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

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me first, on behalf of Cambodia, to offer you our very sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the Presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, whose work will, we hope, be crowned with success.
2. This session of the General Assembly is of unusual importance in the eyes of the Cambodian delegation, which is convinced that on our work and our decisions may depend, sooner or later, whether there is to be lasting peace or a war with incalculable consequences for the future of mankind. In this respect, I think that most representatives share our concern, despite some forced optimism which cannot obscure grave events and a very disturbing turn which the situation has taken in many parts of the world.
3. We must regretfully acknowledge that conflicts of interest, a will to dominate, contempt for the rights of peoples, and pride in maintaining illusory prestige have gravely complicated international problems which call for urgent and realistic solution. For us, as for many other countries, hope for a more fraternal world gives way, each year, to new disappointments and new fears. And so it will be, as long as the United Nations Charter is openly violated or disregarded by certain countries, several of which were its promoters and authors.
4. Cambodia occupies but a very small place in the world of today. Its population, natural resources and military and economic power are too small for its voice to influence the decisions of a few Powers—decisions that are blindly followed or passively accepted. It has neither the right nor the wish to set itself up as a moralist or as a judge in regard to anyone's actions. None the less, it is my duty clearly to describe the standpoint of a people which has two thousand years of history behind it, which founded one of the great Asian civilizations and which is

deeply imbued with the doctrine of tolerance and peace brought to it by Buddhism.

5. In all humility, then, I shall today venture to appeal to all representatives—be they Buddhists, Christians, Moslems, agnostics, Asians, Europeans, Africans, Americans, communists, anti-communists or neutralists—to put an end to the disputes, prejudices and injustices which are at the root of all our difficulties. We must save our planet from chaos and avoid the destruction of everything which our ancestors, at the cost of so much effort and patience, achieved over several thousands of years. This, however, implies that our Organization must impose on its Members the strictest respect for a Charter solemnly accepted by all but too often forgotten.

6. At this nineteenth session, Cambodia for its part will merely raise or call to mind a few of the burning questions facing the United Nations—either because we are particularly familiar with them, or because they concern us directly or indirectly.

7. For many years, from this rostrum, the representatives of Cambodia have drawn the attention of the United Nations to a problem that involves the very principles on which our Organization was founded. I refer to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in all the major international organizations.

8. Our eminent Secretary-General, U Thant, recalled some weeks ago that one of the aims of the United Nations was universality. But how can we speak of universality when the lawful representatives of 700 million Chinese, or one fifth of humanity, have been ostracized without the slightest justification?

9. The fiction of granting the pseudo-Government of Taipei the right to speak in the name of the Chinese people has been indefensible ever since, in 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. For fifteen years—in this Assembly, in the Security Council and in the major international agencies—the Taiwan representatives have been occupying China's seat without any right to it whatsoever. Of this we must in truth say that the attitude of all delegations, without exception, in regard to these Taipei representatives is complete confirmation. There is not one country in the world which does not recognize, today, that the existence of the People's Republic of China is a fact and that the non-existence of the so-called Republic of China, an American protectorate, is equally a fact.

10. Everyone knows that the refusal by certain Powers to consent to the reinstatement of the People's Republic of China in all its rights within the United Nations is based on political considerations completely foreign

to the spirit in which our Organization was founded. It is undeniable that the Chinese people had every right to adopt the political system of its choice, without thereby losing its international rights. Many other countries have undergone people's revolutions; they have none the less retained their seats in the United Nations. It was the Egypt of King Farouk, not that of President Nasser, which was admitted to the Organization; the Cuba of the dictator Batista, not the People's Republic of Premier Fidel Castro; the Congo (Brazzaville) of Abbé Youlou, not that of President Massamba-Debat; and so forth. Why, then, apply a discriminatory and altogether arbitrary measure in regard to the People's Republic of China?

11. We have heard, and shall doubtless hear again, assertions by the representatives of the United States and of countries following in their train to the effect that the People's Republic of China has never given sufficient evidence of its will to peace to entitle it to sit among us. Such assertions are unfounded and are in complete conflict with the statements and actions of the Chinese Government: the leaders of the People's Republic of China have always, and unequivocally, declared their stand in favour of political solutions to disputes which may arise between independent States. China's peaceful policy is, moreover, confirmed by its scrupulous respect for the Geneva Agreements of 1954^{1/} and 1962.^{2/} Those whose denials of that fact are the most strenuous are precisely the countries which have been the most barefaced in their violation of those Agreements.

12. It is asserted in some Western circles that the People's Republic of China practises an aggressive policy. But we must recall that there is no Chinese military base outside Chinese territory, and no Chinese war fleet outside Chinese territorial waters. It would be well if all the Powers sitting and speaking in this Assembly were equally moderate.

13. It is also asserted that every popular revolt which breaks out around the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is the result of Chinese intervention. Yet in all these instances it is a case of national revolt against the military presence and political or economic interference of certain Western Powers. We have striking examples of this in South Viet-Nam, Cuba, Laos, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Yemen and Zanzibar. In all these countries China has never intervened militarily, although the sending of American expeditionary forces to South Viet-Nam and Laos, for example, indisputably gave China the opportunity and the right to do so. The so-called Chinese threat has, in fact, become an alibi for every Western colonialist or imperialist enterprise for which the African-Asian and Latin American countries pay the price.

14. It is certainly not our intention to pose as China's advocate. Cambodia is not authorized to plead a case which can stand on its own merits. But our freedom of judgement stemming from our policy of non-alignment, and our position as an Asian nation acquainted

^{1/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

^{2/} Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed on 23 July 1962.

with Chinese foreign policy, oblige us to speak out against injustice. Moreover it should be emphasized that, if China is attacked as a communist country, it is also attacked, perhaps to an even greater degree, as a new Asian Power resisting imperialist designs on the non-aligned world as a whole.

15. Certain great Powers, seeking to prove at any price that Peking wants war, have declared that the explosion of China's first atomic bomb has borne out that contention. Yet these same Powers have long been equipped with a nuclear arsenal, which they continue to expand and improve, without hiding their determination to have recourse to it if they consider their interests to be unduly threatened anywhere. Increasingly strident American voices are even heard asking for a nuclear attack against China, with a view to eliminating it from the nuclear club into which it has just forced its way.

16. The time for baseless, purely propaganda statements has passed. It is urgently necessary for the world to realize that none of the great international problems can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China, and it is absurd and dangerous to think that the use of force could permanently prevent China from playing its role of a great Power.

17. Some countries envisage a solution of the Chinese problem through the creation of "two Chinas". But such a solution is unjust, and obviously no country in the world would agree to sacrifice its unity in exchange for a half-seat in the United Nations. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and, de jure, a permanent member of the Security Council; it is unthinkable that it could allow its lawful rights to be shared with a pseudo-government, which is all that the rebel administration of Taiwan Province really is.

18. In this connexion, a day will certainly come when the Chinese province of Taiwan will return to the mother country. It would therefore be reasonable to encourage the Taipei authorities to study with the central Government at Peking, without any foreign interference, procedures for an agreement bringing to an end a separation which has lasted only too long.

19. This year again, many countries, including France, have realistically given de jure recognition to the People's Republic of China as genuinely representing the entire Chinese people. A couple of months ago, the forty-seven countries represented at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries^{3/} asked the United Nations General Assembly "... to restore [at its next session] the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China in the United Nations" [A/5763, section IX]. Finally, the countries having the closest ties with the United States admit that China's return to the United Nations cannot be delayed beyond 1965.

20. There can be no doubt that China could bear with this inexplicable further delay, without injury to itself. But would that be true of our Organization,

^{3/} Conference held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

which must find urgent solutions to serious and pressing problems such as disarmament and international co-operation? The Cambodian delegation does not think so, and ventures to draw the General Assembly's attention to the impossibility of excluding China from the great decisions which will be taken and of demanding that China should accept obligations deriving from agreements concluded without its participation.

21. Certain countries, obviously at the instigation of the United States, have raised what they describe as the question of human rights in Tibet. This is clearly a propaganda manoeuvre, designed to discredit China in the eyes of countries which are already convinced of the need to agree to the return of China's representatives to the United Nations.

22. What our Assembly is being asked to do is to pronounce, in China's absence, on a Chinese domestic question which is outside the competence of the United Nations and whose examination is, indeed, contrary to the Charter. For it need hardly be recalled that Tibet, linked to China by bonds of vassalage for more than a thousand years, has been part of Chinese territory since the beginning of the eighteenth century. We should add that the Treaty of 1951,^{4/} which gave to Tibet internal autonomy within the People's Republic of China, encountered no opposition or reservation from any country whatsoever.

23. There should be greater explicitness with regard to this question of human rights in Tibet. Does it refer to the Tibetan people, who are emerging from the early Middle Ages and are today enjoying freedom, education, medical care and modern material civilization? Or does it refer to the handful of feudal lords who have been deprived of anachronistic and exorbitant privileges, including the right of life and death over their slaves?

24. The Cambodian delegation for its part considers that there is no Tibetan question but that there is a Khmer question as well as questions concerning Viet-Nam, Laos, Africa, North America and Latin America, where human rights are shamefully violated and the whole existence of peoples is being threatened.

25. The Indo-Chinese problem is indisputably one of the most serious facing the world today, since on the way it develops in the coming months depends the issue of peace or war for our country, for Asia, and indeed for the whole world. Some little time ago, a leading American figure publicly stated that the domestic conflict in South Viet-Nam could bring on a third world war. That is quite true; South Viet-Nam could easily become the cause of a new world conflict.

26. Directly threatened by such prospects, Cambodia will venture to describe, dispassionately, the origin of this dangerous situation—or, more accurately, of this deadlock—and suggest measures calculated to prevent a general war, whose consequences for the future of mankind every country can imagine. The first cause of the situation in South Viet-Nam is the refusal of certain Powers—that is, the United States and South Viet-Nam—to abide by the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which had brought the war in Viet-Nam

to an end. Those Agreements may not have been perfect, but they had the immense advantage of offering the three Indo-Chinese States an opportunity to establish lasting peace and devote themselves completely to national development.

27. The 1954 Agreements contemplated that Viet-Nam should be reunified in 1956 by means of general elections. The Saigon Government opposed this idea, alleging—somewhat illogically—that it rejected the division of Viet-Nam imposed by the Geneva Conference.^{5/}

28. The 1954 Agreements implied that France, having disengaged itself militarily from South Viet-Nam, should not be replaced by any other Power. But the United States hastened the departure of the French somewhat, so as to provide the dictator, Ngo Dinh Diem with the political, military and economic support he was seeking in order to impose his régime on the people of South Viet-Nam. Such was the origin of the second war for the liberation of South Viet-Nam.

29. Today, over 20,000 American soldiers are taking part in, and most often leading, the operations against the forces of the National Liberation Front.

30. Today, nearly four fifths of the territory of South Viet-Nam have fallen under the control of those opposed to the Saigon régime and to the United States presence; according to the most optimistic American observers, at least 90 per cent of the population are so opposed. The Government and United States forces, consistently defeated in the military operations, find compensation by raining napalm and other bombs on all Viet-Nameese villages and, as a concomitant, on Cambodian frontier villages. For some weeks there has even been an idea of carrying the war into North Viet-Nam—which would guarantee no victory for South Viet-Nam but would inevitably set off a chain reaction culminating in a full-scale war.

