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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Montenegro Medrano (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. WEI Tao-ming (China) (translated from Chinese): The General Assembly is once again convened in an atmosphere of crisis and tension. The war in Viet-Nam has been progressively intensified during the past months. The hostilities that broke out last June in the Middle East have added new tension to an old conflict. The rampaging of the so-called "Red Guards" has plunged the entire mainland of China into a state of turmoil that cannot fail to have significant bearing on world developments.

2. The war in Viet-Nam is not merely a war between the two Viet-Nams. It is in reality the unfolding of a master plan formulated by Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh, not only for the subjugation of the Republic of Viet-Nam, but also for the conquest of the whole of the Asian and Pacific region, with world domination as the final objective. This is Mao's way of asserting his leadership in the international communist movement.

3. Inasmuch as Mao Tse-tung and his cohorts are the prime movers of the war in Viet-Nam, they are naturally in a position to determine the course of the conflict. This being so, it is difficult to imagine that any attempt to settle the Viet-Nam war merely through appeals to Hanoi can achieve any result. It is not without reason that Ho Chi Minh has rejected all proposals for a peaceful settlement. It is not without reason that he has made use of every bombing pause to step up the infiltration of troops into South Viet-Nam and to augment military supplies.

4. There has been much talk about a political solution of the Viet-Nam problem. My delegation is appreciative of the initiative taken by various Governments and individual statesmen in an effort to bring the Viet-Nam issue from the battleground to the conference table. But it seems to us that the door to

peace, as far as the Republic of Viet-Nam and its allies are concerned, has always been wide open. The trouble is that Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh are not interested in peace. Conflict to the bitter end is the stuff from which they draw their very sustenance. Peace, therefore, will not come to Viet-Nam until the aggressors are convinced that they cannot win by force and violence and that aggression does not pay. At present they are not so convinced. On the contrary, they believe they are already on the way to victory. In these circumstances, the movement for peace in the free world is not calculated to bring about the desired result. It can only reinforce Peiping's and Hanoi's conviction that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by rejecting all proposals for a negotiated settlement. The pressures that have been exerted on the United States Government for the cessation of bombing and for the unconditional withdrawal of troops can only encourage the belief that the United States will sooner or later be forced by world opinion to quit Viet-Nam. Such pressures do not, therefore, have the effect of bringing the war in Viet-Nam to a speedy conclusion; on the contrary, they can only prolong the conflict and delay a peaceful settlement.

5. It is the belief of my delegation that Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh have underestimated the will and resolve of the United States to make good its commitment to the defence of Asia. They seem to be under the illusion that by refusing to budge from their predetermined positions they can successfully carry out the master plan for community expansion. What is at stake is thus more than the independence and freedom of the Republic of Viet-Nam, more than the security of South-East Asia, important as these undoubtedly are. What is really at stake is whether communist aggression and expansionism are to be allowed to succeed, thus opening the way for further aggression and expansion.

6. My Government supports the Republic of Viet-Nam in its valiant struggle to safeguard its freedom and independence against subversion from within and aggression from without. Our sympathy goes out to the long-suffering Vietnamese people whose spirit of endurance and perseverance has won universal respect and admiration. I also wish to take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the allies of the Republic of Viet-Nam—the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Republic of Korea and the Philippines. They have made tremendous sacrifices both of men and of treasure in the cause of world peace and security. And these sacrifices have not been made in vain. The return is the security of South-East Asia and, indirectly, of the whole world.

7. It is gratifying to note that in the midst of war and aggression, the Republic of Viet-Nam has continued to make notable progress in the social, economic and political fields. It has just successfully held its first general election in accordance with the schedule set by the National Constituent Assembly. Bitter fighting at the front and mounting terrorism in the rear failed to keep the voters from the polls. The success of the general election goes to prove that, despite the difficulties confronting them, the people of the Republic of Viet-Nam have not lost sight of their true objective, namely, the establishment of a democratic form of government.

8. From the military point of view, the situation in the Republic of Viet-Nam has taken a definite turn for the better. Although it does not appear that hostilities can be brought to an early conclusion, the outlook is by no means a dark one. Judging from the over-all situation, I am inclined to take an optimistic view. My optimism is based not merely on the fact that there are clear indications that Hanoi is close to the verge of complete exhaustion. More important still, Mao Tse-tung, the architect of communist expansionism in Asia and the prime mover of the aggression against South Viet-Nam, is himself confronted with such overwhelming difficulties and such mounting opposition at home that it is doubtful whether he can continue to assert any semblance of control very much longer. Ho Chi Minh cannot be expected to carry on the war against the Republic of Viet-Nam without the active support of Peiping.

9. This brings me to the question of the Chinese Communist régime in Peiping. Some speakers before me—notably the distinguished Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Philippines—have spoken about the threat to international peace and security posed by the Chinese Communists. The Foreign Minister of the Philippines referred to Peiping's "new version of an old communist export commodity—revolution". In particular, he had in mind the export of "miniaturized cultural revolutions which the political upheaval" on the Chinese mainland "has triggered off in many lands of Asia and Africa" [1566th meeting, para. 98].

10. In this connexion let me add that such a commodity has in recent months been exported to Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Nepal in Asia, as well as to Kenya and other countries in Africa. This includes some of the countries which have gone to considerable lengths to cultivate the goodwill of Peiping. Burma, for example, has over the years done much to promote the Chinese Communist cause both inside and outside the United Nations. Yet Peiping now openly calls for the overthrow of the present Burmese Government.

11. The régime that has promoted subversive activities against established Governments and has sought to impose its own order upon mankind is now itself engulfed in an unprecedented upheaval. In the past year much has taken place on the Chinese mainland. The situation is so complex that it has caused considerable confusion on the part of the observers of the Chinese Communist scene. It may be that even Mao Tse-tung himself is somehow confused. The developments on the Chinese mainland cannot fail to

have important bearings on international peace and security. It is for this reason that I venture to give the General Assembly a brief review of the salient features of the present upheaval which goes by the name of "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

12. As is well known, that so-called "cultural revolution" was launched by Mao Tse-tung and his heir apparent, Lin Piao, in April of last year for a two-fold objective. In the first place, they have set out to eradicate the cultural heritage and traditions of the Chinese people and replace them with what is called the "Thought of Mao Tse-tung", and to get rid of all anti-Mao elements, including so-called revisionists. In the second place, they have sought, in the name of the "cultural revolution", to capture and perpetuate for themselves total control both of the Party and of the Government.

13. More than a year has elapsed since the launching of the "cultural revolution". What have Mao and his "close comrade-in-arms", Lin Piao, accomplished?

14. For one thing, they have done a good job of smashing up the Party and administrative machinery. The régime that had only a short while ago boasted of its "monolithic unity" and iron control now finds itself in the grip of a divisive power struggle. Chaos has prevailed in all except five provinces and two municipalities. The campaign to liquidate Liu Shao-chi, the régime's so-called "Chief of State", and other erstwhile high-echelon Party and Government leaders, goes on with frenzied intensity. Yet Liu Shao-chi, though no longer capable of exercising his duties as President of the régime, continues to live in his official residence in the old imperial city. He is out but remains unliquidated. This is proof of the inherent weakness of Mao's position in the current struggle.

