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*President:* Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Vizcaíno Leal (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ABU BAKR (Singapore): My statement this afternoon will be quite short. I propose first of all to refer generally to the situation in South and South-East Asia, and in other parts of the world, as well as to recent happenings and trends, and then to make a proposal or two. I will also mention some of the unfortunate events that have overtaken certain parts of Asia. Then I will refer to the economic conditions of under-developed countries and what should have been done about them. And I will end by saying something of what we in Singapore are trying to do in order to build a democratic socialist State on sound economic principles, with the assistance of the United Nations and for the benefit of the people of our island State.

2. The Singapore delegation welcomes this opportunity afforded to all delegations to express their views on many world problems, problems which the United Nations has been trying to solve since it was founded twenty years ago. That is the reason why my delegation is of the view that all sovereign nations, big and small, should be Members of the United Nations, as they can thereby contribute to this world forum. And that is why also, as soon as Singapore was proclaimed an independent and sovereign State on 9 August 1965, we lost no time in applying for membership of the United Nations.

3. As is well known, Singapore became a Member of the United Nations on 21 September 1965. That day was a proud one for Singapore. Previously it was part of the Federation of Malaysia—as from 15 September 1963—a nation which was developing fast both economically and politically. Malaysia is a United Nations in miniature, as there are people of many races and religions living in peace side by side. It is a multiracial society. We have Malays, Chinese,

Indians, Pakistanis, Eurasians, Dusuns, Land Dayaks, Muruts, Bajaus, and many other races. The rate of development of all the constituent States of Malaysia is not the same. For example, Singapore was advancing at a much faster rate than the rest of Malaysia. And because of this, among other reasons, tensions soon built up, and rather than have a show-down with all the possibilities of upheaval and devastation our leaders decided that the best way was for Singapore to become a sovereign and independent State. There is of course the possibility that at some future date it will become a part of Malaysia again, because of our very close ties. And so it came about that Singapore was proclaimed an independent and sovereign State without the need of having a commotion. We could not get on with the rest of Malaysia, and so we parted company as friends. The proof of this is that Malaysia was the chief sponsor for our admission to the United Nations, not only in the Security Council but in the General Assembly as well. I should also like to take this opportunity of again thanking all members of the Security Council that approved our application for membership. I also thank all Member States that co-sponsored the resolution [2010 (XX)] welcoming our admission to the United Nations. We are the 117th Member of the United Nations; indeed at present we are the very last Member on the list to join the United Nations. But I hope that other sovereign States, especially those soon to become independent, will lose no time in applying for membership of the United Nations at the appropriate time.

4. As a Member of the United Nations, Singapore hopes to join the other nations in their efforts to realize the aims and objectives of the United Nations Charter. For Singapore, the essentials of the Charter are the preservation of peace through collective security, the promotion of economic development through mutual aid and the safeguarding of the inalienable right of every country to establish forms of government in accordance with the wishes of its own people. My country stands by these three essential principles and will give loyal and unflinching support to the United Nations in its efforts to promote them. We support these ideals because we realize that the well-being, security and integrity of our country can be assured only on the basis of these principles. World peace is a necessary condition for the political and economic survival of small nations like Singapore. We want peace and we want to be left alone in order to pursue our developmental projects unhampered. At the same time, our strategic geographical location is such that we are surrounded by bigger and more powerful neighbours. Because of our strategic position we have attracted the attention of nations that wish to dominate South-East Asia. The British have developed Singapore not only as the commercial centre

of South-East Asia but also as a military base for consolidating Western dominance in that region. And now that Singapore is independent, the role of this base must change. For example, we will never permit it to be used for aggression. The base is there with our consent to ensure our own security in an area of increasing military instability. The moment we can be assured of effective alternative guarantees to our security—from that moment foreign control of these bases will cease.

5. Our foreign policy is one of non-alignment. We do not wish to be drawn into alliances dedicated to imposing our way of life on other countries. Friendship between countries should not be conditional on the acceptance of common ideologies, common friends and common enemies. But this does not mean that my country equates non-alignment with indifference to basic issues of what is right and what is wrong, or that it will evade taking a stand on matters which it considers vital lest we displease some friendly nations. Non-alignment is only in regard to narrow power bloc interests and not in regard to the basic principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. As I have mentioned above, we wish all sovereign countries to be Members of the United Nations and occupy their rightful places on the Security Council. As a non-aligned Asian nation, we hope to be invited to attend the Asian-African Conference scheduled to be held in Algiers on 5 November 1965. If we are invited, our representation will be at the highest political level, especially as this will be the first time that we will be attending as an independent country.

6. The arguments that the People's Republic of China should be a Member of the United Nations are many and compelling. We are well aware of the views of other countries that do not share our line of thinking. But it is a nation of 650 million people. It is also a member of the atomic club. It has shown in many convincing ways that it is sovereign and has full control of the mainland of China, and it therefore has a better claim to sit as a permanent member on the Security Council than Taiwan.

7. The People's Republic of China may be bellicose in its recent statements, but we believe this is because it is not a Member of the United Nations. However, it is also our view that Taiwan should be given the right of self-determination as to whether it wants to join the People's Republic of China or not. If Taiwan wishes to remain as a separate State, then it should be admitted as a Member of the United Nations.

8. There is also the question of disarmament. Without the People's Republic of China taking part in the discussions, any agreement would not be of much significance. Only yesterday, Senator Kennedy voiced similar views on the need to have discussions with the People's Republic of China on the disarmament question. He also revealed that the United States and the Chinese are trying to discuss this proposal in Warsaw. Senator Kennedy's views are shared by many other Senators as well.

9. We are convinced that it is better to have the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as this will help to reduce tensions in Asia. The proba-

bility of the People's Republic of China, Indonesia and Pakistan forming a group of their own should not be ruled out, and if this happens the rest of Asia will not feel secure of its future. We hope that Pakistan will not follow Indonesia and leave the United Nations as it has threatened to do. Additional arguments that the People's Republic of China should be a Member of the United Nations can be illustrated by the recent incident when the late President Kennedy decided to impose a blockade on Cuba at the time the Russians were reported to be building missile bases there.

10. When tensions rose, it was fortunate that both the United States and the Soviet Union were Members of the United Nations, so that the political debate between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Security Council took off a great deal of the heat which had been generated, and thus made it possible for both the late President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev to come to a compromise solution. The history of the world might have been different if this incident had happened without the United States or the Soviet Union being Members of the United Nations.

11. Two days ago, in this same General Assembly [1357th meeting], a vote was taken on Southern Rhodesia. The question posed was quite a simple one. And yet the consequences are so vital that it will affect the course of history if allowed to go unchallenged. Here is another African country which has been exploited by a white minority. Because of its rich natural resources white settlers have flocked to it. They exploited its resources and are reluctant to let the people share in the riches. They even went further than this. They took over political control of the country, and when the Africans protested their leaders were clamped into detention camps in the interior of the country in the hope that these people, being out of sight, would be out of mind. But that happened not to be the case. More than 650 such leaders have been placed under detention and they are of course not easily forgotten as they are the country's leaders.

12. Mr. Ian Smith, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, has tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, to be given independence now. But he was told that independence can only be given when the 4 million Africans have been given political freedom to decide their destiny as against the 250,000 white immigrants. Both the large British political parties have endorsed Mr. Wilson's stand. This is of course to their credit. But in the meantime Ian Smith has returned to Southern Rhodesia and promised the white minority independence by Christmas. This is in defiance of the British warning that such an act would be treated as an open rebellion and would involve both the white and the black people in untold suffering and bloodshed. It may also plunge the world into war. When the General Assembly came to vote on the draft resolution calling upon the United Kingdom to do its utmost to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia, the count was 107 for the motion, 2 against, with 1 abstention. Clearly, the vast majority of the representatives of the world were in favour of the resolution [2012 (XX)].

13. On the question of Cyprus, we are grieved to note that this question has yet to be resolved despite

several efforts being made by the United Nations to bring peace and order to the Island. My delegation hopes that a formula can be worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned. The sooner the conflict can be resolved, the quicker it will be possible for the people of the Island to return to normal life.

14. It is ironical that Asia, as the oldest continent of the world, is plagued with all kinds of trouble. We have the Indonesian confrontation of Malaysia; we have the needless killings in Viet-Nam and, more recently, the war between India and Pakistan. We hope that the United Nations can find a satisfactory solution to all these problems as soon as possible. And lately there is the reported upheaval and bloodshed in Indonesia. Unlike Europe, which has apparently fought all its wars and is thoroughly sick of fighting—so much so that they are thinking of a more affluent and more flourishing society through trade and industry, transcending national barriers—we in Asia are still fighting it out, burdened as we are with huge populations, illiteracy and grinding poverty. But however disappointing it has been to those who seek the ideal world, these developments have given corroboration to the way of democratic socialism. For us in Asia, and even more so in Africa and Latin America, the acute pressures and conflicts of mass poverty, hunger and despair in the midst of plenty are a constant incitement to sudden and violent revolution.

15. Those who want a social revolution without destroying individual human values find that this setting makes the task an intensely difficult and delicate effort. If we approach Asian problems of poverty and under-development through the rosy spectacles of the Western European socialists, we are sure to fail. This is where the United Nations and its several agencies can do and are doing a wonderful job of economic and social development.

16. The situation in South Viet-Nam has degenerated into naked brutality between competing power blocs. Both sides are fighting in the name of freedom and liberty. We know that what is happening there is not quite right. We know that if the Communists are able to advance their frontiers to envelop South Viet-Nam it will be only a matter of time before the same process of emasculation by military and political techniques will overtake the neighbouring countries. We in Singapore are only too well aware of this. And, because of recent events there, the United States has found it necessary to bring in massive military power in order to prevent the overrunning of South Viet-Nam by the Viet-Cong. But there has recently appeared a perceptible change in the non-military aspect of the fighting. From talk of unconditional negotiations, with the hope that negotiations may lead to a neutral South Viet-Nam, there has emerged a willingness to talk of peace without preconditions. However, national prestige and suspicion are so far proving to be barriers to the commencement of talks.