31. In Laos, where United States and Thai intervention is perhaps less obvious but just as real, the situation is no better and no less explosive. In that hapless land, the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 are violated daily and an armed confrontation between the United States and North Viet-Nam may at any moment have the most serious consequences.

32. Cambodia, for its part, has always scrupulously observed the 1954 Agreements and has consistently followed a policy of neutrality and friendship towards all countries, irrespective of political régime or ideology. As a result, it has been able to preserve its national unity and internal peace and to devote itself successfully to economic and social development. All observers recognize that Cambodia is a "land of work and an oasis of peace" in striking contrast with the neighbouring countries which are carrying the burden of a civil war imposed from outside.

33. Nevertheless, our policy of peace and neutrality has always been bitterly criticized by the United States and the countries subservient to or allied with it. In the last few months, this criticism has turned to open hostility as demonstrated by the participation of United States advisers and pilots in the acts of

^{4/} Agreement between the Central People's Government of China and the local Tibetan government, concluded on 23 May 1951.

^{5/} Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, held from 16 June to 21 July 1954.

aggression committed by the forces of the Saigon régime against Cambodian territory.

34. It should be noted that this American hostility cannot be based on ideological considerations, since Cambodia is a monarchy which is exceptionally stable because the people are solidly united in a wholly independent patriotic movement. Cambodia is strictly neutral, and has proved it in the past ten years: it has signed no pact or military treaty, and has never accepted or tolerated the presence of foreign bases or troops on its territory. All honest persons must agree that Cambodia threatens no one and wishes only to live in peace within its frontiers.

35. Yet it is a fact that, despite their declarations of intent, the United States and its protégés, our neighbours, have never recognized Cambodia's right to maintain its neutrality and its complete independence. I would remind you that the actions of those who elected to become our enemies go back to 1958, and that each year, from this rostrum, the Cambodian delegation has brought them to the knowledge of the General Assembly.

36. At first, we had to cope with political subversion designed to turn Cambodia from its neutrality. When those efforts proved a total failure, we had to face a plot, devised by United States, South Viet-Nameese and Thai special forces, to bring about the secession of our province of Siem Reap.

37. Finally, when that plot failed, recourse was had to direct aggression against Cambodian territory and to the creation, in South Viet-Nam, of a movement of traitors bought at ransom price and calling themselves "Free Cambodians".

38. We have been subjected to more than 300 attacks or violations of territory and air space by United States-South Viet-Nameese forces. The peasants of our frontier villages have been massacred, their houses set afire, their crops destroyed and their flocks slaughtered. Last July, a chemical warfare attack by aircraft was launched against our northernmost province. With no justification at all, our neighbours and their protectors strike blindly with the sole object of sowing terror.

39. The Saigon Government replied to our protests by making an official but brutal and wholly unjustifiable claim to our off-shore islands. At the same time, official United States and South Viet-Nameese circles did not hesitate to challenge the validity of the Cambodian-South Viet-Nameese frontier, by proclaiming in statements and throughout the Press that it was vague and poorly defined.

40. In August 1962, the Cambodian Government requested that the Geneva Conference of 1954, the only organ empowered to provide Cambodia with an international guarantee of its neutrality and territorial integrity, should be urgently convened. This legitimate request has thus far met with categorical opposition from the United States and South Viet-Nam, and with delaying tactics on the part of the United Kingdom, a co-chairman of the Conference. This indicates clearly that the Governments of the United

States and Saigon want to enjoy a free hand in all their actions against Cambodia.

41. Indeed, there has been a succession of increasingly violent attacks against Cambodian territory in the past few months. Last October, one of our peaceful border villages was subjected to a fierce bombardment by United States-South Viet-Nameese planes, resulting in a number of dead and wounded among the civilian population. This act of aggression brought the people's exasperation to boiling-point and caused the Royal Government to state that any further act of aggression would inevitably bring about a diplomatic break with the United States and reprisals against the aggressors, regardless of the consequences.

42. Moreover, in view of the refusal to grant our request for international guarantees, we decided without further delay to negotiate a written agreement with the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, formally recognizing the present Cambodian-Viet-Nameese frontiers and Cambodian sovereignty over the off-shore islands which the Saigon authorities are unlawfully claiming. In connexion with this decision, the Royal Government would point out that the present situation in South Viet-Nam shows that the National Liberation Front enjoys the support of over 90 per cent of the South Viet-Nameese population and effectively controls four fifths of the territory.

43. Nevertheless, and to conclude my remarks on the Indo-Chinese question which is so often poorly understood, I should like once again to stress that that question as a whole can be settled only by the countries concerned, with the guarantee of the Geneva Powers—that is, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the People's Republic of China. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries recognized the soundness of that view when it appealed to the Powers which participated in the Geneva Conferences of 1954 and 1962:

"(1) To abstain from any action likely to aggravate the situation which is already tense in the Peninsula;

"(2) To terminate all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region;

"(3) To convene urgently a new Geneva Conference on Indo-China with a view to seeking a satisfactory political solution for the peaceful settlement of the problems arising in that part of the world, namely:

"(a) Ensuring the strict application of the 1962 agreements on Laos;

"(b) Recognizing and guaranteeing the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia;

"(c) Ensuring the strict application of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Viet-Nam, and finding a political solution to the problem in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Viet-Nameese peoples to freedom, peace and independence."
[A/5763, section V.]

44. The solution to the over-all problem of Indo-China can indeed only be a political one, as the most enlightened Americans themselves admit. It will necessarily entail a guaranteed neutralization of Cambodia, Laos and South Viet-Nam—which would in no way affect the balance of world power. It should further be recognized that, like the Cambodian people, the peoples of South Viet-Nam and Laos are fully entitled to choose their own domestic régime and institutions without outside interference.

45. We have noted, during the past year, an opinion sometimes expressed by countries not very familiar with the Indo-Chinese problem that the United Nations could effectively help to restore peace in that part of the world. This advocacy of political and especially military intervention in South-East Asia by our Organization is unquestionably of United States origin. The United States has been trying, and probably still is trying, to drag the "blue helmets" into its disastrous escapade in South Viet-Nam.

46. In support of this assertion, I should like to describe as briefly as possible one of the attempts made by the United States to bring about United Nations intervention in the Cambodian-South Viet-Namese question.

47. Following the attack on the Cambodian village of Taey by United States-South Viet-Namese forces on 7 May 1964, we submitted to the Security Council a complaint against the United States and Saigon Governments, which had been jointly responsible for that act of aggression.^{6/} In a resolution adopted on 4 June,^{7/} the Council: requested that "just and fair compensation should be offered to the Royal Government of Cambodia" [para. 2] for the loss of life and property caused by the United States-South Viet-Namese acts of aggression; invited "those responsible to take all appropriate measures to prevent any further violation of the Cambodian frontiers" [para. 3]; and requested "all States and authorities and in particular the members of the Geneva Conference to recognize and respect Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity" [para. 4].

48. Those three requests were neither implemented nor respected. But a mission of inquiry went to Cambodia and South Viet-Nam and then submitted a report^{8/} indicating that the investigators had in fact confined their inquiry almost solely to a study of the dispute between Cambodia and South Viet-Nam—which was not at all what they had been instructed to do. Pari passu with this the United States Government and the Saigon régime stated it to be their intention that an international police force should be established on either side of the frontier—in other words, involved in the war in South Viet-Nam.

49. The Cambodian Government thereupon requested that its complaint—which the Security Council was in any case refusing to consider—should be shelved.

50. The Cambodian delegation wishes in this connexion to point out that we have always pressed for

close supervision of our frontiers and our territory, including our ports, with a view to disposing of United States and South Viet-Namese charges that we were abetting the National Liberation Front in its struggle against the Saigon Government and its protectors. What country in the world would accept such a restriction of its sovereignty merely in order to prove its good faith? But the only organ competent to effect such supervision is the International Commission for Supervision and Control established by the 1954 Geneva Agreements—a Commission consisting of India, Canada and Poland.

51. But the United States and their protégés, who must be aware of the emptiness of their charges, have always been against such supervision—thus revealing their obvious bad faith. That being so, let them desist from their slanderous accusations.

52. Today, Cambodia reiterates its opposition to any United Nations intervention in the problem of Indo-China, and maintains its demand that the 1954 Geneva Conference be reconvened and that the agreements concluded at that time be reactivated. The United Nations, despite all its prestige and moral authority, cannot expect to settle a problem affecting an area several countries of which are being kept out of the Organization. Moreover, United Nations intervention in problems less complex than ours has often yielded results which have been disappointing and contrary to those hoped for. We have only to mention the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the situation is infinitely more serious today than it was before the United Nations operations which began in 1960.

53. With regard to the position in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we consider that foreign interference in its internal affairs and the use of foreign mercenaries in the Congolese Army have created a dangerous situation threatening peace and security in Africa. Cambodia, seriously disturbed by the latest Belgian and United States military intervention at Stanleyville, desires that the imperialist stranglehold on the Congo cease and that the tragic problem of the Congo be solved through negotiation.

54. The Cambodian delegation shares the French and Soviet point of view with regard to the illegal expenses which the United States is trying to make all Members of the Organization bear. For its part, Cambodia will refuse to contribute to the financing of operations wherever the United Nations intervenes in order to put an end to real or supposed aggression. The Royal Government considers that all the consequences, including the financial consequences, of an act of aggression committed against any country should be borne by the aggressors alone. It is, moreover, on this basis that it has always been made clear that any supervision of our frontiers and our territory by the International Commission for supervision and control must be financed by those who carry out aggression and make accusations against us—namely, the United States.

55. There are two further matters which the Cambodian delegation will venture to raise. The first is disarmament, and the second is the struggle against racism.

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5697.

^{7/} *Ibid.*, document S/5741.

^{8/} *Ibid.*, document S/5832.