15. Nor is Mao in firm control of the few provinces and municipalities that still owe allegiance to him. He controls points within the areas but not the areas as a whole. The anti-Maoist forces are everywhere struggling to capture power. In the majority of the provinces those forces either openly unfurl the anti-Maoist banner or else maintain an attitude of ambiguity, waiting for the dust to settle. Even the loyalty of the armed forces is now in doubt. If they are not actively anti-Mao, they are more often than not inclined to drift into the anti-Maoist camp.

16. But the most serious threat to Mao Tse-tung and all that he represents is the revolt of the masses of the people, particularly workers and peasants, who have suffered the most under the Communist tyranny. This is a concrete demonstration of the incompatibility between traditional Chinese culture and communism. In the confusion that has followed the "cultural revolution", the cultural heritage of the Chinese people has begun to reassert its influence.

17. At this time last year, the confusion on the Chinese mainland was caused by the rampaging Red Guards. Now, a year later, the confusion on the Chinese mainland is the result of the people's counter-attack against Mao Tse-tung and all that he stands for. Over the length and breadth of the vast country, clashes between the Maoist and anti-Maoist forces take place almost everywhere and every minute of the day. Only a short while ago, only spears, knives,

axes, sticks and other primitive weapons were used in these clashes. Now guns, cannon and even tanks are being used. It is thus clear that the situation is becoming more serious every day for the Maoist forces.

18. The Peiping régime used to threaten the rest of the world with its tremendous manpower—700 million strong. But the same 700 million people have now become a source of threat to Mao Tse-tung himself. Mao and his gang used to liken themselves to fish and the masses of the Chinese people to water. So long as there is water, the fish have nothing to worry about. Now that the people no longer support his régime, Mao and his gang are like fish out of water. It is ironical that the man who has developed the much publicized theory of the "people's war" and who has set so much store by the encirclement of the cities from the countryside, now finds that the same "people's war" and the same tactic of encircling the cities from the countryside are being used by the Chinese people for his own downfall.

19. From January this year Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly ordered the Red Guards to return to the provinces from which they came, has repeatedly tried to prevent the peasants from coming to the cities. But his orders have not been obeyed. Last month he prohibited the people from taking guns and other weapons from arsenals on the pretext that they needed them to fight the "counter-revolutionaries", and ordered them to turn in the weapons that they had already appropriated. These orders have also been met with defiance. It is all too clear that Mao Tse-tung and his gang have manoeuvred themselves into a blind alley from which there is no way out.

20. The confusion and anarchy that have engulfed the Chinese mainland will worsen progressively as time goes on. The Peiping régime continues to exist. But it continues to threaten the world with its "people's war", its Red Guards, and its nascent nuclear capability. But it seems to us that it is already moribund. Neither Mao Tse-tung nor Liu Shao-chi can survive the present convulsive struggle. Both are bound to meet with utter defeat. There will follow a period of unprecedented chaos.

21. The Government of the Republic of China, now based on Taiwan, represents the only stabilizing force for the Chinese people. This Government is the only legally constituted Government of China, the only Government capable of articulating the wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people, the only Government that truly represents the rich cultural traditions of China. It cannot, therefore, watch with unconcern the momentous events taking place on the Chinese mainland. Under the inspiring leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, the Government of the Republic of China is determined to restore freedom to the Chinese masses. In a recent speech on 25 September 1967, President Chiang said:

"The Republic of China is under a special obligation to take up this moral burden. We can destroy Peiping's vicious rule and prevent a nuclear holocaust. There is no need to call for the service of a single soldier from other nations of the free world. The free world will from then on be saved from the exhausting necessity of rushing to extinguish the

flames of war which the Peiping régime ignites here and there and anywhere at will."

22. Now let me say a brief word about the war in the Middle East, and I should like also to give a review of the international situation.

23. The war between Israel and the Arab States has added new tensions to an old conflict. Although a cease-fire has been maintained, no visible progress has been made to resolve the basic issues which have so long embittered the relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours. It is the hope of my delegation that at the current session of the General Assembly at least a beginning may be made in bringing peace and stability to the sensitive Middle Eastern area.

24. My delegation is, of course, aware of the complexity of the problems involved and the deep-seated emotions on the part of the parties concerned. It is too much to expect the fears, suspicions and mistrust between the Arabs and the Israelis to disappear overnight. But there is no reason why a climate conducive to peaceful settlement cannot be created in the Middle East. There can be no total solution of all problems at any one time; but gradual, step by step progress in the solution of the outstanding problems should not be ruled out. More than ever before, enmity must give way to reconciliation and magnanimity.

25. As Members of the United Nations, both Israel and the Arab States have firmly committed themselves to the principles of the Charter, which in Article 2 calls upon all Member States to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered" and to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations". It seems to my delegation that it is on these principles of the Charter that an enduring peace in the Middle East must be based.

26. In dealing with the Middle East situation it is important, as a first step, to open up the channels of communication between the parties concerned. The United Nations is in a unique position to provide such channels of communication. While the main responsibility for a lasting peace must fall upon the parties themselves, every State Member of this Organization must contribute its share to the peace effort.

27. My delegation sincerely hopes that peace based on justice will soon prevail in the Middle Eastern area. We support the efforts of the United Nations to alleviate the misery and suffering of the refugees and other victims of the war who, through no fault of their own, have been plunged into the depths of despair. We hope that the problem of troop withdrawal can soon be solved to the satisfaction of all parties. We believe that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its fifth emergency special session should be implemented.

28. In the last analysis, whether the United Nations can play an important role in the settlement of international problems depends on what its Members want it to play. Do they want it to be no more than a sounding board for propaganda, or do they want it to take, in

the words of Article 1 of the Charter, "effective ... measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace"?

29. My Government stands for a strong and effective United Nations. Both at Dumbarton Oaks and at the San Francisco Conference, we ranged ourselves unequivocally on the side of those who believed that the Organization must be one capable of maintaining international peace and suppressing aggression. This continues to be the policy of my Government.

30. I stress the importance of observing the principles and purposes of the Charter because I feel that, more than ever before, the United Nations has tended to become the battleground of particular interests. It is the firm conviction of my Government that if we are indeed "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" the United Nations must be strengthened to meet the challenges of the nuclear age. Let us, therefore, rededicate ourselves to the lofty ideals embodied in the Charter. Let us frankly face up to the fact that had the obligations solemnly assumed by Member States been honoured, many of the situations and crises now threatening international peace and security would not have arisen.

31. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): The past few months have been for the United Nations—and for many of our countries—a trying period. For while disturbances in Asia, particularly the war in Viet-Nam, go on unabated, the brief but devastating armed conflict which broke out in the Middle East last June added a new dangerous dimension to the already acute state of international tension. Confronted with that explosive situation, this fragile Organization of ours stood, as before the Viet-Nam problem, almost spellbound helplessly watching the fast moving episodes of a modern tragedy roll by. Only after the shells and bullets ceased to rain, sowing death and destruction, have efforts for peace begun, mostly in the forms of words—not all of them measured and constructive. At present, as this Assembly passes from an emergency session into a regular one, it has on its hands at least two burning problems, either of which has the potentiality of upsetting the peace of wide regions of the world and the well-being of scores of millions of human beings.

