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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Falcón Briceño (Venezuela)</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia)</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Zea (Colombia)</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of Iraq</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of Japan</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Statement by the representative of Mongolia</i>	<i>16</i>

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FALCON BRICEÑO (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): We welcome the election of His Excellency Dr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, the representative of Venezuela, as President of this General Assembly at so important a moment in international affairs, as a sign of the esteem in which our country is held and a recognition of the devoted service to peace rendered by my distinguished compatriot over so many years. On behalf of my Government, I should like to express our deep gratitude to all who have honoured him with their vote.

2. The atmosphere at this session of the General Assembly seems less charged with tension than at last year's session and although it is impossible, no matter how optimistic one would wish to be, to ignore the difficulties which threaten the peace and security of the world or some parts of the world, there is one outstanding event of such scope and significance that I must mention it at the very beginning of my speech. I refer to the treaty recently signed in Moscow by the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, on the prohibition of nuclear tests in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water. This treaty has been greeted by nearly all countries as an augury of peace. I have pleasure in announcing that Venezuela has affixed its signature to this treaty as a sign that it shares with the other signatories the desire for peace that is so deeply felt by all mankind.

3. The health of an international organization depends on the will for peace and the spirit of understanding displayed by its members. Without these essential ingredients, the doors are open to anarchy and the path to war is swift. The existence of nuclear weapons—and this cannot be said too often—so increases the gravity of any action not directed towards peace, which is our fundamental problem that a solution of force would mean the wreck of all man's hopes and achievements. Thus there is no need to stress the responsibility which would lie with the atomic Powers if their political

and diplomatic relations were not governed by caution and reflection, and a desire for understanding.

4. The position in the United Nations and in the Organization of American States of those countries which, like Venezuela, have no stronger arsenal than their respect for principles and their international undertakings, is clear and sincere. We are a country which loves not only peace but also freedom and democracy. Venezuela's history is one of a long fight for freedom to live in a democratic society, grounded in the deep egalitarian convictions of our people. For many of you, it is not easy to understand our dramatic history and the change that has taken place in the last few years. The usual picture of Venezuela and Latin America in general is false more often than not. Stress has been laid on the picturesque. Even the general use of the term Latin America or Latin Americans leads to confusion. Someone once asked what was the capital of Latin America. It should be made quite clear that Latin America is a conventional expression. Although we have common denominators, each of our countries has its own personality and basic characteristics. Venezuela is one of the richest countries in the Americas but it is only in the last few years that its wealth has begun to be exploited. During the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth it was a poor country, whose economic life depended upon the export of coffee and cocoa. We had no university or printing press in the sixteenth century, like Mexico and Peru. We were a Spanish overseas province, poor and forgotten, which achieved its first university in 1725 and its first printing press in 1808, but Venezuelans ran an active contraband in ideas. Books prohibited by the civil authorities or banned by the Inquisition were read and commented on in the silence of colonial nights. My compatriots were familiar with all the literature of the time, with the great current of liberal thought. Thus was nurtured our most brilliant generation, the generation of 1810, restless men possessed by the Romantic demon of liberty and glory. The leader of this generation, and one of the great political thinkers of his time, was Simón Bolívar. I mention this here, in the United Nations, because this Organization, like the League of Nations at Geneva before it, is closely bound up with the ideas of Bolívar, who created the first association of nations that the world has known. I want to stress this historical fact in order to show that we in Latin America are not simply nations with a past made up of civil war, tyrants and dictators; we have a noble and illustrious political and diplomatic tradition that explains our faith in international organizations.

5. In 1826, on Bolívar's initiative, a Congress was held in Panama for the purpose of setting up a great continental confederation consisting of all the American nations, which would maintain peace among its member States and between them and the rest of the world and provide a common defence for the rights of the members of the confederation. Dr. J. M. Yepes, the

distinguished Colombian student of international affairs, has the following to say of this Congress:

"Nothing was lacking that we should today consider essential for the proper functioning of an institution of this kind. The qualification for membership of the proposed confederation was laid down: all American States, the only requirement for admission being signature of the articles of confederation. The supreme authority of the confederation was defined: i.e., the 'General Assembly', a democratic body in which each member State was represented on a footing of complete juridical equality with the rest. The policy of the association was also specifically defined: maintenance of peace, collective security, mutual defence and assistance against aggression; guarantees of the political independence and territorial integrity of member States; peaceful settlement of all international disputes, whatever their nature or origin; codification of international law; finally, the just use of force to safeguard the rule of law." ^{1/}

6. Dr. Yepes says that Bolívar was the precursor of the League of Nations, and this is so, for Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which guarantees the political independence and territorial integrity of all Members of the League, was a copy or literal reproduction of certain articles in the Treaty of Panama of 1826.

7. In a commentary on this article, Albert de La Pradelle, a professor of the University of Paris, said that Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was simply the extension of Simón Bolívar's doctrine to the whole world.

8. Like other Latin American countries, Venezuela, despite an illustrious past, a tradition of freedom and a strong desire to set its affairs in order to attain that degree of economic and social development to which it is lawfully entitled, was subjected to the most cruel dictatorships after it achieved political independence on the battle-field. These, without exception, have hampered its progress in every respect.

9. Despite this grave drawback, Venezuelans never lost their faith in freedom and fought for it constantly. They never forgot their democratic vocation. During the last century dictatorial governments, with one or two exceptions, were in power and this went on until 1935, the year in which the death of the dictator put an end to one of the worst dictatorships the country has ever suffered. From that moment changes were introduced into Venezuelan public life but it was not until 1945 that a democratic revolutionary movement—led by Romulo Betancourt and his Democratic Action party—introduced for the first time direct suffrage in the election of the President of the Republic. Before that time—in 1936 and 1941—the President was elected by Congress. One of Venezuela's oldest and most heart-felt aspirations has now been realized.

10. In 1948 Venezuela elected as its Head of Government, by popular vote one of its most distinguished nationals and its greatest novelist, Romulo Gallegos. In the same year, however, a coup d'état defeated this attempt to establish a democratic system in Venezuela. For ten long years the country suffered under a new dictatorship, the cruellest and most immoral in all its history.

11. This dictatorship was overthrown in 1958, and in 1959, by the popular will, as a result of elections of exemplary legality, Romulo Betancourt became President of the Republic. The name of this distinguished Venezuelan—who will shortly complete, for the first time in the history of Venezuela, his term of office as constitutional President, elected by his people by an overwhelming majority—is closely linked to the fight for the political and democratic regeneration of Venezuela.

12. All Latin American democracy owes a debt to Betancourt. Faithful to Bolívar's best and most noble tradition, he has always been concerned about democracy in Latin America, being convinced that a democratically strong America can withstand the onslaught of totalitarianism, whether of the right or of the left. We want effective democracy in Venezuela. We desire it just as strongly for the rest of America.

13. In line with these views which President Betancourt has held for many years, and held long before he became our Head of Government in 1945, Venezuela does not recognize Governments arising out of coups d'état. This has been our practice and we do not regard it as constituting intervention in the affairs of the States whose de facto Governments we do not recognize.

14. On one occasion, when a coup was carried out against the legitimate Government of a country to the south of us, Venezuela proposed a meeting of the American Foreign Ministers to consider the situation. In so doing we had the support of Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Bolivia.

15. In spite of our wishes, this meeting was not held. We lacked enough votes to convene it, but at least we placed on record the feelings of a group of democratic countries about the need to study coups d'état in Latin America.

16. I should explain that the Organization of American States does not consist merely of peace-loving countries, as does the United Nations, but of countries which, besides being peace-loving, must be democratic.

17. The basis and the aim of the Organization of American States is the existence in Latin America, or in America, to include the whole continent, of democratic régimes.

18. As I said before, this meeting of Foreign Ministers, which we wanted to hold in July of last year, did not take place.

19. In the last six months, three lawfully constituted Governments have been overthrown in Latin America by force. The last, only a few days ago, was the Government of the Dominican Republic.

20. This is a real misfortune, for the Dominican Republic is one of the countries in Latin America and the world at large which has suffered most from dictatorships. The last, which ended with the death of the dictator, lasted for thirty years. Children who were ten years old in 1930, lived until they were forty without having known any other system than a cruel, iron-clad dictatorship.

21. Those of us who have faith in democratic government, in freedom and respect for human dignity, are deeply concerned over the proliferation of régimes of this kind in America, and it would be most serious for the Organization of American States if on this occasion we were merely to look on with our arms folded.

^{1/} J. M. Yepes, Del Congreso de Panamá a la Conferencia de Caracas, 1826-1954 (Caracas, Venezuela, 1955), page 93.

22. If tomorrow the Organization of American States—whose aim is to ensure the existence of democratic governments in our continent—were to be composed of a majority of representatives of dictatorships, it would be not only a challenge to the Organization itself, it would be more serious than a contradiction; it would be a farce.