56. Disarmament has been on the agenda ever since the United Nations was founded, yet never have the great Powers armed themselves so feverishly as they have during the past fifteen years. Atomic weapons continue to grow in number and in destructive power, and conventional weapons are being spread ever more intensively throughout every country of the world.
57. Certain great Powers thought they could secure for themselves a nuclear monopoly under the Moscow Treaty.^{2/} But, as Cambodia has emphasized, the problem is not that of a partial cessation of nuclear testing; it is that of complete prohibition and total destruction, under international control, of nuclear weapons. This goal can be achieved only through a conference attended by all countries of the world; it cannot be reached merely through an agreement between the nuclear Powers of the moment. We know that virtually any industrialized country is or will be in a position to manufacture its own atomic or hydrogen bombs and to disregard any agreement on which it has not been consulted. Cambodia accordingly considers that the Chinese proposal for a world summit conference to eliminate nuclear weapons is a reasonable one, and gives it full support.
58. This nuclear aspect of disarmament should not, however, cause us to overlook the problem of conventional weapons, which are more than enough to eliminate a small country from the map of the world. In this connexion, we believe that the first measure which would permit the creation of favourable conditions for total disarmament and for the establishment of a lasting peace is the elimination of all foreign bases, which are so many powder-kegs "judiciously" distributed for the provoking of a third world war. South-East Asia, riddled with land, naval and air bases, of a so-called "defensive" nature, provides one example of the dangers inherent in the absurd and anachronistic military policy of the great Western Powers. No honest person can maintain that the establishment of bases outside national territories is evidence of a sincere desire for peace.
59. Finally, I shall venture to raise the problem of racism and that of minorities, with which it is closely connected.
60. At previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Cambodian delegation has regularly drawn representatives' attention to the fate of the Cambodian minority in South Viet-Nam: this minority has been the victim of the Saigon régime's policy of oppression and even of genocide. It consists, I would recall, of some 700,000 people, descendants of the first occupants of the land; they are subjected to a policy of exclusion, the ultimate purpose of which is the complete elimination of their community. This same policy is also applied against the Rhade, Cham, Jarai and other minorities, which recently rose against their oppressors but failed to obtain any recognition of their rights.
61. Cambodia desires that the United Nations should look into this serious problem and summon all Governments to respect the rights of ethnic communities which, by an accident of history, are completely at their mercy. It seems to us that in most cases a happy solution to this complex problem is the creation of autonomous provinces, regions or territories in which the minority population can develop and progress without abandoning its past, its traditions, its customs, its religion and its language.
62. Sometimes, of course, a minority population is dispersed throughout a country and cannot be welded into a homogeneous community inhabiting a specific region. Even so, however, it is inadmissible that de jure or de facto segregation, which is a survival from barbarian eras, should be perpetuated. In this connexion, Cambodia extends full sympathy and support to the legitimate struggle of the negro citizens of the United States who, despite the noble efforts of the late President Kennedy, remain deprived of their most elementary rights. All the African-Asian and Latin American countries intensely resent the injustice still suffered by some 20 million American Negroes who are the victims of every form of racism. A country such as ours is all the more roused to indignation by this racism in that Chinese, Viet-Nameese, Indian and European communities live, with us, on a basis of complete equality with the Cambodian people.
63. It would be desirable for this Assembly to take the most energetic measures to compel the Government of South Africa to abandon its odious policy of apartheid, which is a disgrace to humanity and for which all Members of the United Nations in fact bear a large measure of responsibility.
64. May I now reply to the malicious and slanderous statements concerning my country made in this Assembly last Wednesday by the representative of Thailand. The matters mentioned by the Thai representative are old ones and my delegation has already had occasion to dispose of them fully in the past. I would not have referred to them again if the representative of Thailand had not this year tried once more to distort the facts and to sow confusion by making general and gratuitous assertions.
65. For example, the Thai representative, obviously referring to Cambodia, stated that his country "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" (that is, with Thailand) [1296th meeting, para. 63].
66. The fact is that, if Cambodia was obliged to recall its Ambassador in 1958, it was as a result of measures of intimidation taken by Thailand at a time when Cambodian delegates were at Bangkok for the very purpose of negotiations. A violent demonstration was organized against the Cambodian Embassy at Bangkok. Thailand's armed forces took up positions along the Cambodian frontier. At the same time, the Thai Government unilaterally denounced the agreement concerning the movement of frontier inhabitants; and Cambodian tourists were arrested, interrogated and expelled by the Thai police.
67. The Thai Minister for Foreign Affairs should also be aware that it was the charges and insults indulged in by his Government which caused the breaking of diplomatic relations in 1961. The leaders,

^{2/}Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

Press and radio of Thailand were grossly insulting the monarchy, leaders and people of Cambodia.

68. I shall not go further into this matter. Two White Papers have been published by the Cambodian Government in this connexion, and they prove that it was not for unjustifiable reasons that Cambodia had to break off diplomatic relations with Thailand.

69. Mr. Thanat Khoman also stated that the agreements negotiated by Mr. Gussing came to nought because of Cambodia's failure to observe them. What was at issue was, rather, proposals by the Secretary-General, to which Cambodia immediately gave its support. We also took steps on our own account with a view to reducing tension between the two countries. It was Cambodia which proposed the exchange of prisoners covering Thai nationals arrested for illegal entry of our territory and for espionage and the various Cambodian nationals abducted by the Thais from our own territory. It was likewise Cambodia which proposed the opening of a conference of Cambodian and Thai technicians for the seeking of measures calculated to lead to the normalization of relations between the two countries.

70. The so-called efforts of Thailand and its co-operation to this end have in fact taken the form of territorial claims. To quote only the case of Preah Vihear, forcibly occupied by Thailand and reassigned to Cambodia under a judgement of the International Court of Justice in 1962,^{10/} the Thai Government has never yet officially recognized this decision of the Court.

71. Mr. Thanat Khoman also saddled Cambodia with the responsibility for breaking the 1960 agreements on the press truce—which is entirely at variance with the facts. In this connexion I would recall that in October 1962, wishing to aid whole-heartedly in the re-establishment of normal relations between the two countries, Cambodia immediately accepted the proposal for the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General to investigate the difficulties which had arisen between Cambodia and Thailand.^{11/}

72. With regard to the Secretary-General's proposals made last year for a resumption of relations between the two countries, the Royal Government of Cambodia replied to them immediately and favourably, whereas Thailand, after months of silence and following several reminders from the Secretary-General, finally made it known that it "did not believe that the time was favourable for the resumption of diplomatic relations".

73. The Press and radio of Cambodia have long refrained from any criticism of or reference to Thailand, whereas from the Thai side there has been no cessation of slanderous attacks upon Cambodia.

74. As recently as 14 November 1964, just prior to the end of Mr. Gussing's mission and when Cambodia had been observing the truce for many months, the Thai Government, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, again launched a campaign of denigration

and tendentious propaganda against Cambodia. The Government of Cambodia brought this circumstance to the knowledge of Mr. Gussing, the Secretary-General's personal representative. These facts prove that it is indeed Thailand which, after having decided to terminate Mr. Gussing's conciliation mission, has done everything to prevent reconciliation.

75. By deliberately maintaining tension in the area, and by pursuing an aggressive policy with regard to its neighbour, Cambodia, Thailand is creating a state of latent conflict which serves its own interests, to the detriment of peace and security in South-East Asia.

76. Cambodia, as a neutral and peaceful country, is fully entitled to maintain relations with all countries which respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Cambodia has always affirmed—and I take occasion to affirm it once more—that normal relations with Thailand can be resumed only if that country agrees to recognize and respect the present frontiers between the two countries—frontiers which have been validly laid down by international agreements and were confirmed in 1962 by a judgement of the International Court of Justice.

77. The delegation of Cambodia makes a strong and indignant protest against the gratuitous and unjustified statements of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand who is trying to mislead world opinion in order to conceal his Government's black designs against Cambodia.

78. Mr. GUEVARA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Cuba to this Assembly has pleasure in first of all performing the agreeable duty of welcoming three new nations to the already large number of those which discuss world problems in this forum. We welcome the peoples of Zambia, Malawi and Malta in the persons of their Presidents and Prime Ministers, and express the hope that these countries will from the outset join the group of non-aligned nations which are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

79. We likewise extend our congratulations to the President of this Assembly. His elevation to this high post is particularly significant, since it reflects this new historic period of resounding triumphs for the peoples of Africa that were until yesterday subject to the colonial system of imperialism but have today, in their vast majority and in lawful exercise of their self-determination, become sovereign States. The hour of doom for colonialism has struck, and millions of inhabitants of Africa, Asia and Latin America are rising up to face a new life and making good their unrestricted right to self-determination and the independent development of their nations. We wish you, Mr. President, the greatest success in the task entrusted to you by the Member States.

80. Cuba comes here to state its position on the most important controversial issues. It will do so with a full sense of the responsibility which use of this rostrum implies, while at the same time performing its inescapable duty of speaking with all clarity and frankness.

^{10/} Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

^{11/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Seventeenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1962, document S/5220.

81. We wish to see this Assembly stretch its limbs and march forward; we want the Committees to begin their work, which should not stop at the first confrontation. Imperialism seeks to convert this meeting into a pointless competition in oratory, to prevent it from solving the serious problems of the world; that design we must frustrate. This Assembly must be remembered, in the future, not merely by the number "nineteen" which serves to identify it. Such will be the purpose of our efforts.

82. We feel that we have the right and the duty to take this line, because our country constitutes a point of constant friction. It is one of the places where the principles buttressing the right of small countries to their sovereignty are put to the test day by day and minute by minute. At the same time our country is one of the trenches of the fighters for world freedom, situated only a stone's throw from United States imperialism and showing by the action issuing from it and by its daily example, that the peoples can in fact be liberated and remain free in the present circumstances of mankind. Of course, there is now a socialist camp that is daily growing stronger and equipping itself with ever more powerful weapons with which to make a response; but more is necessary for survival—internal unity, faith in one's own destiny, and unswerving resolution to fight to the death in defence of one's country and of the revolution. All this Cuba possesses.

83. Of all the burning problems to be dealt with by this Assembly, one which for us Cubans is particularly important and must, we feel, be posed in a way that leaves no doubt in anyone's mind is peaceful coexistence between States with different economic and social systems. Much progress has been made in this regard, but imperialism—particularly United States imperialism—has tried to make people believe that peaceful coexistence is reserved for the great Powers alone. We repeat here what was stated by our President at Cairo and was later embodied in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries: there cannot be peaceful coexistence between powerful nations only, if world peace is to be insured; there must be peaceful coexistence between all States, regardless of their size, their previous historical relationship and the problems arising among some of them at any particular moment.

84. Today, the kind of peaceful coexistence to which we aspire has, in many instances, failed to materialize. The Kingdom of Cambodia has been subjected to every type of treacherous and brutal attack from United States bases in South Viet-Nam, simply because it has maintained a neutral attitude and refused to lend itself to the machinations of United States imperialism. Laos, a divided country, has also been the target of imperialist aggression of every kind. Its people have been attacked from the air; the agreements signed at Geneva have been violated, and part of its territory is in constant danger of being attacked with impunity by the imperialist forces. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which is more familiar than most other countries with this type of aggression, has once again seen its frontiers violated, its installations blasted by enemy bombers and fighter aircraft,

and its naval stations attacked by United States warships violating its territorial waters. At this very moment the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is faced with the threat that United States warmongers may openly extend to its territory and people the war which they have been waging for several years now against the people of South Viet-Nam. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have issued stern warnings to the United States. We are faced here with a case in which world peace is in danger; but in addition the lives of millions of human beings throughout this part of Asia are under constant menace, depending on the whim of the United States invaders.

85. Peaceful coexistence has also been put to a brutal test in Cyprus because of pressure from the Turkish Government and NATO, which has compelled the people and Government of Cyprus to make a vigorous and heroic effort in defence of their sovereignty.

86. In all these places, imperialism is trying to impose its version of what coexistence should be. It is the oppressed peoples, in alliance with the socialist camp, who should show what genuine coexistence is, and the United Nations has an obligation to support them.

87. We should also point out that the concept of peaceful coexistence is to be defined only in terms of relations between the sovereign States involved. As Marxists we have maintained that peaceful coexistence between nations does not include coexistence between exploiters and exploited, between oppressors and oppressed.

