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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY
(Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MAZIGH (Libya); It gives me great pleasure to convey to the General Assembly my country's expression of esteem and respect and to extend to you, Mr. President, my heartiest congratulations upon your unanimous election as our President. Your election has come as a tribute to your brilliant qualities as an experienced diplomat and to your country, one with which we entertain the most cordial and brotherly relations. We, as fellow Africans, take pride in your election. We rejoice to see for the second time an African receiving the honour of the presidency of this Assembly. This is a high recognition and does much credit to the many Members who are relatively new amongst us. I am quite confident, Mr. President, that through your wise guidance the work of the nineteenth session will be conducted in that spirit of understanding, tolerance and co-operation which will help to further the success of our Assembly.

2. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey through you, Mr. President, my delegation's greetings and gratitude to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodriguez, for the brilliant and efficient way he presided over our deliberations.

3. Three newly independent countries have joined us in this session, and my delegation is particularly happy to welcome these States: Malawi, Malta and Zambia. They, we feel assured, will undoubtedly contribute to world peace and will stand firmly by the principles of the United Nations Charter. With each of these States, Libya entertains friendly and close relations and will spare no effort to co-operate with them to this end.

4. Since the foundation of our great Organization, the world has been through crises that have seriously threatened the future of mankind, but fortunately many of them found their solution through this great body. This has opened a new page in the history of mankind,

bringing about new international attitudes and transforming our reaction to political events. Men's fear of a third destructive war has created in all nations—irrespective of their size and strength—a tremendous desire for peace, for understanding and collaboration, and a firm belief in the importance of the implementation of the principles of the Charter.

5. We give credit to the United Nations for its great efforts and achievements in changing preparations for war into peace and disarmament conferences, and for transforming policies of colonialism and exploitation into movements of liberation and co-operation.

6. The undignified policy of classifying human beings into grades, making one race more eligible than another, is collapsing because the principle of equality among men, regardless of race, creed and colour, has enormous moral strength. As a result of this new approach, the ghost of colonialism is disappearing from most parts of the world. More than fifty States have emerged and become Members of our Organization since its founding, and they are now participating in shaping our new world.

7. The principles of the Charter which are expressed in many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in political, economic and social fields reflect the desire of mankind to regard the United Nations as the effective force for the preservation of peace and security in the world and as a means for the promotion of collaboration among men. In spite of the defiant attitude of some Member States which decline to co-operate with the United Nations and refuse to implement its resolutions, the record of our Organization shows positive and constructive accomplishments.

8. The financial crisis threatening to paralyse the United Nations is a matter of concern to all of us. Our world cannot live in peace and stability without the United Nations. We sincerely hope that a wise and lasting solution will be speedily found for this crisis, so that the existence of our Organization may not be jeopardized by clashes and rivalries between the big Powers.

9. I should like here to express the appreciation of my delegation for the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and all those co-operating with him in finding an acceptable solution to this problem.

10. It is heartening to Libya to realize that next year we shall be commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. In welcoming this event, we trust that 1965 will see the fulfilment of the aspirations of all those who do not yet enjoy basic rights and fundamental liberties.

11. The last session of the General Assembly witnessed a turning-point in our quest for peace when

more than 100 States Members of the United Nations agreed to the treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. This encouraging achievement prompted the General Assembly at its last session to request [resolution 1908 (XVIII)] the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to resume its negotiations with urgency and determination on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Although the Eighteen-Nation Committee met in Geneva for about six months, it did not register any substantial progress, and this despite the efforts made by the neutral countries there represented to reconcile the viewpoints of the great Powers.

12. While we are aware of the difficulties facing all negotiators in reaching agreement on this important subject, we strongly believe that the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons is a vital prerequisite to general and complete disarmament. It is now, more than ever before, essential to conclude an agreement that will lead to the banning of all nuclear tests, the prevention of dissemination of nuclear weapons and the stopping of the armaments race.

13. When the conference of non-aligned nations^{1/} convened at Cairo, it expressed the conviction that the holding of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations—to which all countries should be invited—would provide powerful support to the efforts being made to set in motion the process of disarmament. Furthermore, the African summit conference,^{2/} also held at Cairo last July, declared the readiness of the African States to adhere to an international treaty, to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, to prevent the manufacture or acquisition of control of nuclear weapons.

14. The Libyan delegation, aware that any delay in concluding such agreements will increase the present difficulties because of the growing number of States possessing nuclear weapons, requests the General Assembly to approve the African summit conference declarations and convene an international conference with a view to concluding an international treaty to this effect. It is important, in our view, that such a conference should include all countries possessing nuclear weapons. My delegation affirms its conviction that atomic power, if used for peaceful purposes, will contribute greatly to the happiness and welfare of mankind.

15. At a time when the energies of the United Nations are directed to the liberation of countries from colonialism, and we see them gradually attain their independence and come in our midst, we regret to note that there are people still fighting for their basic rights. Among these we witness the Arab people of Palestine, who after being subjected to injustice, aggression and eviction from their sacred land, were forced into exile and miserably dispersed.

16. The question of Palestine and the tragedy of its people is amply recorded in the documents of this

Organization. We come again now to discuss it for the seventeenth time. During this lapse of time, many nations have gained their independence, but the displaced Palestinians are still reiterating their rightful demands and asking the United Nations to alleviate the injustices they have suffered.

17. The plight of the Arab people of Palestine, which constitutes a painful and embarrassing chapter in the history of mankind, should not remain unrelieved any longer. As unfailing efforts are being made by this Organization to restore subjugated peoples to their national dignity, we must not forget that we are morally bound to help effect the return of the Palestinians to their homeland. By freeing them from their moral and material miseries we will cancel from modern history a shameful page that weighs heavily on the human conscience. If we do not hasten to find a just solution to this problem, tension and instability will always prevail in that area, causing a dangerous threat to peace and security.

18. We are not discussing at this session the case of refugees alone, but the fate of an entire population brutally expelled from their homeland by a new kind of colonialism emerging in the twentieth century. This is Zionist imperialism, represented by foreign adventurers gathered from many parts of the world in Palestine, under the pretext of a divine faith which carries no responsibility for their atrocious crimes. They have eradicated the legitimate inhabitants of Palestine, robbed them of their properties and belongings, and dispersed them from their lands.

19. It is not necessary for me to review to this Assembly the details of this tragedy, but I would like to stress the fact that 1,200,000 human beings living in the worst possible conditions on international charity are calling upon us for help and justice. The Report of the Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees submitted to the General Assembly states the following:

"...it is clear that a large part of the refugee community is still living today in dire poverty, often under pathetic and in some cases appalling conditions. Despite the sustained efforts of UNRWA and of the host Governments and other collaborating agencies, there are families who still live in dwellings which are unfit for human habitation: some in dank cellars, others in crumbling tenements, others in grossly overcrowded barracks and shacks" [A/5813, para. 9].

This paragraph shows one aspect of the misery of this people, it reveals the material sufferings they are enduring, but their moral anguish in looking helplessly at their lands, homes and properties occupied by intruders is left to us all to imagine.

20. We do not believe that there has ever existed a tragedy suffered by any nation greater or more terrible than that of the Arab people of Palestine. And they hold our Organization responsible for their condition.

21. We cannot ignore the fact that 200,000 children were born in refugee camps, and that they will be brought up in deprivation and misery. Whatever the United Nations relief agency provides for them it will not be able—as long as they remain banned from their

^{1/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held from 5 to 10 October 1964.

^{2/} First session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964.

homeland—to relieve their bitterness, hatred and animosity towards those who have caused them so much pain and suffering. How can we ask this new generation to believe and eventually stand by the principles of the Charter when the United Nations has, until now, failed to restore to them their legal rights?

22. The Palestine Liberation Organization, formed this year, embodies the expression and determination of the Palestinians to defend their rights. This organization is the rightful spokesman on their behalf, and its formation refutes the charges of international Zionism that the Palestine problem does not exist; to the contrary, it exists, and Palestinians are determined to realize their national aspirations.

23. An important development has taken place this year as a result of the resolution passed by the conference of non-aligned States concerning Palestine. The resolution reads:

"The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to:

"1. Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination.

"2. Declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism" [A/5763, section I].

24. This unequivocal support given by a group of nations amounting to about half the number of our Organization is of particular importance, especially since it reveals that their number is higher than that of the countries in 1948 which endorsed the unjust resolution condemning the Palestinians. From this we deduce the fact that had the United Nations of 1948 had the representation existing today, no such resolution would have been passed because no nation enjoying a hardly won freedom would have consented to the infliction of such a judgement on an entire people.

25. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that this Assembly will find inspiration from the resolution adopted by the non-aligned nations and stand up to the expectations of the dispersed Palestinians by restoring to them their rights to their homeland and granting them self-determination.

26. My country strongly believes that freedom is fundamentally a vested right belonging to all mankind, irrespective of colour and faith. Any negation of this right is a breach of the principles guaranteed by the United Nations Charter. Yet it is regrettable to witness a Member State, which likes to be identified as one of the co-founders of our Organization, persistently and with impunity violating this sacred principle.