32. While international problems grow in urgency and acuteness, the capacity of the United Nations to deal with them effectively appears to develop in inverse proportion. As a result of this seemingly unfortunate situation, like many other representatives of smaller countries which constitute the great majority of the membership of this Organization and which place their faith and reliance in the United Nations as an instrument to preserve and maintain peace in this world, we have come to this important meeting with our hearts heavy and full of perplexity about the outcome of our present deliberations.

33. The question uppermost in our minds is whether this Assembly will follow, as previously, the same road which was marked by useless recriminations and invectives, with little, if any evidence of serious search for more constructive solutions and more permanent settlement. If that is the case, then the forthcoming discussions, which will in all probability

go on for the next two or three months, will be fruitless and will yield no worth-while result for the future peace of the Middle East and South-East Asia. All of us will then return home empty-handed, our hopes and desires to see long-lasting peace and tranquillity reign in this world frustrated, and the spectre of renewed or more intensified conflict will be looming high and large over the horizon. If, on the contrary, we refuse to be taken in by those who only pay lip service to peace, who try to assume the role of angels of peace but whose wings are strangely blackened by gunsmoke and stained with blood, and instead concentrate our efforts on attaining honourable and durable arrangements which will allow many nations to live together without the risk of being dominated or destroyed, then the prospects for world peace and harmony will become infinitely brighter and more promising.

34. Let us, the smaller and weaker nations, candidly face the facts and realize that the imminent dangers which may descend upon our nations are less likely to come from nuclear deployment—although that can never be ruled out—than from combinations of military and political ventures which their proponents euphemistically call "wars of national liberation", and which, to all intents and purposes, are hardly different from the one which Adolf Hitler launched against the Sudetenland nearly thirty years ago. Such undertakings nowadays may be more insidious but they are no less lethal to our free and healthy existence. They are even more so when accompanied by devious and variegated forms of propaganda which seek not only to deceive and dupe the less informed among us but also to incite and inflame pent-up emotions and to exploit old and new prejudices and hatreds. In the process of the carrying out of their designs, various kinds of aid may be resorted to, including the provision of liberal quantities of arms and other materiel of war which encourage the embittered people to throw themselves into battle and exterminate one another.

35. The foregoing elements may well constitute the root causes of many tragedies now unfolding in our troubled world. We will therefore have to make strenuous efforts and exercise our wiser judgement to protect ourselves against the lurings of false promises and the exhortations of subtle and treacherous propaganda.

36. This explains why Thailand is unwilling to take sides in the unfortunate situation in the Middle East which for long years has known neither peace nor reasonable hope of settlement, but which last June exploded into destructive clashes, leaving behind them a long trail of desolation and misery. Even now, the conflict is far from being resolved, embers are smouldering and new conflagrations may erupt if fuel is added to arouse new outbursts of the still highly charged emotions. The best those smaller nations which have no peace proposals or formulae to offer can do, probably would be to refrain from adding fuel to the fire and also, to the best of their ability, prevent possible exploitation of existing dissensions.

37. Such was the attitude taken by the Thai delegation during the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly. It was regrettable that prac-

tical substantive measures which might help to remove the root causes of the conflict were not then adopted. The principal objective of the Thai Government has always been to see long-lasting peace and stability in the Middle East. My delegation therefore believes that basic issues should be faced realistically and not left untouched.

38. The fact that there has been an outbreak of large-scale war three times in the Middle East in the past twelve years is a clear indication of the explosive situation in the area. Yet previous efforts were mainly directed towards making arrangements for bringing about a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities without attempting to resolve the fundamental causes which led to such hostilities. Failures of the United Nations so far to face the problem squarely have been, to quote the Secretary-General, "a major contributing factor to the war of last June." Is it therefore advisable for us now to try merely to liquidate the consequences of the war and seek at the same time to create necessary conditions which could ensure better prospects for more lasting peace in the Middle East? Withdrawal of troops from occupied areas however immediate and imperative, should, in our view, also be accompanied by additional steps which would remove the basic causes of the armed conflict.

39. In this connexion, my delegation regrets the absence of willingness to negotiate either directly between the parties concerned or through the intermediary of a third party. Likewise, my delegation regrets the refusal of the Government of Israel to heed the call of the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly in regard to the status of the City of Jerusalem. Israel's inflexible attitude on this question may adversely affect the over-all situation and may set another barrier in the path of finding an honourable, just, and definitive solution to the Middle East question.

40. While there is yet no Middle East settlement, the problem of refugees remains a serious concern for us all. My delegation is gratified that, on the initiative of the Swedish delegation, resolution 2252 (ES-V) concerning humanitarian assistance to the Middle East was adopted by the General Assembly at its fifth emergency special session. The Government of Thailand is pleased to be able to make a modest contribution of rice for the relief of the suffering as a result of the recent hostilities in the Middle East.

41. Of no less or perhaps even greater importance is, in our opinion, the question of the war now raging in Viet-Nam, for it has given rise to such a campaign of fallacies and aberrations, about which so many people unfortunately have displayed such a lack of candour, that there has been created an abysmal chasm between realities on the one hand and the falsehoods and half-truths that the perpetrators of the war and their sympathizers have disseminated. North Viet-Nam and its supporters in the Communist world as well as its Viet Cong agents in South Viet-Nam wanted the outside world to believe that the war of conquest they have been waging for many years against the small and independent country of South Viet-Nam is a genuine national uprising or, to use their current terminology, a "war of national

liberation." This travesty of the truth has convinced neither the South Vietnamese people nor those who live near the scene of the crime and who are directly or otherwise suffering from its nefarious consequences.

42. Only those who are farther away, whose minds are less perceptive of the existing realities, and those who are always liberal with other people's freedom or are prompted by less than altruistic reasons allow themselves to fall victims of this crude propaganda. But if the questions as to what they think of the conflict in Viet-Nam were directed to those Asians who have their feet firmly on the ground and whose vision has not been clouded by the outlandish ideology of the frustrated author of *Das Kapital*, they would reply in unison that it is in effect an old-styled colonial conquest with only a few renovated outward trimmings. For this so-called sublime liberation with its accompanying paraphernalia is being directed not solely against the Republic of Viet-Nam but actually against a dozen other countries in Asia and Africa. Also, the liberation is always forcible, never voluntary. Consequently, it invariably elicits strong resistance against the forceful invitation to be liberated and to join the paradise of Marxist bondage.

43. The people in our Asian part of the world are at present amazed at the emergence of negative values and logic. They find it particularly difficult to understand the strong advocacies by some quarters that the aggressors should be appeased and even protected against their crime. Their life and property should not be molested by aerial bombing, while their atrocities in the South and elsewhere evoke hardly any indignation. Thus, for these would-be pacifists and lopsided idealists, the lives of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong attackers seem to have much greater value than the throats and limbs of South Viet-Nameese and other Asian victims of aggression. That is why they clamour for unilateral and unconditional cessation of bombing which they contend may bring the aggressive régime of the North to the conference table.