17. As Asians, we must uphold the right of the Viet-Nameese people to self-determination. As democratic socialists, we must insist that the Viet-Nameese have the right not to be pressured through armed might and organized terror and finally overwhelmed by communism. So we must seek a formula that will

first make it possible for the South Viet-Nameese to recover their freedom of choice, which at the moment is limited to either communist capture or perpetual American military operations. Then, after the South Viet-Nameese are able to exercise their collective will without duress from either side, ultimately—be it after five, ten or twenty years—they must have the right to decide their final destiny; whether or not they choose to be reunited with North Viet-Nam, and on what terms.

18. I now come to the economic conditions in Afro-Asian countries in general. Because of high populations, high birth-rates, illiteracy and grinding poverty, in addition to political instability, this area faces many problems. Our region is for the most part composed of primary producing countries whose exports to the more advanced and industrialized nations are fetching less and less in terms of real value. The same is true of Africa, as mentioned by the representative of Ghana [1346th meeting]. The result is that these countries have to export much more of their primary products now if they wish to import the same quality of capital goods as they did only a few years ago. This point has been echoed and re-echoed several times already at this session by my fellow Afro-Asian representatives as well as at the Rome Conference only recently. It is a real cause of hardship and grievance to many under-developed countries which have made real and sincere efforts to advance themselves and their peoples. So far, nothing appears to have been done by way of redress. Let it not be said that, with the end of political subjugation, the under-developed countries are facing a new kind of threat—that of economic exploitation. There is much that the advanced nations can do by way of fairer trading practices before it is too late and before the aggrieved nations have taken up difficult positions. A lesson should already have been drawn from the political problem that we are facing today.

19. So much for the economic picture in general. Now I should like to say something about Singapore's economy and the many industrial undertakings there for the benefit of its people. Singapore lives mainly by trade. Its port is the fifth largest in the world and it is the principal commercial and entrepôt centre serving the countries of South-East Africa. This has been achieved over the last 150 years through sweat and toil. We are still working hard to build a more just and equal society. We realize that no one owes us a living. On the other hand, we do expect other countries, especially the larger industrialized nations, both in Europe and in America, to be more realistic in their trading policies towards the under-developed and economically weaker countries before it is too late and before these countries have lost faith in their fellow human beings.

20. Singapore's entrepôt trade is not sufficient to sustain its economy. In order to cater for the needs and to cope with the employment problems of its growing population, a dynamic programme for rapid industrialization has been launched in the last few years. In these efforts, Singapore has benefited from the generous assistance provided by the United Nations under the Expanded Programme of Technical As-

sistance and the regular programme, as well as the Special Fund. The implementation of our rapid industrialization was assisted by two United Nations survey missions in 1960 and 1961. One mission was for a comprehensive survey of the industrial possibilities, and the other for a feasibility study of developing iron and steel industries. The Economic Development Board project is the direct outcome of the recommendations from the United Nations survey. It has been set up with a capital of \$100 million to provide financial, entrepreneurial, technological, engineering, management, accounting and other assistance and facilities to new and existing industrial units. Assistance is also being provided under the OPEX and Funds-in-Trust. In many of these fields, the Economic Development Board has turned to the United Nations and obtained the experts it required.

21. The Singapore Government is giving every encouragement in the setting up of pioneer industries. Already 301 pioneer products, covering the whole range of manufacture, with a capital outlay of \$300 million, are being manufactured at the Jurong Industrial Estate, which was established in 1961 under the direction of the Economic Development Board. These industries will provide jobs for 20,000 when in full production. Their annual output is estimated at about \$560 million. The contribution to the national income will be around \$110 million per annum.

22. Because of the high birth-rate, which was in the region of 3.6 per cent per annum, many social problems had to be solved. More schools, more hospitals, more houses and more of everything have to be provided. The Housing and Development Board continued to build at the fast rate of one flat every forty-five minutes in 1964 and thereby completed 45,000 units under the First Five-Year-Building Programme. An additional 50,000 units are due for completion under the Second Five-Year-Building Programme.

23. At the same time that these problems were being solved the root causes which gave rise to such problems were also being tackled. The Singapore Government encouraged the Family Planning Association, with financial and other subsidies, in its work to educate the people in the advantages of small family units. After a few years of sustained efforts in this direction we are glad to announce that the birth-rate has fallen by 1 per cent to 2.6 per cent per annum. I think this is a very commendable achievement in any Asian country. And with the reduction in the birth-rate it will mean that more capital and energies can be released for more profitable use in the industrial and developmental fields. Our attention has also been drawn to the report of the Consultative Committee on the Asian Development Bank. <sup>1/</sup> Singapore, besides being an entrepôt and commercial centre, is also a financial centre for the South-East Asia region. This report therefore interests us a great deal. We have already approached the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to consider Singapore as the logical site for the Asian Development Bank. We understand that a committee of this bank will soon be touring the various countries which have offered a site for the bank in order to make investigations and recommendations.

24. These are some of the problems facing the Afro-Asian countries. They stem from political subjugation and economic exploitation. They give rise to social and other problems which are the result of political and economic enslavement. These are vast problems indeed which have accumulated over the centuries and which we are trying to solve in a few years only. They tools for their achievement are few and meagre and the Secretary-General is doing a heroic job with available resources. Yet the problems cry out for more and more urgent attention. And even before these can be attended to, other problems have in the meantime been added to the list. These problems are stupendous, and unless a really big effort is made on a scale comparable with its magnitude I do not see how we can achieve a solution when we are really scratching the surface. No doubt the United Nations and its several agencies are doing a fine job. But more funds and more imaginative efforts and planning are called for if we are going to make a success of it. We must be braver and more resourceful than we have been so far, and I hope the United Nations will not be found wanting in the tasks it has to face.

25. This is my first session at the United Nations General Assembly and I find it very engrossing and very full of hope. I am quite sure that many representatives, especially those from small countries, feel the same as I do. In conclusion, may I join the long list of distinguished representatives who have congratulated Mr. Amintore Fanfani on his election to the Presidency of the General Assembly, an occasion which was highlighted by the visit to the United Nations of His Holiness Pope Paul VI on 4 October of this year, a visit which has proved to be most beneficial indeed. I am also confident that under Mr. Fanfani's able leadership this session of the Assembly will be equally successful. And now that Mr. Fanfani is still ill in hospital, we all hope that he will recover soon and be able to take up his duties as President of the Assembly as soon as possible.

26. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): On behalf of the Afghan delegation, I should like to associate myself with the members of the General Assembly in congratulating most sincerely, His Excellency Amintore Fanfani, Foreign Minister of Italy, on his election as President of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The election of Foreign Minister Fanfani—who is not only a well-known statesman but also a man of knowledge and a scholar of great eminence—to his high office is a tribute to his great country and an expression of the high esteem with which he is personally regarded by all members of the Assembly.

27. Among the tributes paid to him, perhaps the most impressive expressions were those in which the representatives of so many nations spoke of their ancient and present relations with the country he represents. Afghanistan, as a country which enjoys most friendly relations with Italy, naturally associates itself with those nations. We were, therefore, grieved to learn of the accident suffered by our distinguished President and we would like to take this opportunity to convey to him our best wishes and hopes for a speedy recovery.

28. I should also like to pay tribute to His Excellency Alex Quaison-Sackey, the President of the nineteenth



session, who fulfilled the heavy responsibilities and duties of that office in a most admirable way during one of the difficult sessions in the history of the Organization. I am sure that his contributions to the work of the United Nations will always be remembered.

29. The representative of Japan has already spoken [1332nd meeting] on behalf of the Asian countries to welcome the admission of the Gambia, the Maldivian Islands and Singapore to membership in the United Nations. However, I should like to take this opportunity to extend once again our most heartfelt congratulations to the Governments and the peoples of these new Member States. We are confident that they will make a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations.

30. Since we met last time and I had the privilege of addressing the General Assembly [1323rd meeting], at home my country has been pursuing its objectives of economic, social and cultural development, guided by its firm belief in the lofty principles of democracy as the traditional way of life of its people and as an essential and basic precondition for the preservation of freedom, equality and the dignity of the human person.

31. No change has taken place in the international policy of Afghanistan. We continue to be a non-aligned country whose basic traditional policy is one of friendship and co-operation with all peoples and nations.

32. As the oldest non-aligned State Member of the United Nations, we are most gratified that the sincerity of our impartiality, objectivity and independent judgement in regard to all international situations has continued under all circumstances and thus has strengthened and expanded our relations with our friends on all continents. We are not a party to any form of association, alliance or bloc which would in any way influence us to judge any situation except on its merit. It is in this spirit that I venture to express our views on some of the problems before the General Assembly.

33. The policies of non-alignment have played a significant role in the maintenance of peace and in other fields of international endeavour. That has made us more confident that the co-operation of the non-aligned countries and the appreciation by others of their impartial and unselfish aspirations for the betterment of relations among all peoples and nations will result in the realization of the peaceful objectives which are common to us all.

34. Thinking for a second of an old saying which goes, "No matter how much peace you have at home, you cannot enjoy it in a disturbed neighbourhood", I should say that no other country is more unhappy about the recent events in the subcontinent of India than is Afghanistan. It is only natural for us to be disturbed over the grave situation which still prevails in that region of the world, to which we belong.

35. Under the present circumstances, we do not think that any other problem should be of greater concern to anyone than putting a permanent end to armed confrontation and to bloodshed. The efforts already made in that direction are a great source of

satisfaction to us. The wisdom demonstrated by the Governments of India and Pakistan in accepting the cease-fire was in no way surprising to any reasonable and peace-loving mind.

36. We have welcomed these developments with the strong hope that they might lead to a peaceful and permanent solution of a problem which has been one of the most important international preoccupations, not only of the Asian countries but of the world community as a whole. War is the most undesirable way of seeking a solution of any dispute. In the India-Pakistan conflict, it is not only most undesirable but also most unlikely to lead to a solution of the problem.

37. The Government of Afghanistan desires a peaceful solution, not only of this problem, which has already led to war between two neighbouring countries, but also of all problems in the region which are unhappy remnants of the colonial era. Afghanistan will approve of no policy which is not aimed, before all else, at the maintenance of peace and security in a region to which it belongs, a policy in the interest of the peoples, for whom peace is the only condition in which they can fulfil their aspirations for their economic, social and cultural development.