27. It is most unfortunate that, by practising the abhorrent policies of apartheid and racial discrimination, the South African Government has repeatedly refused to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council by pursuing measures of suppression against the majority of the population. In fact, African nationalists opposed to its policy of apartheid are arrested, given a fake trial and eventually condemned to the death penalty. When

the plight of these innocent people aroused the concern of world opinion, the Government of South Africa did not respond to the pathetic appeals addressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by world leaders to save their lives. The execution of these nationalists was ruthlessly carried out.

28. My delegation feels that unless more effective and positive measures are taken against that Government, to force it to desist from its insensate policies, more crimes will be perpetrated and a more explosive situation in South Africa will occur, thus endangering peace and security in the continent of Africa. We firmly believe that the recommendations of the group of experts set up by the Security Council resolution of 4 December 1963^{3/} and the recommendations [see A/5692 and A/5707] of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, will facilitate the task of the General Assembly in finding a just solution to this problem.

29. The situation in Southern Rhodesia is a source of anxiety in Africa, and elsewhere, as a result of the attempt by the government of the European settlers to declare the independence of the territory unilaterally. It is most regrettable that the rulers in Salisbury still believe themselves able to perpetuate their supremacy over the African majority for the obvious purpose of exploiting them for their own selfish economic interests. By doing so, they are offering a flagrant challenge to the United Nations, which by its various resolutions has always reaffirmed the principle of rule by the majority.

30. The Libyan delegation would like to put on record its satisfaction and appreciation for the statements issued lately by the British and other Governments concerned condemning the Government of Southern Rhodesia for its threat to declare independence unilaterally. My delegation, in appealing to the United Nations to adopt a firm stand against the rulers in Salisbury, in order to avert a unilateral declaration of independence, hopes that a constitutional conference, to be attended by all parties in Southern Rhodesia, will be convened to draft a constitution based on the principle of one man—one vote.

31. While our Organization has repeatedly reaffirmed in its numerous resolutions that the subjugation of peoples to foreign rule and exploitation is contrary to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, and constitutes an obstacle to peace and stability in the world, it is most regrettable to note that some colonial Powers still openly defy such resolutions. They are determined to keep peoples in Africa, Asia and elsewhere under their domination and are ready to use all means of repression to suffocate any liberation movement in their colonies.

32. The banner-bearer of these colonial Powers is Portugal, which is waging a war of extermination in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Libya hails the heroic struggle of the liberation movements in those territories, and supports them. It is most unfortunate that Portugal does not want to desist

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5471.

from its colonial policy and remains completely deaf to the voice of reason and justice. This is in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

33. The situation in the territories under Portuguese administration is deteriorating, and we feel that it has become imperative that more effective and drastic measures be taken by our Organization to force Portugal to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) so that, in freedom, Angola, Mozambique and the other regions may be able to join us soon as Member States.

34. Turning now to the question of South West Africa, a mandated territory, one is led to wonder how long its unfortunate population will remain isolated from the rest of the world. My delegation feels that South Africa has persistently violated the trust of a mandatory Power having the duty and responsibility of leading the inhabitants of the mandated territory towards self-determination and independence. Therefore, Libya earnestly hopes that the people of South West Africa will soon be liberated from the yoke of colonialism and be aided by the United Nations in the attainment of their national aspirations.

35. The problem of Aden is causing great anxiety and concern and requires an urgent solution which would bring about the fulfilment of the wishes of the inhabitants of that region for self-determination and independence. While Libya strongly supports the right of the people of Aden to freedom and independence, it is hopeful that the United Nations will take positive steps that will guarantee the realization of their national aspirations.

36. In regard to the question of Oman, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly or the Security Council since 1957, we regret that no progress has been achieved towards an equitable solution of the problem. On the other hand, the Omani people are looking to the United Nations for justice to enable them to exercise their right of self-determination. It is the greatest hope of my delegation that this nineteenth session will give this matter serious consideration in order to fulfil the hopes and expectations of the Omani people.

37. Libya is following with great anxiety the regrettable events which are taking place in Cyprus, where Cypriots have clashed with one another. My delegation whole-heartedly hopes that the animosity between Cypriot brothers will soon cease and that a peaceful solution will be found through the good offices of the United Nations, enabling the inhabitants of the island to return to a life of peace and harmony and to work for the progress and prosperity of their country.

38. The Libyan delegation would like to express its great appreciation and deep gratitude to the United Nations for the just resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its last session concerning the increase in the number of seats in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council [resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII)]. The aim of this resolution is an equitable redistribution of the seats in the two bodies which will enable the continents of Africa and Asia to play their important role in the affairs of the world.

39. It is, however, regrettable that many States have not yet ratified this amendment to the Charter. The Libyan delegation hopes, therefore, that those Member States which have not yet ratified it will hasten to do so. In this connexion, we appeal to the great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, to take the lead in ratifying it at the earliest possible date.

40. The stability of international peace calls for a new basis for trade and economic relations between the various countries of the world. Its aim should be to diminish and eliminate the widening gap in the standards of living and income in both the developing and the industrially advanced countries. Such a view took shape in Geneva during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and was considered an important historic turning-point in the sphere of international co-operation. The conference gained the full support of the developing countries in regional and international fields. The resolutions and recommendations adopted made it clear that the economic objectives of the United Nations Charter should be realized by a new programme for international economic co-operation. This programme should aim at the acceleration of economic development and the maintenance of the principle of equality in the enjoyment of the benefits of such co-operation.

41. The results achieved by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development were not up to the expectations of the developing countries, although they considered those results a step forward in instituting a basis for new economic relations between the peoples of the world. They will contribute in this way to solving the problems of trade and development in a more effective and rapid manner.

42. Concluding, I have the pleasure to express to the representatives of the Member States the best wishes of my august Sovereign and of the people and Government of Libya that your deliberations be crowned with the fullest success. I earnestly hope that this session will be marked by a greater effort towards the realization of understanding and co-operation among all nations. This goal will undoubtedly help in overcoming all the difficulties that might confront us. It will also be a determining factor in finding just solutions to the problems which will be tackled by the Assembly and enable us to strengthen our Organization in its endeavours to build a better world for mankind, where peace, collaboration, happiness and prosperity will always prevail.

43. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Mr. President, I should like in the first place to offer to you the warm congratulations of my delegation and of myself upon your election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly. Your election is significant in many respects. It is naturally significant for you yourself; it is significant for your country; and it is also significant for your continent, Africa. I trust that your outstanding personal qualifications and talents will contribute to the success of our deliberations.

44. After much hesitation, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly has falteringly convened, some two months later than its regular meeting date. We had accepted this long delay in the hope that time might

help smooth out the present difficulty, and we now come to this Assembly, as never before, with heavy hearts and knowing that something is not well with our Organization. In fact, it is facing one of the most critical moments of its existence.

45. Contrary to our hope and expectation, the passage of time has failed to produce any apparent result. The problem is still here with us. The prospect of a generally acceptable solution remains uncertain. We may no doubt derive some satisfaction from the fact that, thanks to the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General and many others, this session could begin its work in an apparent calm, and that the expected show-down has, for the time being, been averted, or, more exactly, has taken an unusually silent form. Delicate negotiations will no doubt have to be further pursued before we may feel assured that our patient, the United Nations, is well out of danger.

46. The problem this time is not a heightened international tension, a world crisis, or an outbreak of armed conflict. It is simply a banal financial problem, the question of an organization not having enough money to meet its expenditures because some of its members refuse to face up to their obligations on the ground that some of the expenses incurred by the organization did not meet with their approval. Had we had to deal with an ordinary organization, no difficulty would have arisen, and the matter would have been disposed of in a normal, legal way. However, since this happens to be an international organization, whose members are sovereign States, the difficulty has assumed unnecessarily inflated proportions, and threatened, by its acuteness, to have extensive ramifications with serious bearing on the future international situation.

47. This is indeed an unprecedented situation, which the unfamiliarized public may find hard to understand. Ordinarily, the outside world has been accustomed to being told that an international organization such as ours was being confronted with political problems of the highest order which, if unresolved, might cause it to founder. But the dilemma we presently find ourselves in deals only with the question of money to finance the Organization. How then could we explain to the millions of people in the world who have placed their hopes and their expectations in the United Nations that, although pressing international problems await our discussion and solution, this world Organization has to lay them aside pending success in resolving our financial difficulty?

48. In saying this, I can assure the General Assembly that there is no lack of realization on our part that, while the difficulty appears to be of a merely financial nature, it involves, nevertheless, many legal and political aspects. However, if all Members keep in mind the welfare and the effective functioning of this Organization, they should, in the first place, have prevented this problem from reaching the present acute stage and, in any event, should not allow it to paralyse or cripple the entire Organization. Although the United Nations has suffered as a consequence of these developments, it is not too late to remedy the situation. A simple but generous gesture on the part of a few Members, without prejudice to their individual

positions, could save the Organization from serious trouble.

