious society certain restraints are imposed upon action, which assist the process of harmonious living with one's neighbour. There are no such restraints in a purely materialist society.



79. It is useless to ignore that the clash here is deep, only patience and time will resolve it, but meanwhile it is our duty to prevent the confrontation of East and West from degenerating into war. If for the time being peace depends on the balance of fear, that may be unheroic but it is better than war. It is degrading beyond words that in these days peace should depend on the balance of terror, but it is better than destruction. Therefore, we must decide at once not to disturb the balance of power but to work with all our being so that we may base our relationship on the much more solid foundation of interdependence.

30. So, in spite of outward appearances, very slowly, but I think perceptibly, the cold war is beginning to thaw and East-West relations, in spite of appearances, are starting to get a little better. The momentum, once it is started, will not be reversed. If imperialism is being thrown out of the window on the wind of change, so is Karl Marx—and good riddance too. It is time we got rid of these obsolete reactionary doctrines of the nineteenth century. I find the need to think and speak in terms of the cold war inexpressibly tedious. I must encroach on Mr. Gromyko's preserve, but so too, I believe, do the younger generation of Russians. If they have thrown off the physical terror and yoke of Stalin, they are not going to be content very much longer to be bound with the intellectual fetters of Marx. Marx, I am sorry to say, was a citizen of my country—but we have taken all the years since he died to prove that in practice he forecast wrong.

81. This sterile business of charge and counter-charge is a waste of energy, talent and wealth, when we all ought to be working for the betterment of man.

82. So long as the free world is attacked, we must respond. We shall never go under. But Britain wants to join others in burying the cold war, in getting ahead with the modern political order in which men want to live.

83. Therefore I say to this Assembly: let us be diligent in conciliation and let the United Nations, self-disciplined and self-reliant, set the pace and the example of peace and peaceful change.

84. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): It is a great honour for me to present my Government's views from this rostrum, where so many eminent personalities have preceded me. Like all small nations, Cambodia attaches very great importance to the work of the United Nations, the only Organization in the world in which de jure, if not de facto, equality exists between the very small countries and the enormously wealthy Powers. Here at least we can speak out freely with our feeble voice and thus become aware of the moral force represented collectively by those nations whose opinions are all too often unknown or ignored by the great Powers, as though a country's common sense, wisdom and reason were in direct proportion to the number of its population, the strength of its armed forces or the amount of steel, coal or oil that it produced.

85. It must be acknowledged that Asia has not yet received all the attention it deserves from the United Nations. Yet, when the problem arose in the United Nations of a successor to the late Dag Hammarskjöld, it was Asia, in the person of U Thant, a very distinguished son of the Union of Burma, that was called upon to resolve the dispute between East and West over the appointment of the Secretary-General.

86. I think I need scarcely recall, at the beginning of my statement, how unfair, ridiculous and unwise we consider it that the oldest and largest nation in the world, the People's Republic of China, has not yet been admitted to its legitimate seat in this Organization. Since 1958 all the heads of the Cambodian delegation have vainly protested against the ostracism to which the majority of the Members of this Assembly have been subjecting the only Government which truly represents 650 million courageous, active and industrious Chinese. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, our Head of State, has emphasized that, sooner or later, the United Nations will have to admit the People's Republic of China to full membership if international arrangements concerning such problems as disarmament, the suspension of nuclear tests and the organization of peace are to be fully effective. Our Western friends—and our United States friends in particular—have already had to admit China as a participant to the Geneva Conference on Laos,<sup>3/</sup> as also to the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954.<sup>4/</sup> My country hopes that the new United States Administration will be sufficiently clear-sighted and possess enough political sense to understand that a China which is a Member of the United Nations, and therefore obliged to live up to certain international obligations, and mollified by the recognition of its rights, is much to be preferred to a China which is prevented from participating in the major decisions taken here, whose national pride has been injured and which, through the very fault of its opponents, has no account to render to anyone.

87. Nor do I think it necessary to recall that last year our Head of State requested in this very hall [1011th meeting] that greater consideration should be given to the question of the reunification of the countries which have been divided, and that, pending an honest and supervised referendum which would enable the peoples of those countries to decide their own destiny, each of the Governments of such divided countries should be given a seat in the United Nations, a course which would not change the political balance of the Assembly in any way.

88. I come now, if you will allow me, to my own country, which, while it endeavours to give the United Nations as little trouble as possible, is nevertheless obliged to inform the Assembly of the grave difficulties that it is encountering from its neighbours.

89. It may be useful to remind the Assembly that Cambodia is a country of only 5,800,000 inhabitants, with an army of 29,550 men which is poorly equipped and therefore incapable of attacking anyone, and the mere skeleton of a navy and air force.

90. It may also be appropriate to recall that ten centuries ago Cambodia was a vast kingdom, extending far beyond its present boundaries in all directions, whose neighbours have since nibbled away at the national domain, province by province, leaving it today with only about a third of its original territory. When we see how the Khmers tenaciously defend every square metre of their land, we must understand that it is an inheritance—although greatly reduced—and the last bastion of a country that has been besieged for centuries.

91. That is why my country, from which Thailand had seized the frontier temple of Preah Vihear, con-

<sup>3/</sup> Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 16 May to 13 July 1962.

<sup>4/</sup> Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

structed in the north of the province of Kompong Thom by a king of Angkor, appealed to the International Court of Justice at The Hague so that its rights to the temple might be recognized and that the temple might be restored to it. By an overwhelming majority, the judges found in favour of Cambodia. It was only after having refused several times to accept that decision and having uttered many a threat against us that the Thai Government, feeling that it was the object of world-wide disapproval, complied with the Court's decision.<sup>5/</sup> It could have done so in such a way that friendly relations would have been re-established between our two nations, which Cambodia, for its part, greatly desired. Unfortunately, the deception practised by Thailand was demonstrated by its occupation, for several days, of a strip of our territory in the neighbourhood of the temple.