44. It never occurs to them, however, to demand from that régime a positive indication of what it proposes to do in response to such a gesture. In the meantime, they are acting as spokesman and unauthorized agents of Hanoi, while the latter continues to disdain any prospect of meaningful negotiations except on its own terms. In fact, the more the other side shows intransigence and insistence on its unreasonable demands, the more the protagonists of concessions press on with further compromises which ultimately would lead to the surrender and delivery of South Viet-Nam to the North. Indeed, only a few of these advocates have enough courage to admit that South Viet-Nam is not worth saving but should be handed over to its predators of the North for the sake of a temporary peace or even a short-lived truce.

45. To the millions of suffering people in Asia, it seems that the right to call off measures to repel the aggressors, such as the bombing of the North, should be exercised in consultation with them and not by those apostates of peace who barely suffer at the hands of those cruel enemies of freedom and whose campaign

for illusory peace has, twice in a lifetime, led to the tragic disaster of world wars. For those millions of Asians whose life is constantly menaced by the aggressors' guns and terror, the halt in the bombing would gain immediate support and approval if it could lead ultimately to the cessation of hostilities as well as that of the harrowing reign of terror. Clearly for them the Viet-Nam war is indeed unpopular, even greatly more unpopular than in Europe or America, which enjoy both safety and abundance. Unlike the Hanoi régime, which is unwilling to leave the war-path, they ardently desire to see the war brought to an end, provided that in so doing their freedom and independence are not sacrificed, for if peace were to be followed by subjection to alien rule and deprivation of their heritage of liberty, their existence would be without meaning. For them it is deeply painful to watch the agonizing debate stirred up by the instigators of doubt, confusion and defeatism, who, masquerading as princes of peace, are in fact undermining and damaging the abiding interests of their own countries as well as those of their friends and allies. With a few more grains of wisdom and perspicacity they should be able to realize that the solution to the war in Viet-Nam can never be found while the defenders of freedom are divided and disunited, but only if the latter succeed in closing their ranks and are determined to carry their gallant task to the end. For the aggressive régime of North Viet-Nam once had the taste of a victory snatched from a divided nation, and nothing can dissuade it from thinking that it can repeat the performance if it manages to sow doubts, dissension and disruption both within and among nations which stand in its way to conquest and domination.

46. In fact, the anatomy of the war in Viet-Nam can be analysed into various elements. In the first place, hostilities may cease altogether when the aggressors, realizing the hopelessness of their adventure, discontinue their infiltration and intervention against their neighbours. They may be persuaded to adopt this course on finding that the cost of aggression, in terms of the deterioration of their well-being and even their subsistence, is far too high, and on realization of the fact that it is not possible for them to achieve their objective through the use of subversion and armed intervention. Indeed, those who are eager to see peace restored in Viet-Nam should join together in convincing the Hanoi régime of the futility of their venture, and persuading them that the peaceful approach is actually more beneficial.

47. Another possibility would appear to be negotiated settlement. Such a solution presupposes some form of negotiations and, above all, a sincere willingness by the parties involved to enter into negotiations. This the parties concerned may do directly on their own, but hitherto the negative attitude of Hanoi has precluded the likelihood of such direct discussion. A further alternative is a larger conference arranged by interested Governments for the settlement of this outstanding problem. In particular, the Geneva Conference on Indo-China may be reconvened to pave the way for a negotiated settlement. The first step in this direction would be for both co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to act as true peace-makers by fulfilling their avowed duties as co-Chairmen, and

to forsake their role of ideological partners in the conflict. Instead of adding further fuel to the flames by supplying more arms to the aggressors, a co-Chairman would better serve the cause of peace, and at the same time perform his part of the obligations, by using his influence to persuade Hanoi, the only unwilling party in this case, to come to the conference table. At any rate, the least that could be done would be to show support for the reconvening of such a conference.

48. In all these possibilities, even if negotiations could be initiated either directly or by an internationally arranged conference, a further step would still be to secure a just and durable settlement of the conflict. To achieve this objective either in the process of negotiation or otherwise, one of the prerequisites to be borne in mind by the free nations is for them to remain constantly united and to show their firm determination. Failure to muster such unity or to show firmness may result in a superficial settlement entailing a transitory peace which is fraught with no less grave danger to peace and security.

49. The vicious campaigns now being conducted to breed dissension and disunity among us are not completely devoid of usefulness. They have opened our eyes to the vagaries of both international and domestic politics in various countries and have spurred us to redouble our regional and individual efforts to strengthen our security and defence and to rely more and more on the combined endeavours of those who share in the same stake and have no doubt as to where their vital interests lie.

50. That explains why nations in South-East Asia and in the vast region of Asia and the Pacific have found it necessary to join together in co-operative efforts to bring about greater well-being and progress for their respective peoples. This is our own concept of a revolution in South-East Asia—a revolution which seeks to fill stomachs with food and hearts with realizable hopes for the future, and not one which throws starving people into the streets to commit depredations and desecrations. It is also a revolution to destroy the shackles of past domination and dependency. From now on, the nations in the areas will be inspired by the spirit of equal partnership and co-operation for the good of each and all. Such efforts would move forward more swiftly were it not for the disruptive Viet-Nam war, which has retarded the development of fuller independence and mutual self-reliance of the nations in the Asian region. That is why all of them without exception earnestly hope that this senseless conflict can be brought to a just and successful conclusion which will open up a new era of greater stability and progress. If South Viet-Nam is assured of its freedom, smaller nations of the world can look forward to a more secure independence, free from interference and encroachment. What smaller nations of the Organization, and indeed the whole world, should look forward to is not so much the one-sided cessation of bombing, which will allow the aggressor to wreak further havoc, but rather the ways and means to ensure that there will be no other Viet-Nams in the future.

51. Turning to the present economic situation of the world, I may safely say that in recent decades economists and statesmen have grown more convinced than ever that one of the most serious dangers to the future well-being and security of mankind is the slow and steady drift of 75 per cent of humanity into deeper poverty. Unless certain concrete and positive actions can be taken promptly and effectively to arrest that decline, so that the peoples of developing lands of Asia, Africa and Latin America can proceed with the implementation of their industrialization programmes and accelerate their progress towards self-sufficiency and prosperity, no number of treaties, declarations and resolutions will be sufficient to ward off the eventual breakdown of world order.

52. Many of the representatives preceding me have emphatically drawn the attention of this Assembly to the increasingly widening gap between the rich and the poor. This is no new phenomenon. Such a discouraging trend has existed for some time. And despite past exhortations and pleadings by developing countries and apparent sympathy and gestures of support from industrially advanced countries, the fact is that for the sixth successive year there has been little or no improvement in the over-all level of development assistance provided by the high income countries. While the needy are grateful for the increased generosity of some of these nations, their capacity to help is relatively limited. The main burden, as we know, falls on the few principal aid-supplying nations, whose assistance level, regrettably, has shown only small increases in recent years.

53. Many Governments of developing nations, including that of Thailand, have learned to rely to a large extent on their own efforts, and by means of sound planning and energetic execution of financial and economic policies have managed to move their countries forward at a fairly satisfactory pace. For the past ten years, Thailand's rate of economic growth has averaged 7 per cent a year. That is no mean achievement and has given a sense of pride to the Government and people of the country. However, the task is only partially done, and our efforts—which provide a major share for our own development—continue to be affected by a shortage of external finance on appropriate terms.