23. The doctrines upheld by my Government are based on the Charter of the Organization of American States, which stipulates: "The solidarity of American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy."^{2/} The coup d'état against a legitimately constituted Government is, as I said before, a challenge to the other American States and to the Organization itself. We earnestly hope that this system will in the course of time prevail in our continent, not only because it corresponds to the deep-rooted love of freedom of our peoples, but because, practically speaking, it is the best and surest guarantee against any system of totalitarian stamp.

24. We want to keep Venezuela a modern State. We have had our setbacks, but the balance sheet is favourable. We believe that, politically speaking, our position is the right one and the one that is most in conformity with our character and our traditions.

25. The only way in which we shall manage to establish democracy as a system of government in our own country or in any other American country is by practising it, since the effective exercise of democracy is also a matter of education. Democracy cannot be a reality if at the same time it is not endowed with a social meaning and does not effect the reforms required to ensure a better distribution of the wealth of the country and thereby raise the level of living of the population.

26. Furthermore, by its very nature, the democratic form of government promotes the honest use of the country's resources, whereas under dictatorships those resources are dishonestly manipulated to the detriment of the economic and social development of the people and for the exclusive benefit of the dictator.

27. The hallmark of American dictatorships has been speculation. Such was the case of the last one suffered by my country, but the dictator, who had settled in the United States, is at present in prison in Venezuela awaiting trial. He was handed over by the United States of America in compliance with the Extradition Treaty in force between our two countries. This is a most significant fact, not only because it is the first time in the history of America that an ex-dictator has been extradited but because it draws attention to a matter that cries out for settlement, namely the recovery of the illegally appropriated public funds. At the Inter-parliamentary Union held at Brasilia in 1962, a draft convention was considered "on measures to be taken in the international field against those guilty, in the exercise of public office, of fraudulent enrichment prejudicial to the public interest."

28. I think that we are treading the right democratic path. We in Venezuela believe in the power of votes. At this moment, my countrymen are in the process of electing a President of the Republic and the Members of Congress. Already more than 3,300,000 persons have registered, representing 92 per cent of the electorate of Venezuela.

29. In order to give some idea of what we have accomplished in Venezuela in our four years of constitutional government, I could cite figures revealing our achievement in the economic, social and cultural fields, but I must not tax the patience of representatives. I may point out, however, that our industrial, agricultural and livestock production has increased and that new products have been exported; that we now have a life expectancy of 66 years; that we are producing iron and steel; that the country can be crossed from one end to the other on paved roads; that, thanks to land reform, more than 60,000 families, totalling 300,000 persons, in the zones of greatest demographic pressure have been resettled; that our petroleum production rose from 151 million cubic metres in 1959 to 185 million in 1962 and exports of petroleum during the same period rose from 109 million to 128 million cubic metres.

30. With reference to education in Venezuela, I am happy to be able to state here that the general educational policy of my country has the following characteristics: it is democratic; it is a right that belongs to every inhabitant of the country; it concentrates on the all-round development of the human person; it is neutral in both political and religious matters; at the primary level it is compulsory; it is free at all levels; the state universities are autonomous and free; it collaborates in general and zonal plans for the economic and social development of the country; it provides a compulsory literacy course for those over fourteen years old; it is "contributational", that is, without lessening the responsibility of the parents the State provides means of access to education; and, lastly, Venezuela education shares the common cultural aims of the world.

31. The population of Venezuela is barely 8 million. It is essential to bear that in mind in order to appreciate the statistics that I shall give. For example, the population of school age (7 to 13 years) is 1,400,000, or 17 per cent of the total population. For the school-year 1957-1958, the last year of the dictatorship, the pre-school and primary school registration amounted to only 752,000 pupils, with 21,000 teachers in 6,700 schools. Registration has now risen to 1,400,000 pupils in 12,600 schools with 37,200 teachers. This means a total of 600,000 more children enrolled, or an increase of 80 per cent, during the constitutional five years, while the number of teachers has increased 78 per cent and the number of schools by 89 per cent during the same period. I shall not go on citing figures but shall only mention that in our universities there are at present more than 5,000 engineering students, almost 6,000 students of economics and 4,189 persons studying the humanities. I apologize, but I could not resist the temptation of giving a few facts which are essential for the development of a democracy possessed of social and human meaning.

32. The main trend in world economic movements at present is towards regional integration. My country is following these movements with interest in so far as they may lead to the expansion or contraction of our foreign trade. I wish to repeat here what my Government has already stated at previous sessions of the General Assembly: it is becoming more and more imperative to take into account the negative repercussions on the less developed countries of the trade policies of regional economic groupings of the highly industrialized nations. Since for the expansion of their trade the developing countries depend on their raw materials as an indispensable means of exchange, it

^{2/} Charter of the Organization of American States, chapter II, article 5, section (d).

is essential that certain lines of conduct should be laid down for the highly developed countries and that the terms of trade should be kept within equitable limits.

33. At the beginning of this year, the Government of Venezuela accredited a special embassy to the European Economic Community in order to maintain constant and close ties with that association. My country is intensely interested in maintaining and expanding those traditional European markets, from which we receive a high and varied percentage of goods and to which we send considerable amounts of raw materials.

34. Venezuela has also followed very closely the development of the Latin American Free-Trade Association (LAFTA), which we consider to be the most important step taken in the contemporary Latin American economy. We live in a continent embroiled by its economic and social weaknesses, and we are fighting against time, within our freely chosen democratic institutions, in our search for solutions to those problems that hamper the development of our peoples. It is clear that the liberalization and intensification of Latin American trade will strengthen the productive capacity of all our countries and raise the social standard of our peoples.

35. Those reasons have led us to be present at the meetings so far held by LAFTA. Last April, for instance, Venezuela sent an observer to the meetings on trade policy held at Bogotá and on the planning of industrial development held at Lima. We were also represented at all the branch meetings that the Association has held since last June.

36. Last May the national Government set up a Commission for the Study of the Economic Integration of Latin America, composed of representatives of the Ministries of Production and of the private sector.

37. For Venezuela, as for any other country, membership of LAFTA entails decisions that not only bind the members to comply with the minimum commitments set forth in the Treaty of Montevideo but also mean adopting new criteria in the general economic policy of the country, both as far as foreign trade and its organization are concerned and in regard to other branches of the national economy.

38. Venezuelan imports amount to about \$1,200 million a year, \$30 million of which represents purchases from Latin American countries. Some 70 to 80 per cent of that sum represents trade between Venezuela and countries committed to LAFTA. These figures give some idea of the potential of our market and at the same time of the possibilities of increasing our trade with the Association.

39. Despite the caution and interest with which my Government is following the evolution of the movements towards regional economic integration, it is still my country's policy to give priority to the permanent features of the economies that are susceptible of integration, because it is precisely these lasting traits that will later produce a favourable balance in the movement towards the development of the region and of the world in which we live. As evidence of this point of view, I am happy to mention the recently concluded Agreement of San Cristóbal, signed on 7 August of this year between the Presidents of Colombia and Venezuela, which recognizes the need for joint efforts to ensure a balanced economic development of the Táchira River Basin. "The contiguity of the territories of the area and the fundamentally complementary nature

of their natural resources, as also the common sources of the cultural heritage and historical traditions of both nations, are conditions that will ensure good results from this policy". In the opinion of my Government, and doubtless in Colombia's opinion, too, as far as economic co-operation between our two countries is concerned, the San Cristóbal Agreement constitutes a valuable contribution to Latin American economic integration and is fully consonant with the new and rational trend of these integration movements.

40. At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1785 (XVII) calling for a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, whose consequences and repercussions on the development and very nature of international trade will inevitably be far-reaching.

41. Venezuela has carefully studied the conclusions of the Preparatory Committee set up by the General Assembly, and especially the joint statement by representatives of developing countries. We now await with interest the comments on the provisional agenda that the Preparatory Committee has proposed, through the Economic and Social Council.

42. We share the view that if international trade is to be a "powerful instrument and vehicle of economic development", then a "dynamic international trade policy" is required. We consider that the way to such a policy is to be found in part III of the joint statement, where it enumerates four fundamental points on which the Conference might approve specific measures: expansion of trade between countries at a similar level of development and at different stages of development; the reduction of barriers and restrictions impeding trade; increasing the volume of exports of the developing countries in primary products to the industrialized countries; and the expansion of the markets for exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries. These should certainly be the fundamental points for discussion and the basis of the new world trade policy sponsored and supported by the United Nations.

43. Venezuela's term on the Security Council will expire at the end of this year, since we were elected at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. We accepted the office in full knowledge of the responsibility we were assuming, but we did so unhesitatingly because of our belief in peace and our respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. We also felt that we could contribute to the solution of the serious problems dealt with in the Security Council.

44. My country's participation in the work of the Security Council is enshrined in the archives of the United Nations, which bear witness to the fact that Venezuela's action was always prompted by concern for the maintenance of international peace and security, recognition of the principle of self-determination, and respect for human dignity.