92. Our Head of State has decided to go to Preah Vihear next December, accompanying a procession of monks who will hold religious ceremonies in that holy place. No troops will accompany our Prince and we shall see whether that peaceful procession will be prevented from reaching its destination.

93. Preah Vihear has been restored to us and we shall know how to prevent its ever being taken from us again. This, however, is only one of the incidents in the underhand campaign that our neighbours have been waging for centuries in an effort to absorb us. I should like the statesmen gathered here to understand that there are no differences between a neutral Cambodia, on the one hand, and a pro-Western Thailand or South Viet-Nam, on the other. Our disputes date back to the distant past and have nothing to do with present-day ideologies. The accusations hurled against us by our neighbours are only the modern expression of expansionist and annexationist designs which go back three or four centuries.

94. The Members of the Assembly are undoubtedly aware that, in a determined effort to put an end to the difficulties that our neighbours are creating for us and thus to avoid an open conflict which would rapidly extend beyond the frontiers of our States, the Head of State of Cambodia requested the Powers which participated in the Geneva Conference on Laos to render the same service to our country that they rendered to Laos, namely to recognize and guarantee our independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

95. Cambodia does not want to go on living under the constant threat of nations which have been armed to the hilt by their allies for the purpose of fighting communism and which are using—I might even say diverting—a part of their troops and armaments in order to satisfy old ambitions against a small and peaceable country, twenty times less powerful in the military field and with a population which is only one eighth that of the combined populations of its neighbours.

96. Cambodia no longer wishes to be in a position where it can be accused of serving as "a springboard for communist aggression against its neighbours", a "withdrawal area" or a corridor for forces hostile to the Saigon Government. It is true that the best foreign observers, the Chief of MAAG,<sup>6/</sup> i.e., the American military assistance advisory group at Phnom-Penh, and the International Commission for

Supervision and Control have proved the falsity of these accusations, but adverse propaganda goes on serving them up and always finds simpletons or accomplices to repeat them.

97. Cambodia does not want to go on being subjected to countless acts of aggression and violations of its frontiers, in which soldiers and peasants are killed, wounded or carried off. It no longer wants to see foreign aircraft flying illegally over its territory and diving on its military posts and its airfields to photograph them, which happened some hundred times in last July and August alone. It no longer wants to see foreign warships violating its territorial waters on the strange pretext that all the islands along the Cambodian coast belong, no doubt by the grace of God, to the Viet-Nameese.

98. Since Cambodia would not be able to defend itself in the event of a large-scale invasion, it must choose one of two alternatives: an internationally guaranteed and supervised neutrality, or an appeal to friendly foreign forces to protect its territory.

99. In an obvious desire to discredit Cambodia in the eyes of the United Nations and of the world, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, on 4 September 1962, accused Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, "of ignoring the existence of the United Nations and turning instead to the fourteen-nations of the Geneva Conference on Laos". This accusation is completely false, for as soon as the Royal Government was informed of the Thai proposal to the effect that the United Nations should be invited to investigate the Khmero-Thai dispute, Prince Norodom Sihanouk stated that "he welcomed the proposal made by Thailand with joy and gratitude". Not only did we accept the Thai proposal but we notified the Secretary-General officially that we supported it.

100. Furthermore, the Royal Government requests that the Secretary-General's representative should also conduct an inquiry in Cambodia—the victim of the aggression—among the inhabitants of our country concerning the acts of aggression, violation, piracy and murder committed by the Thais and the South Vietnamese.

101. At a press conference held on 6 September 1962, Prince Norodom Sihanouk pointed out that the Thai Government's criticism was illogical, for Thailand had been careful to make no such criticism when it was a question of settling the Laos affair. Moreover, Thailand cannot be unaware that eleven of the fourteen nations which took part in the Geneva Conference on Laos are Members of the United Nations. Thailand itself attended that Conference.

102. Thailand seeks every opportunity to discredit Cambodia. Recently the Government of the United States decided to send the Royal Government certain light armaments and twelve training aircraft, which are not even armed. On learning this news, the Thai Government reacted sharply against such military assistance. The Royal Government wishes to make it clear that this war material, furnished under the terms of the 1955 agreement,<sup>7/</sup> is extremely limited and represents only an infinitesimal part of the equipment provided to Thailand and to South Viet-Nam. Quite recently an important American military figure

<sup>5/</sup> Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

<sup>6/</sup> Military Assistance Advisory Group.

<sup>7/</sup> United States of America and Cambodia: exchange of notes (with annexes) constituting an agreement relating to military assistance, Phnom-Penh, 16 May 1955.

stated that Cambodia would receive neither anti-aircraft batteries nor armed planes capable of preventing Thai aircraft from flying over Cambodia. According to this same person, Cambodia would receive neither armoured vehicles or heavy equipment capable of resisting the continual incursions carried out by its neighbours. The Royal Government wishes to draw international attention to the fact that Thailand is resorting to blackmail, claiming that the United States is furnishing Cambodia with all the necessary military means for threatening its neighbours.

103. At the time I left Cambodia, our Head of State had received answers from all the Powers to his request for the recognition and the guarantee of our neutrality and our frontiers. While the nations of the socialist camp gave our Prince's proposal their warm and complete approval, the replies of the Western camp—with the exception of France, always friendly and understanding in our regard—were most unsatisfactory. The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, in particular, did indeed state that they were willing officially to confirm their respect for our independence, our sovereignty, our frontiers, etc.—a respect that we have never doubted—but they failed to give the guarantee which we had requested. Their refusal to hold an international conference was, however, accompanied by suggestions which allowed of discussion. As for South Viet-Nam, its categorical refusal, couched in insulting terms, evinces a clear desire to close the door to any agreement and is further proof—if any were still needed—of its imperialism and its policy of annexation at the expense of Cambodia.