38. The end of colonial rule in that part of the world created not only the problem of Kashmir, but also certain other problems which have affected the relations between the countries of that area in an undesirable manner; for in the absence of such problems those countries could co-operate with each other in a most friendly atmosphere for the well-being of their peoples.

39. In view of the existence of such problems, neither Afghanistan nor anyone else could agree with the following statement made in the general debate by one speaker on the morning of 28 September 1965 or any statement similar to it made at any time anywhere:

"The creation of Pakistan, where Muslims would be free to develop in accordance with their culture and way of life, was the result of the democratic process of self-determination in which each of the provinces which today form part of Pakistan freely and formally expressed its desire to do so. Kashmir alone of those States, provinces and territories of pre-partitioned India, has been deprived of the right to participate in this process of self-determination." [1339th meeting, para. 131.]

40. As I have said, we cannot agree with that statement. By way of example, I cite the disputed territory of Pakhtunistan, referred to in pre-partitioned India as the Northwest Frontier Province, and the tribal territories, where the fate of a much larger population than that of Kashmir is involved, and where a population which has been continuously demanding its right to self-determination, was also deprived of that same right. Fortunately, this problem is not yet before the United Nations, and we hope that it will be solved by peaceful means and in a spirit of understanding and friendship on the basis of justice and in accordance with the will of the people and their political leaders.

41. Unless we are deliberately pressed in the matter, we shall consider this clarification sufficient to

prevent the repetition of such statements, because from the bottom of our hearts we seek nothing but friendship and understanding, and to have a sense of justice prevail.

42. The serious situation in South-East Asia in general, and in Viet-Nam in particular, cannot escape anyone's attention anywhere today. The developments, however, are no doubt of great importance to the Asian countries as the continuance and expansion of the war in Viet-Nam becomes increasingly alarming. Although the question of Viet-Nam does not fall within the scope of the work of the General Assembly at this stage, the mere absence of any other arrangements for peaceful negotiations makes it a concern of all Members of this Organization. Afghanistan has participated, with some other non-aligned countries, in earnest appeals for the restoration of peace in this area. We are convinced that a political solution through negotiations among all parties should not be delayed for any of the reasons given or for any of the excuses sought. We agree with the Secretary-General that military action can neither bring peace nor restore stability.

43. The real causes of conflicts in this area are well known. Therefore, the basic consideration should be concentration on the elimination of these causes. The background of the problem and the experiences of the past should provide the parties directly concerned with a reasonable ground for replacing the hot war by peaceful negotiations. We believe that everything else should depend upon peaceful negotiations, and such negotiations should never be dependent upon any conditions that might hinder them or reduce their effectiveness or, worse still, prevent their taking place.

44. The other matter that we have followed with much concern in the question of Cyprus. Its great importance to us stems from its existence as one of the crucial problems confronting the Middle East and, more particularly, from our most friendly aspirations for Cyprus and Turkey. I should like to emphasize the importance of an urgent, peaceful, democratic and just solution of this problem in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the wishes of all inhabitants of Cyprus. In this connexion, we should like to stress that the Republic of Cyprus is an equal Member of the United Nations and that its independence, its full sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected in any arrangements designed for the solution of its problems.

45. It is a source of satisfaction that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus has helped to maintain peace on the island. None the less, it is regrettable that the mediation efforts have not yet succeeded in promoting an agreed settlement. It is our hope that the General Assembly will express itself on the urgency and importance of the renewal of United Nations mediation efforts, with a view to reaching a solution of the problem of Cyprus which would result in the betterment of relations between the parties directly concerned and would safeguard the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

46. One of the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly, from both a political and a humanitarian point of view, is the question of the Palestinian refugees. We are gratified that the Special Political Committee has already given priority to the consideration of this problem. While, from the political point of view, a just solution of this question is essential for the elimination of tensions in the Middle East and the maintenance of peace and security in that region, the humanitarian aspect of the situation cannot be underestimated. The United Nations should always keep in mind its political and humanitarian responsibilities to the people of Palestine.

47. We welcome the deep concern expressed by the General Assembly and the prompt and timely action which it took by its resolution [2012 (XX)] on the situation in Rhodesia. Afghanistan has always supported the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as proclaimed in the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

48. Appreciating the attitude of the United Kingdom Government that a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia would be an act of rebellion and that any measure to give it effect would be an act of treason, we joined the sponsors of the resolution by giving it our support.

49. Before and, in particular, since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Afghanistan has strongly supported and will continue to support all measures that would put an end to the unbearable calamities and intolerable sufferings born of the domination of people. We cannot emphasize at present or in the future more strongly than we have in the past our firm belief in the urgent need for an unconditional liquidation of colonialism. The United Nations has played a great role in this field, and we are particularly appreciative of the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-four charged with measures for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It is our hope that these efforts will continue constructively and that the organs entrusted with this task will be given clearer mandates to recommend to the General Assembly peaceful and practical measures which should be taken with a view to putting a complete end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations without further delay.

50. In this connexion I should like particularly to underline one point once again. By colonialism, we do not mean only one specific form of domination, and by no means only the classic form of Western colonialism. To us, any form of domination of any country, territory, or people by an alien Power is colonialism, wherever it may exist. We have never been convinced that new names should be sought for the new forms of alien domination.

51. In recent times, while the classic form of colonialism is gradually vanishing, it is more important to pay careful attention to the other and perhaps more dangerous forms of domination, including the domination of many territories and peoples in many parts of the world by alien Powers which, themselves, not very long ago, were colonies.

52. In the efforts made recently to find the facts of such situations, we welcomed such initiatives as the on-the-spot examination of these situations by the Committee of Twenty-four. It is our hope that these efforts will be continued in the future and that they will not be confined only to certain aspects of domination of people by people or to any specific region or continent.

53. In all cases, we have believed and expressed our belief that peace and stability depend solely on the respect for and observance of self-determination, which is no longer a political principle, but a fundamental human right. The sincerity of those who uphold this right can be fully tested only by observing whether they adhere to it in all cases and in all places. It is our firm belief that any double standard in the field of international relations is untenable.

54. Under the constant fear of the annihilation of mankind, we maintain our earnest desire that all specific and general actions be taken to bring about complete, general and universal disarmament.

55. Adherence to the principle of coexistence and the condemnation of all policies advocating the use or threat of force constitute the basis of our thoughts on this subject. Without these, neither the confidence nor the atmosphere required can be created.

56. The lack of success in the negotiations on disarmament is most deplorable. The many years of effort on the part of the United Nations have convinced us that new approaches should be made to this most important aspect of all matters of war and peace.

57. The idea of a world disarmament conference, initiated at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,<sup>2/</sup> was supported by Afghanistan on the basis of the urgent need for such a new approach. It is our hope that this session of the General Assembly will take definite steps in connexion with the convening of such a conference at the earliest appropriate time.

58. These steps, however, require the unanimous support of this Organization, because a divided assembly of nations cannot logically call for a universal world gathering. In such a case, we should have good reason to hope that the world conference will take place in the interest of humanity as a whole, and that it will be a success.

59. This, however, in no way means that the work of this Organization in the field of disarmament should be hindered in any manner. The problem of disarmament should remain, as it has been, one of the most important concerns of this assembly of nations and should be furthered by efforts, universal in scope.

60. One of the most important questions which should receive the special attention of the General Assembly is the question of nuclear tests. It is our hope that the treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests will be followed, without any delay, by a ban on such tests in all environments by all nuclear Powers, and that priority will be given to questions connected with nuclear and thermonuclear armaments and the prevention of their proliferation.

61. The Assembly should give a clearer and stronger expression at this session to its concern by calling on all nuclear Powers not to ignore their great responsibilities toward humanity any longer. There is nothing more alarming than the spread of nuclear weapons, which should be prevented, in the interest of the preservation of the human race, at the cost of any political sacrifice.

62. We are confronted in this respect with a special situation, but not a difficult one to understand, that has hindered the participation of all nuclear Powers in taking common measures in the nuclear field. To make this participation possible, everything should be done to bring about the balance essential for mutual confidence and create the atmosphere required for the fulfilment of the universal aspirations of mankind, putting an end to the fear of annihilation. One of the most important measures in this respect is the complete destruction of the existing nuclear weapons.

63. Disarmament depends solely on mutual confidence between all nations, particularly the major Powers. A call for disarmament must, therefore, naturally be preceded by a call for efforts to be made toward easing the prevailing tensions. This can only be done, as I have said before, through acceptance of the principle of coexistence and the right of all peoples and nations to economic, social and political self-determination.

64. Peaceful settlement of political disputes is essential for the creation of an atmosphere in which hope for the solution of the problem of disarmament and other problems can be cherished. In this regard, Afghanistan welcomes the item proposed by the delegation of the United Kingdom [A/5964]. We welcome, also, the consideration of the item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/5977], which has provided the General Assembly with an opportunity to give full consideration to the essential principle of non-intervention.

65. How to approach these important matters should be our first consideration. A careless approach will result not only in failure, but might add to the difficulties which have hindered common agreements and delayed the termination of the prevailing international tensions.

66. At all previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Afghan delegation has emphasized the importance of the universality of the United Nations. At this session, it is particularly important to do so. While we are gratified by the increase in the membership of the Organization, we regret that we have not been able to see the purpose of universality of the Organization realized in its fullest sense.

67. We still do not find the legitimate Government of China occupying its rightful seat. The withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations has added to our regrets. Whatever undesirable circumstances may dictate, it is hoped that this Organization may in the long run achieve the goal of universality. In this connexion, our hopes are nurtured by the fact that, in spite of its withdrawal from the United Nations, Indonesia will continue to co-operate with the United Nations by upholding the principles of international co-operation.

<sup>2/</sup> Held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

68. Contrary to the ideas of the pessimists, the Organization has been able to prove its usefulness in the maintenance of international peace and security by bringing about a more desirable situation in certain areas of grave conflict. For example, the collective action taken by the Security Council in the India-Pakistan dispute, the courageous intervention of the Secretary-General, and the wisdom demonstrated by the Member States involved in accepting the suggestion of the United Nations, have gratified us, not only because they have led to the prevention of bloodshed, but also because they have strengthened our faith in the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization.