45. Venezuela shares with other Member States the responsibility conferred upon it by the General Assembly in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We have maintained our anti-colonialist position and have worked to ensure that the recommendations and decisions of the Special Committee should satisfy the aspirations to freedom of the peoples who are still under colonial domination.

46. Despite some important progress in the task of implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and the great efforts made by the United Nations in that direction, we must recognize the fact that there are still territories in which the obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration have not yet been removed.

47. In conclusion, I should like to inform the General Assembly of a matter of singular importance to us. I refer to the question of the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana. Last year, both in the General Assembly and in the Special Political Committee, I referred to this matter and as a result of the friendly conversations held with the representative of the United Kingdom, acting on behalf of his Government and that of British Guiana, we agreed to examine the documentation on the frontier dispute and to report back to the United Nations. I am glad to say that the last stage has been reached in the review of the documentation that led to the Arbitral Award of 1899, which was unfortunate for us in that it did our country a grave territorial injustice which we are now endeavouring to correct.

48. I am also happy to announce that early in November of this year I am to meet the United Kingdom Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in London in order to complete the conversations arranged on that occasion.

49. At the beginning of my statement I said that the present session of the General Assembly was opening in an atmosphere of less international tension. I pray that this atmosphere will continue, so that we shall be able to fulfil our mandate in the search for world peace. Let us seek peace also for the benefits that it engenders, for the material and spiritual development and growth that it fosters, and not only because its alternative is destruction.

50. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Allow me, first of all, Mr. President, to congratulate you warmly on your election to the high post of President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

51. As many previous speakers have rightly observed, the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is starting its work in more favourable circumstances than the seventeenth session.

52. As we are well aware, the previous session of the General Assembly was overshadowed by the very grave crisis in the Caribbean, which brought mankind to the brink of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe.

53. The peaceful solution of this crisis, thanks to the well-considered and reasonable policy of the Government of the Soviet Union and thanks to the efforts of peace-loving forces, was an event of great international significance which took place in the period between the last and the present sessions of the General Assembly. In this connexion, our delegation would like to emphasize here the great importance, not only of the fact that this acute crisis was itself liquidated, but also and especially the importance of that spirit of compromise and reason which was displayed in the peaceful solution of the crisis. It is this spirit of constructive approach which has opened new avenues for the further positive encounter with other burning issues of international relations.

54. It is with great gratification that we now make reference to another signal event. The conclusion of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in

the atmosphere, in outer space and under water by the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, and the accession by the overwhelming majority of States of the world to this Treaty represents an important step on the way to international "détente" and to the strengthening of world peace.

55. The conclusion of this Treaty constitutes a new victory for the policy of peaceful coexistence, consistently pursued by the socialist countries, and a notable contribution to the improving of mutual trust and understanding among nations. What is noteworthy here is that States with differing social systems could overcome their differences and find a mutually acceptable solution to this international problem. This instance confirms the fact that in the presence of goodwill, States involved in differences can achieve success in the settlement of international disputes by way of negotiation. The acceptance of the nuclear test ban treaty by an increasing number of States testifies to the vitality of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

56. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, whose foreign policy rests on the principles of peaceful coexistence, expressing the aspirations of the Mongolian people and realizing the importance of banning nuclear weapon tests, was among the first signatories to this Treaty, signing it on 8 August 1963 simultaneously in Moscow and in London.

57. Our delegation is of the opinion that this Treaty does not remove the danger of a thermo-nuclear war, nor does it release mankind from the heavy burdens of an arms race. Nevertheless, we hail it as an initial step toward the positive solution of one of the most crucial problems of our time: the problem of disarmament.

58. The Mongolian delegation, therefore, deems it appropriate that the present session of the General Assembly should approve in proper form the Moscow Treaty, which has been signed by the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations, as the first step in the direction of total disarmament.

59. In addition to the above-mentioned circumstances conducive to the lessening of international tension, I should like to recall a number of other events which were also of certain help to the creation of the atmosphere which prevails at this session. The achievement of understanding between the USSR and the United States on the establishment of a direct line of communications between Moscow and Washington [see A/5488, annex 1] and on the further steps of co-operation between these two countries in the field of peaceful exploration of outer space deserve special mention.

60. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic notes with satisfaction that peace-loving nations continue to bend their efforts within and without the United Nations toward the easing of international tension and the strengthening of mutual confidence among States.

61. In this connexion we recall the efforts of the six non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa which made the well-known mediatory proposal with respect to the peaceful settlement of the border dispute between China and India.

62. May we add at this juncture that we consider that peaceful negotiation between the parties concerned is the only correct means of solving any border dispute between States.

63. Our delegation attaches great significance to the Summit Conference of Independent African States held at Addis Ababa in May 1963. This Conference played a definite role in consolidating the unity of the peoples of this great continent. If confirmed, moreover, the aspirations of its participants to improve the atmosphere of international relations and to bring about the positive solution of burning international issues such as the denuclearization of the African continent and the attainment, on a world scale, of general and complete disarmament.

64. To consolidate the initial successes on the way to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to strengthening world peace is, we believe, a paramount task of the present session of the General Assembly.

65. This task is especially momentous in the light of the fact that proponents of the cold war and foes of peace and the freedom of nations are making their attempts in different parts of the world to aggravate the international situation. We cite as a striking instance of this the piratical attacks of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries, aided and abetted by reactionary forces from outside, against the freedom and independence of the Republic of Cuba, whose heroic peoples have chosen their way to a brighter and happier life. Cuba does not threaten anyone. Cuba desires to live in peace and friendship with all neighbouring States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The interests of maintaining peace and security in this region of the Western hemisphere demand that the United States of America and other States should not interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba and should observe international obligations of non-aggression against that country.

66. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the United Nations [A/5507/Add.1] that if the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests is followed by agreement on other measures aimed at lessening international tension and establishing confidence among States, it may be the beginning of a new era of better understanding between nations and may create a more favourable international climate that would facilitate progress towards general and complete disarmament and the goal of stable international peace and security which remains the primary purpose of the United Nations.

Mr. Bindzi (Cameroon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

67. Having in view these noble ends, we believe that efforts should be renewed to reach agreement on the discontinuance of underground nuclear weapon tests in accordance with the explicitly expressed spirit of the Moscow Treaty. The reaching of such an accord would represent yet another step towards the achievement of agreement on general and complete disarmament—the cardinal problem of the present time. The creation of denuclearized zones in different parts of the world, and the conclusion of an international agreement preventing further dissemination of nuclear weapons would also promote the solution of this vital problem.

68. The position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic with respect to the problem of general and complete disarmament was clearly expressed in the statements made by our delegations at previous

General Assembly sessions. Our Government has firmly supported the proposals of the Soviet Union which provide for constructive measures for the implementation of general and complete disarmament. These proposals suggest that at the first stage of general and complete disarmament there should be the liquidation of nuclear weapons delivering vehicles coupled with the simultaneous dismantling of all foreign military bases and withdrawal of troops from foreign soil.

69. In the view of the Mongolian delegation the step-by-step programme of disarmament proposed by the Soviet Union in its draft treaty on general and complete disarmament,^{3/} as well as the additions and changes introduced at a later stage, are of a truly constructive nature and directed toward genuine implementation of general and complete disarmament.

70. It is regrettable, however, to note that there is still no progress in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The Western Powers continue to adhere to their old stand in the negotiations in this Committee. People throughout the world demand that the earliest possible concrete progress be made in the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament. Accordingly, our delegation gives its full support to the new proposal made at the present session by the delegation of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting] to convoke in the first quarter or the first half of 1964 a conference of the Member States of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at the highest level. In our opinion such a meeting undoubtedly would greatly benefit the work of this Committee by paving the way towards composing mutually acceptable practical measures on disarmament, which is the main purpose of the Committee. The Soviet Government has expressed its readiness to agree to the retention by the Soviet Union and the United States of a limited number of missiles on their own territories, not only until the end of the second stage of disarmament but until the end of the third stage. This position taken by the Soviet Union deserves serious consideration.

71. As we are all aware, the Government of the Soviet Union submitted recently a number of other proposals directed at further relaxation of international tension and the creation of a favourable climate for the attainment of the main goal: general and complete disarmament. In particular, it has proposed the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between member states of NATO and member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This proposal is of far-reaching significance under the present circumstances obtaining in Europe, where troops of all the big nuclear Powers of the two military groupings face one another.

72. Positive solution of this question, in our opinion, will in its turn create a better atmosphere for measures towards the freezing and eventual cutting of military budgets of States, the reduction of foreign troops stationed in West Germany and in the German Democratic Republic, the preventing of surprise attack and so on. Now the world is anxious to see how the Western Powers will respond to these new proposals of the Soviet Union.