88. Moreover, a principle has been proclaimed in this Organization—namely, the right of a people to complete independence and freedom from all forms of colonial oppression. That is why we express our solidarity with the peoples—now colonial—of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, who are attacked and massacred for the crime of asking for their freedom; we are prepared to help them, to the best of our ability, in accordance with the Cairo Declaration.

89. We express our solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico and their great leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, who, by another act of hypocrisy, has been released at the age of seventy-two, hardly able to speak and in a paralytic condition, after a lifetime spent in prison. Albizu Campos is a symbol of a still unredeemed but indomitable America. Years and years of imprisonment, almost intolerable pressure while in prison, mental torture, solitude, complete isolation from his people and his family, and the insolence of the conquerors and their lackeys in the land of his birth—none of these things broke his will. The delegation of Cuba, on behalf of the Cuban people, pays a tribute of admiration and gratitude to a patriot who lends dignity to our America.

90. For years the United States has tried to turn Puerto Rico into a mirror of hybrid culture—Spanish-speaking but with English inflections, Spanish-speaking but with a hinged backbone to make it bow down before the American soldier. Puerto Rican soldiers have been used as cannon-fodder in imperialist wars, as in Korea, and have even been made to fire on their

own brothers, as during the massacre perpetrated some months ago by the United States Army against the defenceless people of Panama—one of the most recent misdeeds of United States imperialism.

91. Nevertheless, despite such tremendous violence done to its will and historic destiny, the people of Puerto Rico has preserved its culture, Latin character and national feelings—which in itself is proof of the implacable determination of the mass of the population of this Latin American island to be, some day, independent.

92. We must also observe that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not imply the right to flout the people's will, as is the case in so-called British Guiana. There, the Government of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan has been the victim of every kind of pressure and manoeuvre, and the date for his country's independence has been postponed while methods are devised to flout the people's wishes and secure the docility of a different Government, installed by devious manipulations, with a view to some sort of emasculated freedom being granted to this piece of American soil. The people of Guiana can count on Cuba's moral and militant support, whatever the course that Guiana is obliged to take in order to obtain its freedom. We must likewise mention the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, which have been fighting for independence for some time, without obtaining it; such a state of affairs must not continue.

93. Once again we raise our voice to warn the nations of what is happening in South Africa. The brutal policy of apartheid is being applied before the eyes of the entire world. The peoples of Africa are compelled to tolerate the continued application, in their continent, of an official doctrine of the superiority of one race over another, and murders, perpetrated with impunity in the name of that racial superiority. Will the United Nations do nothing to prevent it?

94. I would refer specifically to the tragic case of the Congo—a case which is without parallel in the modern world, and which shows how the rights of peoples can be flouted with absolute impunity and the most insolent cynicism. The direct cause of all this is the Congo's vast resources, which the imperialist nations wish to keep under their control. In the speech which he made on the occasion of his first visit to the United Nations, our comrade Fidel Castro pointed out in the General Assembly [872nd meeting] that the whole problem of coexistence between nations turned upon the misappropriation of other people's wealth. He made this observation: "When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared." Yet not only has the philosophy of despoilment not disappeared, it is more widespread than ever—which explains why those who used the name of the United Nations in order to perpetrate the assassination of Lumumba are today murdering thousands of Congolese, in the name of the defence of the white race.

95. How can we forget the way in which Patrice Lumumba's hopes in the United Nations were betrayed? How can we forget the machinations and manoeuvres that followed the occupation of the Congo by United Nations troops, under whose auspices the

assassins of the great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget that the man who flouted the authority of the United Nations in the Congo—and not precisely for patriotic reasons, but rather under cover of conflicts between imperialists—was none other than Moïse Tshombé, who initiated the secession of Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify or explain the fact that, after the entire United Nations action had been completed, Tshombé, ousted from Katanga, was able to return as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the sorry role that the imperialists forced the United Nations to play?

96. In short, spectacular military movements were made to avert the secession of Katanga; yet today Katanga is in power, the riches of the Congo are in imperialist hands, and ... the costs of all this are to be paid by the decent nations. What good business is done by the merchants of war! For this reason the Government of Cuba supports the just attitude of the Soviet Union in refusing to pay the cost of crime.

97. And now, as a crowning insult, the recent actions that have filled the world with indignation are flung in our faces. Who are the perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers, transported by United States aircraft which took off from British bases. We remember, as if it were yesterday, seeing a small, industrious and civilized country of Europe, the Kingdom of Belgium, invaded by Hitler's hordes. We thought bitterly of that small nation being attacked and massacred by German imperialism, and our hearts went out to its people. But many of us did not see this other face of the imperialist coin.

98. It may be that sons of Belgium patriots who died in defence of their country's freedom murdered with impunity thousands of Congolese in the name of the white race, just as they had suffered under the German heel because their blood was not sufficiently Aryan.

99. Our eyes, looking today in freedom upon new horizons, can see what our status as colonial slaves had prevented us from seeing—that "Western civilization" conceals behind its showy façade a picture of hyenas and jackals. For such are the only names merited by those who went out to fulfil these "humanitarian" tasks in the Congo. A carnivorous animal feeding on the helpless—that is what imperialism does to man, that is the distinguishing mark of the "white" imperialist. All free men throughout the world must make ready to avenge the Congo crime.

100. It may be that many of these soldiers, transformed into subhuman creatures by imperialist machinations, honestly believe that they are defending the rights of a superior race; but in this Assembly the peoples whose skins are tanned by a different sun and coloured by different pigments are in the majority, and they have completely grasped the fact that the difference between men resides, not in the colour of their skin, but in the forms of ownership of the means of production, the production relationships, in which they are involved.

101. The Cuban delegation sends its greetings to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, oppressed by white colonialist minorities; to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, to French Somaliland, to the Arab people of Palestine, to Aden and

the Protectorates, to Oman and to all the peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism; it reaffirms its support for them. We also hope for a just solution of the conflict which faces our sister Republic of Indonesia in its relations with Malaysia.

102. One of the basic agenda items for this session is general and complete disarmament. We express our support for general and complete disarmament; we also advocate the complete destruction of thermo-nuclear devices, and favour the convening of a conference of all nations of the world to give effect to these aspirations of their peoples. In his statement before this Assembly [872nd meeting], our Prime Minister issued the warning that arms races have always led to war. New atomic Powers have appeared in the world, and the possibility of a confrontation is increasing.

103. We believe that such a conference is necessary in order to obtain the total destruction of thermo-nuclear weapons and, as a first step, the total prohibition of nuclear testing. At the same time, it must be clearly established that all States are under an obligation to respect the present frontiers of other States, and to refrain from all aggressive action, even with conventional weapons.

104. In adding our voice to the chorus of the world's peoples that demand general and complete disarmament, the destruction of all atomic weapons, and a complete ban on the production of new thermo-nuclear devices and on atomic tests of any kind, we believe it is necessary to stress that, in addition, the territorial integrity of nations must be respected and the mailed fist of imperialism restrained, for the latter is just as dangerous when it holds only conventional weapons. Those who murdered thousands of defenceless Congolese did not use atomic weapons; the deaths were caused by conventional weapons, wielded by imperialism.

105. Although implementation of the measures advocated here would render this statement unnecessary, it must be stressed that we cannot accede to any regional denuclearization agreement so long as the United States maintains aggressive bases in our own territory, in Puerto Rico, in Panama and in other American States where it feels it is entitled to have both conventional and nuclear weapons, without any restriction, at its disposal. Moreover, the latest resolutions of the Organization of American States directed against our country, according to which Cuba could be attacked on the basis of the Treaty of Río de Janeiro,^{12/} make it necessary for us to possess all the means of defence open to us.

106. We believe that if the conference of which we have spoken could attain all these objectives—a difficult task, unfortunately—it would represent one of the most important developments in the history of mankind. If this goal is to be reached, the People's Republic of China must be represented, and that is why a meeting of this type is imperative. But it would be much simpler for the peoples of the world to recognize the undeniable truth that the People's Re-

public of China exists and that its rulers are the only representatives of its people, and to give it its rightful place, at present usurped by the clique which with United States support controls the province of Taiwan.

107. The problem of the representation of China in the United Nations can in no way be regarded as involving a new admission to the Organization; it is a case of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. We must emphatically reject the "two Chinas" plot. The Chiang Kai-shek clique of Taiwan cannot remain in the United Nations. It is, we repeat, a question of expelling the usurper and installing the lawful representative of the Chinese people.

108. Furthermore, we issue a warning against the United States Government's insistence in presenting the question of the lawful representation of China in the United Nations as "an important question", with the aim of making it subject to the rule of the two-thirds majority of Members present and voting.

109. The entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations is certainly an important question for the world as a whole, but not for the purposes of the machinery of the United Nations, where it should constitute a simple question of procedure. In this way justice would be done, and—what is equally important—it would be demonstrated once and for all that this Assembly has eyes to see, ears to hear, its own tongue to speak with, and the right standards whereby to take decisions.

110. The proliferation of atomic weapons among the NATO countries, and especially the possession of these devices of mass destruction by the Federal Republic of Germany, would make the possibility of a disarmament agreement even more remote. And associated with such agreements is the problem of the peaceful reunification of Germany. So long as no clear understanding has been reached, the existence of two Germanies—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—must be recognized. The German problem cannot be solved unless the German Democratic Republic takes a direct part in the negotiations, with full rights.

111. We shall touch but lightly on the questions of economic development and international trade, which are amply represented in the Assembly's agenda. This year of 1964 witnessed the holding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at which very many points connected with these aspects of international relations were discussed. Unfortunately for the economically dependent countries, the warnings and predictions of our delegation were fully confirmed.

112. We merely wish to point out that, so far as Cuba is concerned, the United States has not complied with the explicit recommendations of this Conference. Recently, indeed, the United States Government prohibited the sale of medicaments to Cuba, thus throwing away once and for all the humanitarian mask behind which it was trying to conceal the aggressive nature of its blockade against the Cuban people.

^{12/} Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and Final Act of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

113. Moreover, we would say once again that the faults of colonialism which impede the peoples' development are not confined to the political field. The so-called deterioration in the terms of trade is simply the result of the unequal exchange between primary producing countries and the industrialized countries which dominate the markets and impose the apparent justice of trade which is equal in value. So long as the economically dependent peoples do not free themselves from the capitalist markets and, in firm solidarity with the socialist countries, impose new trade relations between the exploiters and the exploited, there will be no sound economic development and in certain cases there will be retrogression, the weak countries falling once more under the political domination of the imperialists and the colonialists.

114. Finally, it must be clearly realized that manoeuvres and preparations for aggression against Cuba are taking place in the Caribbean area. Particularly on the littoral of Nicaragua, but also in Costa Rica, the Panama Canal Zone, the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, Florida, and probably other parts of United States territory, as well as possibly in Honduras, Cuban mercenaries and mercenaries of other nationalities are training, with a purpose that cannot be peaceful.

115. As the result of a notorious scandal, the Government of Costa Rica is said to have ordered the closing of all training camps for Cuban exiles in that country. No one knows whether this attitude is sincere, or whether what we have here is merely a pretence dictated by the consideration that the mercenaries trained there are about to commit some villainy. We hope that there will be clear realization of the existence of bases for aggression, which we have long denounced, and that consideration will be given to the international responsibility of a Government which authorizes and facilitates the training of mercenaries for an attack against Cuba. We must point out that reports on the training of mercenaries at various places in the Caribbean and the participation of the United States Government in such acts appear openly in United States newspapers. We know of no official Latin American protest against this.