49. It is therefore our earnest hope that, with this objective in mind and with the necessary reservations in regard to their nations' stand, those Members may make voluntary grants or contributions to the United Nations to avoid the relevant Charter provisions from coming into play. By so doing, more time will be gained for further study and discussion of the problem in regard to the past, the present, and the future, as well. Appropriate organs of the United Nations may be entrusted with this task, if need be, new ones created. Once this problem has been taken care of, the General Assembly will be able to proceed forthwith with its other urgent business.

50. My delegation ventures to hope that this course will be promptly adopted—an action which will show our deep sense of responsibility and will enhance the prestige of our Organization. If through intransigence, or lack of understanding and co-operation, all efforts to reach an agreed solution should fail, my delegation will have no alternative but to support the application of the Charter provisions, for an exception in this instance can only have the most serious consequences for the future of our Organization.

51. While the financial question has captured our immediate attention, the problems facing our international and individual life—the problem of our peace and the problem of our well-being—have lost neither their urgency nor their significance.

52. Last year, when we met in this hall, our hopes were raised higher than at any time since the end of the Second World War, when we learned that more than 100 nations had signed the nuclear test-ban treaty. We were gratified to believe that even that partial agreement might perhaps pave the way towards a saner approach to the problem of disarmament and that, step by step, the spread of dreadful weapons of mass destruction might be curbed. We also thought that even those who already had those weapons in their possession might, in the foreseeable future, see their way clear to agreeing among themselves not to increase their production and not to resort to their use, thus lessening the chances of a catastrophic conflict which might result in the annihilation of mankind and human civilization.

53. But these hopes have now been gravely affected. One nation, and then another, which refused to sign the treaty, continue to disregard the conscience of an overwhelming majority of civilized nations of the world and pursue undisturbed the fulfilment of their objective: the forging of a powerful instrument to serve their national policy.

54. The question thus arises whether such disregard for the well-high universal will of the nations of the world represents so grave a setback to the endeavour to preserve this planet from contamination and nuclear devastation as to endanger future international peace. As is evident, the question is not merely theoretical, but of a pressing practical nature. Indeed, if certain nations can remain outside the purview of the nuclear test-ban treaty and continue to conduct their own nuclear tests, in spite of the prohibition stipulated by

the treaty, that international document may eventually lose its value.

55. Even if the treaty still retains some significance, reasons of national security may compel a number of signatories to withdraw from their existing obligations and undertake their own nuclear development programmes so as to protect themselves from possible external threats, thereby reducing the scope and effectiveness of the agreement. If such a trend towards dissolution were to take place, the treaty would be so stultified as ultimately to become meaningless. Whatever may be the final result, one may safely say that the nuclear tests carried out since the conclusion of the treaty have rendered further enlargement of its scope and application difficult, if not impossible.

56. This downward trend would be arrested only if the non-signatory nations could be brought to accept the treaty obligations and share the almost universal aims and objectives of avoiding the dissemination of nuclear arms and ultimately of prohibiting, under effective inspection and control, the production and use of such arms. Only thus can the efforts toward effective disarmament be strengthened and promoted. Only thus can the world feel safe from the destruction which may be brought by men upon their fellow men. There can be no objective more worthwhile, and such an objective can be attained only if this Organization, leaning heavily upon the nuclear Powers, addresses itself in all earnestness to the problem of our age. Upon its success will depend the future welfare of mankind. The lack of it may portend a gloomy prospect for world peace and civilization.

57. What has been said relates mainly to the problem of global peace, in which each and every nation undoubtedly has a deep interest. But by and large there exist many other problems of regional peace which may be more limited in scope and extent, but none the less affect many of our nations even more closely and directly. In fact, we have to live with them day and night, and have to devote every ounce of our energy and attention, for they have to do with our personal and national freedom, with our future as free men and women, as well as that of coming generations.

58. These problems owe their existence and acuteness to the fact that some people are not satisfied merely with being able to choose their own economic and political systems, but are also intent on imposing them upon others. They also want to extend their boundaries, expand their power and influence and, finally, to subject other peoples to their control and domination. In the process, they do not shun the use of force. More often, they prefer to resort to the whole gamut of political and psychological measures, ranging from vicious propaganda, infiltration, and subversion, to insurgency. Euphemistically, they call this campaign "a war of national liberation". In fact, it is a forcible attempt to take away the freedom and independence of peoples and nations and to lead them to the inferno of subjection and bondage. Those who are now the targets of these nefarious machinations, realizing the stake involved, refuse to believe the deleterious propaganda and false promises. Instead, they resist with all the means at their disposal and, in many cases, have to take up arms to defend their freedom.

59. This is what has been taking place in my part of the world, where too many have to live a life full of threats and dangers, to be terrorized or to die, because they resist attempts to enslave them. That is why the peoples of South Viet-Nam and Laos are staging the fight of their lives, so that they can live in freedom and independence. That is why I hope that in this Assembly, where small nations form a majority and where words about peace, harmony and freedom are uttered freely, the yearnings of these gallant peoples to be able to choose their own destiny unharrassed, will be heard and supported.

60. This desire to be free in the pursuit of one's happiness and to determine the course of one's life is by no means confined to Asia. It also exists elsewhere—in Africa or in Europe, where the German people, like many others want and deserve to have the right to decide their own destiny. For us who have long enjoyed the blessings of freedom, as well as those who have recently been ushered into independence, there can hardly be a more worthwhile cause to uphold than that of lending our firm support to the freedom of others, for in so doing we shall be strengthening our own freedom and helping to remove the seeds of conflict in many areas of the world.

61. Unlike the problems of global scope, those relating to regional peace are well within the limits and capability of smaller nations to contribute to. Success in resolving them will help to strengthen general peace. It is therefore our hope that the United Nations, which counts so many such nations, will devote more attention and consideration to questions of regional peace, which touch them so closely and have an important bearing upon their well-being.

62. Thailand for its part has consistently striven to do its share in maintaining peace, stability and harmony in our part of the world. We have, in the first place, assiduously cultivated good understanding and fruitful relationship with our neighbours, as well as with those who are farther away, and have, in great measure, succeeded. When some of our neighbours become embroiled in difficulties or disputes, we try discreetly—when we are asked—to render whatever services are required of us. Our desire, of course, is to see all obstacles in the way of normal and peaceful relations removed. Where it has not yet been possible to bring about positive results, our efforts aim at preventing differences from developing into larger conflict, for the worsening of an international situation is likely to have widespread repercussions.

63. Notwithstanding the exercise of great care and caution, my country—to our great regret—finds it difficult to have a satisfactory relationship with one neighbour, which has so far refused to live on friendly terms with it and twice on unjustifiable grounds took the initiative of breaking relations with us. In spite of these and other provocations and harassments, Thailand has shown restraint and done all it could not to let this unhealthy state of affairs affect the already unsettled conditions prevailing in the area. The Thai Government appealed to the United Nations to send a mission, which performed a useful role, and for which I should like to express our appreciation.

64. However, if the Secretary-General's personal representative, Mr. Nils Gussing of Sweden, and his colleagues could not do more and did not fully succeed in reaching their ultimate objective, namely, to normalize the relations between Thailand and Cambodia, it was not for want of determined efforts on their part or of co-operation from Thailand, but rather because of Cambodia's unresponsiveness and inconsistency. Agreements which had been laboriously negotiated by Mr. Gussing and could have produced the most salutary effects came to nought because of Cambodia's failure to observe them.

65. A patent example of such stillborn agreements was the non-implementation of the 1960 New York agreement on the cessation of Press and radio attacks, which the Cambodian Government was reported to be willing again to observe. Within a few days after the Thai Government had signified its readiness to agree, as it had done in the past, the Cambodian leaders again failed to honour their obligations and renewed their violent and unjustified attacks against my country, which have continued unabated until the present moment.

66. They claimed, among other things, that their country was threatened by Thailand. However, they were never able to substantiate the charges. Neither could they explain why, if such threats did exist, the Gussing mission, the numerous international organizations with their regional seats in Thailand, as well as the countless foreign observers and the foreign Press stationed in my country, had not detected them or given any indication thereof. The truth is that such accusations were fabricated in order to mislead the uninformed public with a view to scoring unworthy gains.

67. The Thai nation, for its part, has observed with concern and apprehension certain moves and actions of its neighbour to the east which, by its connexion and connivance with certain aggressive forces, are endangering the peace, security and freedom of South-East Asia. If the Thai people and Government continue to maintain a calm attitude and to show forbearance, it is because of their desire not to add further uncertainty to the already delicate and unsatisfactory situation in the region.

68. Important as the issues of peace and security may be, the problems of economic and social well-being and that of development, because of their magnitude and complexity, represent a major challenge if order and progress are to be ensured in the world. While sustained efforts have been exerted to eliminate hazards to peace and security and to establish an international community under the rule of law, insufficient attention has been devoted to correct the chaotic conditions now prevailing in the world economy, which is dominated by a few highly developed countries, while the rest of the world has to subsist under the most unfavourable conditions.