54. As a primary commodity-producing country, Thailand, together with many other countries of similar structure, is deeply concerned with the fluctuations of world prices of primary products. The matter has unfortunately been aggravated further by the periodic releases of stockpiles which do much damage to our total efforts and have the effect of slowing down our progress towards a better life for our own people. The recent signing of the Final Act of tariff negotiations within the Kennedy Round has provided us with some hope. Although the Kennedy Round negotiations have resulted in a significant lowering of tariff barriers surpassing the reductions made in previous rounds of tariff negotiations, my delegation finds that many products on which the developing countries had focussed their particular interest received on average considerably smaller tariff reductions than did other products. In other words, the product categories for which industrialized

countries are the main suppliers received much more extensive reductions. It therefore remains my firm belief that much needs to be accomplished before the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is able to achieve practical results and find adequate solutions. For that reason, the second session of UNCTAD to be held in New Delhi in 1968 should really serve as an effective instrument for a serious quest for solution of the crises—social and economic—which are besetting our world.

55. In this connexion, my delegation fully supports the appeals of the Secretary-General of UNCTAD about the pressing need for agreement on adopting a global strategy for development and the corresponding synchronized practical measures and actions. We also endorse in principle the proposal made at the fifth session of the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD by both the Secretary-General of UNCTAD and the Director General of GATT for a Joint International Trade Centre to help the developing countries in their export promotion efforts. It is our hope that the proposal will be translated into action as early as practicable.

56. There are still other problems of deep international concern such as disarmament, peace-keeping operations, decolonization and apartheid. In certain fields progress has been made, such as the submission of identical draft proposals of a treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.^{1/} But all these and other problems are currently being overshadowed by the reality of the danger and by the explosive character of the Middle East and Viet-Nam problems. Concerning these grave questions the most urgent requirement seems to be to fill the candour chasm and to set aside political and ideological partisanship. If indeed these issues can be dealt with with genuine candour and treated with human tolerance and comprehension, rather than being problems between East and West, between the Marxist and non-Marxist worlds, the chances of reaching accommodation and agreement will notably increase. So far, such a result is not within reach. But if further efforts are pursued with persistence and determination something may be gained which will open up new vistas in the arduous search for a durable and worth-while solution to the present difficulties. If that can be achieved, either within this Organization or outside it, a real service will be rendered to anguished mankind which is yearning for peace and tranquillity, undisturbed by the shadow of terror and the sudden explosion of death. Let us hope that within the relatively short time we spend at this session, tangible results may be achieved to fulfil the deep desire of millions of human beings.

57. Mr. NIKEZIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. The Yugoslav delegation is particularly pleased to see elected the representative of Romania, which is making an important contribution to the cause of international co-operation, and with which my country maintains sincere and friendly relations. It is with equally great satisfaction that we welcome the first election of a representative of a socialist

^{1/} Document ENDC/192 and ENDC/193.

country to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

58. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Mr. Pazhwak for the constructive efforts he put forth while presiding over the deliberations of the General Assembly during the past year.

59. The Middle East crisis is certainly not the only problem before us. Nevertheless, owing to its urgent nature, it occupies a central place in our concerns. It is, in addition, a problem with which the United Nations has been directly involved throughout the past twenty years. There is, therefore all the more reason for the United Nations to act at this stage when the crisis has deteriorated into war.

60. Unfortunately, the fifth emergency special session did not fulfil the aims it had set itself. For the first time when faced with an armed conflict, the General Assembly adopted no decision on the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied by force. The crisis has only grown more acute as a result. We are nevertheless convinced that, whatever differences of opinion there may be, there is no lack of common ground which can serve as a basis on which our Organization can, this time, fulfil its mission.

61. It is not my intention to review the history of events, the more so since we all seem to agree on the need to find a solution. The action taken by my Government since the outbreak of hostilities is well known. Yugoslavia has come out against the use of force as a means of settling disputed international questions, and it has lent its support to the victims of aggression in order to help them eradicate the consequences of the war. We did so in the service of peace and independence for all countries, but also because of our direct interest in the maintenance of normal relations among States and in the security of the Mediterranean area.

62. The failure of the emergency special session has been a matter of great concern to the Yugoslav Government and to Yugoslav public opinion. The Yugoslav Head of State, who was convinced of the absolute need to persist in seeking a solution to the crisis, sent personal messages to several Heads of State and Heads of Government in which he set out his Government's views on possible bases for a political solution and put forward the ideas contained in the well-known five points. In so doing, we at no time aspired to the role of mediator. Our aim was to help in overcoming opposition to any progressive action and to assist the efforts being made by interested Governments to reach some solution.

63. We appreciated the attention paid to our initiative by many Governments and the interest it aroused among them. At the current session, the Yugoslav delegation has set itself the same objectives: we are ready to participate in any effort to restore peace and security to the countries of the Middle East.

64. By exacerbating already existing problems and by giving rise to new ones, the Middle East crisis has posed a number of dilemmas. That crisis cannot be confined to the Israeli/Arab conflict alone. What we

are concerned with here are the fundamental principles on which, at the present time relations between States are based. Were the international community unable to reaffirm those fundamental principles and ensure their application, the repercussions of such a situation would be felt not only in the Middle East, but would, with all the dangers inherent in them, threaten international relations as a whole.

65. In the search for a solution to the crisis, the Yugoslav Government favours a just political solution, which alone can provide for the elimination of the results of aggression and for the settlement of the disputes between the countries of the region.

66. The establishment of peace and security in the Middle East is, of course, a long-term task, owing as much to the number of problems that have accumulated as to the unusual circumstances in which their solution is being sought. We are in favour of comprehensive solutions which can restore peace and security to that region. But whatever our wishes may be, we fear that, in the present circumstances, those problems cannot all be solved at once.

67. In our opinion, the first duty is to refuse to condone the results of the conflict and, consequently, to ensure that the Israel forces withdraw to the positions occupied prior to 5 June 1967. Failing that, there can be no conceivable just political solution.

68. It is encouraging to note that the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial changes resulting from the use of force has been so widely reaffirmed in this Assembly and that, with regard to the question of Jerusalem, it has been possible with near unanimity to adopt two resolutions calling upon Israel to rescind its annexation measures.

69. The international community cannot support solutions wrung from the vanquished by the victor. Apart from the question of their injustice, such solutions could not prevail beyond the day when the party compelled to accept them felt itself strong enough to denounce them. In our opinion, it is in that context that direct negotiations between Israel and each of the Arab States must be considered. As a rule, such negotiations are the best method of resolving disputes, provided that they are carried out on an equal footing. However, where one party, which has conquered territory belonging to another party by armed force, insists on direct negotiations, the support of such a demand by the United Nations would be tantamount to supporting the right of the strongest. The United Nations cannot shirk its obligations to peace and to Member States. For that reason, we place the greatest importance on the near unanimity which has arisen out of the general debate on the duties and responsibilities of the United Nations with regard to the quest for peace in the Middle East.

