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

AGENDA ITEM 9

*General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. PONNAMBALAM (Ceylon): History records and demonstrates that, whilst rulers and governments may have been concerned and preoccupied with the extension of national boundaries and have been ready to have recourse to war as an instrument and means of expanding their power, mankind on the other hand, both collectively and individually, in all territories and all climes, has been wedded to the idea of peace. This was manifested after the First World War with the desire to form a collective comity of nations as a means by which war could be outlawed. It was a singular historical irony that the illustrious author of the concept behind the League of Nations could not persuade his own country's legislature actively to participate in the work of the League. It was an even greater irony that the League became, in the ensuing years, a cul-de-sac of good intentions. And in the world at large, the collective will for peace had not yet gathered sufficient momentum or strength to prevent an even more devastating world conflict. On the termination of the Second World War, however, the war-weary peoples of the world manifested a determination to fashion an organization to put an end to war as an instrument for the solution of international problems. This collective will of the peoples for peace was given coherent shape by the founding fathers of the United Nations when they fashioned an organization that would, by means of negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration, prevent international conflicts and differences from reaching the point of war.

2. I venture to think, however, that the most optimistic of the founders of the United Nations could hardly have visualized in 1945 that the body that they were then creating could, in the course of the ensuing twenty years, not only prevent regional conflicts from escalating into global wars, but also extend the areas of freedom and national sovereignty to a very large number of subject nations, so as to enable them to become active advocates of a stable world order.

3. One is, of course, conscious of the fact that there is a certain degree of disappointment, amounting in some cases even to disillusionment, that this Organization has not achieved more than it actually has. But even its severest critics must, on sober reflection, concede for it a not unenviable record of achievement in both the political and economic spheres of activity.

4. To the vast majority, if not all, of the smaller and recently independent nations of the world, this Organization is the repository of the ultimate hopes of their salvation and survival. If I may strike an individual note, I am proud to be able to state that I stand here representing the only one of the newly independent countries which has been able, by the free exercise of the free votes of a free people wedded to a democratic way of life, to change its Governments on two occasions within the last ten years, and still remain pledged to uphold the principles of the Charter of this Organization. We have little or no differences with our neighbours, and what differences there are we have always sought to resolve by friendly negotiations. I am happy to state that, in the assertion of our independence, we have assiduously refrained from entering into any regional or other alliances as a means of ensuring our national security and territorial integrity. We look to you, fellow Member States, collectively, to assure us of both and to ensure that degree of international stability which alone will enable all nations to reach fulfilment. It is my fervent hope that in the not too distant future, every country will actively eschew alliances, particularly of a military nature, in the supreme confidence that this world assembly will render such alliances not merely superfluous but actually meaningless.

5. How then is this Organization to be fashioned and its machinery to be strengthened to make it the ultimate and potent instrument for the establishment of a civilized world order? Here I would venture to suggest that, whilst the existing machinery for negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration is further built up and reinforced, the Member States of this body should manifest their determined and collective will for peace by investing the Organization with such further powers as will prevent any two countries from even contemplating a resort to arms as a possible means of resolving their disputes. It would be my submission that for the achievement of this objective an emergency force, got together in haste, ad hoc, and after the occurrence of an event in some part of the world which calls for the active intervention of the United Nations, will not suffice.

6. In this context, I feel sure that all of us will welcome the definitive steps taken by the Canadian Government, and announced by its distinguished

Foreign Minister, and similar steps taken by the Scandinavian and other countries. But what I contemplate, and would like to commend to Member States, is the creation of an integrated standing force to which every Member State, regardless of its size, importance, strength or affluence, would contribute in men and material, to be placed at the exclusive disposal and command of the United Nations. To ensure avoidance of any criticism or misgiving that the larger countries are likely to exercise an undue influence, care may be taken that no major Power either is over-represented by the extent of its military participation or has a preponderant voice by reason of its financial contribution. It is my earnest hope that every small and medium-sized country will, without exception, actively contribute and participate in this venture, and that all medium-sized countries will not hesitate to throw in their weight in ample measure. And, if my proposal, which I humbly tender, were to find ready and willing acceptance among fellow Member States, I should be happy to pledge the support of my Government as a token of our faith and earnestness.

7. One may well inquire, at this stage, what is to be the function of such a task force and when it should begin to operate. To this I would tentatively answer that the force would move in and interpose itself in an area where there was, in the view of the United Nations, a very grave and imminent danger of an armed conflict; and it would create the necessary conditions and climate for the peaceful resolution of the impending conflict by negotiation and/or mediation. An example of such a situation would be where there was a massing of troops along an international frontier by one country leading to a real apprehension on the part of the other country of an invasion. The force would also move in and interpose itself between the armies of two countries engaged in hostilities and bring about a separation of the combatants by the use, if necessary, of minimum coercive measures, and would thereafter create the conditions necessary for negotiation and/or mediation.

8. The entire civilized world has heaved a sigh of immeasurable relief that the two great nations of India and Pakistan have acceded to the demand of the United Nations to bring about a cease-fire. Had the demand for the cease-fire not been agreed to by the two States, it would be difficult to imagine the extent of the suffering of the peoples of the two countries during what would have been, in the circumstances, an inordinate delay before this Assembly could have decided upon the next step and gathered the wherewithal to take effective measures to enforce a cease-fire. May God forbid the recurrence of such an event in the foreseeable future, but if it were to happen, should not this Organization be fully prepared to intervene effectively and promptly on its own independent initiative?

9. In this context, I should not like to be understood directly or by implication as wanting to minimize what I consider to be the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council to preserve world peace. But I would respectfully like to observe that it should not remain their exclusive responsibility. It has been something of a tragedy that

the built-in weaknesses of the structure of the Security Council have made it difficult for it to act effectively on occasion for lack of unanimity. And, without attempting to detract from the powers and functions of that body, I should like to reassert that it is the inescapable duty of the General Assembly in the last resort, having regard to the near universality of its membership, to preserve world peace and a stable international order. It would be nothing short of a disaster if these two limbs of the United Nations, which were intended by the Charter to be complementary to one another, should become competing organs of the world Organization. Here, I should like to observe that I also feel that the crisis from which this body has recently emerged, by a display of statesmanship by all concerned, was not basically a crisis due to the distribution of the financial responsibilities involved in peace-keeping operations, but, in fact, a crisis involving the ultimate determination of the extent to which the international community is prepared actively to ensure the maintenance of world peace and the prevention of armed conflicts.

10. I conceive the activities of the United Nations for the achievement of the objectives of world peace broadly under two heads: peace-building, on the one hand, and peace-keeping and enforcement on the other.

11. I sincerely regret the necessity that has impelled me to place in the forefront of my observations the need for setting up machinery for peace-keeping and enforcement of the peace. Perhaps I have been influenced—consciously or unconsciously—by the state of international relations in the world today. My Government, however, attaches the deepest significance and importance to the peace-building activities of the United Nations. Here I would like to welcome the initiative taken by the United Kingdom in placing this matter on the agenda of this Assembly, and while, no doubt, we shall all benefit by the studies contemplated therein, a sense of urgency impels me to suggest that early steps should be taken to utilize machinery that is already available to the United Nations in this regard. When civilized society has come so readily to accept the observance of the rule of law as indispensable for the orderly and equitable conduct of national affairs, is it too much for this Assembly to set as its goal the evolution of a rule of international law to which Member States could have recourse for the governance of their relations with one another?