69. As time goes by, the gap between this small group and the multitude of suffering undeveloped nations continues to widen at an alarming pace. The more they toil, the more they produce, the less they seem to receive in return for their labour and, according to reliable estimates, the trade gap alone may

reach the staggering figure of some \$20 billion within a few years. This is because the terms of trade have been highly unfavourable to the developing countries, due to the declining prices for the primary products and other commodities exported by them and the rising prices of imported manufactured goods which are indispensable to their development.

70. As a result of this unfortunate situation, the efforts towards economic development in a great many countries have been slowed down, if not completely blocked. In addition, they have to suffer from the instability of international markets for their primary products, from the practice of government subsidies to production and trade in products in competition with their own, and from restrictive conditions imposed by developed countries on access to their markets of primary commodities, as well as on semi-manufactured and manufactured goods.

71. These grave ills, which grip the economy of so many countries in the world and have brought so much hardship to countless millions of people, have existed and been well known for a long time. However, no serious attempts have been made to cure them, still less to eradicate them on a joint international basis.

72. Only last spring was a beginning made by the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva which was hailed, and rightly, by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report, as an "event of historic importance" [A/5801/Add.1, p. 3]. Even though it could not be expected that the conference would bring forth conclusive results, the three-month meeting succeeded in setting forth the important issues as well as relevant recommendations. My delegation wishes to express its grateful appreciation to the Secretary-General of the conference, Mr. Prebisch of Argentina, for his most efficient organization and constructive handling of the conference. It is now the duty of this Assembly to give to the report of the conference its thorough attention and consideration.

73. The United Nations, in its nineteenth year, is witnessing a constant and satisfactory growth. Only a few days ago we had the pleasure of admitting three new worthy Members, Malawi, Malta and Zambia, to which I should like to extend our heartfelt congratulations and warm welcome. We hope that the increase in number will be accompanied by an increase in the strength and effectiveness of the Organization in dealing with the numerous weighty problems with which the world is beset, and that, together, the 115 Members of this Organization can face the momentous tasks with redoubled energy and wisdom. All our nations are united here, not in misery and starvation, but for the peace, prosperity and progress of our respective peoples.

74. Mr. EBAN (Israel): When I had the opportunity to congratulate you last week on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly, Mr. President, I expressed the hope that this session would take us further on the road to peace. In reiterating my congratulations today, I express my Government's deep respect and regard for your predecessor, Mr. Sosa Rodriguez of Venezuela, who gave high expression to

the traditions of Latin America in international statesmanship.

75. It is our custom in this debate to make an annual review of the human condition. From no other platform can the future of the world community be surveyed in the spirit of responsible authority which moves us here. This is the first generation in which the great majority of the human race lives in sovereign independence. Nearly all its nations are now free to take part in a universal discourse. In previous ages, whole regions and continents, great civilizations and cultures, were insulated from contact with each other. Only in our own times does an event or an idea originating in any part of the world communicate its effects across the entire human scene.

76. The United Nations is the central expression of this new global interdependence. It is not just an annual diplomatic conference. It is not only a reunion of national representatives. It brings us together not for the mere sake of assembly, but in common devotion to specific aims and purposes. The Charter tells us clearly what we are; what rights we hold; what duties fall upon us; what common ends we are bound to serve.

77. Our common ends are peace and security; equality and co-operation; the development of our planet's natural and human resources; and the construction of an organized family of sovereign nations reconciling their creative diversity with the overriding solidarities of a new international order.

78. In the past year, the progress of the United Nations towards these goals has been halting. The treaty prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was significant as a first step towards the limitation and control of the nuclear threat. But when a first step is not succeeded by others, it merely confirms a static impression. Indeed, the test explosion in China reminds us that time is working against the hope of nuclear limitation. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has had a lean and hungry year. There has been little progress towards agreement on partial or collateral measures; still less towards a substantive limitation of armaments.

79. Meanwhile, persistent armed conflicts in Viet-Nam, the Congo, Cyprus and Yemen, have taken a heavy toll of life and disturbed international peace, and they threaten to leave a heritage of bitter memory. While wars are waged in some places, they are threatened in others. Governments assembled at Arab "summit meetings" have openly planned and threatened to violate the provisions of the Charter guaranteeing the sovereignty and integrity of all Members of the United Nations. It is difficult to refute the Secretary-General's statement in the introduction to his annual report that "the year 1964 has not fulfilled the hopes generated by the partial test-ban treaty and the general improvement in international relations in 1963" [A/5801/Add.1, p. 1].

80. In the promotion of economic and social development, the United Nations does not face obstacles as great as those in the way of political conciliation. Here there is at least a starting-point of general interest and universal agreement. But even in this

domain, there is a lack of proportion between the immensity of our tasks and the slow rate of our progress.

81. This is the first generation of mankind in which the elimination of poverty, disease and illiteracy has become an objectively attainable goal. Man is now clothed with a power which he never previously held—to generate and control energy; to fructify land; to conserve and utilize water; to sweeten the seas and to harvest the desert; to open the gates of knowledge; and to draw the human family together in close and constant accessibility.

82. Yet in this era of potential abundance, one-half of the world's population of 3,000 million suffer from under-nutrition or malnutrition or both. By the end of the century, there will be 6,000 million people to be fed in a world which shows no present sign of adequately feeding one-half of that number.

83. This is also a golden age in the expansion of knowledge. Twentieth century experience has been dominated by the power of reason with its decisive influence on the life of humanity. Yet amidst the full brilliance of the scientific revolution, 700 million adults—one-third of the world's adult population—are totally illiterate.

84. If I evoke the sombre reality of man's unfulfilled yearnings for peace and security, economic dignity and cultural enrichment, it is not for the purpose of suggesting a conclusion of despair. I mean only to emphasize that beyond the particular interests of nations there are challenges of global scale which cannot be confronted, still less solved, except within a unitary framework of international relations. Yet precisely at this moment the United Nations, which ought to be saving mankind from the peril and confusion of our times, is itself in acute need of being saved.

85. It is urgent that a power of action be restored to the General Assembly. The capacity to hold a general debate is a very small and temporary consolation for the absence of a normal and orderly procedure. Indeed, the financial difficulties of the United Nations illustrate the paradox of our age. More will be spent on armaments around the world on this single day than is required for all the activities of the United Nations for a whole year. The Governments of the world spend \$14 million on armaments every hour, and \$150,000 million every year. But to find \$300 million for a world peace organization seems to be beyond our ingenuity. It appears that men are more easily moved to effort and sacrifice by the spur of conflict than by the challenge of co-operation.

86. Israel comes to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly in the conviction that the hour is ripe for a new advance towards a more stable and peaceful international order. The most urgent need is to reaffirm the right of States to maintain their political independence and territorial integrity, and their corresponding duty to seek the pacific settlement of their disputes in strict avoidance of the threat or use of force.

87. There is now a wider agreement than ever before on the need to maintain the integrity of the world's

territorial structure against violent change. This principle was expressed in an exchange of notes between the Soviet Union and the United States of America early this year. It was endorsed in other replies to the Soviet Union's message of January 1964. In great-Power relations, this consensus flows from a direct and awesome knowledge of the nuclear danger. Mankind can no longer afford the consequences of territorial expansionism. The result of aggression against the existing frontiers of great Powers would not be the gain of new territory, but the conversion of existing territory into scorched and poisoned earth.

88. And for small States, the universal respect of existing frontiers is a condition of national survival. Now that nearly every nation has its legally sanctioned area of territorial sovereignty, there is every reason to safeguard the world's political map against violent change. The impulse of change should be applied henceforward to the liberation of human societies from economic and social servitudes.

89. It is in that spirit that Israel has announced its support for an international agreement for the renunciation by States of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, whose Government has inscribed this question on our agenda, has correctly stated that the question of territorial disputes between sovereign States should not be confused with the liberation of territories from the colonial yoke or from foreign occupation. Mr. Gromyko went on to say:

"... in respect of territorial disputes between sovereign States there can be no two opinions ... all such questions, as well as any other disputes between States, should be resolved not by force of arms but solely by peaceful means" [1292nd meeting, para. 98].

A similar note was struck on the first day of this debate by the Foreign Ministers of Brazil, Japan and Somali, and has been sounded again and again in unvaried conviction by other representatives.

90. This strong world-wide emphasis on the pacific settlement of disputes is not only a reaction to the nuclear peril. It is inspired by hope as well as by fear. The world is moving away from the bi-polar confrontation of East and West during the nineteen forties and fifties towards a new international order marked by diversity, pluralism, variety, freedom and dissent. It is not an age for crusades. In great-Power relations, the keywords are "coexistence" and "co-operation". And in small nations, life has to be lived on two levels: on the intimate level of national distinctiveness, and in the broader arena of intense international co-operation. In economic and social relationships, the trend is no longer towards dogmatic extremes of exclusive private ownership or exclusive public control. Most of our societies are mixed societies in which private initiative and State planning exist together within a single economic framework. In philosophy and religion, there is a search for unifying common principles, not for divisive barriers. It promises to be the age of tolerance. It is the ecumenical age. And over all aspects of our lives there stand the towering victories of scientific inquiry, which is

the central enterprise of the human mind in its commerce with external reality.