73. Our delegation hopes that the Western Powers, taking into account the existing realities of today's world and the interests of preserving peace and security of nations, will take positive steps towards bringing these proposals to a realization.

^{3/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, C.

74. However, judging from statements of leaders of Western Powers in general, and of the United States in particular, one would get the impression that they would prefer to discuss only measures aimed at preventing surprise attack, and to push the question of disarmament into the background. Such partial measures no doubt would promote some improvement in the international situation. However, our delegation would like to stress here that the people of all countries demand not partial agreements on limited problems but the implementation of general and complete disarmament, which is the only guarantee of lasting peace on earth.

75. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to comment briefly on another important problem, the positive solution of which will bring about a favourable atmosphere for preserving peace in Europe and the world over. This is the German question.

76. The position of the socialist countries on this question proceeds from the recognition of the present realities obtaining in Europe: the existence of the two sovereign German States, namely, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore, we strongly believe that the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States and the solution of the West Berlin question on this basis would put an end to the vestiges of the Second World War in Europe and thus would help maintain peace and the security of nations. The ruling circles in Bonn, who pursue the aim of altering by force the border lines established after the Second World War and who attempt to assume the right to speak on behalf of the whole of Germany, obviously do not want to accept it. The revenge-seeking claims of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, their policy of blocking the peaceful settlement of the German question and the provocative actions of the Federal Republic of Germany against the German Democratic Republic constitute one of the main sources of difficulties which aggravate international tension in Europe.

77. The external policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic is based on quite different principles. The unbending efforts of the German Democratic Republic, directed at the solution of the German question in the interests of the entire German people, at preserving peace and security in Europe and all over the world, strengthen its international prestige as a peace-loving socialist State adhering to the principles of the development of friendly co-operation between States.

78. In this connexion our delegation notes with regret the discriminatory attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, which has been in evidence up to the present moment with respect to this nation's membership and attendance at international forums held under auspices of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies. This attitude has also been maintained with respect to the participation of the German Democratic Republic in international treaties concluded through United Nations participation and we equally deplore it, since such abnormal acts in one way or another encourage those who are attempting to infringe upon the legitimate rights of this sovereign State. We consider that an end should be put to such an irregular practice which clearly runs counter to the principle of universality of the United Nations Charter.

79. The disintegration of the colonial system is entering its final phase under the impact of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and

Latin America. More than four fifths of the peoples of Africa have broken the chains of their colonial slavery. At present, the heroic struggle of the people for national liberation is flaring up with fresh strength in the last remaining colonies—in Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, both Rhodesias, Nyasaland and other colonial territories and possessions. The liberation movement of the Latin American people against foreign imperialist domination is gaining momentum.

80. The Mongolian people, resolutely condemning colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, together with all peace-loving forces, consistently stand for the most speedy elimination of the disgraceful colonial system. As we indicated before, we attach great importance to the decisions reached at the Summit Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa. The Conference adopted measures for rendering assistance and support to the African people still suffering under colonial oppression. In this context, the Conference itself represents a new stage in the national liberation movement of the people of this continent.

81. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic insists on strict implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and other United Nations organs which condemn the policy of apartheid of the racist régime of the South African Republic and which provide for application of political, economic and other sanctions against that régime. We also support the demand of the African countries that similar sanctions be applied against the Government of Portugal, which persistently opposes granting independence to its colonies in Africa and carries on brutal reprisals against the indigenous population.

82. Three years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, but the shameful colonial system has yet not been obliterated from the surface of the earth. Today, more than 50 million people of our planet are still suffering under the yoke of the imperialist colonizers who have grossly ignored the provisions of that historic Declaration.

83. At present the colonizers are trying to maintain at all costs their domination over the last remaining small colonies, and they are resorting to various subtle tricks in order to disguise their expansionist policy of enslaving the colonial peoples. The colonial Powers under the pretence of giving "assistance" to the developing countries pursue the policy of neo-colonialism.

84. It is not surprising that now and then one hears voices, even from this rostrum, counselling the colonial and dependent people not to practise "undue haste" and take "extreme actions", and even urging them to find "common interest and agreement" with the colonizers. In this connexion, a saying springs to one's mind: "An insincere counsellor is more dangerous than an open foe".

85. We welcome, of course, the peaceful outcome of the struggle of these peoples for their independence and freedom. But here we should like to state categorically that to advise the oppressed peoples to search for areas of common interest and agreement with colonizers is tantamount to calling for non-resistance to the arbitrary outrages and acts of violence committed by the foreign oppressors. Those who give such counsel pretend to be the friends of the enslaved people, but they are nothing but proponents of colonialism.

86. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that the United Nations and its Members should take all necessary measures to secure immediate and full implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples in order that on the day of the twentieth anniversary of our Organization we might also be able to celebrate the complete liquidation of the colonial régime. We expect that the eighteenth session will make due contribution to this end.

87. The Mongolian People's Republic, which advocates stoutly the cause of safeguarding and strengthening world peace as a peace-loving country of Asia, cannot but show special anxiety concerning peace and tranquillity in that part of the world. Our country desires to have relations of friendly co-operation with all nations of Asia on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

88. It should be admitted that the peace-loving nations are seriously alarmed about the present international situation in some regions of this continent. Under the pretence of giving "assistance" on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements, imperialist Powers, the United States of America in particular, are activating their expansionist schemes in Asia.

89. Ten years have already elapsed since the time when an agreement on an armistice was concluded and a cease-fire was reached in Korea. This armistice, however, has not yet become a lasting peace. Korea is still in a state of unrelieved tension and remains divided into two parts—North and South. Political chaos and economic bankruptcy caused by the domination of foreign imperialists and their puppets are characteristic of the present situation in South Korea.

90. The presence of alien troops and, in addition, the conversion of this country into foreign military bases not only hampers the peaceful solution of the Korean question on a just and democratic basis, but also poses a serious threat to the cause of peace in the Far East and the world over. The concoction of a military and political alliance between the military junta of South Korea and militarist forces of Japan further aggravates the situation in this régime of the world.

91. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic once again insists that United States and other foreign troops should immediately be withdrawn from South Korea, and the Korean people thus be given the opportunity to solve by themselves, and for themselves, the question of the unification of their motherland.

92. The tense situation in South Viet-Nam and in neighbouring Laos has become a matter of serious concern for all peace-loving nations. The United States, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement^{4/} has actually occupied South Viet-Nam and is conducting "an undeclared war" against the peaceful population and patriotic forces of this country, hypocritically exploiting the slogan of the struggle against so-called "communist aggression" as a camouflage for their deeds.

93. In recent days, the Ngo Dinh Diem régime has been carrying out inhuman punitive operations against the peaceful inhabitants of South Viet-Nam. The Buddhist monks are being shot in their very pagodas and demonstrations by students, teachers and other strata

of society who demand the immediate cessation of these atrocities are being suppressed by force of arms.

94. Enraged by the rising liberation movement which embraces practically all strata of the population in South Viet-Nam, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique is resorting to the most callous method of repression.

95. It would not be superfluous to cite here the admission of *The New York Times*, which on 22 August 1963 stated: "The crisis in South Vietnam is rooted in the oppressively dictatorial character of the Ngo family government and its widespread unpopularity."

96. Whenever the Ngo régime, torn by internal discords, fails to show efficiency in forceful repression of the patriotic movement of the population, Washington threatens to reduce its dollar aid. Meekly Saigon hastens to report that it is bending all its efforts to the expansion of its punitive operations. As is well known however, this is useless. The United States Government should realize that neither American dollars nor high-ranking United States missions will save the Ngo régime, which does not enjoy the support of the country's people, from its final downfall.

97. What is to be done in order to restore real peace and democratic freedom in South Viet-Nam? The United States should immediately stop its gross interference in the internal affairs of South Viet-Nam and withdraw all its military personnel from this country. The people of South Viet-Nam should be given a real opportunity to decide their own problems themselves without any interference from outside.

98. My country, together with fifteen other nations of Asia and Africa, has submitted to the present session of the General Assembly for its consideration a question on the violation of human rights in South Viet-Nam [A/5489 and Add.1-3]. In this connexion we consider it necessary to state here that the substance of this question is not limited only to the matter of violation of human rights; it relates, as I have already indicated above, to matters of a more serious nature. The Mongolian delegation is confident that the present session will give due attention to the discussion of this important problem and will adopt a decision which meets the just demand of world public opinion that an end be put immediately to the terror and repression directed against the peaceful population of South Viet-Nam, and that the armed interference of the United States in the domestic affairs of this country be brought to an end.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

99. Open foreign interference in the domestic matters of Laos, in violation of the Geneva Agreements, and the resurgence of reactionary forces in this country are undermining its national independence, unity and neutrality. The solution of the Laotian problem by peaceful means, the prevention of the flare-up of a civil war—these are required for preserving the peace in South-East Asia.