104. Cambodia realistically welcomed the counter-proposals of the Western great Powers that have become involved in South-East Asia. Prince Norodom Sihanouk said in fact that for him the end alone counted and that he was prepared to seek other ways and means of obtaining for his country the guarantee without which all the promises in the world were no more than pious declarations of intentions. Noting that certain Western Powers were unwilling to participate in a conference where their many errors would inevitably expose them to accusation, the Prince, our Head of State, suggested two reasonable solutions. The first solution would be for the Powers concerned to sign "at home" a document modelled on the agreement on Laos,<sup>8/</sup> that is to say, giving Cambodia similar guarantees to those given to Laos. The second solution would be for the said Powers to send the Royal Government of Cambodia a formal letter containing those guarantees.

105. In this way the public confrontations of East and West so greatly dreaded by the West would be avoided. The Prince added that he would not ask for any condemnation, even moral condemnation, of the Powers that were threatening Cambodia and that he had no intention of linking the problem of the neutralization of South Viet-Nam to that of the neutralization of Cambodia, thus disposing—at least we hope so—of two matters of serious concern to the United States.

106. It would, however, be a serious mistake to regard the spirit of conciliation displayed by our Head of State as a sign of hesitation or weakness. The Prince warned the Western Powers, without any possible ambiguity, that if he did not obtain satisfaction on the substance of the issue he would not hesitate to ensure the security of Cambodia by appealing to the

People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union for troops. The choice is therefore clear; Cambodia can either remain completely neutral or else, in order to survive at least as a national entity, become an ally—or satellite, if you wish—of the Eastern bloc. The example of Cuba is there to show that, after reaching the depths of despair, small nations are capable of taking the gravest of decisions in order to avoid extinction.

107. Cambodia ardently desires to remain as it is—an island of peace in a South-East Asia that is rent asunder by the clash of ideologies and ambitions; a tolerant nation, where the stranger is received and treated like a brother; a great family, where hatred and envy are unknown and where the message of compassion bequeathed to us by the Buddha is scrupulously respected.

108. At a moment when very delicate negotiations are being undertaken to ensure the continued existence of one of the last happy peoples on this earth, I ask all of you to show us your sympathy and understanding and to do everything in your power to influence those who rule the world today, so that we may live in accordance with our aspirations and our traditions and preserve that joy on the faces of our peasants which we see also on the great stone figures that keep watch from the roofs of our temples.

109. Another problem, which our delegations have regularly raised here and which touches us to the quick, requires to be mentioned once again from this rostrum: the deplorable fate of those whom we call the Krom Khmers—Cambodians, about 600,000 in number, living in South Viet-Nam, who are trapped between the Government troops and the rebels. Having lost their original nationality, although not their love for their old homeland, they are subjected to discriminatory measures and very serious extortion on the part of the South Viet-Nameese authorities. I do not wish to introduce an impassioned note into this debate, but once again I would appeal to the conscience of the Viet-Nameese authorities, imploring them not to drive our brothers and sisters to despair but, on the contrary, to spare no effort to make these good people, today so unhappy, a bond of union between our two countries.

110. The dangers to world peace inherent in the situation in South-East Asia are present in the minds of all statesmen throughout the world. In all the great capitals men are wondering what can be done to put a stop to local conflicts and to safeguard the interest of their own country and the other countries on their side by preventing the outbreak of open warfare. Unfortunately the great Powers, not sufficiently aware of the complexity of Asian problems, constantly find themselves in very embarrassing situations. It would be an oversimplification to attribute all disturbances and all civil wars that break out in Cambodia's neighbouring countries exclusively to a matter of conflicting ideologies. In a single country we are in fact witnessing racial, religious and social conflicts closely connected with popular revolts which are inevitably exploited by one ideological camp or the other. Among neighbouring countries, the stronger ones seek to increase their territory at the expense of the weaker ones and to oppress them; Cambodia lives under this constant threat.

111. In his speech from this rostrum at the last session of the General Assembly [1011th meeting], Prince Norodom Sihanouk drew the attention of the

<sup>8/</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

world to the risk that the civil war in Laos, fed by both blocs, would spread. After much vacillation and many difficulties, an international agreement on Laos was signed last July. Since then the Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma has been pursuing its task of reconciliation and reconstruction and the kingdom has again found peace.

112. The success of the Geneva Conference on Laos, a success due to the international recognition of Laotian neutrality, made it possible to extinguish an extremely dangerous source of fire. But why was it necessary for the great Powers to go so far into an impasse before they discovered a solution which Cambodia, through its Head of State, had suggested to them long before? However that may be, and while we do not offer the Laotian agreement as an example applicable everywhere and in all cases, we are convinced that it could well serve as a pattern for any efforts to stabilize our South-East Asia.

113. Although Laos has found peace again, the same is not true of South Viet-Nam, where the civil war is gaining in intensity and horror every week. Cambodia is strictly neutral in this trial of strength between the Government of Saigon and the rebels. Nevertheless, we think that direct foreign intervention, openly recognized and proclaimed, is not likely to bring about a settlement of this conflict, which we fear may spread. We are convinced that it is possible and desirable to find some formula which would satisfy the aspirations of the people of South Viet-Nam without upsetting the equilibrium between the two camps that was achieved by the Geneva agreements of 1954.<sup>2/</sup>

114. It is unfortunate and regrettable that our Western friends, who are usually more understanding on the subject of neutrality, nevertheless persist in considering this political attitude as favouring their ideological adversaries and preparing the way for their own eviction. We must recognize that the West is reluctant to see one of its friends embark upon a policy of neutrality which it could respect but never guarantee.