91. The General Assembly will respond both to the ideals and to the interests of humanity if at this session it proclaims the sovereign equality and integrity of all Member States and the confinement of territorial change to the realm of negotiation and mutual consent. The agenda items submitted by the USSR and Madagascar [A/5751 and A/5757 and Add.1] should offer the basis for a comprehensive discussion of these themes.

92. The meagre harvest of the Geneva disarmament talks should not lead us to premature despair. The dialogue on the limitation and control of armaments can never be broken off. The stake is too high. Nothing but the utmost tenacity will suffice.

93. On signing the international treaty for the partial prohibition of nuclear tests, my Government expressed the ardent hope "that every effort would be made to remove the awful dangers to humanity arising out of the continuation [of nuclear arming]". In that spirit, my delegation will define its attitude to the various proposals on denuclearization that will come before the General Assembly and its Committees. At the same time, we urge constant attention to the perils arising from excessive accumulations and imbalances of conventional weapons of great destructive power, especially in areas of tension. For many countries, this is an even more real and actual danger than that of nuclear attack. The Foreign Minister of Argentina has warned us against the danger of nuclear pacifism accompanied by conventional aggression.

94. The solution lies in an integral and co-ordinated approach to nuclear and conventional disarmament. The theme of disarmament should also be illuminated by a positive vision. The delegation of Israel therefore supports the idea of calling on the nations to divert an agreed portion of their military budgets to development projects.

95. My delegation will give close attention to the memorandum on disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union [A/5827]. The Middle East is one area in which States which manufacture arms could well illustrate their devotion to peace by avoiding a constant escalation in the arms race through the introduction of increasingly sophisticated weapons of destruction.

96. The deadlock from which the General Assembly has only partly emerged is not primarily a financial crisis at all. The issue is where responsibility lies for determining, controlling and financing the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

97. It is not that the enforcement provisions of the Charter have been "transferred" from the Security Council to the General Assembly. What has happened is that there has grown up a new area of international responsibility which falls short of enforcement as in Chapter VII, but goes beyond mere conciliation as in Chapter VI. This is an important area of international responsibility. These are situations which require the symbolic or restraining presence of the United Nations by invitation or consent to avoid belligerency or to establish a focus for public order.

98. It is urgent that the Powers primarily responsible for international peace and security reach agreement not only on immediate financial problems, but also on the future balance between the peace-keeping functions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. The Charter was conceived with the notion that restraint should be used not only in the exercise of the veto but also in the exercise of majority power. While a new attempt should be made to explore the avenues of great-Power co-operation envisaged in the Charter, it is already clear that new conditions have created new necessities. For example, it is now commonly agreed that the forces of the great Powers are less appropriate in peace-keeping activities than those of small and medium nations whose involvement does not raise the shadow of possible nuclear escalation.

99. Israel advocates a close study of the United Nations peace-keeping experience with the participation of all who have been directly or closely involved. The Foreign Minister of Brazil has recommended Charter revision in order to provide for the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. Until this possibility comes into view, an *ad hoc* agreement among the major Powers on the relative responsibilities of the General Assembly and the Security Council should be sought at this session. If the great Powers can achieve a greater harmony, the Security Council will be able in some measure to restore the authority and efficacy which the Charter ascribes to it.

100. In the effort to solve the financial crisis, it may be useful to create a new fund for the financial reinforcement of the Organization, so that Members which give less support to certain peace-keeping activities may give correspondingly greater support to the development activities of the United Nations. Provided that the over-all burden is equitably shared and duly apportioned, the manner of meeting the expenses of the Organization should be sufficiently ramified to allow Member States to select special areas for their interest.

101. The intensive growth of the United Nations budget requires the establishment of a sort of financial "Cabinet", with the full participation of the major contributors, to determine those financial measures which affect international policies in a broader field.

102. The crowning achievement of the United Nations has been its role in the expansion of national independence. It is here that the opinion of mankind has become a motive force for the accelerated liberation of peoples. It is here that the sovereignty of new States finds moving expression when they first come to this platform as active agents of international law and policy. The air of the United Nations is alive with freedom. It is in this hall that Africa, in particular, has experienced an awakened international dignity. It is in the establishment and growth of new communities that men and nations achieve their highest sentiment of creativity.

103. The international community should take pride and confidence from this achievement. If in some areas of the world independence has been succeeded by turbulence, this is not because independence was granted too early, but because it was granted too late, too grudgingly or with inadequate preparation and foresight.

104. The remnants of colonial rule are more than ever incongruous. It is urgent that the liberation of all African territories be completed, and that the few remaining areas of the world under external rule be drawn into the circle of national independence. A sense of urgency will guide the Israel delegation in its unqualified support of national independence in Africa and elsewhere.

105. Equality is the guiding principle of twentieth century life. Men are no longer prepared to reconcile themselves to traditional situations of inequality, either as groups within a national society or as people in the international community.

106. But institutional freedom does not exhaust the quest for human dignity and welfare. In the awakening continents, political freedom has not been attended by a parallel liberation of nations from their social and economic ills. Behind the new emblems of sovereignty, millions still languish in squalor, illiteracy and disease. Men awaken to learn that they can be free in every constitutional sense and yet lose the essence of their freedom in the throes of famine and want.

107. As the political inequality between nations passes away, a new inequality comes to the fore. It is reflected in the sharp disparities between the abundance of the few and the distress of the many; between an average expectation of life of seventy years in advanced Western countries and thirty to thirty-five in the developing countries; between spectacular technical progress in the northern world and a lack of educational momentum in the southern world. And the gap is growing ever wider.

108. There will not be a stable and just international order until those disparities are narrowed. The drama of accelerated development must command our most intensive concern.

109. The United Nations has made two serious attempts to define and solve this dilemma. In 1963, the United Nations conference on science and technology^{4/} made a daring attempt to bring the creative imagination of the scientific community to bear on the problems of development in emerging societies. The exclusion of any nation, however small, from the world of scientific and technical knowledge is compatible neither with its national dignity nor with its hope of economic progress. Science is concerned with the penetration of nature. But it is also a social pursuit. It has a human origin and a human destination.

110. The 1963 conference dealt primarily with the flow of knowledge and skills. In 1964, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development discussed the more controversial issues involved in the flow of capital and goods.

111. Israel brought its utmost effort of heart and mind to bear on the problems raised in those memorable encounters. In the Advisory Committee on Science and Development,^{5/} established after the 1963 Geneva conference, we helped to formulate a plan for an

^{4/} United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas, held at Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

^{5/} Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

immediate world-wide attack on a limited number of especially urgent problems affecting nutrition, health, education and water development. In the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held this year, the Israel delegation submitted proposals for increasing the flow of capital to new States and for liberalizing trade relationships in favour of the developing countries.

112. We are dominated by a sense of urgency. The present momentum of development is much slower than the world's population increase. The current pace of economic growth in developing countries will not avail to close the gap. The advanced and the developing countries may well come to confront each other across a gulf of tension in a new polarization of the human family.

113. The recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development may seem to the developing countries too moderate in comparison with our need for more concrete and speedier solutions. Modest as these proposals are, they must be acted upon. Other difficulties notwithstanding, the General Assembly should find a way to launch the Geneva machinery and to endorse the Final Act—as well as the budgetary allocation that goes with it.

114. In many nations we see progress towards a welfare State. It is urgent that we march towards a welfare world.

115. In those new dimensions of international co-operation, the great Powers and the advanced countries have no monopoly of responsibility. Our own national experience teaches us something about the extraordinary mobility and versatility of technical skills. International gatherings convened in Israel have explored the role of science and technology in the advancement of new countries. They have examined the central importance of rural development as a primary factor in economic and cultural progress. This summer, we hope to explore with the economic and finance ministers of emerging States some of the fiscal problems arising from the establishment of new economies. An International Conference on the Role of Women in the Advancement of Peace and Development has just ended in Jerusalem.

116. Israel has concluded projects of economic and technical co-operation with fifty-one other developing countries in Africa, Asia and America. In all the eighty-three votes taken on the recommendations and principles of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Israel aligned itself with other developing countries. Thousands of young men and women from developing States have in recent years attended courses of study and training on our soil.

117. Israel's principal vocation in international life is to be found in this expanding field of co-operation. It is therefore with a profound sense of rectitude and justice that Israel claims its place in all international bodies dedicated to the advancement of developing States.

118. Our Charter combines a deep respect for sovereignty with an urgent concern for individual rights. This latter concern proceeds from the haunting memories amidst which the United Nations came to birth:

memories of a violent tyranny never surpassed in the history of crime. Nazism was born of a theory of discrimination which denied the intrinsic equality of human rights and human personality. Races were arranged in a hierarchy of nobility and servitude, to be exalted or degraded in accordance with a perverted system of values. It mattered not who was placed at the top or the bottom of the ladder. The United Nations has only one course open to it: total condemnation of all forms of racism and discrimination.