100. The peoples of Asia cannot but view with deep concern the dangerous undertaking of the Government of Japan by which it offers its ports to the United States Polarix submarines and its territory for bases for American bombers carrying nuclear weapons.

101. Our delegation hopes that the General Assembly will take definite measures aimed at putting an end to this dangerous development of events in South-East Asia and the Far East. We shall thus make a clear contribution to the cause of preserving and consolidating peace in Asia and throughout the world.

^{4/} Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

102. I should like now to touch briefly on a particular question. As is known, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, guided by humanitarian ideals, made a proposal for inclusion on the provisional agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the question of the policy of genocide carried out by the Iraqi authorities against the Kurdish people. Perhaps those present here are well aware of the inhuman and brutal repressions that are being launched by the authorities in Iraq against the Kurdish people in response to their just demand that they be granted local autonomy within the Republic of Iraq. I am not going to speak here on the positive response this proposal has met with on the part of public opinion and what reaction it has evoked on the part of the ruling circles of Iraq. My delegation simply wishes to explain the motives that have caused us to withdraw the Kurdish question from the agenda of the eighteenth session. We have refrained from insisting that this question be discussed mainly by reason of our respect for, and our desire to preserve, the spirit of African-Asian solidarity, and in so doing we took into consideration the opinions expressed by delegations of a number of friendly countries of Asia and Africa. However, true to our high humanitarian principles, we reserve the right to raise this question again if the development of events compels us to take this course. We remain firmly convinced that when the fate of a whole ethnic group in any country is in question, no one has the right to stand aside unconcernedly if he respects the principles of justice and humanity.

103. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the United Nations should play an ever-increasing role in international economic life in conformity with the purposes and principles of its Charter. My delegation notes with satisfaction that recent years have witnessed a firm trend in this direction.

104. The seventeenth session of the General Assembly, which on the proposal of the Soviet Union had discussed such important questions as the economic consequences of disarmament, and the convening of an international conference on trade, and had adopted important resolutions on these matters, was significant particularly in this request. Our delegation at the past session, in the deliberations on the expansion of international economic co-operation, whole-heartedly welcomed and supported the decision to convene an international conference on the questions of trade and development.

105. In the view of my delegation, the main task of such a conference is to pave the way toward new relations in international economic and trade co-operation among States with different social systems and different levels of economic development, and to elaborate the basic principles of such co-operation. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should adopt positive decisions on such important questions as the elimination of discriminatory policies in trade carried out by exclusive groupings, the setting-up of a world trade organization covering all States without exception, and the expansion of economic co-operation and trade on the basis of principles of equality and mutual benefit. We are convinced that trade relations based on such principles will create favourable conditions for bettering the general international situation.

106. Nearly two decades have elapsed since the foundation of the United Nations. Since then considerable changes have taken place in the world, including

changes in the correlation of political forces in the international arena. The United Nations membership has grown from the initial fifty-one States to 111. The increasing influx of newly independent nations of Asia and Africa into this Organization and the widening of the ranks of socialist States in it could not but exert a favourable influence on the character of its entire activities.

107. The true picture of today's world and the principles and objectives of the Charter, which defines this Organization as a principal instrument for preserving universal peace, demand that the work of the United Nations should become more effective and more fruitful. To meet these demands the United Nations should become truly universal and the structure of its main bodies should correspond to the present realities. Nevertheless an abnormal situation still continues to exist in the United Nations.

108. The legitimate right of the People's Republic of China—one of the founding Members of this Organization and a permanent member of the Security Council—has not been restored, because of the discriminatory and improvident policy of some Western countries. This abnormal situation is damaging the prestige of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its work.

109. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic demands that an end be put to this policy of discrimination against the great Chinese people. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, as before, insists that the seat of China in the United Nations be taken solely by the representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Chiang Kai-shek clique, entrenched on the island of Taiwan, an integral part of the territory of the Chinese People's Republic, represents no one. It does not have the right to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations, and its representatives should be immediately removed from all United Nations bodies.

110. The Mongolian delegation fully shares the opinion of the representatives of the African-Asian countries regarding the necessity for changing the structure of some United Nations bodies, considering it, as we do, a measure properly responsive to the realities of today. We must note with regret, however, that one act of violation of justice gives rise to a new injustice. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has become, ironically, one of the obstacles blocking an adequate representation of newly independent States in the main organs of the United Nations.

111. Any alteration in the essential structure of the main organs in the United Nations, as would be required by an enlargement in the number of its constituent elements, necessarily involves a review of the Charter. In the opinion of my delegation, discussion of this question without the participation of the People's Republic of China—a permanent member of the Security Council—constitutes violation of the Charter itself. On the other hand, we consider pertinent and feasible the proposal to redistribute present seats in some principal organs of the United Nations according to the main geographical regions in order to secure thereby adequate representation.

112. The Mongolian people, who are engaged on peaceful constructive labours for the accomplishment of the socialist building of their country, value peace and friendship among peoples and are in favour of the developing and expanding of friendly co-operation with

all nations in the spirit of the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter. Our nation is deeply convinced that peoples throughout the world, uniting their common efforts, will attain peace and protect it from any encroachments.

113. My delegation assures the Assembly that our people, whose ideal is peace—peace without either words or weapons of war—will spare no effort to support any activities of the United Nations which have for their end and aim the consolidating of world peace and security among peoples.

114. Mr. ZEA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Colombia, and the delegation which represents it, are particularly gratified by your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We feel proud that our proceedings will be directed by a son of Venezuela, a country with which, needless to say, we have fostered a brotherly friendship rooted in the past and in our common devotion to our founder and liberator, Simón Bolívar, which with the passage of time will grow ever stronger and will inevitably ensure the prosperity of two sister peoples in a future that will, we know, be a glorious one. Mr. President, please accept our Government's warmest congratulations.

115. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to offer a cordial greeting to the representatives of the countries of the world seated here. I hope that they will convey to their respective Governments, the admiring tribute which Colombia pays to all their peoples and our good wishes for their progress and happiness.

116. Despite the gloomy predictions made by many, the world Organization is today stronger and more self-confident. It may be said that, now that the first stages are past, it has got strongly under way and there is daily less possibility of its collapse or attenuation. Its influence on relations between peoples is undeniable. The admission of newly independent countries has injected new blood in its veins. Its existence today is protected by the affection of all nations which place their trust in it as vital to their own survival and which, above all, believe in the immortal principles set forth in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A body founded upon so lofty a doctrine, upon such high philosophical principles, can scarcely die. If that should happen, in the age in which we live, mankind itself, or at least its culture and civilization developed over thousands of years, would surely die with it.

117. Those who lack confidence in the Organization's work do not fully appreciate the magnitude of its achievements. It has been in existence for eighteen years, and already the percentage of mankind not represented here, not claiming its rights, achieving its aspirations and asserting its interests in a profound feeling of equality, is very small. The gravest crises of international politics, many of which could plunge us into a new world conflagration, have here been resolved. Technical assistance; economic aid; contributions to the spiritual development of peoples; exchanges of ideas between the leaders of the international community—all this has been of the greatest benefit to this generation and has brought to the world such progress as was never dreamt of in the past. Therefore we must feel gratified and optimistic. But it would be unjust not to pay a well-deserved tribute to those who have directed the administrative work of this Organization; to the members of the Secretariat at all times, and in particular, with special gratitude, to our distinguished

Secretary-General, U Thant, whose actions have fully justified the confidence placed in him by the Assembly when it appointed him to a position of such grave responsibility.

118. Yet the achievements of the world Organization thus far offer it no release from the challenge it faces daily in the enormous tasks which lie before it. There is more, much more, and every day there will be still more, to do than has already been done. In the evolution of man, throughout his stormy history, more has been achieved, and is still being achieved, by dint of a gigantic struggle against the most adverse circumstances. The important thing, however, is to have shown that there exists the will to overcome any obstacles and the moral and intellectual capacity to succeed. We must, of course, consider what tools we have at hand for the tasks of the future and must determine the defects in our Organization in order to correct them. Steps have been taken in that direction and we must persevere with them, despite the difficulties facing us in this vital task.

119. There is perhaps no Member State which does not consider a reform of the United Nations Charter desirable or necessary. Some may be undecided as to the timing, but the fact is that there are points of substance which should be amended and others which, although procedural, are equally important and therefore should also be amended. Even at San Francisco, for instance, several of the countries which helped to found the United Nations, including Colombia, had comments to make on the privileged power of veto granted to the victorious Powers—that is, to the five permanent members of the Security Council. The misgivings they expressed at that time have been confirmed many times over. Some day, the General Assembly will have to abolish this system, which is contrary to the most elementary principles of juridical equality and international democracy. We ourselves realize, however, that this would not be possible while we live in such an atmosphere of distrust and tension as has filled our lungs for over a decade, all through this period of cold war. We realize, too that in this environment of mutual fear and mutual mistrust the United Nations, without the veto system, might many times have begun to disintegrate. The desire now is that this atmosphere may be lightened, that in the future it may be more propitious to a judicial reform, that mistrust may be dispelled, and that we may reach a profitable agreement on this question.