69. Afghanistan has always maintained the policy of opposing the use of force and violence in any international dispute. Whatever the future may bring, this Organization has succeeded in playing a positive and constructive role on many occasions when no other source of peaceful solution to existing international problems was conceivable.

70. In one of the statements made here the hope was expressed that in this critical year we would see a revival of the authority of the United Nations, a renaissance in international endeavour. We share this hope with Lord Caradon, the representative of the United Kingdom.

71. I wish to give the strongest expression I can to our firm faith and confidence in the United Nations Organization. We feel most gratified that at this session of the General Assembly we are relieved of the anxieties with which we were confronted during the nineteenth session. The great wisdom demonstrated by the entire membership in realizing the importance of the United Nations, in the interest of mankind, is a great source of encouragement for all of us who believe that there is no substitute for this world Organization and that this Organization can fulfil the aspirations and hopes of mankind only if it remains effective.

72. I wish to express our gratitude for the spirit of understanding shown by the major Powers, without which the unanimous agreement essential for a solution to our difficulties could not have been reached.

73. In my statement at the nineteenth session [1323rd meeting], I expressed a strong hope—not an easy thing to do in the circumstances then prevailing—that the collective wisdom of the international community would give us no reason to be discouraged and that, on the contrary, it would give cause to hope for the increasing strength and effectiveness of the Organization once it had emerged successfully from its difficulties.

74. The atmosphere in which the twentieth session has started is a hopeful one. The maintenance of this atmosphere should be our first and foremost goal.

75. There is no doubt that the normalization of the work of the Assembly, which we are happy to see achieved, is of the greatest importance. But the elimination of the financial difficulties of the Organization has yet to be accomplished. The unanimous consensus of the entire membership of the United Nations, advocating voluntary contributions by Mem-

bers and particularly substantial contributions by the highly developed countries, should provide us with strong grounds on which to urge that such contributions be made as soon as possible and without delay. We welcome the most recent appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this regard.<sup>3/</sup>

76. The future of peace-keeping operations of the United Nations is, undoubtedly, of equal importance to all Members of the United Nations, large and small. It is our hope that the Assembly, in its consideration of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, will devote special attention to this problem.

77. As a member of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, Afghanistan stated that before any final recommendations are made, the views of all Members of the United Nations should guide the Committee in the fulfilment of its task, as this is a matter of direct interest to every individual Member of the Organization. It is our hope that the Assembly will co-operate in giving this assistance to the organ that it may decide should undertake the task of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations in the future, with a view to making final and concrete recommendations to the General Assembly.

78. As we have stated, the key to a resolution of this matter is agreement. Agreement can be reached only by finding a common denominator, recognized and respected by the entire membership, and then using it only in the interest of the Organization as a whole, thus avoiding stubborn adherence to rigid individual positions. Such a common denominator exists. It is the Charter of the United Nations.

79. The difficulties, however, arise from the fact that the Charter is open to interpretation, a fact which is neither new or accidental. Certain provisions of the Charter were deliberately left vague and thereby open to interpretation. In fact, it was purposely decided to omit provisions which would place the final power of interpretation with any definite body. At all times, however, the implicit understanding remained that strict adherence to the Charter meant adherence to such interpretations as would be in the interest of the Organization. Therefore, as we have repeatedly stated, after so many changes in the world and in the Organization only a flexible way of thinking in the interests of the Organization can lead us to an agreement which would serve the basic purpose of strengthening the United Nations.

80. The only point that I would like to emphasize again at this stage is that all of us agree on the desirability of the United Nations having the capacity to undertake peace-keeping operations.

81. We also agree that the Security Council has, in accordance with the Charter, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, no one has denied the responsibilities and certain functions and powers of the General Assembly under the Charter.

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Fifth Committee, 1066th meeting.



82. In the consideration of the primary responsibilities of the Security Council, the foremost obligations of its permanent members can neither be forgotten nor ignored. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that when the Security Council, and particularly its permanent members, were granted the authority of enforcement and a position of privilege, it was considered to be inconceivable that either the Council or any of its members would, in practice, act contrary to the expressed wishes of the entire membership of the Organization.

83. As we have stated before, the Security Council and the General Assembly should be considered complementary organs in the work of the United Nations. For the harmony referred to in the Charter, between the various organs of the Organization, to exist in fact, it is essential that special attention be paid to bringing about closer relationships between these two vital parts, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

84. It is our clear position that, in conformity with the principle of collective responsibility of all Member States, the rights of the Assembly should be respected on matters of assessments and approval of financial burdens resulting from any peace-keeping operations, and that the voice of all the Members of the United Nations should be heard in the choice of methods to be used for such operations.

85. We, however, are not yet quite convinced that the new requirements considered to be needed in the light of all the changes that have taken place since 1945 can be met. This in no way means that we are denying such changes. But we would like the General Assembly carefully to consider whether basing itself on such changes would really bring about more definite provisions with which the entire membership could agree under the present circumstances.

86. In all circumstances, the economic and social conditions in the developing areas of the world remain realities of paramount importance to us. The work of the United Nations in this field is just as important as, and in no way less significant than, its work in the political arena. Often the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields are overshadowed by its political activities. This is unfortunate because the success or failure of the United Nations must not be judged, primarily, on its political achievements. Worthy of equal consideration is its success or failure in the promotion of effective international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields.

87. Despite numerous efforts and repeated attempts to change the regrettable conditions in the developing countries through international co-operation, the fact remains that in many respects the situation has worsened.

88. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development <sup>4/</sup> was a milestone in the efforts made by the United Nations towards defining the tremendous economic and trade problems confronting the developing countries. At the end of the Geneva

meeting all of us noted the results of the Conference with satisfaction, but the implementation of its resolutions fell too short of the high expectations cherished by the developing countries.

89. One of the concrete results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was the convening of the conference of plenipotentiaries for the adoption of a Convention on Transit Trade of Land-Locked Countries. <sup>5/</sup> As the Assembly is aware, this Conference adopted a Convention. <sup>6/</sup> Although this Convention is not entirely satisfactory in view of the legitimate aspirations of the land-locked countries, we consider it as a preliminary step towards achieving these goals, inasmuch as it might contribute to the normalization of international trade for the countries which have no access to the sea.

90. The unrestricted right of land-locked countries is undeniable. Therefore, the transit problems of these countries should be kept under constant review by this Organization, particularly the organs of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, with a view to meeting the needs of the land-locked countries.

91. Afghanistan appreciates the great value of bilateral arrangements and agreements in the field of economic development and international co-operation. We are most grateful to the friendly countries that have assisted us with our economic development through unselfish policies of international co-operation which have made such assistance acceptable to us in the face of our strictly independent policies.

92. In addition, the necessity for efforts to be made towards multilateral co-operation cannot be ignored. The United Nations has done an admirable job in this respect, but unfortunately the implementation of its resolutions has not received the attention it deserves.

93. As a developing country and as a member of the specialized agencies, we feel moved to make a statement of gratitude for the work of each of these agencies in their respective fields in helping us.

94. In the field of human rights, the United Nations has been assigned a significant task and an important responsibility. Although considerable efforts have already been undertaken by the United Nations in promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms, we believe that these have not been adequate. We are convinced that the expansion and intensification of work in this area is necessary, and it is in this connexion that I welcome the consideration of the proposal of the Government of Costa Rica for the establishment of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [A/5963]. Afghanistan will consider this proposal most favourably.

95. In this connexion, it is for the United Nations as a whole to respond with a positive and united voice to the statement made by Ambassador Goldberg when he said: "In our concern for the rights and freedoms of nations, we must not neglect the rights and freedoms of individuals." [1334th meeting, para. 101.]

<sup>4/</sup> Held in Geneva from 23 March to 16 June 1964.

<sup>5/</sup> The United Nations Conference on Transit Trade of Land-Locked Countries was held in New York from 7 June to 8 July 1965.

<sup>6/</sup> TD/TRANSIT/9 and Corr.1.

96. I cannot leave this rostrum without expressing a note of gratification on behalf of my delegation in connexion with the recent visit of His Holiness Pope Paul VI to this Organization. We were very much impressed by the sincerity of his message. We assure him, among other upholders and advocates of peace, of our love for and dedication to peace on the basis of our own spiritual convictions. His statement that the people of the earth should turn towards the United Nations as the only place of hope and that this Organization is the source of the education of mankind in the ways of peace will always be remembered by us. It was a special privilege to have joined him in his prayers for the welfare of mankind.

97. Prince SOUVANNA PHOUMA (Laos) (translated from French): The Laotian delegation is sincerely gratified by the election of Mr. Amintore Fanfani as President of the Assembly and expresses its heartfelt congratulations to him. These congratulations are all the more sincere because the Laotian people has not forgotten the active part played by Italy in the Security Council when a serious crisis precipitated from the outside convulsed my country during the summer of 1959. Thanks to quick acting by the fact-finding and investigation Sub-Committee set up by the Security Council [resolution 132 (1959)], on which Italy, as well as Japan, Tunisia and Argentina, was represented, our neighbours' dreams of domination were thwarted.

98. The problems which are to be considered this year are extremely important, in view of the international situation; they have so many dangerous implications that the role of President of the Assembly at this twentieth session is unusually difficult and his responsibilities are unusually heavy. But the Assembly has made its choice and expressed its confidence. Our delegation sees no need for further compliments in view of this remarkable demonstration of the confidence and esteem of 117 nations.

99. I must not fail to mention in this connexion the truly outstanding service given, in the face of great difficulties, by the President of the Assembly of the nineteenth session, and the tact, diplomacy and courage with which he performed his duties during the past year.

100. We are also happy to welcome the coming of three new Members, Singapore, the Maldives Islands and the Gambia, to this Assembly, which is growing year by year—a healthy sign and a necessary reminder of the universality of this institution.