115. In this connexion, may I be permitted to express before the Assembly our gratitude to the delegation and the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia for the unfailing support which the Government of Yugoslavia has given to my country's efforts to maintain its independence and safeguard peace by a policy of strict neutrality and non-alignment. On the occasion of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's proposal of 20 August 1962 to convene an international conference with the object of guaranteeing the neutrality and the territorial integrity of Cambodia, and in other international questions also, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has consistently shown a sincere understanding of the difficulties of my country, and has always shown its desire to promote peace through scrupulous application of the policy of peaceful coexistence and through respect of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

116. It is not my intention to speak at length on the international situation. I would like, however, to express our heartfelt wish that the courageous efforts of the uncommitted countries to reconcile the points of view of the Western countries and the Socialist countries on disarmament should be taken once more into consideration; there is no doubt that they repre-

sent the bravest attempts ever made to prevent the great Powers from entering into conflict one day through fear of being "overtaken" in the field of arms of mass destruction.

117. Last year, our delegation asked France to recognize the independence of Algeria, for which a whole people had been struggling for so many years. Thanks to the personal action of General de Gaulle, France made the gesture which the whole world was waiting for and completed its work of decolonization. Today, our Algerian brothers are free, and Algeria has entered the great family of nations. Cambodia, which recognized the Provisional Government of Algeria in September 1961, now asks that the Republic of Algeria should be admitted forthwith to the United Nations.

118. We learnt with interest that a plan to settle the vexatious affair of the Congo had been worked out thanks to the efforts of our devoted Secretary-General, U Thant, and his distinguished colleagues. We hope with all our hearts that the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) will be able to re-establish its unity in a form that will obtain the support of the majority of its citizens.

119. The situation of Berlin, with which we will end this rapid review of the world situation, has been made so complicated by the uncompromising attitude of former allies that have become enemies that it would be presumptuous for a small Asian country to suggest a solution which, indeed, it has not been asked for.

120. It is, however, obvious that the situation of the city of Berlin will only be finally settled as part of a settlement of the German situation as a whole, which depends, in its turn, on the state of the relations existing between the western and socialist camps. In spite of the alarms of the last few weeks, it does not seem that either side wishes to take any steps, at any rate in the immediate future, which would lead inevitably to a trial of strength. There are "swords of Damocles" which fortunately remain suspended for a long time, and which can sometimes be taken down before they fall. Possession of the former capital of Germany is certainly not worth a war, and we hope that opinion is shared by all the Powers which profess to feel "responsible" for the fate of the Berliners.

121. Before concluding this statement, I would like to express a hope. Soon this Assembly will be called upon to designate a new Secretary-General. U Thant, who has taken on the most difficult interim appointment imaginable with independence, foresight, and courage, is in our opinion entirely worthy of being confirmed in his position. This very subtle Burmese jurist and philosopher has very often made the voice of reason and wisdom heard, and has been able to solve difficult questions with quiet efficiency. It is he who "least divides" the Powers represented here. Our delegation therefore wishes to pay solemn tribute to him and express its entire confidence in him.

122. My delegation is particularly happy to offer you its congratulations, Mr. President, on your brilliant election to the presidency of this Assembly, and it is my pleasant duty to associate myself with the tribute which has been paid to your eminent qualities as a statesman. All the qualities which have marked your brilliant career, added to the unique and rare experience of the United Nations which you possess, give us the assurance that you will successfully accomplish the high mission with which the Assembly has just entrusted you.

<sup>2/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 21 July 1954.

123. We are also particularly happy to welcome the delegations of four new Members: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, which were admitted to the United Nations at the beginning of the present session. We are sure that these countries will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations.

124. We offer all the Members of this Assembly our sincerest good wishes for the peoples whom they represent and for the success of the work of the present session.

125. We hope that the General Assembly will this year justify the confidence of the peoples which are represented in it and will gain that of the peoples which are still outside it. We are in no doubt about our Organization's call to universality, and indeed this is an indispensable condition for a true peace and sincere reconciliation.

126. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom for the exercise of the right of reply.

127. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): The Foreign Minister of the Philippines, when addressing the Assembly earlier this morning, referred to his Government's claim to sovereignty over North Borneo. My Government reciprocates the friendly feelings expressed by the Foreign Minister in the course of his remarks this morning. However, with regard to the claim to North Borneo, I must place it on record that the United Kingdom has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the territory of North Borneo and I wish formally to reserve its rights on this question.

*Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan), resumed the Chair.*

128. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Greece, I would like to offer you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I would also like to present the delegations of Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago with our congratulations and sincere good wishes for the progress and prosperity of their young countries.

129. The evaluation of the international situation which is usually carried out at the beginning of each session of the General Assembly is not completely negative this time.

130. It is fortunately possible to discern positive elements in the happenings of the year which has just passed. Thus, although we all deplored the situation in Laos, as well as the events which had led up to it, we now witness an agreement which, although a compromise, is none the less a solution, and a peaceful solution, which, if applied in good faith, will confirm the existence of a widespread spirit of co-operation and bring peace to a people which has been so long and sorely tried.

131. Furthermore, the recent agreement on West New Guinea [see A/5170] has, in spite of all the arguments about principles which it has provoked, obviated an armed struggle which was already imminent, and has caused the disappearance of a dangerous centre of international tension. I cannot speak of this result without paying tribute to the spirit of understanding of the Netherlands Government and to the perseverance, skill, and tact of the Acting Secretary-General and his distinguished colleagues. By his faith and his devotion to the cause of peace, U Thant has justified our confidence in him and has earned our gratitude.