116. It reveals the cynicism with which the United States manipulates its pawns. The subtle Ministers for Foreign Affairs of OAS, who had eyes to see Cuban emblems and find "irrefutable" proof in the Yankee weapons exhibited by Venezuela, do not see the obvious preparations for aggression in the United States, just as they did not hear the voice of President Kennedy, who explicitly declared himself to be the aggressor against Cuba at Playa Girón. In some instances, it is a case of blindness provoked by the hatred felt by the ruling classes in Latin American countries for our revolution; in others, which are even sadder, it is a case of being dazzled by the glint of mammon.

117. As is well known, after the tremendous flurry of the so-called "Caribbean crisis", the United States reached with the Soviet Union certain agreements culminating in the withdrawal of a certain type of armament which continued acts of aggression by the United States—such as the mercenary attack at Playa Girón and the threats to invade our country—had

compelled us to install in Cuba, in implementation of our inalienable right of self-defence. The United States also claimed that the United Nations should inspect our territory—a claim which we emphatically rejected, since Cuba does not recognize the right of the United States, or of any one else in the world, to determine what weapons Cuba should possess within its frontiers.

118. In this connexion, we would respect only multi-lateral agreements, containing equal obligations for all the parties. As Fidel Castro has said: so long as sovereignty is a prerogative of independent nations and peoples, and a right of all peoples, we shall not allow our own people to be deprived of that right; so long as the world is governed by these principles, so long as the world is governed by these concepts, which have universal validity because they are universally accepted and sanctioned by the peoples, we shall not allow ourselves to be deprived of any of those rights, we shall not renounce a single one of them.

119. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, understood our reasons. Nevertheless, the United States sought to establish a new, arbitrary and illegal prerogative—that of violating the air space of any small country. Thus, there have been streaking through our country's air space, with impunity, U-2 aircraft and other types of espionage apparatus. We have issued all the necessary warning that an end should be put to violations of air space, as well as to provocative actions by Yankee sailors against our sentry-posts in the Guantánamo area, to the "buzzing" of our ships and ships of other nationalities by aircraft in international waters, to piratical attacks upon ships sailing under various flags, and to the clandestine introduction of spies, saboteurs and arms into our island.

120. We want to build socialism; we have declared ourselves supporters of those who are fighting for peace; and although we are Marxist-Leninists, we have said that we belong to the group of non-aligned countries, because those countries, like ourselves, and struggling against imperialism. We want peace, we wish to build a better life for our people, and we therefore do our best not to respond to the provocations engineered by the Yankees; yet we know the mentality of their rulers—they hope to force us to pay a very high price for that peace. We reply that that price cannot exceed the limits dictated by honour.

121. And Cuba once again reaffirms both its right to maintain on its territory whatever arms it sees fit and its refusal to recognize the right of any Power on earth, no matter how mighty, to violate our soil, our territorial waters and our air space. If at any Assembly Cuba assumes obligations of a collective nature, it will fulfil them to the letter. Until that happens, it will maintain its rights to the full, just like any other nation.

122. In the face of imperialist demands, our Prime Minister laid down the five points essential to a well-established peace in the Caribbean. These are:

"1. Cessation of the economic blockade and of all the measures of commercial and economic

pressure brought to bear by the United States in every part of the world against our country.

"2. Cessation of all subversive activities, the dropping and landing of weapons and explosives by air and sea, the organization of invasions by mercenaries, and the clandestine introduction of spies and saboteurs—all of which are actions carried out from the territory of the United States and of certain collaborating countries.

"3. Cessation of the piratical attacks launched from bases in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

"4. Cessation of all violations of our air space and territorial waters by aircraft and warships of the United States.

"5. Evacuation of the Guantánamo naval base, and return of Cuban territory occupied by the United States."

None of these elementary requirements has been complied with, and our troops are still the object of harassment from the naval base of Guantánamo. This base has become a hide-out for malefactors and a spring-board for their introduction into our territory.

123. We should weary this Assembly if we gave an even moderately detailed account of all the provocations of this type which have been committed. Suffice it to say that in 1964 alone, including the first days of December, there have been 1,323 of these incidents. The list includes minor provocations such as violation of the boundary line, the throwing of objects from the territory controlled by the North Americans, acts of sexual exhibitionism by North Americans of both sexes, and oral insults. Others of a more serious nature are the firing of small arms, the aiming of weapons at our territory, and insults to our national flag. Much more serious provocations include: the crossing of the boundary line in order to start fires in installations on the Cuban side, and the firing of rifles—repeated seventy-eight times throughout the year and causing the sad death of Ramón López Peña, a soldier killed as a result of two shots fired from a United States army post three and a half kilometres from the coast on the north-eastern sector of the boundary.

124. This last and extremely serious provocation took place at 7.7 p.m. on 19 July 1964; and our Prime Minister publicly declared, on 26 July, that if there was any repetition of such an incident, he would give orders for our troops to repel the aggression. At the same time Cuban troops were ordered to withdraw from their forward positions to positions further from the boundary line, and an order for the construction of adequate casemates was given.

125. A total of 1,323 provocations in 340 days means approximately four per day. Only a perfectly disciplined army with a high morale, such as ours, can resist such an accumulation of hostile acts without loss of calm.

126. Forty-seven countries, meeting at Cairo for the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government

of Non-Aligned Countries, unanimously agreed on the following:

"Noting with concern that foreign military bases are in practice a means of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas, the Conference declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all States maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.

"The Conference considers that the maintenance at Guantánamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the Government and people of Cuba and in defiance of the provisions embodied in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, constitutes a violation of Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Noting that the Cuban Government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base of Guantánamo with the United States on an equal footing, the Conference urges the United States Government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban Government." [A/5763, section VIII.]

The United States Government has not responded to this request of the Cairo Conference, and proposes to maintain indefinitely its forcible occupation of a piece of our territory from which it carries out acts of aggression such as those I have already described.

127. The Organization of American States, also popularly known as the United States Ministry of the Colonies, "strongly" condemned us—although it had already excluded us from its membership—and ordered its member countries to break off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. The Organization authorized aggression against our country, at any time and on any pretext—thus violating the most elementary international laws and completely disregarding the United Nations.

128. Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico voted against these measures, and the Government of the United Mexican States refused to comply with the sanctions when they were approved; since that time we have had no relations with any Latin American country except Mexico, and one of the preliminary steps towards direct imperialist aggression has thus been taken.

129. We would explain once more that our concern for the countries of Latin America is based on the ties which unite us; the language we speak, our culture, and the master we formerly shared. We have no other reason for desiring the liberation of Latin America from the colonial yoke of the United States. If any of the Latin American countries here today decided to re-establish relations with Cuba, we should be ready to act in that sense on a basis of equality and not on the assumption that recognition of Cuba as a free country was an act of generosity towards our Government, for we won that recognition with our blood during our struggle for liberation; we achieved it with our blood in defending our shores against the Yankee invasion.

130. Although we reject any attempt to charge us with interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, we cannot deny that we sympathize with the peoples which are fighting for their freedom; and we must conform with the obligation of our Government and people to proclaim aloud, to the world, our moral support of and solidarity with the peoples that are anywhere struggling to achieve the rights of sovereignty proclaimed in the United Nations Charter.

131. The United States, for its part, is certainly intervening; it has a long history of intervention in America. Cuba has been aware of it since the end of the last century; but Colombia, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Central America as a whole, Mexico, Haiti and Santo Domingo are also aware of it.

132. In recent years direct aggression has been experienced, not only by our own people, but by Panama, where marines stationed in the Canal opened fire with impunity on the defenceless population; by Santo Domingo, whose coasts were violated by the Yankee fleet with a view to preventing a justifiable outburst of popular fury after the murder of Trujillo; and by Colombia, whose capital was taken by storm immediately after the rebellion which the assassination of Gaitán had provoked. Underhand intervention is being carried out through military missions which take part in internal repression—by organizing armed forces for that purpose in a number of countries—and in all the coups d'état known as "gorilazos", which have occurred so frequently on the American continent in recent times.

133. Specifically, United States forces are intervening to aid in the repression of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala, that are carrying on an armed struggle for freedom. In the first-named country, they not only advise the army and the police, but carry out genocidal attacks from the air against the peasant population of large rebel-held areas, and the Yankee troops stationed there exert every kind of pressure with a view to increasing direct interference. The imperialists are preparing to repress the American peoples and are creating an "International" of crime.

134. The United States is intervening in America on the pretext of defending free institutions. The day will come when this Assembly will acquire even greater maturity and will demand from the United States Government guarantees for the lives of the negro and Latin American people living in this country, most of them native-born or naturalized United States citizens.

135. How can a country which murders its own children and discriminates between them daily because of the colour of their skins, a country that allows the murderers of Negroes to go free, actually protects them and punishes the Negroes for demanding respect for their lawful rights as free human beings, claim to be a guardian of liberty? We realize that today the Assembly is not in a position to demand explanations for these acts; yet it must be clearly established that the Government of the United States is not the guardian of liberty, but rather that it is perpetuating the exploitation and oppression of many of the world's peoples and of many of its own citizens.

136. Our reply to the ambiguous language with which certain representatives have described the case of Cuba and OAS is a forthright proclamation that the peoples of America will make the treacherous Governments pay for their treason.

137. Cuba, a free and sovereign country with no chains binding it to anyone, with no foreign investments in its territory, with no pro-consuls to "direct" its policy, can hold its head high in this Assembly and prove its title to the name "Free Territory of America" with which it will be baptized.

138. Our example will bear fruit on the continent, as it has already borne fruit to a certain extent in Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela. There is no small enemy, nor any contemptible little army, because there are no longer any isolated peoples. As is set forth in the Second Declaration of Havana:

"No one people of Latin America is weak, because all are part of a family of 200 million brothers who suffer the same miseries, harbour the same feelings and face the same enemy. All dream alike of a happier fate and can count on the solidarity of all honourable men and women throughout the world.

"This epic which lies before us will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers. It will be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals of whom there are so many in our suffering lands of Latin America. A struggle of masses and of ideas, this epic will be borne forward by our peoples who have been maltreated and despised by imperialism, by our peoples, who, slighted until today, are now beginning to awaken from their sleep. We were regarded as an impotent, submissive herd; but now they are beginning to fear that herd, a gigantic herd of 200 million Latin Americans who will dig the grave of Yankee monopoly capital, as that capital already senses.