70. The right of all States to exist is for us an established principle which applies also to the State of Israel, whose existence and whose equality of rights with other States we have never questioned. There is no doubt that recognition of the right to exist and respect for the independence and territorial integrity of all States must of necessity constitute the basic elements of any solution. It is in that spirit that my Government had suggested that guarantees

should be provided by the great Powers or the Security Council, ensuring respect for those rights in practice.

71. Yugoslavia is also in favour of respect for and application of the principle of freedom of navigation in international waterways. However, under present conditions, it is essential to take present-day realities into account and, while upholding that principle, to recognize that that question is part of a complex of problems, and that it can be resolved only within that political context and insofar as general progress is made towards a solution in the Middle East.

72. With regard to the refugee problem, which is at the basis of the conflict between Israel and the Arab States and whose solution has up to now eluded all our efforts, it has lost none of its importance on the human and political levels. It will be impossible for the Arab States and Israel to make peace or for the United Nations to fulfil its mission, so long as the vital interests of the Arab population of Palestine are not recognized and met—not by assisting, feeding or caring for them, but by repatriating or compensating them; in short, by giving them justice. For it is through that injustice that the war between the Jews and the Arabs began, and it is by redressing it that that war must be brought to an end if peace is to prevail in the region.

73. My Government attaches great importance to the fact that the Heads of the Arab States, meeting at Khartoum,^{2/} declared themselves in favour of a political solution to the conflict. Unfortunately, we do not see evidence of a corresponding sense of reality on the other side. Those who declared, in launching that war, that they were in no way waging it to acquire territories, today inform us that they have come to those territories to stay. The fact that the return of populations forced to flee by the war is rendered practically impossible, as well as the expressed intention of replacing them with others, are manifestations of a policy of conquest unacceptable to the international community.

74. At the moment of military triumph, it is hard to hear the voice of reason. Yet that is the moment when it should be heard. Building the future on the basis of an armed raid would be unjust to other peoples and a failure on the part of any Government to fulfil its obligations to its own people.

75. We feel that the general debate and the concomitant consultations are revealing the broad outlines of what could be at this point the framework for a solution. I am thinking particularly of the denunciation of territorial demands, the withdrawal of forces, of the respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States and the guaranteeing of their security. If an agreement reaffirming those principles could be reached, there would surely be fewer difficulties in tackling the solution of other complex problems, such as those of the Palestine refugees and the Suez Canal. In such a context, the help of a special representative of the Secretary-General might be envisaged. We believe that we could count on the acceptance of such a basic premise, followed by an understanding of the steps to be taken, to clear the

way for over-all solutions and for peace in the Middle East.

76. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, the events in the Middle East reflect the actual state of international relations, in which force always plays too large a part for us to have confidence in the unstable peace of our era.

77. The elements which make up general progress—especially the peoples' desire for peaceful independence, economic and social development and equal co-operation—conflict with the interests and with the activity of the imperialist forces. In order to protect their privileged positions, those imperialist forces seek to control the policy and development of many States. The policy of coercion and local wars has become an immediate threat to the independence and security of small countries; it compels them to devote to military expenditure resources that are disproportionate to their capabilities and, as a result, impedes their economic and social progress.

78. Of all the situations where force is now being employed, the war in Viet-Nam is naturally the one which causes most concern throughout the world, owing to the widening scope of military operations in the South and the bombing in the North, as well as to all the hazards inherent in that conflict.

79. Our support of the struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and the Yugoslav positions on that problem are well-known. I should simply like to reaffirm my Government's conviction that there can be no peace in that region so long as the Viet-Nameese people are not allowed freely to determine their future. We have always been of the opinion—and we have repeated it ever since the beginning of the air attacks on the North—that it is for the United States to make the first essential step by declaring an unconditional end to the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Such a step could not but encourage the quest for a political solution in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements with, of course, the participation on an equal footing of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam.

80. Owing to their complexity and their repercussions on international relations, the problems facing newly liberated countries and the peoples still under colonial domination extend beyond the bounds of regional activities and interests. We consider it indispensable to ensure more effective and more direct action by the international community both in the preparation of a long-term assistance programme for newly-liberated countries and the adoption of urgent measures for speeding up the process of decolonization.

81. We are convinced that the only effective way to combat the policy of force is for all nations to work together for the safeguarding of peace, independence and coexistence, for the furthering of economic development and for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. Those, in essence, are the principles which inspire the policy of non-alignment. The fact that non-aligned and other countries have decided to intensify their co-operation in this time of crisis is, in our opinion, significant, and an inducement to more sustained action.

^{2/} The Arab "summit conference," held from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

82. In speaking of the role of the United Nations, we always regard it as essential that the principle of universality should apply to it and that the legitimate right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to represent that country in this Assembly should be recognized.
83. The improvement of relations between the great Powers and their determination to avoid any direct confrontation are undoubtedly elements of basic importance for the maintenance of world peace. But that alone cannot solve all our troubles or even preclude the possibility of a war. Other measures are needed for solving the major present-day problems.
84. In this connexion, the fact that a reconciliation of views has been achieved between the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is undoubtedly of great importance. My Government is in favour of a treaty which will reflect in the broadest possible way the interests of all States. We are also prepared to associate ourselves with efforts leading to the adoption of such a treaty and aimed at exploring the General Assembly's opportunities for action on this matter and on disarmament in general.
85. In Europe, the East-West *détente* and the increasingly important steps being made in the field of European co-operation are, despite certain adverse events, bringing about a new spirit, a new awareness of what that continent may become in the future.
86. We expect this favourable evolution to continue, for it is in keeping with the political and economic interests of the European nations. In it, we see the best way of solving the major problems which have been outstanding for two decades, such as European security and the question of Germany.
87. The action of the group of nine European countries affords a modest but significant example of that new understanding and of those new relationships. Yugoslavia, pursuing an independent policy, is actively participating in the current *rapprochement* between the countries of our continent, for that is in our immediate interest and, furthermore, we believe it to be the best way for Europe—after overcoming its long-standing differences—to serve world peace and co-operation and to fulfil its obligations in the matter of aid to developing countries.
88. The facts concerning the growing disparity between poor and rich countries and the possible repercussions which economic development problems can have on world peace, are well enough recognized today. Competition among the industrial countries should in no way blind us to that confrontation between the developed and the under-developed worlds, a conflict of vast proportions which is liable to affect our future existence more perhaps than any other present-day problem. It is not enough to recognize the importance and scope of development problems; the international community must also undertake to seek out a solution to those problems. We hope that the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,^{3/} as well as the meeting
- of the eighty-six developing countries at Algiers,^{4/} will enable us to record practical results. We believe that those efforts merit our Assembly's fullest support.
89. My country's Government has always considered that it was the duty of our Organization to work towards the resolution of outstanding international problems and, particularly, those problems on which depend the stability and security of nations. Peace and development are the most pressing questions of our time.
90. Whatever difficulties it encounters, the United Nations remains the instrument best suited to universal co-operation. The strengthening of our Organization so keenly desired by the Secretary-General, whose efforts and activities are deeply appreciated by my Government, can be brought about only if all Member States bring to it the full measure of their responsibilities and their capabilities.
91. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolian People's Republic): Comrade President, permit me first of all to offer you, on behalf of my delegation, my sincere and fraternal congratulations on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. Your election to this important post is a tribute to your great nation and to your people, a worthy tribute to the family of socialist nations of which your country is a member, and an eloquent recognition of your remarkable personal qualities as a statesman and diplomat.
92. I am also taking this opportunity to pay my delegation's warm tribute to Ambassador Pazhwak, who presided over the last three sessions of this body in a highly able and efficient manner.
93. A distinctive feature of the present session of the General Assembly is that its agenda embraces the most urgent issue of liquidating the consequences of the aggression committed by the imperialist agent in the Middle East against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a number of Arab States. This fact, in our opinion, is most expressive of the strained international situation obtaining at present.
94. World reactionary elements, with United States imperialism at their head, have resorted to force wherever possible to hinder the steady advance of humanity along the road of national independence and social progress opened up half a century ago by the victorious October Socialist Revolution. United States ruling circles, in pursuance of the unrealistic objectives of their global strategy, flagrantly interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign States, seek to suppress national liberation movements wherever possible, organize reactionary plots, anti-national coups d'état, and instigate so-called local wars.
95. Of all the crimes being committed today by reactionary forces against mankind, the gravest is the colonial war being waged in Viet-Nam by the United States of America and its accomplices against the people of Viet-Nam. The United States invaders, intensifying the escalation of the war, commit un-