132. Another significant happening during the past year—perhaps the most important of all—was the agreement reached between the great French nation and the courageous Algerian people. Greece, which has so many links, past and present, with the great country of France, and which pursues, in that radiant Mediterranean, a policy of constant cordiality towards the Arab world, is particularly overjoyed at this, and wishes the new State the peace, tranquillity, and well-being to which it has a right.

133. Finally, to mention only one important example, we may say that the situation in the Congo has considerably improved though not yet that which we would wish to see for its people, who have been so sorely tried recently. And also due mention must be made of the effective contribution of the United Nations to the sincere efforts made by the Belgian Government to lead the trusteeship territory of Rwanda-Urundi to independence.

134. But although these events, which are important in themselves and are favourable to the peace of the world in general, should be welcomed, and although it is to be noted with satisfaction that international tension has not increased, it must nevertheless be admitted that we have, unfortunately, no grounds for tranquillity and optimism. Questions of very great international importance remain to be solved and are not even any nearer to a solution, so that the feeling of international crisis is tending to become permanent and to become a sort of endemic disease. This feeling, or rather the crisis which causes it, is the expression of the antagonism which exists between two worlds, one of which declares that it wishes to impose its ideology and its social system, while the other defends itself against this attack on its spiritual heritage which has shown, and continues to show, its practical worth, and which is as dear as life itself to the free world.

135. Such is the basis and the quintessence of this world crisis, and such is, unfortunately, the basis and the quintessence of all the great international problems which we consider to be dangerous.

136. Unfortunately, peaceful coexistence has not been able to provide a solution to the situation as a whole. It is true that it has given results in certain areas, and that the fundamental differences between the social and political systems of the two worlds have not prevented good relations from existing. My own country could indeed serve as a good example of this, in some directions, over the last ten years.

137. In other regions, however, and on the world scale peaceful coexistence has not produced any results. Nor could it have produced any, since it goes hand in hand with a deliberate, organized and even open ideological struggle. Still it must be admitted that this state of affairs, this tension, psychologically exasperating and materially disastrous though it is, is anyhow preferable to the complete and irreparable disaster threatening us.

138. Furthermore, this state of great tension, which is the lesser of the two evils, seems to have come to stay. We must adjust and get used to it so that life can go on, but, at the same time, we must think of the dangers with which this situation is fraught and seek the necessary remedies. What are they? This is a big question to which it would be presumptuous to try to give an answer or even the outline of one. I shall therefore confine myself to expressing some ideas on the

subject and the first of them can only relate to disarmament.

139. It must be granted that considerable efforts in this field have been deployed at the Geneva Conference.<sup>10/</sup> Nor is it possible to overlook the fact that the representatives of the eight non-aligned countries have shown wisdom and have participated in the discussions in a constructive spirit.

140. Lastly, tribute must be paid to the United States Government which, taking into account the views and feelings of the non-aligned Governments and the latest technical achievements, adopted a flexible attitude during the negotiations and made considerable concessions to the other side.

141. The disarmament negotiations have been going on for several years and many brave-hearted delegations are engaged in them. What are the practical results? They are truly disconcerting. One is driven to believe that disarmament has now become a weapon. This is a novel but none the less true paradox. Disarmament, I greatly fear, has become a weapon and nothing but a weapon in this propaganda struggle which goes on while the topic under discussion—believe it or not is peaceful coexistence.

142. This, of course, is not what we are seeking in this great effort the results of which are essential to the peace, tranquillity and well-being of mankind. The lack of genuine progress in such a vitally important enterprise is due not only to the fact that it is regarded, all too often, as a propaganda weapon rather than as a sacred and vital duty. It is also due and perhaps mainly, to distrust. How can one give way when one is suspicious? How can one disarm when one fears that the other will not disarm or, at least, will not disarm to the same extent and at the same pace?

143. It is hardly possible, in a general debate, to define the means which, in my Government's opinion, might give us hope of finding a remedy to this calamitous mistrust. I shall therefore merely refer to it as the foremost negative element and shall only say that, by reason of technical progress, regional disarmament cannot be regarded as a serious safeguard. The ultimate goal must be general and complete disarmament and, so that mistrust should not stand in its way, it seems to us that it is indispensable to go through the preliminary stage of effective control over each stage of disarmament.

144. Another general idea which I should like to put to you in my search for the means of relieving this dangerous international tension is as follows; antagonism on the world scale is all too often intensified by regional and even local disputes. If, when dealing with these disputes, the parties not directly involved had sincerely cared for the application of international law and the strict execution of the United Nations Charter, several unjustified designs would have been frustrated and, ipso facto, several serious and complex questions would have become simpler and less dangerous. The United Nations has been cemented with the blood of those who laid down their lives for man's freedom, dignity and well-being. It was to prevent a new blood bath that we established this Organization and provided it with a law. Once we have resolved, I mean really resolved, to help it on all occasions to guide international life along the path of international legality, we shall have largely solved the problem.

145. Of the specific issues, one of the most dangerous to world peace today is that of Berlin. Here again, international legality which would provide, above all, for the Berliners' right to choose their own way of life, will facilitate negotiations which seem to be generally recognized as the only peaceful means of arriving at a solution which is all the more within reach since Bonn today stands for an anti-militaristic, democratic and progressive Germany.

146. When their fate is at stake, human beings are deserving of the same consideration regardless of whether they live in Africa, Berlin or New Guinea; consequently, what I have just said about international legality and the right of Berliners to choose their own way of life applies without the shadow of a doubt to all parts of the world.