"... The hour of their vindication is striking, the hour they themselves have chosen. The bell is sounding clearly from one end of the continent to the other. This anonymous mass, this coloured America, sombre and taciturn, which is singing throughout the continent the same sad, disillusioned song, is now beginning to take its history into its own hands, to write it with its own blood, to suffer and to die. For now, in the fields and mountains of America, on the slopes of its "sierras", in its plains and in its forests, in solitude or amid the bustle of cities, on the shores of the ocean and the bank of the river, these valiant hearts are beginning to stir hot with the desire to die for what is theirs, to gain and hold their rights which have been flouted for nearly five hundred years. Yes, history must now reckon with the poor people of America, with the exploited and scorned of Latin America, who have decided that henceforth they will write their own history. Day after day they can be seen on the roads, on foot, marching endlessly, for hundreds of miles, to reach their 'Olympian' rulers and to secure their rights. Day after day they can be seen, here, there and everywhere, armed with stones, sticks and matchets, occupying the land, digging their hooks into the soil which is theirs and defend-

ing it with their lives. They can be seen bearing their banners, flags and slogans, letting them blow in the wind amid the mountains or across the plains. And this wave of shaking fury, of justice demanded, of rights withheld, which is beginning to engulf the countries of Latin America, will not recede. It will mount with every day that passes, because it consists of the masses, those who are in a majority in all things, those whose labour produces the wealth, who create the values, who turn the wheels of history and are now awakening from the long, benumbing sleep to which others had consigned them.

"For this great mass of humanity has said 'Enough!' and has begun to move. And its march, its march of giants, will not stop until that true independence, for which lives have more than once been lost in vain, has been won. Now at least those who die will die as the Cubans did at Playa Girón—for their own, true and inalienable independence."

139. This new structure of a continent, of America, is rising and taking shape in the daily asseveration by our people of their irrevocable determination to fight and to paralyse the mailed fist of the invader. This proclaimed determination has the understanding and support of all peoples of the world, and especially of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The proclamation is: "Country or Death".

140. Mr. BOTSIO (Ghana): I bring you warm greetings and best wishes for the success of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly from the President of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and the Government and people of Ghana.

141. It is my great privilege to address this Assembly under the presidency of a Ghanaian. My first task is to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this high office, and to wish you every success.

142. The great honour conferred on you by your election, Mr. President, although personal, is a reflection of the increasing attention which Africa is receiving in this world Organization. We wish you well in your arduous task, and we are confident that you will acquit yourself creditably in the face of this great challenge. To the outgoing President, Mr. Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela, we must express our gratification for the excellent way in which he discharged his duties.

143. It is with great joy that we welcome into this Organization Malawi, Malta and Zambia. Our congratulations go to the leaders and peoples of these countries, whose struggles and perseverance have driven more nails into the coffin of colonialism. Colonialism is anachronistic and wasteful of human talents, and the sooner it is ended altogether, the better for all mankind.

144. We also look forward to welcoming into this Organization British Guiana, the British colonies and protectorates in the Arabian Peninsula, and other colonial possessions and protectorates. As for Portugal's intransigence in this matter, it is an open secret that it receives full support from the NATO allies, so we expect them to see to it that Portugal divests itself of its colonies and thus removes one of the threats to peace and security in Africa.

145. We have before us at this session a very heavy and important agenda. Without wishing to anticipate the Assembly's discussion of its agenda at the proper time, I would ask your indulgence, Mr. President, to touch on certain matters on the agenda whose urgency makes them an appropriate topic for at least brief mention in the general debate.

146. I am sure representatives will agree with me that the most urgent, though not by any means the most important, issue facing the Assembly is the present deadlock over the question of the arrears in the contribution of certain Members with respect to United Nations peace-keeping operations. The attitude of Ghana on this issue is quite clear. We feel that all Members owe a duty to the Organization to ensure that the United Nations is financially able to meet its commitments.

147. Ghana has paid its contributions to the United Nations peace-keeping operations, in spite of the fact that we have been very unhappy about the way in which some of these operations have been carried out. Indeed, we have felt very strongly about the conduct of the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo. However, we are alive to the fact that the Organization needs financial sustenance if it is to survive. But my delegation is not prepared to support any action, no matter how well intended, which at the same time poses a threat to the continued existence of the Organization itself, and we believe that the invocation of Article 19 against France and the Soviet Union, and other countries, at this time, conjures up the grim possibility of the dissolution or, at least, the serious truncation of the United Nations.

148. That is why my Government, while convinced that every means should be explored to persuade Members in arrears to pay up their contributions, nevertheless sees wisdom in avoiding any precipitate action of enforcement which might lead to the collapse of the Organization or, at best, reduce it to a meaningless forum by the banishment of some of its Members on these grounds. It is the hope of my delegation that an acceptable formula can be found which will simultaneously enable the United Nations to get the funds it so direly needs, and enable those concerned to continue to participate in the deliberations of the Organization. I am of the opinion that our suggestion of a peace fund, given a chance, may get the Organization out of this particular deadlock over its pecuniary embarrassment.

149. My Government's preoccupation with this crisis stems from its profound conviction that, with all its imperfections, the United Nations is the only international organization devised by man for preventing head-on collisions between nations. Though sometimes blundering, at times in an extremely exasperating way, this Organization has nevertheless worked pretty well. Particularly for the smaller countries, it plays a role which no other organization in existence can perform quite as well. It is not the great Powers which need the United Nations for their protection and assistance. It is we, the smaller nations, who find in it the hope for a peaceful and prosperous international order within which all nations can pursue their objectives in mutual harmony, for the benefit of all.

150. The signing of the nuclear test ban treaty last year marked a watershed in post-war international relations. The year 1963 thus ended on a note of enthusiasm and hope for the relaxation of international tensions. The international political scene during the past year has remained relatively stable, but there are many areas of potential crisis and actual conflict which still demand the energies and attention of us all. It is the hope of my delegation that this Organization, in undramatic but significant ways, will continue to contribute to the further relaxation of international tensions, and thus enable the process of peaceful negotiation and agreement to come into their own as the only means of achieving just and lasting solutions to international problems.

151. The question of disarmament continues to occupy first place in the preoccupations of all nations. Regrettably, it is still the one issue on which progress is painfully slow and sometimes discouraging. But the fact that eighteen nations continue to negotiate laboriously is a sign that mankind is not rushing to its destruction in a nuclear war. In an atmosphere of hope, the absence of complete agreement does not spell disaster; it can be a spur to effort at mutual understanding and achievement.

152. It is most disheartening and painful to record that the people of Viet-Nam and Laos have never known what peace is since the end of the last war, while those who started the war and were vanquished are among the most prosperous nations of today. This is the result of cold-war pressures, and now we have added to the list of these afflicted countries Cuba, the Congo and Cyprus. The Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus have lived in peace for centuries. Why cannot they do so now? The peoples of the countries concerned should be given a chance to settle their own affairs without outside interference. My delegation urges this Organization to take a more positive approach to the solution of these problems, and thereby bring peace and security to our unfortunate brethren in these afflicted countries.

153. The situation in Africa is naturally the immediate concern of Ghana and, indeed, of all Africa. While great strides have been made in recent years in the emancipation of the continent of Africa, there are still residual pockets of colonialism and racial discrimination which constitute an affront, not only to us Africans, but to all civilized humanity. The continued domination of the rest of Africa—including South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, French Somaliland, Spanish Sahara, Spanish Equatorial Africa and other Spanish enclaves—continues to pose a serious threat to peace and racial harmony on the continent of Africa. For us in Africa, the issue is quite clear. We would like the transition from colonial domination to freedom and independence to be achieved peacefully and without bitterness on either side. However, if the imperialists persist in frustrating the rights of Africans to independence, then we will accept the challenge and use every available means to ensure the total liberation of Africa.

154. Apartheid and racialism, the handmaidens of imperialism and colonialism, pose as serious and

immediate a threat to world peace as does the arms race. Nowhere in the world is there such a fertile breeding ground for racial conflict that could escalate into international war as in South Africa. The Western Powers bear a great responsibility for South Africa's apparent ability openly to defy the United Nations and arrogantly to flout world opinion, for it is the trade and investments from the major Western Powers that sustain South Africa as a viable modern State with a prehistoric sense of morality and ethics. For their pronouncements against apartheid to carry conviction, the Western Powers must back pious words with concrete deeds. They cannot win the friendship of any of us in Africa while maintaining their association with the gruesome régime in South Africa.

155. The United Kingdom Government, however, deserves our commendation for its support of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia and for its firm stand against any unilateral declaration of independence by the racist minority government of that country. However, my Government feels that urgent steps should be taken to bring about a democratic and lasting solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem.

156. With regard to the Spanish territories in Africa, my delegation wishes to draw the attention of this Organization to the undemocratic constitutional evolution which is now taking place in those territories. By a series of constitutional decrees, the Spanish Government has sought to blindfold the people of those territories, and indeed the whole world, into believing that it has granted autonomy to its territories in Africa. To the Government of Ghana, the Spanish move is no different from that of the Portuguese Government. My delegation therefore invites the General Assembly to pay particular attention to those territories and to ensure that the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) are fully applied to them.

157. Regarding the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I shall be very brief, since the Security Council is at the moment dealing with the matter. Recent events in the Congo are a cause of great concern to all Africans, and should be a matter of equal concern to the United Nations. It seems that the United States and Belgium, bent on a military solution to the Congo problem, are prepared to carry their interventionist policies to the bitter end. And yet, anyone who knows Africa and has an idea of the problems of the Congo will realize that a solution to the Congo problem cannot be sought in a military victory. The problem of the Congo is primarily a political one, and needs only a political solution. Furthermore, and here I quote my President, Dr. Nkrumah:

"African problems can be resolved best by Africans themselves. The Organization of African Unity has shown by its efforts and record that it can, if left alone, solve African problems effectively."

158. The people of the Congo, assisted by the Organization of African Unity, should be given a chance to seek a lasting solution to the Congo problem. But this will depend on the realization that only a political solution can be meaningful or lasting. Furthermore, it must be accepted that no solution is possible as

long as there is foreign military intervention. Therefore, we fervently appeal to all foreign Powers to leave Africa alone to find its own solution to its problems.

159. The struggle for the total liberation of Africa and racial justice cannot be won by individual African States working in isolation. Africa can be free; Africa can unite; Africa can achieve a high level of economic, cultural and social well-being only on the basis of a union government. Africa must unite to exist as a stable and prosperous continent. As President Nkrumah said at the Cairo conference of non-aligned States, African unification is not only an imperative of African progress; it is also a vital factor in the peace and security of the world.

160. Already, the Organization of African Unity has achieved some marked successes, such as the elimination of armed conflict arising out of the frontier disputes between Algeria and Morocco and between Somalia and Ethiopia. But the objective of African unity is not merely the solution of *ad hoc* problems of this kind. It is something more fundamental, whose achievement can be realized only in a union government of Africa. It is our belief that African unity is the vital precondition for African advancement and the protection of territorial sovereignty and integrity. As unco-ordinated, non-viable entities, the African countries will not be able to develop a sufficient concentration of power, either economically, diplomatically, or militarily, to ensure economic and social progress or to secure the sovereignty and integrity of the individual territories.

161. Clearly, Africa's voice can be truly heard not as a dissonance of conflicting pronouncements, but as the unified and consistent voice of a great continent. For the defence of the continent there must be a military arrangement, embracing all the African States, which can most effectively ensure collective defence against external aggression and prevent inter-State conflicts. Recent events in Africa firmly underline this proposition. As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has advocated time and again, if an African force had been deployed in the Congo to assist the Congolese authorities when it became inevitable for the United Nations Force to withdraw, many of the recent tragic events in that unhappy country could have been avoided.