12. We have already available to us under the Charter, as a primary organ, the International Court of Justice, whose judgements are binding on parties who, by agreement, take their disputes before it. In order to achieve the growth of a body of international law adequate to meet current international problems, should we not devise ways of bringing justiciable disputes before that Court? Could we not persuade ourselves to increase the number of legal issues that we may agree to consider justiciable? Is it too much to expect, in this nuclear age, that our collective will for peace should enable us not only to accept as binding judgements in contentious litigation which have been referred to the Court, but also to elevate to the status of binding judicial decisions advisory opinions that have been sought from the Court? If, as

I earnestly hope, this suggestion of mine becomes acceptable to the vast majority of our fellow Member States, then one of the primary organs of this Organization would achieve its highest stature and become one of the most potent instruments in our armoury for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

13. Here, I should like to make a fervent appeal to the big and powerful nations, which so far either have not accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court or, in accepting it, have made such wide reservations as to render such acceptance almost nugatory, to accept compulsory jurisdiction without reserve in the highest interest of international goodwill, peace and solidarity. Such a move on their part, I feel confident, will find willing and ready response among some smaller nations which may have so far been luke-warm about accepting and acknowledging the authority of the Court, and I sincerely look forward to an international climate in the comparatively near future when the judicial settlement of international disputes will be considered the norm rather than the exception.

14. Another item of machinery that should be available to the United Nations for the furtherance of peace-building activities is a political task force which can step in and intervene even before a dispute has had time to crystallize into a justiciable one. Recent experience has shown that the United Nations has, happily, been successful in bringing about a cessation of hostilities and a cease-fire in a number of situations, but in most of these areas the United Nations has been unable to resolve the basic causes underlying the conflicts. It has had to content itself with the maintenance of a mission merely to enforce the continuance of the cease-fire. This, as recent history has shown, has led to a feeling of frustration and of disillusionment among the contending parties and a loss of faith among a large number of other nations that have looked forward to a final resolution of the causes of conflict in the areas of tension. It appears to me, therefore, that there should be made available to the United Nations, immediately, a body of distinguished and highly respected men of representative status and character who could, as a committee of the United Nations, move in to the area of conflict and there confer with the leaders and Governments of the contending parties, devise the best means of eliminating the causes of tension, and endeavour to negotiate a political settlement of the outstanding differences. Where such efforts succeeded, these would then be reported to the General Assembly or the Security Council as a final settlement of the dispute. In the event of any margin of difference which could not be resolved by agreement, this could be reported together with that, in the opinion of the committee, would be a just, fair and honourable settlement for adoption and enforcement by the United Nations. I should also venture to suggest that this political task committee could move into areas where political differences existed which might, even though not immediately, lead to hostilities. It could make observations, hold conferences, assess the nature and extent of the dispute; and devise means of a settlement between the contending parties. Here again, any margin of difference could be reported back with what, in their view, would be a fair and just settlement for enforcement.

15. A third means of strengthening the peace-building capacity of the United Nations, and its power and prestige, would be by further increasing its representative character by inviting into its fold countries like China and Indonesia. Our membership covers States with every type of political organization and every shade of political philosophy, and yet, on matters of universal interest like peace and the economic development of developing nations, the last twenty years have shown that it has not merely been desirable but actually possible for this heterogeneous group of countries, big and small, to get round a conference table and jointly try to solve these problems. In such a context I cannot resist the feeling that if China, with its teeming population of almost a sixth of the human race, covering a considerable part of the continent of Asia, is deliberately kept out of the councils of this international community and treated as an outlaw, it will tend to behave as one. If there is such a thing as the collective conscience of the world—and it will be readily conceded that there is—one must be prepared to invite the veriest outlaw to our conference table and treat him as one of us and persuade him to parley with us. In this way there can be hope that, in the fullness of time, if not in the near future, China may be convinced that in the larger interests of itself, if not of the international community, it will be better and easier for it to conform to a code of international conduct and observe the rule of international law.

16. Here I should like to state categorically that whilst we advocate the seating of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly, my Government and I disagree with a great deal of what the world has come to identify as its policies and techniques. Yet I venture to think that few or none of us would want to exclude it from this Assembly on that score alone, much as we may detest and abhor its views and aims as expressed by its Defence Minister, Marshal Lin Piao, and, more recently, by its Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Li. With our declared and universally accepted objective of total disarmament and the complete banning of nuclear weapons, the continued exclusion of China from the international community makes our whole objective unrealistic and its attainment impossible as long as China, in its isolation, is allowed with absolute impunity and with complete abandon to pursue its activities in this field.

17. We must also note with regret that Indonesia has thought fit to withdraw from membership of our Organization. It was only comparatively recently that it shed its colonial yoke, if I may say so, through the good offices of the United Nations itself. It is, therefore, more than unfortunate that it should have been impatient at the emergence of the Federation of Malaysia and decided unilaterally to adopt a policy of confrontation. The circumstances attendant on its withdrawal from this Assembly and the known support and encouragement it has received from China would, in my submission, be an added reason for an effort to be made to bring both China and Indonesia into the councils of the United Nations and effect a change from confrontation to conformation, and thus help to achieve the real universality of the membership of the United Nations.

18. The peace-building operations of the United Nations should not, I respectfully submit, be confined to the resolution of actual conflicts between States but extended to cover conflicts that are known to exist even within national boundaries, where large numbers of people, differing in some respects from the governing authority, are being subjected to what I may describe as barbarous and inhuman treatment, and are thus denied the conditions essential to reaching fulfilment. In this connexion, I feel that it is tragic that South Africa, a State Member of this Assembly, pledged to observe and honour the principles of the Charter, among whose objectives is the encouragement and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, is almost inexorably committed to a policy of racial discrimination, intolerance and oppression. What is worse is that its Government should openly flout the succession of resolutions and appeals of the United Nations. What is unfortunate here is that the authority, influence and prestige of the United Nations is being undermined, and this is affecting even the very foundations on which it rests. Appeals and resolutions have failed. Indeed, it would appear that South Africa has increased the tempo of its repressive policies. I should not like to suggest that the conditions are yet ripe for such a State to be excluded from this Organization, but I do feel that this world Assembly may, in this situation, take such action as would bring home to South Africa that it cannot conduct affairs, even within its own national boundaries, in such a way as to earn the eternal abhorrence and condemnation of world opinion.

19. The conduct of South Africa is regrettably serving as an example to the minority section now in command in Southern Rhodesia. I find that, with a very restricted franchise, the Prime Minister of that territory proposes unilaterally to declare his country's independence and has even taken a step towards asserting his intentions by exchanging so-called diplomatic representatives with Portugal, a country which has by no means an exemplary record in the pursuit of its colonial policy.

20. Whilst we note with pleasure that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has expressed his disapproval of the intentions and objectives of Mr. Smith and of his Government, I think that I am voicing the sentiments of a large majority of those States represented here if I venture to hope that he will bring the entire authority of Her Majesty's Government to bear in creating a Southern Rhodesia where the final arbiters of its destiny will be the permanent indigenous majority of that area.