147. Side by side with this specific question fraught with imminent danger there is, however, also another question which, though less specific and clear-cut and not involving an immediate peril, is pregnant with extremely serious dangers and presents a very grave humanitarian aspect. I have in mind the fate of the under-developed peoples in relation to that of the developed peoples. It is not my intention to expound here on this vast subject, but I feel that I would be failing in my duty if I did not refer to it and did not say that it constitutes the foremost problem of the latter half of the twentieth century.

148. Coming as I do from a country which has not yet emerged from an early stage of development, I shall hasten to admit that the foremost requirement is that these people, too, should make great efforts; moreover, they must reduce their birth rate which thwarts and might sometimes completely neutralize real and substantial progress.

149. Having said and accepted this as a premise, I am forced to state that with the disappearance of regions, the shrinking of continents and the transformation of the world into a single unit, however large it may be, all of us today belong to a single society. No society, whatever its social system, can countenance with impunity that the rich should grow richer and the poor should grow poorer or even remain plunged in poverty. Yet this has been and is going on and is very often becoming more pronounced.

150. It would of course be unfair not to recognize the efforts of certain great countries to help those most in need by sacrificing a large portion of their own resources and sometimes even in disregard of their own political or economic difficulties which, though transitory, are none the less real. The United States has been first and foremost in applying this policy which has widened the horizons of democracy to the very confines of the world. But is this adequate? In view of the seriousness and the scope of the problem, is it not necessary to undertake a greater and more rational multilateral effort?

151. Convinced that the answer is in the affirmative, we feel that the formation of regional economic groups, provided that it is conceived on sound principles, is both necessary and advantageous since these groups promote an astonishing growth of productivity and purchasing power. Far from hindering international trade these markets, far larger than the national markets, stimulate trade and, by creating increased demand for primary commodities, contribute to the progress of the developing countries. These latter can thus finance their modernization programmes entirely

<sup>10/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.



or, at least, to a large extent out of their increased exports.

152. The results achieved by the European Economic Community in its early years have been very typical: the increase in trade between its members, far from restricting their trade with the developing countries, has led to a considerable increase.

153. With reference to the work of the United Nations I should like to refer to a new item placed on the agenda of this session upon the Tunisian delegation's initiative [A/5165]. In his memorandum of 3 May 1962 [A/5123], H.E. Mr. Mongi Slim, the distinguished President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session, had already drawn our attention to the need for a readaptation of the methods and procedures of the General Assembly and had made certain suggestions. My delegation wishes to state here and now that it is in favour of such a change, since we think that otherwise, the tendency would be for our sessions to become progressively longer, entailing an increasingly heavier financial burden for the United Nations and presenting a large number of delegations with difficulties of staffing and higher costs.

154. I shall not go back to other questions such as the structure of the United Nations with particular reference to the participation of Member States in the work of the Security Council, for I have often dealt with them from this very rostrum and because it is now obvious that the United Nations with its present membership of 108 can no longer do with a Security Council of the same size as in the years when its membership was about fifty, particularly since the geographical distribution of the Member States is now totally different.

155. Before concluding I should like to say a few words relating more specifically to my country. Greece, which lies at the crossroads of continents and shipping lanes, of races, religions and ideologies, in other words at the great crossroads of history, has throughout the centuries and until our days suffered continually from wars and invasions. Moreover, my country, which is poor in natural resources, is going through the initial stage of a genuine economic development, a stage which is both very delicate and fraught with serious dangers. Consequently, no country in the world can desire peace more ardently than Greece.

156. Peace is Greece's best and most precious ally, a fickle ally, indeed, since it does not have an independent will, nor does it depend on the rule of law or on moral or humanitarian principles. Today it is primarily dependent on a balance of strength, a balance of fear.

157. We wholeheartedly hope that this situation will not last and that the rule of law will replace the rule of force and fear. But until this occurs, we must show some concern for our security at the rocky and dangerous crossroads at which we stand. We do so by pledging ourselves to the international agencies working to maintain and guarantee the international rule of law. We do so by resolving never to attack or to support those who commit an attack, but equally to defend ourselves to the death against any aggressor. We do so by relying on the power of the defensive alliance to which we are profoundly devoted, not only because its power is indomitable, but also and above all because its defensive character is beyond dispute. We also do so by extending a cordial hand to all who share our loyalty to the principle of the strictest non-

interference in the internal affairs of others and of respect for their integrity and dignity. In this connexion, I should like to say that we apply this policy more particularly to our neighbours, both continental and Mediterranean; in some cases we have achieved excellent results and we earnestly hope for even better results in future.

158. In giving this outline of my country's policy, I trust that I have demonstrated the constructive spirit in which the Greek delegation will make its contribution to the work of our Assembly as part of the joint endeavour to promote the cause of peace and the ideals of our Organization.

159. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (translated from French): In the splendid setting of this great building from which every horizon can be viewed—a meeting-place for forces of diverse historical and ethnic origins which here ally themselves in the cause of the final liberation of modern man—it gives me pleasure to convey heartfelt greetings to the General Assembly, both on my own behalf and on that of my Government.

160. The Haitian people—still imbued with that revolutionary spirit which, after inspiring the heroes of our glorious epic, provided the spark for the emancipation of the peoples of America—salutes the noble aspirations and the great mission of the United Nations for which we have a special sympathy because of our traditions as the first free negro nation of the present age.

161. Situated at the heart of the new continent, how could Haiti fail to be heartened by our fraternal association here, enriched as our country is by the ideals of the Revolution of 1789 and the civilization of the old world, and linked by ethnic ties to the mother continent of Africa?

162. It is precisely because of the deep confidence that dwells in the hearts of men that, at a time when world problems can be solved by respect for the law rather than by recourse to arms, the Government and people of Haiti praise the efforts of the United Nations and reaffirm their ardent wish to co-operate. They regard the presence of such eminent delegations as the most telling evidence of the peoples' anxiety and of their desire to surmount the crisis through which mankind is passing at this moment of history.