101. I have said that the problems to be considered this year are extremely important and have very dangerous implications for the world. This is the profound conviction of our delegation and also, it seems, that of other Members of the United Nations. Never, since the Second World War, has the world been so close to another catastrophe. Part of Asia is already ablaze. There is talk of "escalation". Frontier incidents are occurring everywhere. Ultimatums are issued with brutal suddenness. Immense forces of destruction are being held in readiness, causing incredible damage in countries barely liberated from colonial or feudal subjection, countries whose poverty-stricken people need bread rather

than cannons. Colonialism is desperately, and sometimes ferociously, fighting to maintain its privileges. Racial segregation has led to an explosion of despair and hate. The old imperialisms and the new, more treacherous and quite as dangerous, manifest themselves brazenly. Our country, itself ravaged by war, subversion and foreign interference, sees with great distress the growing threat of a general explosion, which would mean the destruction of us all. Never has peace been so uncertain, and it is unfortunately in Asia, between neighbouring and all too often sister nations, that the fiercest and most deadly battles are fought.

102. To what are we to attribute this deplorable and heart-rending situation and why cannot the basic problems, the fundamental causes of tension and conflict be settled in accordance with the principles of the Charter which we have all accepted, or in accordance with the spirit and principles of the 1955 Bandung Conference, since, after all, some nations represented here took an active part in the framing of these resolutions which, at the time—and it was such a short time ago—aroused justifiable hopes in the Asian and African countries?

103. We in our delegation believe, and what is happening in our country indisputably proves, that the present state of tension and instability arises primarily and essentially from the fact that many countries have not yet fully accepted the principles on which we have endeavoured to base rules for peaceful international relations. We find that national interests, ideological interests, questions of domination and prestige outweigh, particularly for certain Powers, any consideration of international co-operation.

104. We apologize for speaking so frankly but, within these precincts, there should be no hiding of facts at the cost of international friendship and the safeguarding of world peace. Otherwise the basic problems continue unabated and, because they are camouflaged, or approached indirectly, or attenuated by temporary compromises, they eventually explode and plunge the world into fear and anguish, as recent events show. The obvious fact is that, for certain nations which possess real influence and power—the power that springs, according to a famous saying, from the cannon's mouth—national self-interest is still the chief criterion, the golden rule of politics. The interests of other nations come far behind. They are flouted, if not crushed, as ours, for example, have been.

105. It is perhaps time all these policies of direct or indirect domination were re-examined and the dreams of hegemony discarded. We in Laos have fought against imperialism and do not want imperialism in any other guise, even if it promises heaven on earth. What we want is respect of our liberty, our sovereignty, our frontiers and our system of government. We ask to be left in peace to work, as we please, at "liberating" ourselves. We need no lessons from anyone to understand the lessons of history and to meditate on its inexorable advance. We demand the full, honest and sincere application, by all signatories,

of the 1962 Agreements <sup>7/</sup> which guaranteed—the word has its grim humour—our neutrality.

106. What do we see instead of a sincere and honest guarantee? For nearly twenty years, foreign battalions have been using our country as a base to help the rebels—who are acting on their own behalf and not on behalf of the Laotian people—to sow ruin and misery in a country whose traditional peacefulness and tolerance are known to everyone. Not content with intervening in strength in our country, these foreign troops use our territory to carry the seeds of subversion and violence elsewhere.

107. Despite this, we have laboured to achieve national concord and have made many diplomatic and other concessions without receiving anything in return, so that Laos has remained a war-torn country for almost a generation. We can hardly hope for an improvement in the situation when all our concessions have met with nothing but evasion and rejection and when those who are giving military support to the Laotian rebels are carrying on another war on our doorstep and, in that case also, refusing to make any concessions or to sit down at the negotiating table in order to settle the entire problem. Nevertheless, we are still prepared to welcome with open arms every Laotian, without distinction of opinion or origin, into the national community.

108. Unfortunately, since the signing of the Agreements on the neutrality of Laos at Geneva in 1962 we have had from the Pathet Lao no sign of conciliation or co-operation which might enable us to start our country on the way towards bringing our national institutions back to normality and re-establishing peace. The machinery set up under those Agreements is being blocked by constant and deliberate obstruction on the part of our opponents. The International Commission for Supervision and Control, composed of the representatives of India, Canada and Poland, has been treated with mistrust and hostility by our opponents and has not been able to carry out its peace mission properly. Everything is unsettled, even the fate of our country.

109. We therefore believe that this twentieth session of the General Assembly must make an honest evaluation and adopt resolutions with a firm intent to implement them, and not allow most of the great international problems to become more acute and more dangerous from year to year. This does not, of course, mean that these problems are to be settled without taking national interests into account, and we have no desire to build a world in the abstract. For States, as for individuals, earthly needs must be taken into account. All of us must, however, bear in mind that the United Nations Charter provides for the universality of the political world. If we do not take this into account, none of the fundamental problems—general disarmament, non-proliferation of thermonuclear weapons, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial segregation, the rights of peoples, political freedom—can be solved and we shall soon revert to the rule of force, if, indeed, that has not already happened.

We believe that the example should be given by those who occupy a dominant position in the world and whose voice is powerful and decisive. For mankind, this is a time, not for the rivalries of Powers, but for co-operation and mutual aid. Many countries represented in the Assembly have a past history of glory and renown. What good would it do them to gather a few more laurels at the expense of peace?

110. The delegation of Laos naturally reserves the right to explain its position on the items of the agenda in greater detail as they are taken up. We shall speak again of our problems, of the war which is being forced on us and the foreign interference which feeds and perpetuates it; we shall have more to say about the new imperialisms which are trying to subjugate us. We shall, however, speak of them without losing sight of the fact that the General Assembly must be an assembly of "united" nations and we shall never cease from insisting that the Charter, its spirit and its provisions, be respected.

111. Our sole intention today has been to make an urgent appeal called for by the world situation and in the interests of the future: let us spare our admirable institution a crisis of incalculable magnitude. No one here is unaware that there has been talk of a paralysis of the United Nations. Some countries have even thought of replacing it by another organization whose members would be the dissatisfied nations, the forces called "progressive" or "emerging". We refuse to consider this possibility, so monstrous does it seem to us; it would mean dividing the world into two opposing camps, creating further occasions for crises and multiplying the risks of a world war. We must not, however, treat this threat lightly. We do not wish to see our Organization afflicted by paralysis or be passive witnesses to its death-throes. We must, on the contrary, take it into account, in order to save world peace, overcoming our national and ideological selfishness, and must review all unresolved problems in a spirit of co-operation and friendship. This will strengthen the United Nations and the moral principles it represents will acquire greater force and weight. For we believe that it ought to be the world's conscience; that is why we apply, in settling problems, a moral standard and not selfish interests.

112. In this connexion, the cease-fire agreed upon by India and Pakistan is a major success for the United Nations and a personal triumph for Secretary-General U Thant, to whom we wish to pay a resounding tribute for the decisive role he has played in this difficult matter. In the same spirit, I should like officially to express to him my country's sincere gratitude for the remarkable work of the Committee for the development of the Lower Mekong Basin. It is for this reason also that we believe that this Organization should not exclude any State or nation, since human solidarity seems the more necessary and urgent the more it is threatened.

113. May this twentieth session which has for the first time heard the highest religious authority of Christendom make an appeal that was nobility and reason itself, be one of co-operation, mutual assistance and solidarity, and one during which we shall come to an understanding in order to create a peaceful, friendly and better world. As a Buddhist, I sin-

<sup>7/</sup> Declaration of the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed on 23 July 1962.

cerely hope that his message of peace may be heard and meditated upon by all those responsible for the destinies of the world.

114. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): I should like to congratulate His Excellency, Mr. Fanfani, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Italy, on his election to the Presidency of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The overwhelming support which he received is a measure of the high esteem in which he is held. It was with a feeling of sadness that we learned of the unfortunated accident he has suffered. I wish to extend to him our most sincere wishes for a quick recovery, so that the Assembly may again benefit from his wise counsel and able leadership.

115. As the representative of a nation which has made invaluable contributions to the development of the rule of law and justice, and as an eminent scholar, he brings to this high office outstanding qualifications for the discharge of the Assembly's important functions. In greeting him, I speak in the name of a country which has maintained the most cordial and friendly relations with his. In fact, the bonds that link our two nations are cemented by centuries-old ties of mutual exchange in culture and learning. New light was shed on these exchanges by the proceedings of an international congress held in Rome last April under the auspices of the Academy of Lincei.

116. As for the exchange of envoys between the two countries, may I mention that the first emissary from the Republic of Venice, Katherino Zeno, was sent to the Court of Persia in 1470. But, on a lighter note, allow me to recall that in the year 1294 the Venetian Marco Polo, acting as emissary for Kublai Khan, carried out the delicate mission of accompanying from the Court of Peking to Tabriz Princess Kukachin—a young beauty—for marriage with Arghun, the then Monarch of Persia.

117. We meet again in a climactic period of world affairs and the problems before us are numerous, complex and far-reaching in importance. Some of these we know but too well, for they reappear year after year and we have not yet found solutions for them. Others are new but fraught with potential danger, reminding us that the quest for peace is a lengthy process, demanding renewed and sustained efforts on the part of us all.

118. We still vividly recall the manner in which this world Assembly, less than a year ago, was partially incapacitated by the financial crisis. Fortunately, the nineteenth session, which began its work under the shadow of despair, ended on a note of confidence and hope. However, the therapeutic effect of the shock we experienced may have proved useful; for, after all, it made us conscious of how close our Organization had been driven to the brink of total ineffectiveness.

119. The United Nations is perhaps far from being perfect, but it does afford us an opportunity to harmonize our efforts for peaceful coexistence. It also opens an avenue for peace through international co-operation and is truly our best hope in a world where "the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace".

120. Having survived this financial crisis, it is our earnest hope that the Assembly will now regain the strength and unity it requires for the discharge of its high functions.

121. In this connexion, I should like to pay a tribute to His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, for the constructive spirit and objectivity with which his leadership was instrumental in breaking the deadlock. Similarly, I should like to express to our dedicated Secretary-General U Thant our sincere thanks and appreciation for his guidance and assistance in helping the United Nations out of adversity.

122. While the financial crisis seems to have been surmounted for the moment, the underlying causes of the malady still remain. We must not delude ourselves into believing that the troubles are all over. On the contrary, we must take advantage of the respite we have gained to get on with the business of tackling the basic political differences.

123. What appears to be a financial difficulty hampering the work of our Organization is, in fact, a reflection of a constitutional controversy. It involves not only the relations between the great Powers, but also those between the great and the small, and the future security of all.