21. I can hardly conclude the observations I have made on the political aspects of the functions of this Organization without referring to a matter of very grave concern, particularly to us in Asia, namely, Viet-Nam. Speaking as a Member of the community of nations dedicated to the preservation of international peace, and purely on this motivation, I should like to observe that the United States—however understandable its motives may be in regard to its commitments in Viet-Nam—may wish, as a first step, to reconsider its military commitments purely on the grounds that an increase in the scale of operations in this area would necessarily increase the terrible suffering

of the vast majority of the people of that unfortunate land. Their own views and loyalties appear to be somewhat indeterminate and nebulous. But the final political objective that must commend itself to most of us is the emergence of a healthy and indigenous national movement, independent of foreign arms and of foreign political support. One fears that the achievement of this objective may be compromised by a mere reliance on armed action from without; but here I must not be understood as either condoning or excusing the contribution in arms and material that China is reported to be making to extend the conflict. May I suggest in these circumstances that the United Nations should explore the possibilities of utilizing its machinery and resources to throw a gordon sanitaire round South Viet-Nam, thus insulating it from foreign pressures and helping the indigenous population to give expression to their true wishes and inclinations in regard to their future.

22. If, as we hope, political and cold-war problems which have accumulated in recent years tend to be solved in the near future by an increasing consciousness of the need for international solidarity and friendship as a basis for a stable world order, we feel that economic problems will in like measure have to receive the increasing attention of the United Nations. In any event I do sincerely feel that true international amity cannot ultimately be built on secure foundations except upon the basis of growing economic equality among the nations and peoples of the world. It is sad to contemplate that in an age of plenty and of spectacular scientific advance there is a growing inequality among the countries of the world. Half the population of this earth suffers from under-nutrition or malnutrition and an appreciable portion of its adult population is still totally illiterate. In this context, it is a terrible commentary on our times that the Governments of the world spend as much as \$14 million every hour on armaments.

23. In the effort to achieve equality, the under-developed nations not only start at a great disadvantage relative to the advanced countries, but have also to combat the problem of a rate of increase in population which is nearly twice that of the developed countries. The recent past has thus been characterized by a growing inequality and an increasing gap between the per capita incomes of the developing countries and those of the developed ones. The point is a simple arithmetical one, namely, that unless the rate of growth of the per capita income in developing countries substantially exceeds the per capita income of the developed countries, there is no prospect whatever of reducing international inequality and of arresting the spread internationally of those tensions with which we are familiar within national boundaries. And I do fear that if concerted action is not taken to remedy this imbalance the world may yet have to witness the confrontation of a small minority of well-to-do nations by a large majority of poor nations growing poorer.

24. The United Nations, conscious of its responsibility in the economic sphere, has adopted a relatively modest, and, one would have hoped, a realizable objective. It has designated the present decade as a decade of development by the end of which the rate

of economic growth of the developing nations, that is of their collective national incomes, is to be accelerated to reach a minimum of 5 per cent per annum. Having thus stated its objective, the international community proceeded at the recent Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva to will the means to that end. The Conference recognized that the problem of accelerated development involves the problem of bridging the trade gap both by national policies and by international effort in the field of trade and aid. The report presented to the Conference by its Secretary-General,<sup>1/</sup> Mr. Prebisch, estimated a trade gap for the developing nations of the magnitude of \$20 billion in 1970, which will have to be bridged if the target of the decade is to be achieved. I regret to have to state that the mid-term appraisal of progress towards this target does not reveal encouraging results. A report of the Economic and Social Council casts doubts whether the progress achieved is an improvement even on the record of the second half of the 1950's. The report goes on to state that more intensive efforts will have to be made to accelerate production, to expand trade and to enlarge the flow of external funds and assistance if the targets are to be achieved by the end of the decade.

25. May we examine the causes of this failure. It was the continuing theme of the Conference on Trade and Development that the developing countries themselves should mobilize the internal resources required for accelerated economic development. I shall readily concede that adequate progress has not been made in this regard by all developing countries, but I should like to point out that a substantial number of developing countries, about one-third of the total in the opinion of Mr. George Woods, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—I quote now from his article in The Times of London of 16 September 1966—"appear, in spite of economic handicaps, to be pressing persistently forward".

26. What is unquestionably checking progress in these countries appears to be not a lack of internal effort, but a lack of the necessary foreign exchange. If I may quote Mr. George Woods again:

"... what is known about the development projects and programmes of the under-developed nations, in the experienced judgment of the World Bank staff, suggests that over the next five years the development effort could make highly productive use of \$3,000 million to \$4,000 million more annually than is being put into it."

27. One form in which the foreign exchange necessary may be made available to developing countries is, of course, by direct financial aid by the developed nations. But the actual picture shows that the flow of economic assistance to the developing countries has remained unchanged since 1961. It is scarcely necessary to comment on the extent of the commitment undertaken at the Conference on Trade and Development by each of the developed nations to transfer 1 per cent of their annual income to the developing countries.

<sup>1/</sup> Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

28. A preferable alternative to aid would, of course, be the expansion of trade. Here again, the outlook is depressing. The economies of a large number of the developing countries depend on agricultural exports; in some cases, for example my own country, almost exclusively so. It is well known that, over a long period, prices of primary products tend to decline whilst the prices of manufactures, even when they do not rise, tend to remain stable. Indeed, the prices of capital goods necessary for a measure of industrialization of the developing countries have tended to increase over the years, resulting inevitably in serious difficulties in the balance of payments of the developing countries. Here, I should like to add that in a number of countries the efforts made to improve the output of agriculture by intensive cultivation has resulted in an appreciable increase in the volume of produce, but has had little or no effect on income from export earnings as such. I quote now from The Economist of 10 July:

"Vital exports of many tropical countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa are selling at lower price levels now, in real terms, than at the worst of the inter-war depression."

29. Cocoa and sugar have been hard hit and the outlook for coconuts and rubber, two of the basic crops on which the economy of my country rests, is gloomy and depressing. The price of copra has fallen precipitously recently and the International Rubber Study Group predicts a steady decline in the price of rubber. As a result, Ceylon and a number of other primary producers will see their valiant efforts in export agriculture dissipated through the working of forces entirely beyond their control. Some of the developing countries will be compelled, I fear, in the absence of a more rational price structure, to move towards a lower level of unproductive self-sufficiency with a consequent reduction in their standards of living.

30. I am optimistic enough, however, to hope that this would not be considered desirable by the community of nations, and I should like to adopt and support in the strongest possible terms the plea made by Mr. Prebisch, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at a recent meeting of the Trade and Development Board, for the kind of political goodwill needed to utilize the existing machinery of the United Nations for tackling the problem of depressed commodity prices by international commodity price arrangements and by devising, where feasible, arrangements for financing the accumulation of buffer stocks with a view to controlling the market.

31. Man in all his recorded history has never been so able to use for his greater good the vast resources of the earth and the inventiveness of his brain as he is able to do today. Yet the will to live seems to have deserted him, and it is ironical that the accumulated wisdom of the ages seems unable to prevent him from continuing to create the weapons of his own destruction.

32. The time is long past for pious platitudes in the cause of peace. Time was, even in this century, when victory in war was considered a desirable objective, not only because it conferred good legal title to

ill-gotten territory, but also because it enhanced the prestige of nations and leaders. Genghis Kahn, Alexander, Caesar, Hannibal and Napoleon are good examples throughout the ages of men for whom war, in a sense, secured their place in history. But times have changed and with them the weapons too. I need not remind the Assembly of the terrible potency of the new weapons that are being created and, with this in mind, I am sad that the awful prospect of complete annihilation has not been as yet a sufficient deterrent for man to erase war from his vocabulary and banish it from his thinking.