120. There is one amendment, however, which should not give rise to any major controversy and which is necessary from every standpoint. My delegation wishes here and now to support the recommendation made by both the Security Council and the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter that the number of seats in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council should be increased, in order to give adequate representation on those bodies to all geographical regions. In our opinion, this reform should be considered and, we hope, approved at this session, in accordance with the terms of Article 108 of the Charter. My delegation hopes, that, if we confine ourselves to the simple goal of adjusting the composition of those organs to constant growth of the Organization, those Members which have shown reluctance, not because of the substance of the reform but on purely circumstantial grounds, will set aside their reasons in a spirit of understanding and join in with a will to settle a problem that cannot be postponed without an inexcusable

lack of fairness to the African States, which constitute a very large proportion of this Assembly.

121. Colombia gladly signed the recent Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water [see A/5488]. Humanity, with some exceptions which can be explained but not excused, greeted this long-desired and hard-won achievement with delight. The statesmen who concluded it were united in declaring that this agreement is, or could be, but the beginning of other more important steps to end international tension and the so-called cold war. The world trusts that this may be so. Those in whose hands the destiny of the human race lies will bear a grave responsibility before history if they fail now and betray this anguished and earnest hope. However, the circumstances under which this agreement was signed, the statements in which it was announced to the world at large and the original moves which led to its preparation, all encourage optimism. May it not prove illusory!

122. After tremendous efforts had been made by the United Nations, and by the Eighteen-Nation Committee which met at Geneva to consider general and complete disarmament, for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests; after humanity had been stricken with terror by the accumulation of the weapons of annihilation in the arsenals of the Powers and exposed to the lethal effects of radio-active pollution of the atmosphere and to the aggressiveness which in recent years has characterized relations between the socialist and capitalist worlds, there came a voice, the voice of the leader of the most powerful group in the history of man, President Kennedy, calling eloquently and solemnly for peace in one of the most important documents of recent years—the speech given at American University, Washington, on 10 June 1963. There, he announced the agreement with the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, and the Head of the United Kingdom Government, Mr. Macmillan, for the initiation of high-level talks in Moscow with a view to producing this Treaty. The talks later came to a successful conclusion. The significance, the transcendent importance of the agreement flows from that historic message, which at the time was probably not recognized as having the import which we now perceive and acclaim.

123. We are trying to achieve peace, to consolidate peace, to preserve peace, and to make peace fruitful. The Moscow Treaty, which offers such hopeful prospects for this great endeavour, must in the world of today lead to demonstration of rapprochement and understanding which will for ever abolish mistrust, soften the harsh language of war, and replace fears and misgivings by security and confidence. To achieve this we must start, as President Kennedy said, by reviewing our positions, by looking into our consciences to see whether we, who have enrolled on one side against the other, are really keepers of the truth or whether we may be to some extent swayed by error. We have to clear our minds; in short, we have to seek and find a true understanding. If we can do that, all the happiness that we desire for mankind will one day be possible.

124. But if that is to be, we cannot be satisfied merely with peaceful coexistence. Life in a disarmed world will require not only coexistence, but genuine living together. Peaceful coexistence, as it has been understood and practised, has meant an armed peace, violence in word and deed, and underground warfare. As long as we think that only our own systems of gov-

ernment and ways of life are good and others evil, there will always be a desire on both sides to destroy what is considered bad. The communist leaders loathe capitalism; they see in it the root of all human afflictions, of slavery, of the keeping of great masses of people in despair and ignorance, and they want a different life, modelled on their systems and their philosophy. For many in the West, on the other hand, communism is something oninous, reprobate, and profoundly disturbing—the blind force of materialism challenging the forces of the spirit. If the two sectors of humanity continue in these entrenched positions, annihilation will one day be inevitable. What we vitally need is a brain-washing, a review of such attitudes, a quest for their replacement, in the minds of political and cultural leaders all over the world, by a sober and analytical outlook. Peaceful coexistence among nations must be transformed into harmonious and constructive living together.

125. Within the two systems—which some people regard as irreconcilable—there are, we know, powerful trends distorting their essential patterns and driving them closer together. I refer to the spread of some forms of socialism in the capitalist countries and the unquenchable thirst for freedom in the communist countries. This is an indisputable fact in the world of today. In each camp there are fanatics and reactionaries who strive in vain to arrest those trends. Why not, then, take from the two systems whatever is best suited to the needs of contemporary society and to man's spiritual being?

126. There are many difficulties in the way, however. Marxist orthodoxy considers "revisionism"—that is to say, the mere possibility that its own leaders might undertake a review of its doctrine—as the greatest threat to the future of communism in the world. Errors of procedure can be, and are, accepted by the communist leaders, but errors of basic principle, never. Any public, or even private, debate on Marxist philosophy is impossible in the so-called socialist countries, and anyone who disagrees with the communist hierarchy, whose duty it is to explain and interpret that philosophy, or who even ventures to suggest some modification or improvement, stands condemned by the whole system. There have been many cases of persons imprisoned, exiled or executed simply because they spoke the truth as they saw it. Something similar occurs in the Western camps, though with less rigour, severity or cruelty. In some Western countries, intellectual freedom and the expression of certain ideas are even now curtailed, and anti-communist propaganda is often laced with exaggerations or misrepresentations that are not easily dispelled or refuted. History has shown that totalitarianism of the right is as ruthless as communism in its repressive methods.

127. Nevertheless, fact and truth are inexorably coming to light. The emergence of the masses into community life, the growing needs of great aggregations of people, and the obligation to satisfy those needs, have led to rapid advances by the State and to ever-increasing subordination of purely private or group interests to the overriding public interest. Thus the "gendarme" State has become the welfare State; untrammelled freedom has given way to intervention in private affairs and finally to socialism, which has gradually prevailed in the constitutional reforms of many States now called democratic. Probably no one in the non-socialist countries could now oppose what used to be the banner of communist parties, namely, the need to end the exploitation of man by man, to give everyone

a fair and decent share of the national income, to extend wealth to areas which had never known it hitherto, to do away with privilege, and to consider vain any democratic system which has not eliminated inequalities due to economic chance and in which wealth confers power, the workers are not protected from oppression of every kind, and human beings cannot assert their rights and their demands for a life of endeavour without heart-break.

128. While this is taking place in the free world, however, the yearning for freedom is quietly spreading in the communist countries. The tremendous errors of communism, and the fact that they could not be rectified when they should have been, could not but open the eyes of thousands of men and women who, after all, are not sheep incapable of realizing their disastrous plight. Those who are shut away behind the Berlin wall, men who have lived under the blind rule of freedom enchained, understand that there can be no decent, happy society unless the right of dissent, the right to criticize and even depose the rulers, the right to express ideas openly and to defend them without the slightest fear for personal safety, are guaranteed.

129. That force which wells up from the depths of the being will one day have to find expression, before it erupts and sweeps away the orthodox leaders of communism, the enemies of reform; people with open minds must emerge to channel that force, to soften its impact, to open sealed doors, to let in currents from outside. Little by little the Berlin wall, that symbol of a closed society, will crumble. Just as in the democratic world today crude individualism has been buried and replaced by new notions of society, so in the communist world the aspirations of the masses for economic betterment, national independence, and material and intellectual freedom cannot be suppressed indefinitely, much less transformed into conscious acquiescence.

130. At this session, as at previous ones, the most important debates of the General Assembly will be on disarmament, which is now being discussed with renewed optimism. If, as the world believes and hopes, the great Powers are sincere in their desire to modify their stand on international problems, this is the time and place to prove it. The efforts made by the United Nations, both in its ordinary committees and at the Geneva Conference, have succeeded to a certain degree in reducing the great differences between the draft treaties for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world, submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union. Our delegation will put forward its views on the current situation in the appropriate Committee, and for the moment I would simply express our ardent desire that substantial progress may be achieved this year as a consequence of the Moscow agreement. The world cannot now or ever feel confident or at ease, so long as huge arsenals are being continually built up and refined. Disarmament is a complex process, because it must take into account the defence requirements of States; and in the planning of the various stages and phases of disarmament, fear and mistrust can open up unbridgeable gulfs. But if there is a determination to achieve it some day, there will be no difficulties that human ingenuity cannot overcome in a manner satisfactory to all.

131. However, the great Powers, which manufacture arms, supply them to their allies, and store them in arsenals of their own already full to overflowing, can and must make a start now in cutting back this ominous

output, or at least they should stop flooding the world with such dreadful destructive power. What need of arms have the developing countries? What they do need, urgently, is machinery and equipment, ploughs and tools, means of transport. To acquire all those things with the resources at their disposal is practically impossible; yet it is relatively easy to obtain arms because of ample stocks and over-production, and because they often grow obsolete in their vast storage depots. Why cannot the great Powers resolve, by agreement among themselves, to suspend deliveries of arms and all military aid, and to make them available only for defensive action in cases of flagrant aggression?