124. As the only alternative to war rests in the development of concerted action through the United Nations, and as war in this nuclear age could engulf the small as well as the great, the small should assume their share of responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The latter's participation in peace-keeping operations not only conforms with the basic democratic principle of the need for representation, but also constitutes an essential factor in the development of a body of law and general principles governing the conduct of our relations.

125. Our position as a small State, stemming from the desire to have a share in ensuring our security and survival through collective action, as well as from the recognition of present world realities, is very clear. As we have already stated, we recognize the primary responsibility of the Security Council in peace-keeping operations in accordance with Article 24 of the United Nations Charter. We also firmly believe that the General Assembly has its share of responsibility, which is complementary to that of the Security Council, in the maintenance of international peace and security. We further maintain that should the Security Council fail to act in a given situation which might threaten the peace, and thereby our existence, we are entitled to act through the General Assembly, both by law and instinct, and are supported in our belief by the democratizing process which the concept of collective security has undergone for the last twenty years. This position is not only sound, democratic and just, but also necessary, for the fact remains that collective security through five-Power co-operation has not materialized during the twenty years of the existence of the United Nations.

126. Regarding the question of financing future peace-keeping operations, we have often expressed the view that the expenses covering such operations should



be borne by the entire membership. Moreover, the scale of assessments for each Member's contribution should be based upon a number of basic principles, mainly, the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and the financial ability of the developing countries. We are glad to note that these views have been incorporated in the major guidelines contained in the report of the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.<sup>8/</sup>

127. The importance we attach to the principle of collective security on as wide a basis as possible may be observed not only by our words but also by our deeds. In the interest of developing an effective United Nations capacity for keeping the peace, His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah has already indicated that the Iranian Government will hold in readiness a detachment of the Iranian Army for call to duty under the United Nations flag. This detachment consists of one airborne rifle company and supporting elements, one air group, and a third group composed of supervisors and liaison officers. Our contribution, though modest in terms of world situations, is offered at great national sacrifice, since our resources and efforts are geared to national development projects.

128. Concurrent with our efforts to make the United Nations peace-keeping operations effective, we must also try to revitalize and improve upon the Organization's procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes. In this connexion, we welcome the initiative of the United Kingdom Government in recommending the inscription of the item on peaceful settlement of disputes in the Assembly's agenda [A/5964]. A study of the vast and rich record of the pacific settlement of disputes of the last twenty years could bring into sharp focus the strong as well as the weak elements of our experience, which might help us in improving the present methods and devising new ones. And this is of prime importance at a time when the need for fresh ways and means is being so sharply felt in solving a new and most threatening crisis.

129. To maintain peace through international co-operation, either by resorting to peace-keeping operations or using the method of pacific settlement, is no longer a matter of hope but of necessity. It is a matter in which we all have a role, the great by virtue of their capacity to promote or destroy such co-operation, the small by virtue of their susceptibility to complete annihilation. We all have the responsibility to ensure that our actions completely conform to the prerequisite for the promotion of the rule of law as well as justice for all through the various organs of the United Nations. Can anyone overlook the law which conflicts with its interests, and at the same time admonish others for doing so? Can anyone refuse to implement United Nations resolutions—in particular those related to international peace and security—which are not to its liking, and at the same time urge others to settle their outstanding disputes by peaceful means?

130. In this connexion it is befitting to refer to the Indo-Pakistan armed conflict which is viewed by my

Government with the gravest concern. For seventeen years the Kashmir dispute brewed turbulently under a Security Council-imposed truce, designed to permit the protagonists to settle their dispute amicably. For seventeen years the dispute remained deadlocked and the Security Council's few attempts failed to ensure the implementation of its own resolutions until the surface calm was once again shattered.

131. The establishment of a cease-fire between Pakistan and India at the instance of the Security Council was a matter of profound relief throughout the world. However, heartened as we are by the ending of bloodshed, the United Nations cannot lower its guard until a lasting settlement is found in accordance with the Security Council resolutions. A settlement, to be durable, must be achieved not on the basis of political expediency but mainly on the basis of law and justice; that is, on the basis of the principle of self-determination, to which both parties had previously subscribed.

132. There are added reasons for the people and the Government of Iran to be disturbed by the present conflict between India and Pakistan. We have always maintained friendly relations with India, and our cultural ties can be traced to the beginning of history. With Pakistan we are linked by deep-rooted ties of brotherhood and religion, which are further cemented by our partnership in the Central Treaty Organization and in regional co-operation for development. This chronic conflict, which diverts precious resources from the needs of the people and drains the energies of both sides, serves the interests of no one, and war will always be an ever-present threat as long as the quarrel remains unsettled. Therefore, we see no alternative for the Security Council but to pursue vigorously the implementation of its own resolutions as it pledged to do in paragraph 4 of resolution 211 (1965) of 20 September 1965.

133. Last year, before this Assembly [1292nd meeting], the Foreign Minister of Iran expressed the grave concern of my Government over the situation prevailing in another troubled area. I refer to the still unresolved Cyprus problem. In the view of my delegation, in order to reach a lasting and equitable settlement in Cyprus, one should always bear in mind the existence of contractual obligations as well as the existence of separate communities on the island. No viable solution of the problem can be conceived if the legitimate and legal rights and interests of both communities are not preserved. In this respect we should like to reiterate our conviction that safeguarding the undeniable rights of the Turkish Cypriots constitutes a basic condition for a lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We believe that the General Assembly's action should, therefore, aim at helping all parties concerned to reach an agreed solution through negotiations based on the mutual interests of the two communities, in line with the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964 [186 (1964)].

134. Our preoccupation with the immediate problem of armed conflict or political disputes should not

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes, annex no. 21, documents A/5915 and Add.1, annex II.

deter us from dealing with urgent economic and social issues of international concern.

135. In today's world one of the vital questions is that of development. In a century where man is reaching for the stars, all inhabitants of this planet should be allowed to share equally in the expanding wonders of science, which have captivated man's imagination and given him the tools for his rapid development.

136. Iran, like many of the nations represented here, is now engaged in a great battle for development. In the process we have learned that in this field traditional means are not sufficient to accomplish the task. We have had, therefore, no choice but to take short-cuts by devising methods enabling us to proceed with much greater speed towards the goal we have set for ourselves. These methods are embodied in a charter of great revolutionary reforms enacted by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah, aimed at uprooting the very causes of under-development.

137. Archaic ways of farming are disappearing under the constant pressure of agricultural reform. Modernization and mechanization of agriculture have received priority in our development programmes, and major works have been accomplished throughout our country.

138. However, the task we have set ourselves does not consist only of changing the physical aspects of our country by multiplying industries and creating artificial lakes and dams; it does not consist either of accelerating production at all levels; but it aims primarily at shattering the feudal bonds and transforming the relations of men among themselves. Development for us has a much deeper meaning than its conventional term implies. The vicious circle of under-development is, among other things, in our opinion, a mental state, an obsolete conception of life. Accelerated and sustained progress will start only when a profound change takes place in people's outlook, and this change in turn will generate new ideas and new expectations. That is where and when the problem of education appears sharply in a new light and becomes of primordial importance, for there cannot be true development without mass education.

139. As proclaimed in the message of the Shahinshah to this forum:

"A great menace which hampers the good harmony and just equilibrium of our globe is ignorance, a terrible evil affecting more than a thousand million human beings who are thus deprived of the enjoyment of one of man's most fundamental rights: the right to education." [A/6024.]

140. Fortunately, co-operative efforts in waging war on illiteracy have recently acquired new momentum. In response to the Shahinshah's initiative, a UNESCO-sponsored World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy was convened in Teheran from 8 to 19 September 1965. That highly successful Congress devised ways and means of carrying out a world campaign against mass illiteracy. During the debates the problem of illiteracy on a world-wide basis, and in all its aspects, was examined, and the gravity of the question was acknowledged. It was solemnly affirmed that the total eradication of illiteracy at present constitutes one of the most important problems in economic and social development.

It was established that illiteracy, which more particularly affects the developing countries, accentuates their unfavourable position. Illiteracy, furthermore, affects not only the people directly involved but the whole of mankind, whose progress it hinders. This evil is, therefore, a common disease which concerns the developed as well as the under-developed countries and must be fought by the union of all forces, means and resources.

141. Among the principles embodied in the resolutions of the Teheran Literacy Congress was the one stated in the historic appeal of the Shahinshah, according to which all Governments should provide more substantial amounts towards the elimination of world illiteracy and forgo part of their military expenditure for this purpose. This principle has already been put into effect in Iran's successful campaign against illiteracy, mainly through the diversion of draftees from military service to duties with the Literacy Corps.

142. My country was gratified to play host to the World Congress on the Eradication of Illiteracy, for it is deeply conscious of the importance as well as the nobility of this task. In this connexion, I should like to thank the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Fanfani, for the warm support which he has given to the message of His Imperial Majesty by distributing it as an official document [A/6024] and directing the Assembly's attention to it.

143. The campaign against illiteracy was one of the points which His Holiness Pope Paul VI specifically referred to in his statement before the Assembly. For the United Nations and those Member countries involved in this campaign it was heartening to hear His Holiness describe this effort as a magnificent work which is "deserving of everyone's praise and support, including our own" [1347th meeting, para. 43].

144. Another heartening trend is the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which during its very brief existence has made considerable progress. The Trade and Development Board has already been created, and a number of subsidiary bodies have, come into being to deal with the various aspects of trade and development. Moreover, the nature and implications of the problem of international trade and development have been identified. But the success of our common effort in closing the ever-widening gap of per capita incomes between rich and poor nations will depend ultimately on the co-operation of the developed countries. Their acceptance of the recommendations of the Conference, as a beginning, will provide a good basis for the much needed following-up action.

145. International co-operation on a regional basis to wrestle with socio-economic ills has also been increasing rapidly. In our region, for instance, much has been accomplished by the co-operative efforts of Turkey, Pakistan and Iran within the framework of Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD). In July 1965, the RCD Ministerial Council adopted new far-reaching measures to further the promotion of economic and cultural co-operation among the three countries. Already a number of joint-purpose enterprises have been undertaken or are under study in

the fields of technical co-operation, air transportation, shipping, petroleum, petro-chemicals, tourism, information, trade, cultural co-operation, and others.