33. Twenty-five hundred years ago that venerated Sage from the East, Gautama the Buddha, said:

"If a man were to conquer in battle a thousand time a thousand men, and another conquer but one, himself, he indeed is the greatest of conquerors."

This as yet unattained ideal of all religions will never be attained if the hatred of man reaches the point when, in conquering others, he destroys himself.

34. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): Allow me, first of all, to take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the many expressions of sympathy which my delegation has received from all sides, including the Secretary-General and various delegations, following the disaster which has befallen my country as a result of the eruption of the Taal volcano. On an occasion like this, we learn once again the ancient truth that we are all neighbours huddled together on our fragil planet, and that all men are brothers in suffering and compassion.

35. Mr. President, may I join those who have preceded me to this rostrum in extending to you our warm felicitations on your elevation to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your election constitutes a recognition of your eminent personal qualifications as well as a tribute to the great country you so ably and fittingly represent. We are confident that under your wise guidance the General Assembly will be able to meet the grave challenges to the peace and well-being of mankind.

36. The Philippine delegation enters upon the work of the twentieth session with renewed faith in our capacity to make the United Nations an increasingly effective instrument for safeguarding world peace through freedom and justice, elevating the economic, social and cultural conditions of mankind, and advancing the rule of law in international relations. This sense of reawakened hope springs mainly from three major developments which reaffirm the desire and ability of our Organization to achieve the purposes set out in the Charter.

37. Firstly, we are deeply gratified by the success of the Security Council in bringing about a cease-fire between India and Pakistan. Although the cease-fire is yet to become completely effective and the truce is still precarious, we must welcome this event as proof of the efficacy of the Security Council whenever it acts with undivided will and purpose, with the devoted co-operation of the Secretary-General, as intended by the Charter. Our sense of satisfaction, however, and our optimism are conditioned by an awareness that the roots of the conflict run too deep and strong to justify any hope of an easy or immediate solution.

Endless tact and infinite patience will be required to achieve a lasting peace.

38. Secondly, we are encouraged by the restoration of the normal functioning of the General Assembly. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, ably guided by the distinguished President of the nineteenth session, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, has enabled us to overcome a constitutional crisis which for some time paralysed the General Assembly. Fortunately for mankind, the Assembly has regained its dynamism in time to confront the increasing backlog of tasks undone. My delegation wishes to pay tribute to those delegations which, by their prudent statesmanship, helped to make possible an understanding that enabled the General Assembly to rise from a state of frustration. The Philippine delegation believes, however, that this happy outcome should not give occasion for complacency. On the contrary, we should try immediately to reach agreement on the necessary modalities for undertaking peace-keeping operations in the future. Only thus would we be able to meet with deliberate speed any threat to the peace without provoking another constitutional crisis that could destroy the United Nations. Such an agreement should be in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Charter, upholding, in particular, the principle of collective responsibility of Member States for the maintenance of international peace.

39. Thirdly, the Philippine delegation is elated by the ratification of the Charter amendments providing for an increase in the membership of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Beyond proving the capacity of the United Nations for dynamic growth and change, these amendments afford the nations of Asia and Africa a more equitable representation in these two principal organs and an opportunity to make more positive contributions to the work of the Organization as a whole. They will be able to give fuller voice to the aspirations of mankind for peace and well-being, thus deepening their sense of identification with the Organization and their commitment to its principles and purposes.

40. My delegation is also encouraged by the fact that, despite the impasse in the General Assembly, our Organization, together with the specialized agencies, has been able to carry out without interruption many of its essential activities in the political, economic and social fields. This fact, of course, reflected the determination of our Governments and peoples that the effort to maintain international peace and security and to promote freedom and well-being should not suffer for any reason whatever. In this way, we asserted the primacy of human life and affirmed the principle that the United Nations was made for man and not man for the United Nations.

41. From these considerations which give us hope we turn sadly to the situation in Asia. The Asian scene is a sombre one. It is one of the ironies of history that this region, which taught the world the power of non-violence and gave to the United Nations the idea of International Co-operation Year, should now be rent from one end to the other by unresolved conflicts, armed confrontations, and open war.



42. The situation in Laos, though quiet for the moment, remains precarious, a potential threat to peace in the area. While Indonesia's political, economic and military confrontation of Malaysia has continued, the situation in Malaysia itself has recently been disturbed by secession and in Indonesia, only last night, by rebellion. Korea and Viet-Nam remain divided, the latter the battleground of a war whose end is not yet in sight. As we noted earlier, India and Pakistan have agreed to a cease-fire, but the fact that a tragic war between these two brother nations could happen at all shows how fragile peace has become in Asia.

43. And the threat is not to peace alone, but to human survival as well. For over Asia now looms the menace of further nuclear proliferation. Communist China is on the way to becoming a nuclear Power. Indonesia has announced its intention to become one. The implications of these events for the other Asian nations are extremely serious. Already there is growing pressure in India to manufacture an atomic bomb. How long will it be before the sense of insecurity, heightened by the fear that an effective system of universal disarmament may not be worked out in time, gives rise to a nuclear arms race in Asia?

44. The negative aspects of the Asian situation are so alarming that they tend to obscure the positive ones. What matter that a number of Asian countries are stable, prosperous, and making a success of democracy, when the general condition of the region suggests a process that could turn it into a cockpit for contending Powers? The dominant impression is of turmoil and violence: Asia is a "sea of troubles" which threatens to engulf all the constructive developments of the past two decades.

45. However, this time of trial for Asia is also a time of challenge and opportunity for all who are concerned with its condition and its destiny. For us, the newly independent Asian States, the challenge is to measure up to the responsibilities of freedom, to safeguard our independence against all forms of imperialist or colonialist domination, whether old or new, and to regard the well-being of our peoples in a free and peaceful Asia as a goal worthy of our supreme endeavour and steadfast loyalty.

46. Asian nationalism demands a role compatible with recovered independence and dignity for the new Asian States in the vital task of ensuring their own survival. The concept of this role varies from nation to nation in Asia. On the basis of our bitter experience, we in the Philippines consider that Communist aggression and subversion have been and continue to be the chief threats to freedom and stability in Asia. So long as these threats remain, there will be a need for bilateral and regional defence arrangements with friendly non-Asian Powers, such as those which the Philippines has entered into in exercise of its rights under the Charter. To those nations which oppose such defence arrangements, we say that until the United Nations has set up a machinery for peace-keeping on a permanent basis, and until it has established the system of collective security envisaged in the Charter, we consider these bilateral and regional arrangements indispensable. At the same time, we are prepared to support proposals that

would expedite the achievement of these twin United Nations goals of peace-keeping and collective security.

47. For their part, the non-Asian Powers which share the responsibility for the defence of the region should place their relationship with the new Asian States on a basis compatible with the aims of Asian nationalism. As President Diosdado Macapagal of the Philippines has said, this is one of the inescapable consequences of Asian independence. No viable relationship between Asian and non-Asian Powers could be built or maintained on any other basis. To respond creatively to the challenge of Asian nationalism is one of the crucial tasks confronting non-Asian Powers which have a genuine interest in the welfare of the region.