132. Arms deliveries to countries that are not at war with their neighbours, and are not even threatened in any way, often serve merely to keep undesirable Governments in power against the will of the people. This has happened in the past and it is happening now. Latin America has experienced such an unwarranted state of affairs time and again. This means that arms manufactured in good faith for the defence of world freedom have many times been used to suppress freedom, to subjugate and victimize peoples. There are more powerful and convincing weapons which Governments can use to retain power—their achievements in the social field, and efficient and disinterested service to the governed. Of course, there are legitimate, democratic and progressive Governments which yet have to combat forces of disorder and which undoubtedly must be given the policing instruments they need to protect their institutions; but that does not mean that they need to have a formidable war machine, ready to go into action at the slightest sign of dissent. It should be a vital concern of the great Powers—and a very potent factor in safeguarding peace—to exercise care in the distribution of arms, to scrutinize most carefully every situation where change is sought through the use of arms, and to be certain that the arms supplied will never be used to satisfy a gross lust for domination and against unarmed masses of people.

133. A very important part of the disarmament problem is the question of the denuclearization of various geographical regions. The General Assembly has already taken such action with regard to the continent of Africa, and since last year the United Nations has been studying the Brazilian proposal, later supported by Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador, that Latin America should also be declared a denuclearized zone. Since the Brazilian proposal was submitted, the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico, in a letter to the other Heads of State of the continent, have invited them to conclude a treaty to ban nuclear weapons in Latin America. The matter will be considered at the current session and will no doubt receive the greatest attention and consideration by delegations.

134. Without prejudice to my delegation's right to express its views in greater detail at the appropriate time, I should like to say briefly, in anticipation, what the position of my Government is on the subject.

135. First of all, my Government thinks that the lofty humanitarian spirit which prompted these proposals should be stressed and applauded. My Government agrees that the adoption of defence measures and the reduction of the threat of nuclear weapons is the most pressing need of the world today.

136. There are two aspects of this question to be considered: first, the General Assembly's wish to recognize Latin America as a denuclearized zone and, consequently, its recommendation to the Latin American

nations to reach an agreement on that point; secondly, the drafting of the treaty itself which, as the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs said here, is the objective of the statement by the five Heads of State already mentioned.

137. Inasmuch as peace is today an indivisible concept linking all the peoples of the international community, it is most logical that declarations of this kind should be conceived and brought forth in the United Nations. It would be desirable, however, to conclude an agreement covering all regions of the globe, since the use of nuclear weapons in one region would inevitably affect the whole face of the world, and it would be even more desirable that it should be accepted by the nuclear Powers themselves.

138. As regards the drafting of a treaty between the Latin American nations, my Government considers that the general policies of our continent should reflect not only Latin American feelings, but also a common political purpose. These policies have not been devised in isolation, but are based on legal precepts binding also upon the United States of America—as, for example, those of the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro. It would not be possible, therefore, to promote a continental defence policy or to conclude new agreements on the subject without the participation of all States solemnly bound by this defensive alliance. It would be curious, to say the least, and perhaps futile to boot, for the Latin American nations to enter into an agreement in the absence of the one country which is non-Latin but which alone possesses the object of the proposed ban—nuclear weapons.

139. As Colombia has been a member of the Economic and Social Council since 1962, it has had a special opportunity to participate in United Nations economic development activities. Our desire to play our part in the Council is evidence of the importance my Government attaches to the urgency of improving the deplorable conditions of great masses of humanity in our continent and of ensuring that all countries attain economic levels now enjoyed by only a few. As has already been said here, the economic advancement of the underdeveloped areas is now the primary objective of the United Nations, so that the most glaring and serious factor of unrest in the world, human despair, may be eliminated. Without accelerated economic advancement in those areas it would be very difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to ensure peace. Despite the great effort being made to find solutions to the formidable economic problems of the day, it must be acknowledged that thus far the outlook is discouraging. In spite of so many expert groups, so many agencies for economic co-operation, such splendid advances in science and technology, so many studies and surveys, such mountains of documentation on development, the world economic situation has not improved, because the gap between the wealthy countries and the countries with low per capita incomes, instead of narrowing, has been widening year after year. Unless the developed countries resolve to contribute decisively, and with a high sense of solidarity, to solutions capable of immediate application, all the theoretical plans we make here will be of no avail.

140. Among the most significant methods devised by the world Organization in its efforts to achieve economic equilibrium, there are two to which my Government has wished to devote preferential attention: one is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to be held in Geneva in the spring of

1964, and the other is that concerned with the promotion of industrialization. We have no hesitation in asserting that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development must, and can, be the most important international event of this decade. The whole world already realizes that it is essential that a "new international trade and development policy", as is stated in resolution 963 (XXXVI) unanimously approved by the Economic and Social Council, should be adopted and accepted by all nations. A revolution in this field is an imperative necessity of the times. The developing countries can no longer submit to the tremendous injustice brought about by the progressive deterioration of their terms of trade. The low incomes of the developing countries have delayed the implementation of their programmes, and international financial aid, when it does materialize, is not even sufficient to make up for the heavy losses which that deterioration constantly entails. The conditions of international trade must undergo a fundamental change and the time has come for the industrialized countries that have achieved a high degree of development to realize that the economic imbalance between different countries is the outstanding problem of the hour and that its prolongation will entail the most serious dangers for them too. Colombia hopes that the Conference on Trade and Development will lay solid foundations for a new relationship between the nations, for a system of true, constructive, creative and fruitful international co-operation, which will indubitably involve great sacrifices for some but will in the final analysis be of tremendous benefit to all.

141. It must also be admitted that the imperative need of the developing countries for industrialization has not aroused an adequate response in the United Nations. Some countries, including Colombia, have consistently advocated the establishment of a specialized agency for industrial development, but that project has not found support among many delegations. Nevertheless, the Advisory Committee of Experts established pursuant to Economic and Social Council resolution 873 (XXXIII) has proposed the creation of a United Nations Industrial Development Agency, an idea which has reconciled the conflicting points of view. We consider that this proposal represents a satisfactory compromise and we are therefore prepared to support it. It is undeniable that the United Nations will have to intensify its activities in the field of industrialization, as it has already done, for example, in the fields of education, agriculture and health.

142. It is obvious, too, that if the objectives proclaimed in the resolutions on the United Nations Development Decade are to be attained, new and bold measures will be required to increase the capital available for the development programmes of the low-income countries. For that reason, my delegation considers that there is an urgent need for the establishment of a United Nations Capital Development Fund, or at least, as a compromise measure, for an immediate increase in the resources of the Special Fund, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee concerned. In this connexion we welcome the increase in the capital of the International Development Association which according to the announcement made yesterday in Washington by the Chairman of the Association, has just been decided upon.

143. Colombia has constantly and emphatically proclaimed its anti-colonialist position and it is therefore glad to see the great work the United Nations is carrying out in this field. We could hardly fail to recall that

our own independence was described as premature by leading statesmen at that time and it may be that this view is still held despite our century and a half of self-government and our consistent adherence to a political system with profound philosophical roots. Consequently, we do not believe that lack of preparation of a people for independence can be a valid argument for delaying the recognition of their intrinsic right to manage their own affairs. Nor do we accept the theory that possessions in distant continents, having ethnically distinct populations, and which are held under no legal title save the right of occupation or of conquest—the latter often accompanied by bloodshed—can be deemed to form an integral part of a territory for purposes of nationality and submission to sovereign authority. We consider that the United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which Colombia supported wholeheartedly, in full awareness of its purposes and its scope, should be applied immediately and unconditionally. In our own continent we have problems of this type which we trust will be satisfactorily settled in the near future. It is accordingly our hope that all peoples may have complete freedom to choose their own leaders and the type of government that suits them best. We consider it inadmissible for any other State to attempt for any reason whatsoever to exercise control over peoples and territories that have just become independent, and that only the United Nations could be justified in intervening in certain countries in order to restore law and order when circumstances clearly make this imperative. We reject so-called neo-colonialism, that is to say, the enforcement on ideological grounds of certain ways of life or systems of government against or in the absence of the clearly expressed will of the people. In our view, colonialism imposed for economic purposes is just as odious as colonialism imposed for purely political reasons.

144. We must also express our satisfaction that the widespread efforts being made to put an end once and for all to the abominable practice of racial discrimination are making appreciable headway, and it is only fitting to acknowledge the determination with which the United States Government has confronted this problem in order to bring the realities of present-day life in its country into line with the concepts that shaped its emergence as an egalitarian State, with the precepts of such great American statesmen as Jefferson and Lincoln and with its status as a leader in the struggle now being waged for freedom.