146. We have not failed to foster better relations with other neighbouring countries. Let me mention in this connexion an agreement on economic and technical co-operation between Iran and the Soviet Union which was signed early this month. Aside from yielding concrete advantages in the economic and technical fields, the agreement, we are sure, will further enhance the good relations between the two countries.

147. In the course of 1964, international co-operation for the total abolition of colonialism, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has been significant. The Special Committee of Twenty-four, of which Iran is a member, made a valuable contribution to the cause of decolonization by holding meetings in Africa. In addition to obtaining first-hand information on conditions in colonial Territories, it inspired greater hope and confidence in the United Nations interest in and support for the liberation of people from colonialism.

148. The Iranian Government had the opportunity earlier in this session of the Assembly to welcome the Gambia, the Maldiv Islands and Singapore to membership of the United Nations through the voice of the Chairman of the Japanese delegation [1332nd meeting]. May I now add my personal greetings and express my confidence that the United Nations will benefit from the wisdom these new Members will impart and the contribution they will make to the work of our Organization.

149. In conclusion, it is our earnest hope that as the Assembly's nineteenth session witnessed the turning of despair into hope, the twentieth session, and those to follow, will witness the translating of hope into action. I am confident that, with the co-operative spirit which marked the end of the last session, an acceptable formula can be found for peace-keeping operations. While the United Nations capacity to keep the peace effectively should be strengthened, the United Nations functional approach to peace must likewise be reinforced. In this day and age, when modern science and technology have rendered man's dream of the conquest of hunger and poverty, disease and illiteracy, into attainable objectives, we must redouble our efforts in a concerted attack against those social ills impeding economic and social development. And with good fortune we may be able to establish a durable peace with justice.

150. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

151. Mr. ABDULLAH (Pakistan): The Foreign Minister of India devoted a considerable part of his statement on 12 October 1965 [1358th meeting] to India's relations with Pakistan. There was nothing new or original in what he said. Most of his arguments were foreseen and were rebutted by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan [1339th meeting] and by Mr. Ayub [1342nd meeting] and Mr. Amjad Ali [1352nd meeting], who spoke in this hall earlier in the session. I shall not weary the General Assembly by going over this well-

trodden ground again. I must, however, deal with the main thesis of the Indian Foreign Minister with regard to Kashmir. He said:

"Legally, constitutionally, morally and on the basis of the will of the people, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union." [1358th meeting, para. 56.]

152. It is difficult for me to convey to the Assembly the sense of outrage and indignation which these words create in the mind and heart of a Kashmiri, particularly one whose father, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, has been identified with the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir for more than two generations. Nevertheless, I shall endeavour to examine the assertions of the representative of India calmly and objectively, to place the relevant facts before the Assembly, and to leave it to Members to come to their own conclusion.

153. The Foreign Minister of India claimed that Kashmir was an integral part of India "legally, constitutionally, morally and on the basis of the will of the people". We have shown many times, and we are prepared to put the whole record before this august Assembly, that it is in law, in morality and in the will of the people that India's continued occupation of Kashmir manifestly lacks any basis. Here I can only briefly recapitulate the main points.

154. As regards the legal basis, India has itself solemnly stated that the accession of Kashmir is to be made by the people of Kashmir. Its Government made it clear that their acceptance of the accession offered by the discredited Maharajah of Kashmir was subject to this overriding commitment. This commitment was made in numerous statements of Prime Minister Nehru and was formally embodied in the resolution which was adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) on January 1949 and which was accepted by India and Pakistan and endorsed by the Security Council. Paragraph 1 of this resolution categorically states that:

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."<sup>2/</sup>

155. The convening of the so-called Constituent Assembly in Kashmir would not abrogate this solemn international commitment. The Security Council was assured by representatives of India that any pronouncement which the Constituent Assembly might make with regard to the question of accession would not be binding on India or come in the way of fulfilling its international obligations with regard to Kashmir. The Security Council is also on record that the declarations of the Constituent Assembly on the issue of accession were not in accord with the UNCIP resolutions and would not bind India, Pakistan or the United Nations. This was also the position of the Prime Minister of India, whose statements were read to the General Assembly on 29 September 1965 by Mr. Ayub [1342nd meeting].

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196, para. 15.

156. As regards the moral aspect of the case, the Foreign Minister of India needs to be reminded of the following declaration that the Prime Minister of India made on 2 November 1947:

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it."

157. And if this is not enough, let him read again the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru on 4 June 1951 at a public meeting in Srinagar:

"First of all, I would like to remind you of the fateful days of 1947 when I came to Srinagar and gave the solemn assurance that the people of India would stand by Kashmir in her struggle. On that assurance, I shook Sheikh Abdullah's hand before the vast multitude that had gathered there. I want to repeat that the Government of India will stand by that pledge, whatever happens. That pledge itself stated that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their fate without external interference. That assurance also remains and will continue."

158. Let me also remind the Foreign Minister of India of the words solemnly uttered by Prime Minister Nehru in the presence of my father, Sheikh Abdullah, at the meeting held in Lal Chowk in Srinagar, the first meeting which they jointly addressed after the entry of Indian troops into Kashmir in 1947:

"We have come to your help at this critical hour. Our forces are here simply to defend your country against the raiders, and as soon as Kashmir is free from the invader, our troops will have no further necessity to remain here and you will be free to determine your future in accordance with your wishes."

159. They promised us at the time: "We will not keep our troops here. We will let you determine your future freely. This accession by Maharajah is nothing final. If you do not wish to remain with India, we will not compel you to do so." And now they say, morally you are an integral part of India.

160. Next comes the question of the will of the people. India's case is that it ascertained the popular will through the Constituent Assembly and by holding general elections in Jammu and Kashmir. I have already dealt with the Constituent Assembly and shown that according to India itself the Constituent Assembly was not competent to pronounce on the question of accession. Let us now consider whether the general elections in Kashmir reflected the will of the people on this crucial issue. The way the elections in 1957 and in 1962 were rigged is fully described in the records of the Security Council. In March 1957, only eight out of the forty-five seats for the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh were allowed to be contested with token opposition. It is not surprising that the world Press saw through this Indian manoeuvre. The Economist of London of 6 April 1957 called the elections "a solemn farce". The New York Times of 8 March 1957 commented:

"This is not an 'election' in any sense of the word. The term 'election' means a choice. The Kashmiris had none. What happened is no credit to India, no

reflection of sentiment among the Kashmiris and no contribution to a solution of this thorny problem."

161. In the so-called elections in March 1962, thirty-four candidates were declared to have been returned unopposed in the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh. For the remaining eleven seats, the opposition parties decided to boycott the elections and their unanimous resolution, reported in The Times of London of 5 February 1962, stated that "free and fair elections could not be expected in Kashmir unless political uncertainty was removed by a plebiscite". Even the political clique calling itself the Democratic National Conference, which was the party of Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the present puppet Chief Minister of Indian-occupied Kashmir, stated, as reported in The Statesman of Delhi of 23 March 1962, that "the whole election was false".

162. This is how India claims to have ascertained the will of the people of Kashmir. Even before this farce was enacted twice, Kashmir had already been converted into a police state. As Sheikh Abdullah stated, during his brief period of freedom from captivity in 1958, and I quote his statement of 17 February 1958:

"The front rank members of the Constituent Assembly were put in prison and debarred from participating in the proceedings of the House. Those who were not in prison were forced into submission by threats of persecution and imprisonment, and irresistible temptations were thrown their way.

"The fact cannot be ignored that, before the Constitution was finalized, the Leader of the House was arrested under a deeply-laid conspiracy, and when the masses protested against this illegal and unconstitutional act, a reign of terror was let loose and hundreds of men, women and children were shot down in cold blood, and this continued for months together.

"A period of four years was spent in making the members of the Assembly toe the line of the coup-stagers. Members who did not submit were kept in jail and the Constitution was declared to have been finally adopted.

"Even though in detention, yet led by national interests, I tried to warn from time to time all concerned against the dangerous consequences of allowing the Constituent Assembly to be used for group conflicts of the National Conference. In a telegram, on 30 September 1953, I asked the President of the Constituent Assembly to allow me to be heard by the Assembly before the vote of confidence in the coup-stagers was considered.

"Then again, when the Constitution was going to be finalized on 16 August 1956, I wrote to the President of the Assembly and said:

"By the action of 9 August 1953, as well as by the long record of black deeds in and outside the House, the present Government and the Assembly have completely forfeited the confidence of the electorate and they no longer represent the political and economic aspirations of the people. It will be the height of treachery if such a body sits to frame a fundamental law for the people and their future



generations. Nothing can be a worse betrayal of their aspirations. I feel, therefore, duty bound to ask you to desist from such a course of action."

163. This will give the Assembly some idea of the causes of my father's disillusionment with India. For a man who had been a staunch nationalist all his life, a personal friend of Pandit Nehru, who condemned bigotry and fanaticism, and under whose leadership Kashmir remained untainted with any religious strife, it could not be but a wrench and a deep crisis to raise the banner of revolt against Indian occupation of Kashmir. Much though he loved the principles of secularism, he could not tolerate that, under their cloak, India should throttle the aspirations of the people of Kashmir, separate them from their brethren in Pakistan and hold them in bondage. He warned Mr. Nehru from 1952 onwards that India was following a disastrous policy in Kashmir and that, if it reneged on the promise of a fair and impartial plebiscite, it would forfeit all claims to the respect and sympathy of the people of Kashmir as well as the people of the world. When in 1953 he publicly stated his view that the future of India, Pakistan and Kashmir could not be secure without an honourable settlement of the Kashmir dispute, he was deposed and put in gaol. For a long time no legal proceedings were brought against him. When a case was filed, it dragged on for several years. Finally, Sheikh Abdullah was acquitted in 1964, but his freedom was short-lived. Since early this year he has been kept in detention without trial. And yet the Foreign Minister of India has the cheek to talk to us about the morality of India's position in Kashmir.

164. This story of Kashmir's continuing rebellion has been only partially known to the world. As the Revolutionary Council of Kashmir said in its Proclamation of 10 August 1965, in these eighteen years of Indian occupation, "every day that has passed has been a day of misery and every night a night of crime". Through the long years in which the Security Council has remained oblivious of the situation in Kashmir, of its cruelty and its menace, the people of Kashmir have not forgotten the pledge that was given to them by the United Nations.