48. One such response could take the form of sincere support for the efforts of Asian Governments to fashion a framework of stability and peace for Asia within which its component nations could achieve progress in freedom. In President Macapagal's words:

"The crying need of this area today is a stable peace which could provide the security indispensable to the unhampered development of all the nations in the area. Some form of regional association is required, based on natural and therefore permanent and indestructible affinities which should outweigh superficial conflicts of interest and transcend temporary differences of political outlook."

49. For the United Nations, the immediate challenge lies in the all-important field of security, and the first requirement is a strengthening of the will as well as of the machinery to keep the peace. The prompt decision of the Security Council in demanding a cease-fire between India and Pakistan has shown in a striking manner that the Council can effectively maintain the peace if the permanent members act together as intended by the Charter and if the non-permanent members play the prudent role of catalysts in achieving unanimous agreement. Every effort should be made to ensure that acting thus together for peace shall become the rule rather than the exception in the Security Council.

50. Such joint action appears mandatory when it is recalled that Communist China, preaching and practising a creed of hatred and violence, has deliberately tried to fan the flames of war in order to advance its own aggressive and expansionist aims. There is hardly any doubt that direct Communist Chinese intervention would provoke counter-intervention by other Powers, thereby setting off a world conflagration which, in this age of thermonuclear weapons, could lead us down the road to irreversible catastrophe.

51. It is in the context of the irresponsible conduct of Communist China in the Indo-Pakistan war that the Philippines reaffirms its opposition to the recognition of any right of the Peking régime to represent China in the United Nations. To do so would be to reward aggression and to condone that régime's unabashed policy of bellicosity against everybody who stands in the path of its arrogant ambition to dominate the world, including even its erstwhile friends and ideological allies. It would be tantamount to endorsing its sinister doctrine of the necessity of war, including nuclear war, as an instrument to ensure the triumph of the communist ideology. How could the General

Assembly recognize a régime that holds the United Nations in profound contempt and openly espouses doctrines that are in absolute contradiction to the principles and purposes of our Charter?

52. With respect to the situation in Viet-Nam, the Philippines will continue to assist, within its means and on request, the Republic of Viet-Nam in its determined struggle to ward off communist infiltration and aggression. At the same time, we express the hope that it will be possible soon to arrange a cease-fire which will permit the parties in conflict to come to the conference table and work out a peaceful settlement.

53. As regards the question of Korea, the Philippines continues to support the objectives of the United Nations in Korea and the existence of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to achieve these objectives. By the same token, the Philippines reiterates its support of the right of the German people to shape their own destiny in accordance with the principle of self-determination and within the framework of the peace and security of Europe.

54. The Philippines has co-sponsored with El Salvador and Nicaragua the request for the inscription of the item entitled "Question of Tibet" on our agenda [A/5931] because of the continued suppression of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people. The situation in Tibet remains a source of grave concern to the international community, and efforts should be exerted to achieve the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1723 (XVI).

55. The Philippines will continue to support the work of the Committee of Twenty-Four<sup>2/</sup> until the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)] is fully implemented and the last subject nation is brought to freedom. We should not relent in our efforts to complete the liquidation of colonialism. We should assist the colonial peoples not only to attain political independence, but also to become emancipated economically, to have control of their natural resources, and to direct their own commercial expansion and industrial development.

56. The Philippines will continue to do its share in combatting the racist policies of the Republic of South Africa. In line with our resolute opposition to the policies of apartheid we are prepared to co-operate in carrying out further practical measures to put an end to this vicious form of racism and racial oppression.

57. As a member almost continuously since 1946 of the Commission on Human Rights and of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Philippines scarcely needs to reiterate its unfaltering devotion to the task of promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. As the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights draws near, my delegation is more determined than ever

that the United Nations lamp of human dignity and freedom which started to shine like a beacon in 1948 shall illumine the farthest corners of the earth. Now that the covenants on human rights are approaching completion, the Costa Rican proposal to create the office of United Nations commissioner for human rights [A/5963] is both logical and timely, and the General Assembly should give it the careful consideration which it deserves.

58. The Philippines maintains its loyal adherence to the rule of law, and considers that all Member States would do well to take the first essential step to demonstrate such adherence by accepting, without further delay, the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. It is in the context of this principle that the Philippines will continue to pursue its claim to Sabah—or North Borneo—a claim the determination of which remains an essential factor in the normalization of relations between the Philippines and Malaysia.

59. I should like to conclude this statement with a brief reference to recent developments in the economic field. We are now at mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. It is time to take stock of the progress made towards the goal we set four years ago: a minimum annual rate of economic growth of 5 per cent in the developing countries by the end of the Development Decade.

60. The first half of the Development Decade gives us little cause for complacency. Despite sustained effort during the last four years, the rate of growth achieved by the developing countries was well below the goal of 5 per cent, even lower than the growth rate during the second half of the previous decade. In contrast, the developed countries attained higher growth rates during this same period. The stern fact that emerges is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor, far from having narrowed, has grown even wider during the last four years.

61. Trade expansion is essential to the accelerated economic growth of the developing countries. The first four years of the Development Decade showed increases in their export earnings, but these, too, were proportionately lower than those of the developed countries, and below the average for the world as a whole. Consequently, the share of the developing countries in total world exports declined still further during the first half of the Development Decade.

62. Our efforts, both at the national and international levels, must, therefore, be redoubled. The international community must bring to the task of economic development even greater resources than have already been expended. Fortunately, during the first half of this decade, we have taken various initiatives and established the institutions that should orient us in the direction in which we must move. There was the decision to increase the resources of the International Monetary Fund and of the Bank and its subsidiary organizations; the move to reorganize and augment the resources available to the United Nations development programmes; the setting up of regional development banks; and the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. But what logically must come next are decisions expressive

<sup>2/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.



of the political will to ensure that these initiatives and institutions will yield optimum results.

63. Scarcely a year ago, the General Assembly established the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, through which it was hoped to reorganize the structure of international trade in order to meet the needs of the developing countries. In the intervening period, the Conference passed through its difficult organizational phase. That experience, we regret to say, has not left us very much heartened. While the Conference may have moved forward, the ground gained was neither easily won nor generously yielded. Indeed, we are concerned that the Conference might become, not a forum of international partnership and co-operation, but an arena of economic confrontation. The developing countries pin great hopes on the Conference on Trade and Development and it would be tragic to see it reduced to impotence simply because our developed trading partners fail to perceive that its work cannot be concerned only with legal rights and obligations, which they stubbornly insist upon, but rather more with the application of justice and equity. The Conference seeks to rectify inequitable patterns of trade and commercial behaviour that have been imposed on the less developed countries through centuries of foreign domination.

64. While we worry about the political and ideological issues that have led or could lead to war, we should not forget that the most dangerous confrontations of the future will arise from an irreconcilable division of the world into rich nations growing richer and poor nations becoming poorer still. We shall not be able to avoid this fatal enmity unless the developed nations accept the obligation quickly and deliberately to modify their economic objectives and methods in order to favour the needs and aspirations of the less-developed and developing countries of the world. This is not the language of pessimism or extremism, but a simple statement of fact.