119. Israel carries into its future history the most poignant experience of suffering and martyrdom which has ever afflicted the human memory. No other people has such a recent recollection of millions of its men, women and children being thrown into the furnace.

120. With this special burden of memory on its shoulders, Israel will take an active part in the discussion of the draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. It is especially important that nazism, racism and anti-semitism should be specifically repudiated in that convention. The vigorous statement by the Foreign Minister of Argentina [1292nd meeting] on the issue of racism will find a warm echo in our hearts.

121. A bold and vital step has recently been taken in Rome towards creating a doctrinal atmosphere favourable to broader tolerance. I refer to the Ecumenical Council declaration of 20 November 1964, repudiating "the teaching of anything that could give rise to hatred or contempt of Jews in the hearts of Christians", in view of "the bond that ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock".

122. Memory is the father of conscience. The recollection of past intolerance is a vital element in the education of humanity towards a spirit of fraternity. Israel therefore endorses what the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia has said in criticism of any refusal to prolong statutes of limitation for Nazi crimes. Our own Government and Parliament has recently expressed its grave concern on this matter. It is intolerable that authors of Nazi crimes should be enabled to enter into the normal life of society.

123. In committee discussion, my delegation will call attention to certain cases in which greater action or vigilance is required to insure the prevention of discrimination on ethnic, racial or religious grounds. There is a great Jewish community which claims our special concern in this context.

124. Similarly, we shall approach the problem of apartheid. Our unqualified condemnation of apartheid proceeds from a special legacy of memory and principle. In that spirit, Israel has sponsored the resolution presented to the Assembly of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, providing for a world conference on education for tolerance, which will work towards the eradication of all discrimination on grounds of race, religion or origin.

125. It might seem at first sight that I have said nothing about the problem of Israel in its relations with the Middle East. In a deeper sense I have said everything about that problem. If the United Nations upholds the sovereign equality, political independence and territorial integrity of all its Members; if it re-

judiates the use or threat of force against the integrity and independence of any State; if it respects the existing territorial structure, subject only to change by negotiation and agreement; if it maintains fidelity to international law; if it seeks a world in which every people shall be free to express its personality under its own sovereign flag; if it rejects policies of belligerency and blockade; if it believes in the duty of its Members "to practise tolerance and live together in peace as good neighbours"; in short: if you accept the Charter, then you inexorably ratify Israel's essential rights; and by the same token you reject the claims of those who seek to place Israel outside the scope of their Charter obligations.

126. There is no need to seek special principles for conciliation in our immediate region. It is surely useless to uphold an international order as a matter of general principle—and to abandon it in any specific case. The tensions in our region can be truthfully defined and effectively resolved only when they are envisaged in the general light of United Nations principles and United Nations structure.

127. It is in this light that we reject constant aspersions of neighbouring Governments on Israel's sovereignty, Israel's identity, Israel's honour and Israel's inalienable rights. It is especially incongruous to hear such tirades re-echo year by year in the United Nations itself.

128. The United Nations is an instrument for ending conflicts—not an arena for waging them. The misuse of this tribunal for purposes of hostility was begun this morning by the Foreign Minister of Libya. He spoke of a Member State as "a group of adventurers". The first adventure of Israel as a Member State, on the day after its admission to the United Nations, was to cast the decisive vote, on 12 May 1949, in support of Libya's independence and against the prolongation of colonial tutelage. It was our assumption that all new States would respect the rights of existing States. There is a deep cynicism in the actions of those who claim for themselves what they deny to others, especially if what they claim is the elementary right of every distinctive people to its sovereignty and nationhood.

129. Let the representative of Libya be under no misapprehension. What happens in Israel, who comes in and who does not, will be decided by Israel's sovereign will. He has suggested quite frankly, for example, that the return of refugees is in fact equivalent to Israel's non-existence. He is quite right. That is one of the reasons why we oppose solutions to any problem which are incompatible with the Charter, with the structure of the United Nations, with the sovereign integrity of States, with international peace. Those States of the Middle East which caused this problem by an act of aggression, certified as such by the United Nations, must surely take their full share in a solution by a regional project of reintegration which they and they alone have the duty and the capacity to carry out.

130. Israel is not the only nation in the Middle East which has secured its national freedom in the past few decades. The domain of Arab independence stretches through thirteen States across 4 million square miles,

with a population of 100 million. This lavish patrimony surely mocks any constant grudge of Israel's corner of sovereignty in 3,000 square miles—fifty times smaller than the domain of Arab independence in population; 500 times smaller in area. What would be the moral status of a world in which so small a people could not pursue its destiny in peace after the agony of centuries past!

131. The Middle East is not the exclusive possession of any single nation. Our region's destiny lies in variety and pluralism, not in centralized domination or uniformity. Of the Middle Eastern States, Israel and seven States of Arab tongue are Mediterranean nations. The Hellenic and Latin worlds, Turkey and Greece, Cyprus and Malta, are washed by the same waters. The Mediterranean basin is a central, compact world congenial to the free interaction of ideas and utterly alien to exclusiveness. In no other part of the globe does a similar variety of conditions exist in such close proximity or in such intensity of mutual influence. It is here that man first considered himself in the light of eternity. It is here that science broke loose from empiricism in search of broad unifying principles. And it is precisely here, amidst all the conditions for a renewed emergence of human vitality, that we find statesmanship still frustrated by unyielding conflict.

132. Last week, a group of young Israelis in the region of the Dead Sea came upon parchment scrolls nineteen hundred years old. They are inscribed in the same language as that in which modern Israelis converse today. There is no truth in any discussion of the Middle East which does not grasp the depth, the passion, the profound rootedness, the total authenticity of this bond between a people and the land from which it once made a communication of grandeur to all mankind.

133. Israel sees its region as the home of all its sovereign States and all its various cultures. If the sovereign equality of all Middle Eastern States is accepted as an unchallengeable starting-point, all Middle Eastern problems are soluble. If that is not accepted, then nothing whatever can be solved. We share one principle with every other State represented here. It is this: we can have nothing to say or to discuss in any context in which our statehood, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity are not accepted as unassailable facts which lie beyond the range of negotiation. It is because this principle is not everywhere accepted that the present is dark with conflict. The final aim is of a future to be shared in peace.

134. The great network of friendships which joins Israel to its colleagues in the international community in every continent testifies to a world-wide belief that the restoration of the Jewish people to its homeland is one of the moments of climax in the political and spiritual achievement of our times.

135. A vigorous and progressive United Nations is an essential element of the emerging international order. With all its imperfections, this family of sovereign States presents a new vision of man in his organic unity. There are seven things which can be done at this session to animate and inspire the hopes of those who look to us for a new affirmation of peace and freedom.

136. We can strengthen the doctrine of the independence, integrity and sovereign equality of States.

137. We can clarify and allocate the responsibilities of United Nations organs for peace-keeping by consent.

138. We can and must give a new impulse and direction to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

139. We can summon Member Governments and the specialized agencies to an intensified effort to accelerate the progress of the developing States.

140. We can advance towards the completion of decolonization.

141. We can formulate and codify the policy of the United Nations against discrimination and intolerance.

142. We can submit the organization and procedures of the United Nations to a close scrutiny, with a view to improving its effectiveness as the primary agent of international unity.

143. Modern statesmanship stands at a point where great danger and high opportunity intersect. Let us ensure that the opportunity shall conquer the danger.

144. Mr. HAEKKERUP (Denmark): A few days ago we had the pleasure and the satisfaction to receive three new Members in our midst. These admissions have brought the United Nations membership up to 115.

145. Most of the United Nations Members are small or medium-sized nations, whose primary aim must be to support and strengthen the Organization because, by doing so, they will support and strengthen their own liberty and independence. To us, it is a matter of vital importance to uphold the inviolability of the Charter and to ensure the survival and growth of our Organization.

146. To the major Member States, with their enormous natural resources, their vast populations, but also their frightening nuclear stockpiles, the United Nations is not, as it is to us, the necessary foundation of national life. And yet, we have seen that the big nations are aware of the need for solidarity in the world community at large. Recognizing that interdependence is unavoidable, they have lent the United Nations the support without which it would not have been able to exist.

147. We are experiencing a critical period in the history of the United Nations. Our Organization is not a dead shell, not a rigid formal frame. It is a living organism which must be adapted to the changing requirements arising out of new situations—or as you, Mr. President, so aptly expressed it in your opening statement:

"We should make full use of the Charter of the United Nations, which is a living and dynamic document" [1286th meeting, para. 29].

148. In the spirit of the Charter, but hardly foreseen by its founders, our Organization has devoted itself whole-heartedly to the cause of decolonization, and the process of decolonization has now been carried so far that we are beginning to see the day when the right of self-determination will be fully and universally applied.

149. In the spirit of the Charter, but hardly foreseen by its founders, our Organization has also undertaken peace-keeping operations in many parts of the world and, through these activities, averted situations threatening the peace and security of every one of us.