163. With the Second World War, the foundations began to crumble of the edifice built up in the nineteenth century by the great colonial Powers in the belief in the universal validity of the juridico-political theory of their own supremacy. It was then that the division between the Eastern and the Western protagonists of an international order began to widen.

164. The map of the world was transformed; the progress achieved in the physical and biochemical sciences gave new value to natural resources; the amazing scope of the human spirit was further extended and science, defying the mechanics of the universe, embarked upon the conquest of outer space.

165. In the far corners of the continents national aspirations too long subdued were aroused and a growing self-awareness developed among the peoples of Asia and Africa. This process of emancipation, while peopling the world with new independent States, also established a new trend as a result of the position taken by the less favoured nations.

166. The non-aligned world was thus born, a world which repudiates unilateral positions and refuses at any price to become involved in the controversies

between the two blocs. What progress it has made between the Bandung Conference,<sup>11/</sup> where it proclaimed its right to exist, and the Belgrade Conference,<sup>12/</sup> where it endorsed the idea of active and peaceful coexistence—the only possible alternative to the threat of war, which would mean general catastrophe!

167. International life is nevertheless still marked by the antagonism between East and West, which is sharper than ever and which, as a result of the armaments race, is deepening the division of the world into two conflicting blocs. This antagonism is paralysing all efforts because it results in a hardening of positions and in a strategy of delays and postponements which impede the solution of problems that become more complicated with the passing of time and the exacerbation of passions. It is degenerating into a form of interference, based on an artificial classification of Powers into small and great, the interests of the latter being regarded as having precedence over those of the peoples and of all mankind. Thus, this East-West antagonism has serious repercussions on the present problems of Berlin and Cuba as well as on the anti-colonialist struggle, the normalization of relations between the newly independent nations and the former metropolitan countries, and the chronic evil of under-development. All this imperils the future of peace.

168. But this conflict must at least bow to the need for social change in a period of transition to a new order of co-operation among nations; in this complete regrouping of communities, it must at least bow to the predestined evolution of human society which, despite inevitable divergencies, means the victory by each people over historical injustices and a positive effort to promote development. As the President of the Republic of Haiti said in his message on the sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations:

"There can be no question of defeat for the cause of peace or of irreparable consequences, so long as the nations of the world community, drawing inspiration from their freely undertaken pledge to guarantee peace, progress and the exercise of human rights as an essential aim, adopt a realistic attitude to the contradictions and problems which divide them."

169. With respect to the foolhardy activities which threaten the world with total conflagration, the question of disarmament, bastard child of its antinomy, the arms race, suffers from inherent defects which, since they result from a common heredity, cannot be eradicated. In both areas, the road being followed is the blind road of ambition for domination, without regard for the desire for peace of the peoples who are dissatisfied with this precarious balance of terror—the possible prelude to an atomic war which would mean the end of our modern civilization.

170. Although the problem of disarmament has mobilized the resources of the human spirit during recent years, the argument of force is visible under the restrictive, but crude trappings in which it is confined.

171. The problem is one of extreme urgency at the present time. Despite the presence of secondary Powers whose task it was to make the voice of reason

heard, the Geneva Conference on disarmament has been inconclusive. It would have been more fruitful if it had taken advantage of experience and of preceding agreements and had avoided another deadlock, and if the failure of the talks had led to an elucidation of the difficulties and to a definition of objective goals for renewed efforts in the near future.

172. In view of the forecasts of an improvement in the international situation following the presidential elections in the United States and President Kennedy's submission to the United Nations on 25 September 1961 [1013th meeting] of a disarmament plan under a title holding out hope of freedom from war<sup>13/</sup> and in view of the fact that the Organization has been concerned with the matter since its foundation, it is sad to find that the efforts of the Geneva Conference have culminated in nothing more than agreement on how the discussions are to be resumed.

173. Thus fifteen years of negotiations have produced only the volumes of speeches delivered by the negotiators. This is not, indeed, a very encouraging result. Nuclear and thermo-nuclear war has not engulfed all humanity and the wealth of civilization because responsible leaders still regard the starting of such a conflagration as senseless; meanwhile, world public opinion, faced with the prospect of explosions that would light up the horizon, shake the frontiers and terrify all hearts, is unwearied in its criticism. May it prove to be a triumphant force—because it is a humane force—against this implacable atomic race, and may the General Assembly of this association of the world's nations usher in, through its untiring efforts, the reassuring prospect of an international agreement eliminating the dangers of nuclear testing and condemning the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

174. The immediate effect of the situation I have just described can only be to disrupt the economic foundations of the units composing this international organization.

175. Latin America, torn asunder by sharp antagonisms, is passing through the most crucial period of its history. In a statement prepared at the request of the United Nations Office of Public Information, Mr. Raúl Prebisch, the Executive Secretary of ECLA, recently described the troubles of Latin America in the following terms:

"These are decisive times"—he said realistically—"for the economic, social and political future of Latin America and its relations with the rest of the world.

"We have reached the most critical turning-point of our history. Latent social tensions are mounting dangerously and are a constant feature of this region's general economic development, which has slowed up considerably in recent years. The gap between the income of our peoples and that of the peoples of industrialized areas, which is already too wide, instead of narrowing, is actually becoming even wider. The people of Latin America lack hospitals, decent housing, schools and teachers; there is a scarcity of doctors and nurses, particularly in rural areas, and too few technicians and skilled workers.

"In such conditions, the praiseworthy efforts which the Latin American countries make from time to

<sup>11/</sup> Conference of Asian and African States, Bandung, 18-24 April 1955.

<sup>12/</sup> Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

<sup>13/</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 19, document A/4891.

time to solve these problems really amount to very little".