65. The establishment of regional development banks in Latin America, Africa, and now in Asia, is one of the finest examples of international co-operation in the field of economic development. The idea of an Asian development bank first took shape at the first Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Co-operation held in Manila in December 1963. Its draft charter will be considered at the second Ministerial Conference, also to be convened in Manila before the end of this year. We hope that this will be followed immediately by a conference of plenipotentiaries, after which the Charter will be opened for signature. We are greatly heartened, therefore, by the positive response to this bank, particularly from the developed countries outside the Asian region. There can be no doubt that the Asian Development Bank will play a major, if not a decisive role in the economic development of the countries in the Asian region. The offer of my Government of facilities in Manila for the bank headquarters demonstrates our trust and faith in its vital historic role, and I am glad to extend our official invitation on this occasion.

66. I have dealt with a number of questions that enjoy the highest priority in the agenda of the present session. Many of these questions concern Asia and are of the deepest concern to us. In recent years,

my Government has tried to assist in the peaceful settlement of various disputes and conflicts in our region. At the same time, Manila, the capital of my country, has been a centre for new and promising initiatives toward intensified co-operation for trade and industrial development in the ECAFE region. Out of the experience I wish to pledge to you, Mr. President, and to the Assembly, the full and loyal co-operation of the Philippines in planning and carrying out a broad and effective United Nations programme for the improvement of the human condition and the defence of peace.

67. The preparation and execution of this programme of peace and well-being should receive tremendous impetus from the historic visit which His Holiness Pope Paul VI will make to the United Nations three days hence. The presence amongst us of this great man of peace, revered and beloved keeper of the most enduring spiritual values of mankind, shall be an inspiration for us all to strive harder for harmony and understanding. Recognizing the true meaning of his leadership, let us resolve to accept with dignity and humility the challenge of the message he will bring to us.

68. Mr. HÆKKERUP (Denmark): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me personally to extend to you the cordial congratulations of the Danish Government and the Danish delegation on your election to the high post of President of this Assembly. I have had the privilege of knowing you for a long time as an experienced and able statesman, and I have always appreciated the spirit of co-operation and understanding you have shown in the matters we have had to deal with. Your outstanding qualifications are well known to all, and we are gratified that the Continent to which I belong should be represented in the Chair of this Assembly by a person of your distinction. We feel sure, Mr. President, that under your wise guidance this General Assembly will proceed steadfastly towards the goal of solving the many problems confronting our Organization.

69. At the start of the twentieth session of the General Assembly we have behind us a severe crisis which it was possible for us to overcome, thanks not least to the conciliatory attitude of the United States. But, serious though the crisis was, it has widened our experience in one important respect. It has made it clear to us that because of idealistic ideas of what this world Organization should be, we had entrusted the new Organization with task that were too heavy for it and outside the realm of what was politically feasible in our still far from ideal world community. The Organization has, literally speaking, come down to political reality and, taught by experience, we should now proceed cautiously and devote our combined efforts to invigorating our Organization. In step with creating a wholesome political climate in relations between nations, we must develop our Organization to make it capable of accomplishing what the founders had in mind when they established the United Nations twenty years ago: maintaining international peace and security and creating better economic and social conditions for all nations and all peoples.

70. To Denmark—and I think the same applies to all the smaller nations—peace-keeping is the central function of the United Nations. It is therefore, in our opinion, one of the most essential tasks confronting the twentieth session to initiate a study of all the complex problems attending the principle of peace-keeping functions. Denmark has greeted with satisfaction the initiatives to this end that have already been taken by various Members. To enable our Organization to recover from the crisis it will be urgently necessary to solve its acute financial problem. Several countries have already contributed to this end. We feel that it is necessary for all Members of the Organization to prove their willingness to give our twenty-year-old Organization a fresh start by making similar contributions, within their means and to the best of their ability.

71. A fundamental weakness of the United Nations is that it has not, during the first twenty years of its life, been universal in its membership. The present grave situation in Asia makes it necessary to repeat the well-known and constant opinion of the Danish Government that China, one of the permanent members of the Security Council, can be represented only by the Government which has actual authority over Chinese territory. How can the United Nations be expected to take an effective part in finding a solution to the Viet-Nameese problem as long as Peking has not taken its proper seat here? And how can the United Nations be the most important forum for furthering disarmament, an area in which the nuclear Powers have a special responsibility and must play a major role, if one of the nuclear Powers is not represented here?

72. To make it possible for us to work on our big common problems—the maintenance of peace and the creation of better economic and social conditions for all the nations of the world—our immediate task must be to seek speedy and peaceful solutions in the most serious trouble spots. We regard the cease-fire in Kashmir as an important achievement, but the cease-fire does not in itself offer any solution to the problem. The United Nations has brought its unified strength to bear on the parties to the conflict, but must now also live up to its responsibility by helping to bring about a lasting political solution.

73. The tragic developments in Viet-Nam bring death and suffering to millions of people, but they also represent an obstacle to creating the atmosphere which is necessary to secure progress in our big common tasks. The Danish Government is of the opinion that a solution cannot be found by military means. Nor does a solution lie in unilateral United States withdrawal, which would only threaten to bring Viet-Nam and the whole of South-East Asia under the political and military domination of another great Power. A lasting solution satisfactory to the local population can be found only through negotiations without any conditions being laid down in advance and with their starting point being the Geneva Agreements of 1954.<sup>3/</sup> It is essential that all interested parties, including the Viet-Cong, should participate

in such negotiations. Although the political problems underlying the war in Viet-Nam and the India-Pakistan conflict are different in various essential respects, I think that the two-stage procedure envisaged in the Indo-Pakistani conflict—first, cease-fire and then negotiations—could in due course serve as a model in Viet-Nam.

74. The United Nations is directly involved in the Cyprus question. United Nations forces have been maintained there for a long time. At this session it should be our task to assist the parties in achieving a negotiated settlement of the political issues. Much bloodshed has been avoided through the United Nations presence, and we must be careful at this session not to take any action that might tend to aggravate the situation. The basis of our deliberations should be Security Council resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964. If it is felt that the treaties between the parties are obsolete, it is up to the parties to change them. It would be a most dangerous thing for all of us to encourage any unilateral abrogation of these treaties. I think it would be wise if we, at this session, concentrated our efforts on paving the way for a negotiated solution which would enable the peaceful co-existence of the two communities in Cyprus.

75. Generally speaking, the process of decolonization which we have witnessed must be said to have been a success of immense importance to the peoples of the world. Every year we have been able to welcome new Members to our Organization. While rejoicing in their liberation, we view with growing concern the fateful developments in the southern part of the African Continent. The United Nations allow developments to continue which are contrary to all the basic ideals of our Organization, which mean constant suffering and oppression of our fellow-beings and which, if continued, would present a direct danger to the future existence of our entire world community.

76. Therefore, it must be a main preoccupation of the present session to promote solutions to the remaining decolonization problems in Africa and to the apartheid problem. The Danish Government agrees, now as before, that it seems necessary to bring increasing pressure to bear on a Government whose attitude appears completely unaffected by world opinion and seems today to be more obstinate and unreasonable than ever. Our reservations on such a line of increased pressure are two fold. First, under the Charter, it is exclusively for the Security Council to adopt coercive measures. Resolutions to that effect adopted by the Assembly have no legal validity and could be dangerous to our Organization as a whole. Secondly, any legally adopted measures must be effective. Here again the solidarity of Member States is at stake. As I said before, we must proceed cautiously during this session and take upon ourselves only such tasks as are within the range of what is politically feasible. But, having said that, I wish to confirm that in logical consequence of the policy pursued by Denmark in the Committee of Twenty-Four, the Danish Government will stand firmly behind any legally adopted effective measure, and the Danish people is willing to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to bring about a solution to these problems.