150. This growth in the life of our Organization calls for continuous adaptation, and is continually giving rise to difficulties of adaptation. In these situations, we—the small and medium-sized Member nations—must stand together to safeguard and protect our Organization. Alone we cannot accomplish this, but—and I am convinced that the majority of Member States will agree in this—we take it for granted that the positions and decisions taken by the great Powers in all questions of vital importance not only to them but to all mankind will be in conformity with world opinion as expressed in this Assembly. I also feel confident that, if the great Powers follow such policies, we, the small and medium-sized nations, will respond in the same true spirit of co-operation and due respect for the interests of all. The growth of our Organization does not permit us to get stuck in formalism or to cling to historical positions. The process of adaptation makes demands on all of us, but the greater the nations the greater the demands.

151. Let us never forget that the main objective of this Organization is the preservation of peace. It gives us some satisfaction to know that the disarmament talks at Geneva are still going on in a good atmosphere, where views are exchanged on all aspects of the very complicated issues and a deeper understanding reached of the various problems involved. But it is alarming that no real progress has been made since our last General Assembly, either with regard to concrete steps towards general and complete disarmament or with regard to collateral measures. It is therefore up to us, during this Assembly, jointly to consider new constructive ideas by which to give the Committee on Disarmament renewed inspiration and material for study during its coming session.

152. Quite recently, the People's Republic of China exploded its first nuclear device and entered the group of nuclear Powers. This stresses the need for an agreement to stop any further growth of this group. We have reached the point where the necessity of a non-dissemination treaty can no longer be rejected. If we do not very soon make an earnest attempt to solve this problem, we shall have taken upon ourselves a very heavy responsibility towards future generations who will have to live in a world which will be even more exposed than ours to the threat of sudden and complete extinction.

153. Furthermore, the Chinese nuclear explosion underlines what for many years has been the Danish Government's view, that we cannot create safe and orderly conditions in the world if we do not, in some way, accept the participation of the People's Republic of China in our discussions. The Assembly must therefore find a solution to the question of how representatives of the People's Republic of China can be drawn into realistic discussions on the safeguarding of enduring peace.

154. While it is our task in the General Assembly to spur on the work for general disarmament, the main

responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security lies with the Security Council.

155. When, in 1945, this responsibility was placed in the hands of the great Powers, humanity was given renewed hope of a peaceful world. In the following years, we have seen that this system is not capable of living up to our expectations, and in that situation various emergency solutions have had to be found.

156. I want, however, to take this opportunity to express the hope and the wish that the Security Council will live up fully to the responsibility entrusted to it under the Charter.

157. In a given emergency situation, we can expect that the Security Council, recognizing its heavy responsibility for the maintenance of peace, will meet and agree on the formulation of a solution. But that is not, in itself, sufficient if the solution the Security Council reaches merely amounts to setting up the framework within which a decision must be taken. A factor of primary importance in this connexion is time. The ability to act quickly in a given situation may determine the usefulness of the action. It is also absolutely necessary that the Security Council, when dealing with the main issue or at any later time when developments call for it, should develop the framework in a manner to ensure that the objectives set out by the Council can be effectively pursued.

158. A case in point is the Cyprus action, which clearly shows how necessary it is to formulate the mandate of the United Nations forces in terms that will give them a fair chance to accomplish their task.

159. I mention these questions because it is important that a country which has decided to make forces available to the United Nations should be given sufficient guarantees that, whenever peace-keeping operations are decided upon, they are sure to be implemented effectively. But I also see in this a cardinal example of the important interplay provided for in the United Nations Charter with regard to the possibilities of individual Member countries, irrespective of their power, influence and size, to promote the cause of peace—an interplay which I would like to stress as emphatically as possible.

160. The Governments of the Scandinavian countries had for some time discussed the practicability of the national preparation of stand-by forces. After consultation, each of us started to put the ideas into practice.

161. On 30 April 1964, the Danish Parliament gave its consent to the establishment of a permanent military stand-by force of about 950 men. At the same time, the Government was authorized to make this force available to the United Nations if called upon to assist in the implementation of peace-keeping measures, pursuant to a lawful United Nations decision, and if, in the light of an appraisal of the overall situation, such assistance was considered desirable.

162. Acting on that authority, my Government decided on the same day to make a force available for the peace-keeping operations in Cyprus. Could any course of events more dramatically have given added interest to the international debate on the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations or the necessity of attaining

optimum preparedness in emergency situations? And has not the Cyprus action made it abundantly clear how desirable it is to find solutions to the many questions which arise in connexion with the United Nations peace-keeping activities?

163. Against this background, it is gratifying to note that United Nations efforts in this field have lately met with growing understanding and interest in the Organization as well as in many Member States.

164. Several countries have decided to set up national United Nations stand-by forces; others are considering plans for such forces. At the unofficial level, research workers and study groups are devoting keen attention to United Nations force problems.

165. A short while ago, my country's representatives had the opportunity to meet in Ottawa with representatives of twenty-two other countries, from all parts of the globe, to discuss military and technical experience gained in previous United Nations operations. The sole purpose of the meeting was to enable people who had been on active United Nations service to exchange experience on their practical and technical work in the field, for the mutual benefit of the individual countries in their build-up of United Nations stand-by forces. We are grateful to the Canadian Government for having taken this initiative in a field where, up till now, no other means of co-ordination have been available.

166. It seems to me, however, that the time has now come for discussion and study, within the United Nations framework, of the many problems, formal as well as practical, attending this aspect of United Nations peace-keeping activities. I am therefore glad to see the question mentioned in the Secretary-General's annual report [A/5801]. The Secretary-General finds that, in order in general to ensure better, more efficient and more economical peace-keeping operations in the future, it may be useful to have this question studied comprehensively in all its aspects, including manpower, logistics and financing.

167. We fully share this view expressed by the Secretary-General, and we hope that a committee will be established during the present session for this purpose.

168. While commenting on these problems, I would like to stress that, when we speak of United Nations peace-keeping forces, we mean forces used in operations such as those undertaken in the Congo, in Yemen, in Gaza, in Cyprus and in other parts of the world. They are not the forces envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, which deals with measures that may be taken by the Security Council against the will of a Government to maintain or restore international peace and security. The actions for which the Danish stand-by force is contemplated are actions taken under Chapter VI of the Charter, which deals with the pacific settlement of disputes. This implies, without exception, that the country in which the forces are to be used must have accepted the United Nations operation and our participation in it.

169. The Danish Government has studied with great care the memorandum [A/5721] received from the USSR Government on certain measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

170. Denmark would be among the first countries to welcome it if the Member States of the United Nations, first and foremost the permanent members of the Security Council, one day were to reach agreement on a common goal in world politics and if, to achieve that goal, they were to provide the United Nations with real power as envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter. In that event, we would be prepared, in the interest of the enforcement of international law and order, to accept such limitations of our international freedom of action as would be necessary. Until then, we must content ourselves with the second-best solution, seeing that politics is the noble act of reaching the attainable.

171. Denmark has again this year had the privilege to serve on the Committee of Twenty-Four on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We have thus had the opportunity to watch developments at close range and offer our modest contribution to this very important trend in today's world politics. It is the hope of the Danish Government that our full and sincere support of the basic principles of self-determination has been clearly demonstrated in the day to day work of the committee.

172. The general attitude of my Government to the questions arising from the legacy of the colonial past has been to promote co-operation between the United Nations and the parties concerned. We are happy to see that this policy has borne fruit in most of the colonial issues, although it must be admitted that we are still left with a few hard-core problems. We are, however, confident that, by its own logic, the process of emancipation will not cease until all countries and peoples have been freed from the rule of other countries or peoples, in whatever form it may be. We hope and trust that all Members of the United Nations will co-operate to promote this process in a dedicated and orderly way, so that when the history of our epoch is written it may be said that, from the efforts of our generation, emerged an international community consisting only of truly independent and sovereign nations and peoples.

173. We cannot, however, overlook one problem which throws a sinister shadow over the continent of Africa and the whole international scene, and that is the policies of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa. The situation in that country continues to give rise to deep concern in Denmark. We have noted with profound regret how the Government of South Africa systematically and self-righteously persists in undermining the human rights of the vast majority of the South African population. It continues to act in complete disregard of the numerous appeals made by the highest organs of the United Nations and in disregard of world opinion.

174. The failure of this policy has been amply demonstrated by the increasing use of death penalties and long terms of imprisonment for oppositional activities. It seems evident that the Government of South Africa does not or will not realize how dangerous is this way of running a multiracial community. To the vast majority of mankind, it is alarming and tragic to witness how, in spite of the steady deterioration of the situation in its country, the Government of South Africa clings to its policies of apartheid, which defy the very purposes which the South African Government

claims to have in mind and which in the end may have unpredictable consequences.

175. Those who, over the years have followed the reactions of world opinion to the policies of apartheid cannot fail to notice a clear trend towards a stiffening in the opposition to those policies.