^{3/} Conference to be held at New Delhi from 1 February to 25 March 1968.

^{4/} Ministerial Meeting of the Group of Seventy-Seven, held at Algiers from 10 to 25 October 1967.

precedented atrocities that are by no means second to the inhuman deeds of nazi criminals. Bombs are being dropped on nurseries and kindergartens, schools and hospitals, and living quarters in the towns of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The soil of Viet-Nam has been converted into a veritable testing ground for a variety of weapons and means designed for the ruthless annihilation of every living thing and for the destruction of material goods. In order to justify the brutal crimes that are being committed against the innocent people of Viet-Nam, United States officials often tell us that their troops are fighting there to defend the cause of freedom and democracy. Any sober-minded person, however, cannot fail to see what sort of freedom and democracy would defend the troops sent by the country which on its own soil, with the help of the regular army, ruthlessly suppresses in blood the movement of the people of African origin for their basic constitutional rights.

96. Spokesmen for the United States have sought, in many statements, to give the impression that their Government seeks a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam. However, the real actions of Washington clearly reveal the fact that assertions of peaceful intentions are meant solely to deceive the American people and mislead world opinion. To cite a glaring example to this effect, the United States resumed intensified bombing raids on North Viet-Namese territory after the short truce of the lunar new year last February without having even waited for a reply to the much publicized letter of Mr. Johnson to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

97. This new act of the further escalation of the war was perfidiously taken despite the fact that on 28 January the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had announced publicly that it was prepared to enter into negotiations with the United States if the latter unconditionally ceased the bombing and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

98. What is the value of the assertions of the United States representative regarding his Government's peaceful intentions, of which he spoke a few days ago from this rostrum, particularly in the light of the fact that the United States Administration on the eve of this session of the General Assembly announced its decision to send to South Viet-Nam not less than 45,000 more troops, and the Preparedness Investigating Sub-Committee of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate came up with its endorsement of a new plan for the total bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam?

99. United States representatives also often speak of an "honourable settlement" in Viet-Nam. The only course left to the United States is to give up this hopeless war and leave Viet-Nam so that the people of that country can solve their affairs themselves without any outside interference. The United States Administration should immediately and unconditionally cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This would open up an avenue to negotiations and could, in the long run, lead to political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

100. In this connexion I should like to stress here again that no United Nations organ has the right to handle the Viet-Nam question.

101. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, which consistently supports the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam, which is the sole legitimate representative of the people of South Viet-Nam, has lent and will continue to lend all possible support and assistance to fighting Viet-Nam in its courageous struggle against alien invaders. The just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the salvation of their motherland, for the defence of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, enjoys the ever growing support of all peoples of the world, including the American people. This fight will no doubt be crowned with complete victory.

102. The United States colonial war in Viet-Nam, although the gravest, is not the only source of danger which threatens peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world. The increasing provocations by the United States and its accomplices against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia and Laos pose a real danger that the war will spread to the entire Indo-China peninsula, an eventuality which is fraught with grave consequences.

103. South Korea, which has virtually been turned into a United States military base, has become a hotbed of growing tension in the Far East.

104. The Mongolian people, like peoples in other countries, are deeply concerned about that régime's increasing involvement, under United States pressure, in the Viet-Nam war and, equally, in various bilateral and multilateral alliances with other reactionary forces on the Asian continent. The United States occupation administration and the Park régime in South Korea have resorted to increasingly frequent violations of the Korean Armistice Agreement and have set out to intensify their provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

105. In order to eliminate this dangerous source of yet more international tension and to give the Korean people an opportunity of bringing about their country's peaceful unification, it is urgent that the American and other foreign troops stationed in South Korea—to our great regret under the flag of the United Nations—should be withdrawn immediately. With this particularly in view, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, together with other socialist countries, has proposed an item for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly entitled "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" [item 33 (b)]. My Government considers that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved, too.

106. It is high time that the United Nations took concrete steps towards the positive solution of these important and urgent matters if it is to remain faithful to the aims and principles of its Charter. It is our firm conviction that the withdrawal of American and other foreign troops from South Korea will remove the main obstacle which stands in the way of the

peaceful unification of Korea. It is our considered view that the constructive proposals put forward repeatedly by the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea would serve as a good basis for the solution of this problem.

107. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the Middle East issue remains, as before, that of invariable and firm support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the encroachment of the imperialist and colonialist forces. The Israel aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan is part and parcel of the notorious global strategy of world imperialism directed against freedom, independence and social progress of peoples. The main goal of that aggression has been and remains to undermine progressive systems in the Arab countries.

108. The Mongolian people follow with deep sympathy the efforts of the Arab countries to work out joint measures to liquidate the consequences of the aggression. We are glad to note that those efforts have found their expression in a number of decisions of the Arab Summit Conference held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

109. Our Government resolutely supports the common stand taken by the party and government leaders of the socialist countries on the Middle East problem worked out at the Moscow and Budapest meetings, and is in full accord with their decisions to render assistance to the Arab countries, which have become the victims of the aggression, in the elimination of the consequences of the war and in strengthening their economic consolidation.

110. The Mongolian people strictly censure Israel for continuing its aggression by its virtual annexation of the seized portions of the territories of neighbouring States and by laying claims which have far-reaching objectives.

111. Mr. Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, in his statement at the fifth emergency special session on 22 June said:

"... the only just way to restore peace is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the troops of the aggressor from the territories of the Arab States and the making of reparations in the shortest possible time for all the damage caused to the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan as a result of the aggressive military action of Israel. Only on this basis can measures be taken for the further stabilization of the situation in the Middle East." [1531st meeting, para. 168.]

This is the view that my Government continues to hold on this problem.