145. We could never tolerate acts of State which by the use of force impose the will of minorities, purely on account of the colour of their skin, thereby denying the inalienable rights of their fellow-men whom they deem to be inferior. We have never accepted such discrimination and we respect all human beings whatever their colour or origin. Nor could we conceal our disapproval of the acts of discrimination and religious persecution which the world is witnessing in an important region of Asia. All these are forms of backwardness, of spiritual blindness and of barbarity which are inconsistent with either cultural enlightenment or scientific progress. My country hopes that the United Nations will take vigorous action to condemn such outbreaks and to suggest effective remedies at the appropriate time.

146. The public conscience appears to be profoundly aware of the need for substantial changes in the political, economic and social structure of the Latin American nations. In recent years it has become

almost a commonplace for statesmen and commentators in our continent to invoke revolution as the sole means of achieving the level of development that our peoples are urgently demanding. The only point on which there has been disagreement is the procedure to be followed. Can the desired objectives be attained within a reasonable time by a process of gradual evolution, or would it be necessary, at least in certain places, suddenly to cast aside all the long-established forms of servitude that have been perpetuated in a feudal type of organization? The efforts to improve the situation made by the Governments and peoples of Latin America, with international assistance, cannot be overlooked. Unfortunately, however, the problems are of such magnitude that the means available always fall short of the minimum requirements. Yet there is no doubt that the ills of our continent cannot be cured by economic means alone, not even with outside assistance however great that assistance may be—and it is far from being so. Its great afflictions can, in the last analysis, be remedied with international assistance, but thanks also to the will, the resolution, the persevering efforts and the mutual co-operation of the Latin American peoples themselves.

147. In any event, we find ourselves at the outset of a process of transformation which is already characterized by certain distinct features. The poorer classes, the professional men, the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle classes all suffer from the effects of economic backwardness, and in their precarious political situation are resolutely trying, either overtly or covertly, to find a way out of their sad plight. That way, however, will assuredly not be the one that led to such tragic consequences in the Caribbean area when the victorious revolution betrayed its initial ideals. Indeed, the chorus of admiration and enthusiasm which the achievements of the Cuban rebels excited in our countries, and the hatred and resentment that the tyrannical practices aroused among our masses could have given rise to movements designed to bring about through a fundamental change the improvements which had been vainly awaited for so many years. It is certain, however, that the initial admiration and enthusiasm gave way first to mistrust, and then to disapproval and utter rejection, when it was seen how that revolution was diverted towards the brutal suppression of freedom and the introduction of bloodthirsty totalitarian methods. Faced with the danger or prospect of falling a prey to the same treatment, the peoples of Latin America reacted vigorously and will continue to do so. As the Foreign Minister of Brazil stated in this Hall, freedom is the one thing on which we cannot compromise. Any attempt to curtail freedom by imposing a single-party system or the practices of contemporary Marxism is utterly futile. Those who advocate such a course, that is to say, the members of the Communist parties of our hemisphere, represent only tiny minorities in our countries and have never carried any appreciable weight in elections, as has been made evident even in the most purely liberal circles.

148. It is even less likely that they will achieve their aims by resorting to the criminal acts of terrorist bands, whether acting on their own account or supported and directed from outside. Apart from the destruction, death, cruelty and horror brought about by their sinister activities, they are doomed to total failure. Such at least is the position in my country and I think it is the same in other Latin American countries. As far as Colombia is concerned, I can state that their activ-

ities do not dismay us and that our Government and people are determined to preserve their freedom, democratic traditions, legality and peace.

149. On the other hand, we realize that the ancient moulds must be broken and that is why reforms are under way in some of our countries. We welcome the step taken by Costa Rica in proposing the study of agrarian reform as an item on the agenda of the General Assembly. Very few people would today dispute the fact that the misery and poverty afflicting large sections of humanity in various parts of our continent are the result of the antiquated and inadequate agrarian structure and the existence of a system of land tenure tantamount to serfdom, with its unexploited latifundia and unproductive smallholdings.

150. There is an encouraging similarity in the way the Latin American Governments assess the problems of their peoples and the measures required to solve them successfully. This is the task on which they are concentrating. They are also counting on the advantages to be derived from a great hemispheric enterprise, which we are convinced will not fail although its initial stages have been beset by difficulties. All this, however, is dependent on the preservation of the democratic character with which the Inter-American system was originally conceived and which it must retain. There is an urgent need, too, for vigorous and united efforts to be made to prevent the recurrence of the coups d'état, which openly conflict with that system and are a source of alarm and shame to our region.

151. Colombia comes to these meetings imbued with the same spirit of brotherhood that has always inspired it in this world forum. I do not think that I need recapitulate the principles of international law which have shaped its juridical traditions. Long before the noble doctrine enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was formulated, Colombia had brought its international conduct into line with these principles. Today we restate those principles, in the conviction that if the spirit of optimism and good fortune that has marked the opening of this eighteenth session should spread to the rest of the world, spurred on by the stimulating words of Mr. Kennedy, the President of the United States, and of Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and if man's mentality should change to the extent of making him place the interests of his own species above the lesser interests of each nation, that would do more to preserve peace on this earth in the years to come than would the destruction of the atomic arsenals.

152. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We have exhausted the list of speakers in the general debate at this afternoon's meeting.

153. I shall now give the floor to those representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply.

154. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): Mr. President, I apologize to you and to the Members of the Assembly for taking some of their precious time in exercising my right to reply, but after the statement made this afternoon by the representative of Mongolia, it is my duty to make certain comments.

155. We were surprised, and indeed pained, to hear the representative of Mongolia refer to a question that falls exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of Iraq. We were surprised because the Mongolian Government had illegally sought to inscribe this question in the

agenda of the present session, but then decided to withdraw its request. It was our feeling that this withdrawal was motivated by the realization that the attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq was both unwarranted and contrary to the United Nations Charter. It must have been clear to the representative of Mongolia that the initiative of his Government, which met with opposition from all sides in this House, was ill-conceived and its motives highly suspect.

156. In fact, there was near-unanimous support for the position of Iraq, a country which has loyally cooperated with other Members of the United Nations to further the ideals of freedom, particularly in the efforts of this Organization in the vital field of decolonization. Out of respect to you, Mr. President, we did not insist on raising a point of order regarding the statement made by the representative of Mongolia this afternoon because, in our view, his statement was completely out of order since it referred to a question that is exclusively of an internal character.

157. The accusation of genocide hurled against the people and Government of Iraq is entirely false and unfounded. Military operations of a very limited scale, which are almost over now, had to be conducted against a traitorous group of rebels which had as its aim the destruction of the Iraqi State and the flouting of its national independence and territorial integrity. The overwhelming majority of the Iraqis who speak Kurdish support the Government, and many of them have played a major role in the operations against this traitorous group. It was our hope that Mongolia's withdrawal of this spurious and fictitious item was due to its realization of the injustice of its wild accusations and the desire to soften the effect of its act of unwarranted hostility towards Iraq. However, his statement today, unfortunately, has shown a persistence in the wrong and a maintenance of this manifestation of hostility towards Iraq and the Arab nation but, I should say, towards our numerous friends in Asia and Africa who resented this undue interference in the affairs of our country. The meaning of such persistence will not be lost upon our people.

158. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (translated from French): In his statement the representative of Mongolia mentioned military and political alliance between Japan and the Republic of Korea and in other parts of his statement he referred to the possible opening of Japanese ports to Polaris submarines and the presence of American nuclear-weapon-carrying aircraft in bases on our territory.

159. We have repeatedly stated that we shall not accept the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan. This accusation is not only ridiculous but entirely unfounded, and does not even call for a denial on our part.

160. On the subject of Korea, we are conducting talks for the purpose of achieving normal relations with that country after its accession to independence. These negotiations have no connexion with any military and political alliance such as the representative of Mongolia mentioned. Furthermore, I am sure that the representative of Mongolia is aware of the fact that the Government of the Republic of Korea is the only authority recognized by the United Nations.

161. I trust that this simple explanation is sufficient to dispel any misunderstanding. Nevertheless, I should like to reserve my delegation's right of reply if it should prove necessary to reply after we have read the text of the Mongolian representative's statement carefully.

162. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): I am really sorry to mount this rostrum for the second time so soon after making my main intervention at this session, but I am compelled to do that.

163. The representative of Iraq in his remarks tries to represent the position taken by my Government on the Kurdish question in quite a wrong manner. I regret that. He alleged that we are interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq, and then asserted that no genocide is being exercised by Iraq. I state here once again that genocide is not a matter of the internal affairs of a country. This is a grave crime against humanity which

was condemned by this Organization as early as 1948. Further, my delegation will try to substantiate its statement to the effect that Iraqi authorities are exercising genocide in that country. But I am not going to take any more of the Assembly's precious time at this late hour. I reserve my delegation's right to reply to the remarks made by the representative of Iraq at another time when we deem it proper.

164. My delegation also reserves its right to answer the remarks made by the representative of Japan.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.