Emphasizing the urgent need for measures commensurate with the magnitude of the problems, he added:

"In the past, under-privileged groups resigned themselves to poverty, sickness and illiteracy but there has been a radical change in this attitude of passivity, even in the most remote areas.

"A genuine awakening has taken place among millions of Latin Americans, who are becoming increasingly convinced that poverty and ignorance are not inevitable. They eagerly desire better living conditions."

176. This is enough to explain the social upheavals that occur from time to time in Latin America and to prevent any surprise at the irreversible process of revolutionary change in Latin America where the effects of population growth are exerting decisive pressure and where the impetus of nationalism, strengthened by the legitimate demands of the exasperated masses, has led to a greater awareness of living conditions, a determination to spare future generations a sense of frustration and to give new meaning to the ideas of liberty, dignity and solidarity in the light of the imperative changes occurring in international life.

177. In this connexion, I should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the generous action of President John F. Kennedy who, moved by the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America for increased economic and social well-being and in order to free them from the recurrent disturbances caused by under-development, proposed the "Alliance for Progress" programme to the peoples of the hemisphere.

178. That initiative found concrete expression in the "Declaration to the Peoples of America", adopted about a year ago by the Punta del Este Economic Conference.<sup>14/</sup> The peoples of the Americas have undertaken, with the assistance of their powerful northern neighbour, to seek a comprehensive solution to the problems facing Latin America through a series of measures to be carried out over the next ten years. These measures include, in the economic field, an increase in personal income, agrarian reform and diversification of national infrastructures, and in the social field, a large-scale campaign against illiteracy, the reform of secondary and higher education and the building of decent housing.

179. It would be difficult for us to pass judgement, after so short a period of time, on the results achieved by this vast undertaking or to share the opinion of those who, after only one year, brand it a failure.

180. The Republic of Haiti, pending receipt of assistance which it is still awaiting, has decided to follow a policy of "self-help". Such a policy will enable it to solve its problems one by one, in a less spectacular and pretentious manner than the economically strong countries, through a wise and honest administration and within the limits of its meagre resources.

181. The Haitian people are proud of having staunchly defended the right of peoples to self-determination and of having enriched the content of representative democracy with the concepts of sovereignty and

national dignity. These are, in fact, the basic features of Haitian democracy which His Excellency President Duvalier, eminent sociologist and modern statesman, defined in his message of 22 May 1962 in the following terms:

"From one point of view, democracy seems to reflect an abusive or aggressive attitude on the part of those who wield the economic power; from another point of view, it is a faithful expression of the traditional spiritual values which together must govern man's conduct at the poles as at the Equator.

"But in these paradoxical times of a world in tumult, freedom will be denied to you in the name of a democracy which must either be imposed or exported in order to be adopted.

"Our Haitian democracy—for it does exist—is the dynamic expression of the 1804 revolution for liberty and independence, a revolution which was killed at Port Rouge with Dessalines, revived with Soulouque and Salomon Jeune, betrayed and then started anew by the humble peasant of Verrettes, Dumarsais Estimé, and extinguished on 10 May 1950 by the venal 'caudillism' supported in our American countries by the advocates of a democracy which must be imposed or exported in order to be adopted; but... since you so will and so decide, this revolution is continuing in the dynamic evolution of our democracy; it will triumph because you stand guard, men and women of the militia, the army of the people, because you stand guard with all the vigilance imbued in you by the lessons of history."

182. Respect for the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples, the shield of the political independence of weak nations, remains the firm basis of my country's foreign policy. These principles, solemnly proclaimed in article 15 of the Bogotá Charter<sup>15/</sup> and in Articles 72 and 73 of the United Nations Charter, have been endorsed on several occasions by eminent men representing their respective countries. Did not Benito Juárez proclaim that "respect for the rights of others, practised by nations as well as by individuals, constitutes peace"? And did not President Kennedy say on the occasion of his last visit to Mexico that now we know where we are going and are on our way, and that there was no desire to change or direct the political or economic system of any nation.

183. It was, I believe, the late Dag Hammarskjöld who, in speaking of the Congolese problem, said somewhat colloquially that, like a spider which enmeshes in its web the fly that it has caught, we worked on problems until they had been completely isolated from the outside world and that he was satisfied only when he had sealed them off completely. He was thus defining one of the most important tasks of the United Nations: to keep problems likely to degenerate into generalized conflicts confined to the local level.

184. For this and many other reasons, I cannot but express my country's unshakable faith in the future of our Organization and in the purposes and principles of the Charter; I must also express gratification at the virtually faultless functioning of the international agencies linked to the Organization and appreciation of the services which they are rendering to Governments.

<sup>14/</sup> Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial Level, held at Punta del Este from 5 to 17 August 1961.

<sup>15/</sup> Charter of the Organization of American States, adopted by the Ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogotá from 30 March to 2 May 1948.

185. A task of vast proportions confronts the United Nations: assistance to the under-developed countries, the disinterested and effective assistance which will free them from the bondage of hunger, ignorance and disease.

186. Of course, no one entertains any illusions concerning the weaknesses of the Organization, weaknesses which are the result of a number of internal contradictions. It is for us, the Member States, to secure their elimination, to work for the continuous strengthening of the foundations of the Organization; for, to paraphrase Jules Romain, we, the peoples of the world, are in the position of dwellers in a besieged

fortress. We shall either be saved together or we shall all perish together. Individual stratagems and cunning will be of no avail.

187. In conclusion, I should like to extend a most cordial welcome and best wishes to the nations which have become Members of the United Nations during the current session and which are linked to us by so many ethnic and cultural affinities. I should also like to express my best wishes for success to the delegations gathered here, in their work in the General Assembly and in the Committees.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*