162. It is of even greater importance to realize that African economic development and, in particular, African industrialization, can succeed only on the basis of a harmonized African economy, offering a greater diversity of resources and a wider market, capable of sustaining large-scale modern industry. If Africa can achieve peace and prosperity, that will be its greatest contribution to the world.

163. But in all the vital areas just mentioned, no real achievement is possible without the establishment of an effective executive machinery with appropriate powers for co-ordinating policies. This, simply, is the argument for the establishment of a union government of Africa, under which the individual States may continue to exercise their sovereignty. This is the logical development of the decisions taken by the

African Heads of State or Government at Addis Ababa in May 1963,^{13/} and at Cairo in July 1964.^{14/}

164. I think that one is safe in saying that, apart from the arms race and the risk of nuclear war, the greatest potential threat to international peace and harmony is the ever-growing disparity between the increasing wealth of the older countries and the staggering problems of want, disease and illiteracy which confront the new nations; between the material comforts of the "haves" and the anxieties of the "have-nots".

165. The growing gap between the affluence of the advanced countries and the privations of the developing countries is a problem that can no longer be ignored by the affluent societies of today. While the economies of the developed countries are growing very fast, those of the developing countries are failing in many instances even to keep pace with the growth of population. The awareness of this tragic phenomenon has now made the problem of economic development an international concern. To their credit, the Member States of the United Nations have become aware of this problem and have been developing programmes of assistance to enable developing countries to help themselves.

166. So far, however, the flow of aid has been neither consistent nor commensurate with the problem at hand. Even more important, it appears that the core of the problem has been overlooked. Foreign aid has now become the *sine qua non* of development, while in fact the classic method of economic development has always been through foreign trade. What is needed by the developing nations is not so much foreign aid, uncertain in its application as it is. What is needed is a new approach to international trade, which will enable developing countries to earn the foreign exchange necessary for economic development through the sale of their products. We want trade, not aid.

167. The present situation in international trade is one in which, while the markets for primary products of the developing countries are becoming static, the prices for the capital goods needed for economic development have been rising at an alarming rate. Added to this, tariff and fiscal policies in the developed countries create further impediments to the ability of developing countries to earn foreign exchange. That is why Ghana and other developing countries placed such great hopes in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It is regrettable that during the deliberations in Geneva some of the developed countries did not appear to appreciate the immensity of the problem facing developing countries. We hope that, in the appropriate committees of this Assembly, effect will be given to the establishment of the Trade and Development Board recommended by the Geneva Conference, and that the entire international community will co-operate to ensure that international trade becomes a means of ensuring prosperity for all.

^{13/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

^{14/} 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.

168. It is tragic that in a world in which two thirds of mankind go to bed hungry, fantastic wealth is wasted on the production of arms, the sole purpose of which, whether calculated or not, is the destruction of man himself. Indeed, the time has come for the advanced countries to consider seriously the question of total and complete disarmament, and earmarking part of the vast sums spent on armaments for the benefit of mankind. We, therefore, gladly welcome the proposal of the Soviet Union that not only 1 per cent, but up to 15 per cent, of funds expended on the arms race should be used to help the developing countries.

169. Now let me refer briefly to the question of the right of the People's Republic of China to its seat in the United Nations Assembly. Ghana has always maintained that the absence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a travesty of justice. It makes even less sense now that China, whether we like it or not, has joined the nuclear club. Now, more than ever before, no meaningful negotiations on disarmament can exclude China. But, quite apart from this consideration, China has to be represented in the United Nations if that body is to maintain any claim to being a world organization.

170. We cannot wish away 700 million human beings; we cannot ignore the influence of Chinese policies in world affairs. The actions of many Members of this Assembly are partly a reaction to Chinese policy or even to the mere existence of China as an important force in international affairs. Any attempt, therefore, to isolate such a Power from the one world forum where some of the most pressing problems of peace and war may be decided, is just incredible. We have always advocated the reinstatement of the People's Republic of China to its lawful place in the United Nations. We still hold that view, and we will continue to support any move to end the present isolation of one of the original Members of the United Nations.

171. It is now generally accepted that the nations of the world, with their varied and sometimes conflicting ideologies and economic and political systems, must coexist peacefully, if they are to exist at all. Unless we are prepared to live together in as much harmony as possible in present circumstances, we shall be forced to lie together as inert particles of atomic dust. This is the only choice, and I think that the majority of mankind have chosen peaceful coexistence as the only sensible alternative. Indeed, last August, an ad hoc committee of the United Nations^{15/} grappled with the intricacies of codifying the principles of peaceful coexistence. Not unexpectedly, progress was rather limited. We, however, look forward to eventual success.

172. Finally, may I say a few words about the composition of the agencies of the United Nations. Up to 1959, representation on those bodies may have reflected the structure of the membership of the United Nations. Today, that representation does not bear any relationship to the realities of the present-day world or even to the membership of the Organization itself. Two thirds of the world is under-represented in the various bodies of the United Nations. Asia and

Africa, in particular, do not have a representation on those bodies commensurate with their membership of the United Nations or their problems—problems that are increasingly becoming the major preoccupation of this body. Clearly, this state of affairs cannot be allowed to persist.

173. Last year, the Assembly made a tentative approach at correcting the imbalance in representation on United Nations bodies. That effort did not even scratch the surface of the problem. It is rather distressing to note that only thirty-eight Member States have so far ratified the relevant resolutions [1991 A and B (XVIII)]. My delegation takes this opportunity to urge all Member States concerned to ratify those resolutions as early as possible.

174. This year, we must find a real solution which will ensure the proper representation of all parts of the world. This is imperative if the Organization is to have a real meaning for all its Members.

175. It is the sincere hope of the Government and people of Ghana that the Charter of this Organization, the spirit of which calls for the harmonious endeavours of all races, will guide mankind to strengthen world peace and security. We are confident that the road will be cleared for greater economic and cultural co-operation as enshrined in the Charter, and that, guided by the imponderable incentives of moral and spiritual values that have been preached throughout the ages, we may re-echo and work for the realization of that perennial message: "Peace on earth and goodwill towards men".

176. Mr. HASLUCK (Australia): The Australian delegation joins with others in expressing congratulations to our President on his appointment, and good wishes to him during his term of service in this high office. We welcome the choice of an African as President of the General Assembly. The Assembly, by its choice, and our distinguished President by his acceptance of office, have given visible witness to the place that Africa occupies today in world affairs and the part that its leaders are now taking and are capable of taking in the coming years in the fulfilment of human destiny.

177. And while expressing congratulations to you, Sir, on your office, I should like to take the opportunity of expressing a wish on behalf of my delegation that the Secretary-General may have an early improvement of health in order to be able to join with you in your labours.

178. I should like also to join in the words of welcome to the three new Members—Malawi, Malta and Zambia. We also greet them as fellow members of the Commonwealth of Nations, and we look forward to close and friendly association with them in both the United Nations and the Commonwealth in working for the common good.

179. May I also make a brief reference to the death, announced on the first day of the Assembly, of Mr. Arkady Sobolev. I remember him well as a member of the delegation of the Soviet Union at the San Francisco Conference and at subsequent meetings, and later as the first Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of Security Council Affairs.

^{15/} Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States.

Mr. Sobolev has a notable place among those delegates of all nations who worked to bring the United Nations into being and to establish it. And although in all frankness I doubt whether I was ever on the same side as he in any argument, I should like to honour his memory and his services to the United Nations.

180. When I speak from the rostrum of the General Assembly, I am interrupted by many memories—memories of the San Francisco Conference, the Executive Committee, the Preparatory Commission, the Headquarters Commission, the first General Assembly, the first Security Council, the hopeful but doomed Atomic Energy Commission of 1946, and many other councils and committees now forgotten. Returning to the United Nations after a long absence, one sees many changes. Outwardly it is all much more magnificent, much bigger, much more crowded, much more highly organized, and all that sort of thing can be readily seen. There are, however, some less clearly perceptible changes.

181. Like all institutions, the United Nations has added to its written constitution various conventions and usages developed in practice. The text of the Charter has not been revised, but it has been interpreted, and the interpretations have been more often political than juridical. Today, the document does not mean exactly what it meant in the first year after it was drafted. This is in the nature of things, and I do not say whether it is good or bad. I would venture the opinion, however, that political interpretations of documents usually mean an attempt to stretch their meaning, and this approach often leads to a tendency to examine the Charter to see whether it stops us from doing something; and, if it does, to see if we can stretch a clause or two in the hope of finding a way through. In looking to see whether the Charter stops us from doing something, are we today perhaps giving less attention than we ought to give to the fact that the Charter also requires us to do certain things? The Charter places obligations on us.

182. The Charter itself uses the word "obligations" more than once. It is a condition of membership that Members "shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the . . . Charter". It is a condition of the entry of new Members that they accept the obligations contained in the Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, "are able and willing to carry out these obligations". And the obligation which any of us accepts is something that we have undertaken to do and are obliged to do at the risk of being false to our own promises.

183. All Members are deeply concerned at the moment—and, in my view, very rightly concerned—because in several parts of the world there is military strife and bloodshed. Nowhere is this more evident than in South-East Asia, an area of great concern to my own country. Before we start seeking the reason for this in the failure or the imperfection of the Organization in its peace-keeping role, let us face frankly the fact that several of these situations would never have occurred, and many of them would disappear immediately, if only individual Members of the United Nations would honour their obligations, such as the obligations to settle disputes by peaceful means, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the

territorial or political independence of any State, to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

184. These are not obligations placed on the United Nations as an Organization, or on any of the organs of the United Nations; they are obligations placed on each individual Member State. Whatever faults we may see in the collective security system of the United Nations, and whatever we may choose to say about the Security Council and the General Assembly, do not let us lay this fault at their door. It is the failure of Members to honour their own obligations—a matter initially in the sovereign control of each of them—that creates the danger, and we will be avoiding the basic issue if we start talking about improving peace-keeping machinery before each Member individually faces up to the basic cause of the breakdown in peace.

185. I propose to speak today only of the problems of the maintenance and restoration of international peace and security, including peace-keeping in the sense in which we have come to use that word in recent years. The views of the Australian delegation on the wide variety of other subjects that await our attention will be expressed when the appropriate items on the agenda are reached.

186. Today, at this very moment, as we sit here and as I speak, fear still casts its shadow over the whole world. Force and the threat of force are still being used to advance national policies. A substantial part of the resources of the world are still diverted to armaments. We still cannot get on with the greater tasks that await us because it is necessary to take defence measures, and we still cannot co-operate fully with each other in peaceful enterprises because there is good reason to prepare for the possibility of war with each other. Men, women and children are being killed at this moment in military operations. These ugly facts cannot be sponged away with words or obliterated by hope.

187. Furthermore, the work of this session of the General Assembly has been held up in a disheartening fashion by basic disagreement on peace-keeping arrangements. Although the Australian view on the application of Article 19 is clear and firm, and we think that this should be settled as an issue concerning solely the authority of the General Assembly in financial matters, yet we can see that, behind the question of arrears in payments, lies a division of purpose and opinion about the purposes and procedures and, indeed, about the very meaning of peace-keeping. Unless that question of peace-keeping can be solved, not only the work of the General Assembly but the whole future of the United Nations itself could be jeopardized.