165. During these long years, India has levelled charges against Pakistan and invented ever-new excuses for evading its solemn obligation to let the people of Kashmir decide their future under the auspices of the United Nations. The variety of its pretexts is bewildering. When in 1953 Pakistan entered into a defence pact with the United States, India pleaded that Pakistan's collusion with the United States justified India's holding Kashmir in bondage. Today it pleads Pakistan's "collusion" with China as reason enough to thwart an equitable settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Originally, in 1947, it had pledged that as soon as law and order was restored in Kashmir, the plebiscite would be held. Later, when more normal conditions prevailed, it argued that the plebiscite would upset the peace and tranquillity of the State. Originally it had argued that Kashmir should not automatically become a part of Pakistan merely because both are predominantly Muslim, and that the secular way would be to decide Kashmir's future by a plebiscite. Later it argued that a plebiscite—the most democratic

method conceivable—would upset India's secularism. There is no conceivable change in power alignments, no turn of the situation in Kashmir, which India does not seek to exploit for dishonouring her commitment regarding Kashmir.

166. I noticed that the Foreign Minister of India made a special bid on Tuesday for the sympathy of Asian and African Powers. After having sabotaged the Asian-African Conference in Algiers, India has every need to try to rehabilitate itself in African-Asian esteem. But the Foreign Minister of India showed small respect for the intelligence of African countries when he tried to play upon the fear of the fragmentation of newly-independent States. Let me remind the Foreign Minister of India that, as far as Kashmir is concerned, it is vain for India to try to make common cause with any other State. Is there any newly-independent State here that has entered into a solemn international agreement that the people of a territory will be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination and then has sought unilaterally to repudiate that agreement? Is there any newly-independent State, from Asia and Africa, that holds a country against its declared will? Is there any Asian or African State that bases its claim on any territory on a clear defiance of its obligations to the United Nations? In its stand on Kashmir, legally hollow and morally discredited, India should not seek company among Asian and African Powers. If India needs company, we can suggest to it where to find it. India can find company among colonialists, who, happily, are a dwindling number. It is they who plead the excuse that they are building multiracial and multi-religious societies and that the self-determination of a territory would result in their disintegration. If Kashmir's deliverance from Indian tyranny should result in India's dismemberment, then, it is obvious, India lacks the essential cohesion of nationhood. In that case, Kashmir or no Kashmir, the Indian State is bound to collapse like a house of cards and no props from abroad will keep it steady for long.

167. My delegation has already given to the Assembly a full account of what happened in Kashmir in August 1965. This revolt was the culmination of the struggle for the self-determination of Kashmir which originally started in 1951 and which gained urgency and momentum in 1964. I shall not repeat this account here except to say that as the Foreign Minister of India was speaking before the Assembly the people of Kashmir were giving the lie to every one of his statements here. The Assembly will appreciate that, in the reign of terror which India has let loose in Kashmir, it is only an enterprising foreign observer who can penetrate through the cordon of the police and the army, reach the people and find the truth. But some truth about the uprising in Kashmir has begun to be reported in the world Press, and I would beg the Assembly to give attention to it.

168. Let me quote first from the dispatch in the London Daily Telegraph, of 12 October 1965, by Rawle Knox:

"The Indian politicians who are now travelling the globe to explain their country's position on Kashmir would have been well advised to start with a trip to Srinagar.

"There they would have found students shouting pro-Pakistani slogans, police being pelted with stones and retaliating with rifle-fire, a couple of exploding hand-grenades and some mysterious house-burnings. Over the weekend after the general strike by all Srinagar Muslims, leading opposition politicians were arrested. Not all this could be learned in Delhi, because Srinagar has a tight censorship of its own.

"The 'Plebiscite Front' is as active and vocal as ever in demanding self-determination. . . Opposition leaders boast, with truth, that the Pakistani infiltrators would never have managed to remain hidden so long without the backing of the local populace. . . [The] deeper bitterness against India. . . partly is due, according to the opposition, to the Indian Army's practice of burning down the houses of those alleged to have harboured the Pakistani maquis. Mostly, I suspect, it is due to a deepened sense of frustration."

169. The correspondent talks of "vast sums of money India squanders on Kashmir to line so many political pockets", and says: "Srinagar's students are now in open revolt".

170. The second report is filed by the foreign editor of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, from Srinagar, on 10 October 1965:

"Ten thousand people, mainly students, have taken part in demonstrations on Saturday afternoon. During this demonstration, the demand for plebiscite was repeated. According to reliable sources, there have been twenty-two casualties in this encounter. Indian authorities say that there have been no casualties. Twenty-four hours' complete curfew has been imposed upon Muslim districts of Srinagar. The picture which Delhi is giving of the situation in Kashmir, at least as far as it concerns Srinagar, is completely wrong. Already before this weekend, every day there were several outbreaks led by students, directed against Indian authorities and for a plebiscite. At least 30,000 policemen and soldiers have turned Srinagar into a huge army camp. All Muslim shops have been closed; also taxi and bus drivers are on strike. About 400 people have been arrested in all. . . The last few nights several houses were burnt down. The Indian public have until now not been informed about happenings in Kashmir. The bitterness in Kashmir's population is only growing day by day."

171. According to The Financial Times, London, of 8 October 1965, Mr. Dhar, the Kashmir Home Minister, said there was evidence that some "Pakistani infiltrators" had sought hiding-place in towns and were continuing "subversive activities". What this means in reality can be judged from the report of the correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation of 12 October that the slogans of the demonstrating students are: "We demand a plebiscite" and "Long live the guerrillas".

172. The same correspondent quotes Maulana Masoodi, a prominent leader of Kashmir, as saying that guerrilla warfare is in full swing throughout the State and gaining momentum day by day. "Some people", the correspondent states, "see the guerrillas

as knights in shining armour. Among these are two of the important leaders of the opposition". The report adds: "They told me that in fact guerrilla operations had only just started and were going to grow. They argued that only Kashmiri freedom fighters were involved."

173. Another report from the BBC correspondent in Srinagar on 12 October said: "Students and general public are still demonstrating for a plebiscite in Kashmir and, to crush them, forces are indulging in acts of arson and terrorism."

174. The enormity of India's repression and terrorism in Kashmir is still not known in the world outside. In August this year, Indian troops burnt down the town of Mandi and its twelve villages, including Azamabad, Meher Kot and Bedar Balnoi in Poonch. Three families of Muslims in Bedar Balnoi were burnt alive in their houses and about twelve Muslims were shot down by Indian troops in cold blood in the presence of their families. At least thirty villages in the Rajouri area were burnt by the Indian Army. Altogether, 60,000 Kashmiri Muslims have been forced to flee across the cease-fire line. The entire Batamaloo suburb of Srinagar, inhabited by Muslims, was set on fire and razed to the ground. A number of its inhabitants were burnt alive by the Indian Army. It was a well-known Indian humanitarian, Miss Mirdula Sarabhai, who testified that in the guise of taking action against the so-called "infiltrators", the Indian Army had turned upon the entire Muslim population of the occupied territory and perpetrated atrocities on them. Indian Army messages which have been intercepted indicate that orders have been given for the destruction of entire villages. In one such message, of 28 September, the order was: "Civilians should be killed but property shall not be destroyed."

175. These actions of the Indian military match the atrocities that the Nazis committed in occupied territories in the last war. This wholesale destruction and laying waste of villages in Kashmir and the shooting in cold blood of the inhabitants brings back memories of Lidice in Czechoslovakia, which the Nazis destroyed and whose population was shot in 1942 for their alleged harbouring of partisans. And yet India continues to say that it is a democracy wedded to the ideals of peace, brotherhood and justice.

176. This is the picture of Kashmir today. It needs no comment or explanation from me. The more distant it is allowed to grow from the eyes of the United Nations, the less chance is there for this Organization to achieve a real and viable solution of the Kashmir dispute. The fabric of peace can be built only on human realities and not on the quicksands of expediency or abstraction. As we, the people of Kashmir, are going through our travail, we wonder how long the United Nations, being an Organization of people like us, can remain insensitive to it and still hope for even a semblance of peace.

177. I have tried to place before the Assembly the salient facts with regard to Kashmir and to expose the hollowness of India's stand. I have not tried to give vent to the pent-up feelings of the downtrodden people of Kashmir or to give expression to their wrath against their Indian oppressors. How could

I help the representatives assembled in this hall to see in their mind's eye the scene that is now being enacted in Srinagar and in every town, village and hamlet of Kashmir? How could I transmit to them the rising voice of Kashmir's protest? How could I help them to know and register the fact that the people of my tormented land are daily giving a testimony, in word and in deed, in language and in silence, in tears and in blood, that they are not willing to be held in servitude by India, that they have an individuality and soul of their own which is being smothered by India, and that they will not suffer a betrayal of the pledge that was given to them by India, by Pakistan, and, above all, by the United Nations, that they shall be enabled to decide their future for themselves?

178. Does the United Nations clearly visualize the human reality of the situation in Kashmir? If it does, then we are confident that no amount of sophistry by India, no show of defiance on its part, no calculations of expediency on the part of others, will succeed in delaying a just settlement of the Kashmir dispute. But if this reality is remote from this Organization, then the Charter prescribes the method of inquiry and investigation as one of the means of resolving international situations which endanger the peace. The Pakistan delegation hereby proposes that an impartial

commission of investigation be sent immediately to Jammu and Kashmir in order to examine the situation throughout the State, to obtain the evidence of the acknowledged leaders of the people of Kashmir and to report its findings to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

179. If there is even an iota of truth in India's allegations that there is no uprising in Kashmir against the Indian occupation and that the people do not demand the plebiscite which has been promised to them, then there is no earthly reason for India to reject this proposal and thus to spurn a unique opportunity of having its statements confirmed. I challenge the Foreign Minister of India to react to this fair offer from us here and now.

180. I have one last thought. At the entrance to the New York World's Fair appear the following words of President Abraham Lincoln:

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

181. I hope it is not too late for India to read the writing on the wall.

*The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.*