176. An important step taken within the framework of the United Nations is the setting up by the Security Council of an expert committee to study the feasibility, effectiveness and implications of measures which, as appropriate, could be taken by the Council under the Charter. The Danish Government is in full agreement with this decision of the Security Council, and we are looking forward to the committee's report, confident that it will be a constructive and positive contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

177. We see how developments point in a certain direction, and we must all—the big countries, the smaller countries, countries of all continents—no matter how serious the political, economic and emotional implications of the problem of apartheid are to us, realize this: the handling of the problem will call for wisdom, vigour and imagination if we are still to hope that a drastic or violent outcome may be averted, and a solution found on the basis of mutual understanding and restoration of the rights and the dignity of all human beings in South Africa. At this point, I wish to state firmly that, in order to promote such a solution, the Danish Government will be prepared to take all necessary steps in conformity with lawful United Nations decisions.

178. This General Assembly can look back upon one of the most important achievements in United Nations economic co-operation. The most comprehensive economic conference since the end of the Second World War was held this year, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The conference reached a large measure of agreement on world economic problems of extreme importance to all nations.

179. Since the last session of the General Assembly we have all known what was at stake at the Conference on Trade and Development, not only for the developing countries, but for our entire United Nations co-operation. It is therefore most gratifying that the conference resulted in a unanimously adopted report, and a final act signed by all participating countries.

180. Against the background of the conference's unanimous proposal to set up a standing conference on trade and development under the auspices of the General Assembly, Denmark looks forward to fruitful discussions in the Trade and Development Board at an early date. Our expectations in that respect are further strengthened by the unanimous recommendation of the special committee on conciliation procedures. The conference's unanimous recommendations on the requisite trade and technical assistance measures have the constant attention of the Danish Government. We wish to promote and participate in the implementation of the widest possible measures on which international agreement can be reached.

181. The industrialized countries have realized that the efforts to utilize the human and material resources of the developing countries must be pursued and supported in three ways.

182. First, the industrialized countries must offer both technical assistance and development aid.

183. Secondly, the developing countries must be provided with the necessary capital to implement their development programmes.

184. Thirdly, last but not least, the industrialized countries must facilitate the marketing of products from the developing countries.

185. Expansion, under more favourable terms, of the exports of developing countries is the first essential in enabling the developing countries to make the best and greatest possible use of their resources and, consequently, for the most effective promotion of economic development. Outlets must be found for both the raw materials and the processed goods of developing countries. Incidentally, extensive exchanges of trade are a condition for obtaining the desired results from technical and financial assistance.

186. Denmark will continue to work for the elimination of all barriers to trade in raw materials. In an effort to achieve this aim, we shall be prepared to participate in negotiations for international agreements designed to stabilize world market prices of raw materials of principal importance to developing countries. We shall also contribute to extensive reductions of the tariffs imposed on industrial goods from the developing countries.

187. It is the proclaimed attitude of Denmark to the Kennedy Round that the negotiations on tariffs and trade should comprise all commodities. Consequently, we have not submitted any list of exceptions. At the Conference on Trade and Development we took a positive attitude to the suggestion that, as part of the multilateral efforts to reduce tariffs, further tariff reductions should be adopted for the benefit of all developing countries within GATT.

188. The conference will no doubt go down in history as the starting point of a new era in international economic co-operation. One line of thought behind the deliberations of the conference strikes me as being especially important, and that is the way in which we promote the expansion of the exports of the developing countries, especially through the elimination or reduction of tariffs imposed on industrial goods from the developing countries. According to the thinking of the nineteenth century, tariffs are imposed to protect domestic products from foreign competition. What we are proposing now is, in fact, a new concept for the imposition of tariffs, namely to design them in such a way that the exports of the developing countries are facilitated, not hampered. This reverses the aim of tariffs: whereas formerly the object was to educate producers in the home country to a competitive standard, it is now, in the twentieth century, in the age of political and economic interdependence, the clear aim to stimulate the producers of the developing countries to competitiveness.

189. It is our constant hope that, during or after the Kennedy Round, the industrialized countries will take steps to grant general freedom from customs duty to industrial goods from the developing countries. Any such decision to deviate from the most-favoured-nation principle must, however, according to the views

I have just expressed, be a temporary measure. We would like to see all tariff barriers removed completely from international trade.

190. The efforts to provide better marketing conditions in industrialized countries for the products of developing countries may make considerable progress in the coming year. The contracting parties to GATT have just adopted the draft of a new chapter to the Agreement containing provisions for the benefit of developing countries. Under these provisions, the industrialized countries commit themselves to grant the best possible conditions for imports of special interest to the developing countries.

191. Our international organizations are faced with great tasks. The developing countries have appealed to the industrialized countries for comprehensive co-operation in the solution of their problems, because they are problems of importance to the whole world.

192. The Danish Government welcomes this request, because we view this co-operation in the light of our own experience. The degree of social stability that we have attained has been made possible through a steady elimination of barriers within the society. This development has taken a long time, and it is a process that never will and never should stop. We realize that we cannot expect this development to continue in our own country if we do not accept that the same principle should be applied internationally. Only in that manner can we open up the immense resources of human and material wealth that are hidden in the developing countries.

193. The process of decolonization, the assurance of self-determination and political freedom, the steady expansion of economic co-operation and the removal of all obstacles to the free flow of commodities, reflect two aspects of the same picture. Self-determination and political freedom are of little value if a sound economic foundation is lacking. Human rights and political equality have little meaning where hunger and poverty prevail.

194. While our efforts in the field of decolonization can be said to have been quite successful, there is still a long way to go in the field of equalizing and raising standards of living. That is the greatest challenge today. Only by incessant efforts along these two lines shall we be able to achieve the basic aim of our Organization, the preservation of peace.

195. Today, the choice between peace and war may well be a choice between survival and annihilation. So let us in all our efforts always have the preservation of peace and the furtherance of mutual understanding in mind. May this General Assembly serve these noble aims.

196. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of Iraq in the exercise of his right of reply.

197. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): Mr. President, my delegation will have another opportunity to offer its warm congratulations to you on your brilliant election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly.

198. I rise now in order to exercise my right of reply and to make brief comments on some of the

statements made by the Israel representative, Mr. Eban. It must have struck most of the representatives seated in this hall that, in the final part of his statement relating to Israel's position in the Middle East, Mr. Eban did not once mention Palestine and its people. In this single act of deliberate omission, the Israel representative has given proof of the hollowness of his arguments and protestations. He posed a series of rhetorical questions in order to reach the astounding conclusion that the world community is bound to ratify the results of Israel's aggression and lawlessness. In my turn, I would like to pose a different set of questions, which I think are far more basic and more pertinent and meaningful to this Organization and the Charter on which it is founded.

199. What I should like to say is this. If the United Nations upholds justice, if the United Nations is faithful to its Charter, if the United Nations respects the right of every people to self-determination, if the United Nations recognizes the right of every people to its ancestral homeland, if the United Nations rejects conditions brought about by force and aggression, then the rights of the people of Palestine should be respected and upheld and the grave injustice inflicted upon them should be removed.

200. Mr. Eban spoke of the specific case of Israel, where such principles are to be abandoned. My answer is that, sixteen years ago, those lofty principles were abandoned in the case of the Arabs of Palestine, and it is because of this abandonment of principles that Mr. Eban today is able to sit in this hall, while the people of the country which his forces occupied languish in misery in United Nations refugee camps.

201. Then Mr. Eban spoke of the Arabs with their vast territories, with their millions, grudging Israel a "tiny corner", as he called it, Israel's "tiny corner", but my answer is that for its rightful inhabitants this

tiny corner of Palestine is the most beloved and cherished plot of land on earth. The Arabs of Palestine have a physical as well as a spiritual connexion with the land that is stronger and more continuous than the connexion of those who profess the Jewish faith, the majority of whom, incidentally, today live outside the confines of occupied Palestine as citizens of their own respective countries of birth or residence. But today Mr. Eban has arrogated to himself the right to speak on their behalf, while their own representatives, the representatives of the countries of which they are citizens, are sitting here amongst us in this hall.

202. Israel's protestations of peaceful intentions must appear particularly empty and insincere when they are examined in the light of hard facts: the fact of five round condemnations by the Security Council of the United Nations, the fact of the revulsion felt by millions all over the world in 1956 at the premeditated attack and aggression against Egypt, by the fact of numerous and continued attacks against defenceless villages across the armistice lines, actions which even today are engaging the attention of the Security Council.

203. My delegation, of course, will have an opportunity to state in greater detail our position on this problem of Palestine and the tragedy of its people. More than sixteen years after their expulsion from their ancestral homeland, the people of Palestine demand of you the justice that has been denied them, and the restoration of the rights which have been wrested from them in violation of the very lofty principles enshrined in the Charter and cherished by mankind as a whole. They are waiting to see whether this Organization will sacrifice these ideals on the altar of expediency, or live up to the hopes that humanity has placed in it. This is the crucial test that we all have to face.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.