188. So peace-keeping, I submit, is a vital issue in itself, and it also lies behind the current crisis in this Assembly. We do not expect that it will be possible to reach any quick and easy agreement about these fundamental questions. The Australian delegation does not press for an understanding before we attempt to overcome the Article 19 situation. We would hope, rather, that close and careful considera-

tion will be given to the matter in all its aspects, and that proposals will be prepared for the consideration of Members before the twentieth session meets. My present purpose here today is to try to indicate some of the problems to be overcome before we meet again, rather than to advocate the terms of any particular solution of these problems.

189. As I see the matter, the United Nations not only has to resolve a question concerning the relationships between the General Assembly and the Security Council in the tasks of restoring and maintaining international peace, but also has to re-examine the whole question of how to improve the prospects of peace in the world. We are not concerned only with the position of the great Powers, but also with the need for all Powers, great, middle-sized and small, to play a useful part.

190. We should also realize that we shall not see the perfect performance of their obligations by all Members if we continue in a situation in which those who do keep their obligations suffer by so doing, because the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations is not in working order. You will recall that the machinery was devised, in part, to assist Members to honour their obligations without suffering disadvantage at the hands of those who did not honour their obligations. When the peace-keeping system does not work, it becomes difficult and at times almost impossible for a Member State which is in danger to observe the Charter and to survive.

191. The United Nations machinery for collective security was devised to deal promptly and effectively with breaches of the peace or threatened breaches of the peace, either on the part of a Member acting in disregard of its obligations or on the part of a State that had never accepted such obligations. The Charter did this by seeking to establish a process of peaceful settlement of disputes and, if that process failed, or a breach of the peace or an act of aggression occurred without any prior period of discussion or any prior attempts at settlement, a system of enforcement. This machinery of peaceful settlement and enforcement has not worked effectively in many cases. One obvious reason is that all Members have not met their obligations in respect of peaceful settlement; another reason is that great-Power unanimity, which was at the heart of the enforcement system, has been lacking. But I do not think that that is the whole of the story.

192. First, let us look more closely at the unanimity rule, and the special position given to the great Powers by the Charter. It was always recognized, right from the start, that the collective security system of the United Nations could not stop a war between the great Powers themselves, if one of the great Powers was bent on war. The reality is that, since the Charter was signed, an uneasy peace among the great Powers has been achieved, and another world war has hitherto been avoided by old-fashioned methods of power politics; and I see no sign of the early replacement of those methods. I would also suggest that in some parts of the world today an uneasy peace is being kept by one or other of the great Powers acting on its own. Where there is unrepressed conflict in the world, one mostly finds that one element in the situation is that

the great Powers have either supported different sides in the local argument, or that one or other of them is content to see the argument go on so long as it is to the discomfiture of the other great Power. In short, at times, the great Powers have been "peace-keepers on opposite sides".

193. This position of the great Powers is not simply a position created from them by the terms of the United Nations Charter. It is part of the political reality of the world today. We cannot keep peace against the great Powers. We cannot keep peace without them. So, basically, I cannot respond readily to any proposal that ignores the reality of the existence of the great Powers, or limits them in the exercise of their primary responsibility.

194. What we do seek is some readiness on the part of the great Powers to dedicate themselves to serve a common interest, overriding a narrow national interest, and to shape their conduct on the principles and the purposes of the Charter. At a time when so many of the smaller Powers have not kept their obligations under the Charter, I am certainly not going to join in the popular sport of lecturing the great Powers on their morals. I wonder, however, if there is a role for the General Assembly in assisting them to keep their consciences tender, and to see their duty to humanity more clearly. Are there ways in which the General Assembly, under Article 11, can make the voice of the world heard more effectively and the pressure of world opinion felt more immediately? How can we assist the great Powers, without departing from reality, to remember at all times that the "primary responsibility" to which Article 24 refers was conferred on the Security Council by the Members, and that in doing so the Members agreed "that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf". Broadly, that is one of the areas that is suggested for study before we meet again.

195. The next desirable outcome is for the Security Council to act promptly and effectively to check any breach of the peace. In fact, it has seldom done so. The consequential question is whether, when the Security Council is unable to handle a dangerous situation, the General Assembly could take up the running and, if it did so, by what procedures and with what agencies.

196. One of the major difficulties, to which several Members have drawn attention, is the gap in peace-keeping arrangements revealed by the absence of any United Nations force immediately available on the spot either to discharge the functions of a police force through the deterrent effect of its presence or to check the disturbance of the peace by military action as soon as the peace is disturbed. Of course, there are attendant problems in raising such forces, financing them, controlling them and directing their operations.

197. At present, some of this police duty is being done, for better or for worse, by the great Powers, using their own national forces. One can understand the desire of small nations to replace a national force by an international force, and to take measures to enable all or several Members to participate in mak-

ing the decisions about the employment of this police force, instead of leaving it to the self-will of one. The practical issue might be stated as a contrast between a self-appointed but strong policeman, and a policeman of unknown strength controlled by an unknown authority.

198. We have to see the reality of a world in which power is still the deciding factor in international affairs, and where power still cannot be successfully marshalled and controlled by any international agency. Those who do not like that reality are necessarily called to bend their minds to the problem of how best to replace national by international peace-keeping forces; at the same time, they should try to find ways whereby all Members can be associated within the machinery of the United Nations and with the task of maintaining the peace and sharing the burden both of material expense and decision-making. As I understand this line of thought, it necessarily means a sharing of responsibility, and to that extent a variation in the emphasis given up to date to the responsibility of the great Powers.

199. The central objection to the use of a national force for peace-keeping is that the force is necessarily disposed and used according to the will of the nation that maintains it, and the possessor of power decides for whom and against whom he will act, and even whether he will act at all. This becomes a much more critical question in those regions where newly emerged nations are struggling to establish themselves on a firm and lasting foundation and to maintain their independence, their internal political stability and their territorial integrity, than it is in more stable regions, where nations able to make a significant contribution to defence have joined in regional arrangements for their security.

200. The Charter, you will recall, tends to leave the task of emergency defence to Members themselves. It was recognized at the time of the framing of the Charter that the Security Council might not be able to act speedily enough, or at all. Article 51 therefore provides that, until the Security Council has taken measures to maintain international peace and security in the event of an armed attack against a Member State, Members may take measures in their own self-defence, either individually or collectively. This arrangement may work in many situations.

201. The Australian position has been to join in regional arrangements for mutual defence and to maintain our own forces in order to meet any danger that directly threatens us. We can appreciate, however, that this method of preparing to meet an emergency may not work in the case of newly independent countries, which have limited forces of their own and which are unwilling to align themselves with allies in regional arrangements, but which nevertheless do become involved in factional strife or do suffer attack from their neighbours. I can appreciate the reasons why such countries would prefer to see their emergency defence undertaken by an international force rather than by any single great Power, but I suggest that such nations have to recognize that they cannot have total independence, to the point of excluding any form of outside aid, and at the same time hope to have total security.

202. If the use of national peace-keeping forces is to be rejected, and if the Security Council cannot be relied on to produce international peace-keeping forces, can a solution be found by giving a greater measure of responsibility to the General Assembly? If we take that course, we have to make sure that the General Assembly will in practice be able to discharge its responsibility. I entertain some doubts.

203. If the inaction of the Security Council is due to political conflict among the great Powers, we can be sure that the same political conflicts will be carried into the General Assembly, of which the great Powers themselves are Members, and in which they can count on their influence. It is also open to question whether one can have greater confidence in the prospective decision of the General Assembly than in the prospective decision of the Security Council. Yet we cannot afford to let such serious matters—matters of life and death—rest where they are if the Security Council is incapable of handling them.

204. Thus a further problem to be resolved concerns the conditions under which a matter which the Security Council has failed to handle can be handled by the General Assembly, and what methods are to be used by the General Assembly. All this, of course, is based on the view that the Security Council has the primary responsibility, but not the exclusive responsibility—a point which seems to us to be made clear beyond dispute in Article 24.

205. Another argument for re-examining the role of the General Assembly lies in the inapplicability of the present collective security system to some of the disturbances of the peace that we see in the world today. The framers of the Charter did not foresee all the contingencies that might arise. There are dangerous activities of a kind that are not fully covered by the provisions of the Charter on peaceful settlement and enforcement, and even if they are covered by the document, are likely to elude the range of feasible action.

206. I am much attracted to the suggestion of the representative of Brazil [1289th meeting] that peace-keeping operations are a new concept not fully covered by Chapters VI and VII of the Charter and, assuming the revision of the Charter became possible, might deserve a new chapter on their own. If so, what would we put into such a chapter?

207. We would probably want to put into it some provision for a peace-keeping force which could act without taking sides in a dispute; or, in those situations in which armed action arises without a discernible dispute, a force that would act without favouring any cause except that of stopping men from killing or threatening each other. The San Francisco Conference did not accept the idea of a permanent international police force, but experience of sporadic troubles in many places has led more Members to think of the need for an international stand-by force that will be non-partisan, adequate, effective and immediately available.

208. Over recent years, in a number of situations, rather different from those foreseen by the framers of the Charter, the United Nations has set up special forces of its own, under United Nations command

responsible to the Secretary-General, financed by contributions from all Members, the rate of contribution being imposed by decision of the General Assembly. I may add that the Australian position throughout has been to support such United Nations forces.

209. My Government is studying with interest various suggestions that have been made to improve and formalize arrangements of this kind, and to repose greater authority in the General Assembly. Although one can foresee some difficulties—and speaking frankly for ourselves, we would not wish to forgo the right of individual or collective self-defence in an emergency—we can appreciate that there is a case for further study of the suggestions. We can also appreciate that these arrangements are of a kind totally different from those proposed in Articles 43 and 45 of the Charter, and are intended to meet situations of a kind different from those intended to be covered by those Articles.

210. We would also probably want to put into the new chapter some provisions that would assist the General Assembly either to act as the tender conscience of the United Nations or to bring the force of world opinion to bear on the peace-breaker. It would be a chapter providing means for physical restraint and moral condemnation, both promptly applied without partisanship and according to established principles. Whether the new chapter should propose some new conciliation procedures for bringing about a settlement, and whether such new procedures are needed, might also be studied.

211. This somewhat incomplete discussion of a very great subject will, I trust, show that I share the belief that a great creative effort has to be made to make the United Nations more effective in the maintenance and restoration of international peace. I do want to stress, however, that we cannot climb to heaven on a ladder of words. We have to deal with a political situation.

212. The basic necessity for peace is that all Members fulfil their obligations under the Charter.

213. The reality is that peace cannot be kept in disputes between the great Powers, and so long as there is conflict between the great Powers there will be conflict in the world, and there will be conflict over the processes of peace-keeping.

214. Unless Members of the General Assembly are prepared to act on behalf of the general body of Members and to serve a common interest, and not to act on their own behalf and to serve their own interest individually, their record in peace-keeping will be little, if at all, better than that of the Security Council. Are we entitled to have faith that the votes of the General Assembly will be at all times wise, lofty and untarnished by group or national partisanship? Unless we have that faith, how good will be the effect of the reforms we plan and hope to make?

215. We have to work hard at this problem, but much of the work has to be done, not on the machinery, but on ourselves.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.