112. The Mongolian delegation shares the opinion expressed by many speakers here that the Security Council should consider the Middle East issue in view of its urgency and of the necessity to apply sanctions against Israel which continues to flout important resolutions of the United Nations. We are in full agreement with the opinion of the Secretary-

General that there should be no territorial gains by military conquests, that it would lead to disastrous consequences if the United Nations were to abandon or compromise that fundamental principle.

113. It is most urgent in these days that this principle be strictly observed. This is particularly important if we look into the present policy of West Germany and see how the revanchist forces in that country are becoming more and more stubborn in their territorial claims, how they are exerting every effort in order to change the outcome of the Second World War. It is the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, abetted by the United States, that constitutes a major threat to peace and security in Europe and elsewhere.

114. The Bonn revanchists seek in every way to obstruct the commendable trend that has been brought about lately in the improvement of relations and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation between East and West in the European context. Such favourable development has become possible thanks mainly to the concerted efforts of the European socialist countries which have consistently come forward with constructive programmes for ensuring peace and security in Europe and for creating a system of collective security on the continent.

115. In our opinion the crux of the question of ensuring European security is the peaceful solution of the German problem through the recognition of the indisputable fact of the existence of the two sovereign German States, and on the basis of the normalization of relations between them. As the Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic so aptly put it, the existence of two German States has become a historic reality, a historic necessity.

116. The Government of the German Democratic Republic, which, by its consistent policy of friendship and co-operation among nations is enjoying increasing recognition, has come forward with an important new initiative. The draft treaty on the establishment of normal relations between the two German States proposed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, contains principles the realization of which is of great importance not only for the settlement of the German problem but also for the consolidation of peace in Europe and for the development of co-operation among the nations of that continent. It is therefore the view of the Mongolian delegation that our Organization should accord unreserved support to that constructive step of the German Democratic Republic.

117. World public opinion is becoming increasingly resentful of the attempts of the ruling circles of the United States to assume the right to arbitrary armed interference in Latin American affairs. This policy of brutal force is directed particularly against the socialist system in Cuba that has been established by the heroic Cuban people. Lately the United States has been seeking to whitewash its subversive activities against the Republic of Cuba by exerting pressure on Latin American countries to agree to initiate collective measures against that country. The work and results of the recent meetings of the Foreign Ministers

of countries members of the Organization of American States, held in Washington, speak clearly of that policy of pressure.

118. The Mongolian people demand that the United States of America stop forthwith its hostile acts against the Republic of Cuba, a Member State of the United Nations.

119. In the present circumstances, when the adversaries of peace and security of nations are active at work, the proposal of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the necessity of accelerating the elaboration of the definition of aggression is most timely.

120. The implementation of this proposal would be significant for the activities of the United Nations itself and for the confirmation and development of the principles of its Charter related to the maintenance of international peace and world security. The exact definition of aggression would render important political and juridical assistance to peoples in their struggle against the war-mongering and reactionary forces.

121. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, as in the past, considers that the United Nations should take effective measures for the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with regard to the scores of millions of the indigenous population of South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Zimbabwe, Aden and other Territories. The United Nations also should act to prevent the reduction of the southern part of Africa into a nest of most inveterate colonialism and white settler fascist racism. The development of events is such that an alliance of the Republic of South Africa, the Southern Rhodesia régime and Portugal is being knocked together under the patronage of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

122. Under the existing circumstances, when imperialist forces are active at work, one of the paramount tasks of national liberation movements has come to be the fight for strengthening the political and economic independence of liberated countries. In the opinion of my delegation, the fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which adopted a series of important decisions aimed at the consolidation of united action in the struggle against colonialism and racism, has called attention to this very real problem of the newly-born States of the African continent.

123. The United Nations could play an essential part in the strengthening of the economic independence of the developing countries. To carry out this task in a more efficient way, as we see it, the United Nations should introduce appropriate changes into its policies and methods of rendering technical assistance to the newly-born States in such a way that the aid provided would be earmarked mainly for the construction of industrial enterprises and for the development of other projects to produce material resources of which the particular country is in need. The United Nations must further undertake effective steps for the elimi-

nation of the economic disparities which have become the cause of much concern and for the creation of favourable conditions for the developing countries in international trade and economic relations. The implementation of decisions of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been far from satisfactory. As a result there are many challenging issues that must face the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

124. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on the question of general and complete disarmament under strict international control is well-known. The Mongolian delegation has stressed on many occasions that the first and foremost task in this field should be the elimination of the means of conducting thermonuclear warfare. We therefore welcome the positive steps that have been made in the elaboration of an agreed text of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of such a treaty would constitute an important landmark in the struggle to curb the arms race.

125. The proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is highly significant. The Mongolian People's Republic is strongly in favour of the immediate conclusion of the said convention and considers it not only as an additional guarantee of the effectiveness of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons but also as an act that would outlaw this terrible weapon of mass destruction.

126. My Government also strongly favours the implementation of all other measures which would promote the solution of the problems of disarmament and the curbing of the arms race such as the elimination of military bases in foreign territories, a total ban on nuclear tests and the creation of atom-free zones. In this connexion, my delegation welcomes the encouraging start the Latin American countries have made by declaring their continent a non-nuclear zone.

127. The year 1967 has been a difficult one for the United Nations. This Organization, as a political and moral factor, has stood the test. However, due to the unrealistic policies of some of its western Members, it has not lived up to the expectations of the peoples as an instrument called for to strengthen world peace.

128. Here is a fresh reminder of the necessity strictly to respect and observe the Charter. Too often have we witnessed the facts of gross violation of the aims and principles of the Charter by certain Powers who, in their own selfish interests, have thus jeopardized the effectiveness and prestige of this Organization. As an example one may cite the continued discriminatory attitude of certain Powers on the question of restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The representative of Chiang Kai-shek still illegally occupies the seat of the People's Republic of China.

129. The Mongolian delegation demands that the United Nations grant the request of the German Democratic Republic for admission into this body.

The German Democratic Republic, a peace-loving socialist State, meets fully and well all the requirements necessary for becoming a Member of the United Nations Organization.

130. It is also high time to put an end to the abnormal situation in which one of the German States—the Federal Republic of Germany—has its Permanent Observer here at the United Nations, while the other—the German Democratic Republic—has not been given such an opportunity. That this situation has obtained, and for so long a time, is due to the discriminatory attitude towards this question on the part of some Member States, above all the United States of America.

131. I have dwelt briefly on the position of my Government with regard to certain major issues of the international life of today. The Mongolian People's Republic pursues unwaveringly the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems in the interest of peace and co-operation among nations. Our people and Government hold dear the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist States, since we see in it not only an external guarantee for the

successful building of socialism in our own country but also a decisive factor in the struggle for the good of mankind.

132. The Mongolian people was one of the first to take the path opened by the Great October Revolution, and in our struggle to overcome century-old economic and technological retardation and in building our new life we have always relied, as we do today, on the fraternal friendship and unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union, which is indeed a true friend of all peoples.

133. In connexion with the fiftieth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, my delegation today from this rostrum most heartily congratulates the delegations of the multinational Soviet Union, the representatives of the country which, at the cost of immense sacrifices, saved mankind from fascist slavery and today firmly defends the cause of peace, national independence and the social progress of all nations.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.