<sup>3/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China (Geneva, 20 July 1954).

77. I have spoken about some of the present specific problems impeding the creation of that peaceful international atmosphere which is a precondition to achieving our wider goals. However, we must also at this session continue our work on the more general questions. Among these I shall mention only two: disarmament and economic co-operation, especially with a view to the interests of the developing countries.

78. In the field of disarmament, it is realistic to admit that the key to real progress lies in the hands of the big Powers. But we, the smaller countries, to whom collective security is fundamental, must incessantly underline the urgency of the problem. If general and complete disarmament is a distant aim today, we must press on with the more limited collateral measures. We feel that the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva was useful in this respect, and we consider it both necessary and possible to reach limited results in some of the fields on which the discussions at Geneva were focused.

79. We have now before us both a United States<sup>4/</sup> and a USSR [A/5976] proposal for a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. At this session we should strongly urge the Eighteen-Nation Committee to reach an agreement, taking both of those interesting proposals into consideration. In the meantime it should be possible, as a preliminary measure, to reach agreement on more limited steps such as the moratorium on proliferation proposed by the Italian delegation at Geneva.<sup>5/</sup> As we see it, the Italian proposal has many merits, and we support it, not least because any step, however small, will be conducive to creating a political atmosphere that may make further steps possible. However, the Italian proposal could perhaps be said to be somewhat unbalanced inasmuch as it suggests that the non-nuclear Powers undertake important obligations without demanding corresponding commitments on the part of the nuclear Powers. We feel that the possibility of a more balanced arrangement should be studied. We imagine that this could be achieved by combining the Italian proposal and certain ideas contained in the proposal of the United Arab Republic for a moratorium on underground tests. In this manner the nuclear and the non-nuclear Powers would be treated in a parallel way for identical periods of time. We fully realize the risks involved in that such an undertaking does not offer full possibilities of verification, but we feel assured that those risks are not comparable to the risks facing us all if no progress whatsoever is achieved in this field.

80. The United Nations Disarmament Commission has adopted a resolution recommending that a world disarmament conference be convened.<sup>6/</sup> Denmark voted in favour of that resolution. I wish, however, to emphasize three points which I consider essential to the successful outcome of such a conference.

First, it must be well prepared. Second, the guidelines to be followed in the work on disarmament should be established by a restricted body whose size, in my opinion, should not exceed that of the present Eighteen-Nation Committee. Third, the work must be governed by the principle to which the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union subscribed in his statement in this Assembly on 24 September [1335th meeting], that disarmament measures must be carried out in such a way that they offer no military advantages to either side.

81. I should like to say a few words about the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, our newest creation, in which my Government is highly interested.

82. The establishment of the Conference was perhaps the only major achievement of the otherwise not very constructive nineteenth session of the General Assembly. We cannot, in any fairness, expect great concrete results after only one year. The main thing is that the new body is now alive and functioning. The Trade and Development Board has established its programme of work. It is only natural that primary products have been in the foreground.

83. Progress must be made with regard to the efforts of the industrialized countries to remove trade restrictions on imports from developing countries. In the past year we have seen developments towards tariff reductions on tropical products in several countries. My Government, among others, has submitted proposals for such reductions. The question of preferences remains unsolved, and we regret that the latest deliberations in this field are as yet inconclusive. My Government is of the opinion that a general preference arrangement for all developing countries in regard to manufactured goods also should be urgently considered and supplemented by measures to promote production and export.

84. Closely related to those activities is the work of the United Nations Centre for Industrial Development. Appropriate modern methods of production and marketing must be applied as early as possible to the industries of the developing countries. To accomplish this task detailed technical studies and comprehensive practical experience are required. United Nations activities in the field of industrialization must, however, be seen in relation to the United Nations Development Programme and to the corresponding activities of the international financial institutions. Generally speaking, it seems to my Government that, in order to ensure the most effective assistance, there is an urgent and continued need for co-ordinating the different economic activities of the United Nations family. The Charter specifies that one of the Economic and Social Council's main functions is that of co-ordinating the United Nations activities in the economic and social fields. We must ensure that the Council gets the necessary support to perform this task. The enlargement of its membership is a first step in the right direction. We must streamline the functions of the Economic and Social Council as a principal organ of the United Nations so that it can most effectively continue to co-ordinate the United Nations international assistance programmes during the United Nations Development Decade.

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1965, document DC/227, annex 1, section A.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., section D.

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid., document DC/224.

85. The task requires increasing concentration of efforts. Therefore it should not be beyond our reach to minimize the time and work spent on procedural and other alien matters while keeping to the substance: the furtherance of social and economic development throughout the world.

86. Permit me to conclude with some general observations. It remains a primary object of the United Nations to ease world tension and prepare the way for a lasting arrangement of peace, confidence and stability. We know that, as regards direct relations between the major Powers of the world, the United Nations can do very little. We have, however, at least some possibilities of dealing with local conflicts and, by pacifying or solving them, of limiting the danger of increased world tension. In such cases the United Nations can bring the pressure of world opinion to bear on the parties to solve their differences. Unfortunately, we must admit, this approach has far too often proved insufficient. We can place the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations at the disposal of the parties.

87. I believe that there is broad agreement that it should be our primary aim to strengthen this peace-keeping machinery. Our task should be to make it possible for the United Nations to pin down a conflict immediately it becomes acute and prevent it from developing into open warfare. I think, however, we have all learned that if we wish to strengthen the United Nations, our approach must be in conformity with political realities. Only then can we secure such general support as is necessary for its success. Further, in our endeavours to improve the existing machinery, let us not forget that by extinguishing an acute fire and mounting costly and perhaps long-lived peace-keeping operations, which only freeze the situation, we have sometimes made the conflicting parties and ourselves forget about the political problems underlying the conflict. It is, of course, difficult to lay down any rules that would be applicable to all situations, but it seems to me that one major problem is of general relevance: did the people or peoples directly concerned have any opportunity of deciding for themselves without outside interference? I need not in this Assembly elaborate upon the overriding importance of the principle of self-determination, and I am sure that all will agree with me that if we look at the international conflicts or tensions of today, we very often find that the people or peoples involved are prevented, in one way or another, from exercising their right of self-determination. However, it goes without saying that each case must be treated on its merits. An important aspect of the peace-keeping activity of the United Nations should therefore be mediation with a view to conciliation. In this connexion I think that the British proposal for a study of the function of the United Nations in relation to the peaceful settlement of disputes is highly important and relevant.

88. I know that the road to a better world order is long and narrow. I am also aware that smaller countries should tread softly when laying down the law to others, and, in particular, to major Powers. We do not have their special internal and external

problems and responsibilities. But even though the world community of today is dominated by power politics, the smaller countries should not give up the hope of winning respect for such other guiding principles as underlie the structure of their own communities. We must always keep in mind the two main pillars of the Charter. One is what could be called the conservative principle: to maintain peace, which, taken alone, would mean only upholding the status quo. The other is the evolutionary principle: to create better conditions for mankind in an orderly and peaceful manner, thereby eliminating the roots of human suffering, namely war, destruction, and poverty.

89. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): The delegation of the Kingdom of Cambodia is today confronted with a choice. It can either join in the chorus of delegations who express more or less full approval of the way in which the United Nations is functioning and applaud the role of the United Nations in international affairs, or it can express freely and unequivocally the point of view of non-aligned Cambodia in regard to our Organization's shortcomings and mistakes.

90. We ourselves think that self-criticism, if it is constructive, is always preferable to self-satisfaction. It seems to us extremely dangerous to bury our heads in the sand like the ostrich and to refuse to look the facts in the face, however unpleasant they may be.

91. These facts are now too serious for us and for many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to allow us to go on denying or disguising them much longer. We must observe with sorrow that the United Nations no longer fulfils the tremendous hopes which we had placed in it. We must admit that our confidence in its effectiveness in helping to solve the most serious problems has been seriously undermined during the past two years:

92. For the past several years, at each session of the General Assembly, the Cambodian delegation has raised the question of the restoration of the full rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The absurdity of the presence of the Taiwan delegation, supposedly representing the Chinese people, no longer has to be demonstrated, for there is not a country in the world which is not inwardly convinced of it by now. Nevertheless, the United States to this day refuses to recognize the truth about China and makes its allies and the countries under its control do likewise.

93. Yet it has been demonstrated that none of the great problems of the world can be solved without the participation of China. There is no longer any international conference on any subject whatever at which this fact does not become glaringly evident.

94. In recent years Prince Norodom Sihanouk, our Head of State, has often called the attention of international opinion to the dangers which the unjustified ostracism of China represents for our Organization. The first principle which was to ensure the future of the United Nations was indeed that of universality. How can people still speak of universality today when 700 million Chinese, together with tens

of millions of Germans, Koreans and Viet-Nameese, are unable to make their voices heard?

95. We know that the United States, both directly and through intermediaries, proclaims that China is an aggressive Power which threatens world peace. We should be glad, however, to see such accusations supported by concrete facts. United States troops are today entrenched in every corner of the globe—in Viet-Nam, in South Korea, in Thailand, in Japan, in Latin America and so forth. Are there any Chinese military bases on the American continent? Is there even a single Chinese soldier outside the territory of China? Who is really threatening the independence of other countries and world peace?

96. China is not and never has been, throughout its long history, a conquering Power. Its only desire is to live in peace and to continue to build up its country as it wishes, but it is perfectly legitimate that China should ask to be recognized as a country playing a full part at the international level and that it should oppose the specific threats to its sovereignty. Cambodia, like all free countries, has always taken this attitude.

97. The Cambodian delegation wishes to point out once again that the United Nations needs China more than China needs the United Nations for survival. It seems to us quite certain that, if this year China is again unable to recover its seat in our Organization, the United Nations will sink a little further into the indifference with which it is already regarded by a large number of Afro-Asian peoples.

98. A further cause for anxiety is the inability of the United Nations to restore peace wherever peace has been disrupted. At this very moment our South-East Asia is experiencing a war which was not of its own choosing. In Viet-Nam there are constant raids by United States bombers and the civilian population is being systematically murdered. Western observers themselves acknowledge that the Viet-Nameese people are victims of a determined effort to exterminate them.

99. Admittedly, the United Nations is unable to intervene as a mediator in the Viet-Nameese affair, which was settled by the Geneva Agreements of 1964. Here again we see how the exclusion of China and the two Viet-Nams deprived our Organization of any chance of being able to play a positive role in this matter. Nevertheless, we fail to understand the passive attitude of the United Nations in the face of open aggression against an independent country, even if it is not a Member of the United Nations.

100. For months the United States Air Force has been carrying out daily bombing attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and striking indiscriminately at civilian and military objectives, creating a situation of *de facto* war. Is not this a violation of the United Nations Charter? Today United States troops in South Viet-Nam are fighting against the popular forces of that country in order to keep in power a Government which has forfeited all trust and support. Does the United Nations recognize the right of any Power whatsoever to impose on a nation a tyrannical rule from which that nation wishes to free itself? Looking beyond the question of Viet-Nam,

it is the principle of the national independence of small countries which is a stake.

101. If the United Nations remains indifferent to the United States military intervention in Viet-Nam, it is certain that other great Powers will see in that a justification for similar enterprises against other countries. Such a state of affairs would spell the abandonment of all the foundations of international law and of the principles on which our Organization is founded.

102. Cambodia is directly threatened by this policy of brute force which seeks to justify itself by the crudest lies. For many months now the United States and South Viet-Nameese land and air forces have been violating our frontiers day after day and opening fire on our peaceful villages. At the same time Thailand's raids on Cambodian territory are increasing. We are witnessing a campaign aimed at persuading international opinion that a division of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is stationed in the heart of one of our provinces. What can be more absurd than the charge levelled by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand that Cambodia is training 27,000 Chinese guerrillas!

103. The Cambodian delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly to these charges, which are preparing public opinion for bombing attacks on our country by the United States Air Force. Furthermore, threats to bomb us are being made more and more openly by ruling circles in Bangkok and Saigon.

104. I wish to point out that the International Commission for Supervision and Control, foreign military attachés including Western ones, and even journalists have been able to travel about freely in the regions where this North Viet-Nameese division is said to be stationed. These observers have been able to see for themselves the absurdity of the United States, Thai and South Viet-Nameese charges. Nevertheless, it seems that the United States and its accomplices are determined to maintain this false pretext for launching a large-scale attack on Cambodia.

105. We know, unfortunately, that if that should happen the United Nations would be quite powerless to preserve our peace and independence. We are convinced that the proverb "might is right" is still valid and that Cambodia can rely only on itself, and on the support of a very few countries when it solemnly warns the great Powers that the Cambodian people will defend their freedom, regardless of the consequences for world peace, by every means available to them or which may be made available to them. Our aggressors will bear the full responsibility before history.

106. To revert to the question of Viet-Nam, I should like to point out that the arguments advanced by the United States to explain its aggression are inadmissible. The United States authorities have no hesitation in stating that Viet-Nam is being attacked by Viet-Nameese and that those Viet-Nameese must negotiate their independence with the United States. On the other hand, they claim that their expeditionary force is in South Viet-Nam to protect the people of South Viet-Nam, who for their part, with the exception of a few generals, are unanimous in their demand

for the withdrawal of the United States forces, which have brought them nothing but mourning and ruin.

107. The Cambodian delegation therefore hopes that there are Powers or countries in the Assembly which will ensure that the question of United States intervention in South-East Asia and of the right of the peoples of Indo-China to settle their problems without interference from any Power or organization is placed on the agenda.

108. I should now like to refer to one of the problems which the Assembly has never thought it expedient to debate in detail, although it is one of the most important of our time: I am referring to racism and its manifestations, which become more violent and more of a threat to the future of mankind every year.

109. The cold war between the two ideological blocs seems to be on the way to extinction and the barrier between capitalist and communist countries is no longer the iron curtain of former days. It is with concern, however, that we see evidence of a growing division between over-developed white Powers and "coloured" countries emerging from under-development. The segregation, which was not desired by us, will have tragic consequences unless precautions are taken against it.

110. There is not doubt, for instance—one needs only to read the United States Press every day to be convinced of it—that, for the West, Asian lives, our lives, are far from having the same importance as the lives of white citizens, especially if they are Americans. We can assert without fear of contradiction that the United States Air Force would never dare to exterminate a Western people by bombs, napalm and chemical weapons—and with no declaration of war—as it is now doing in Indo-China. It is obvious that any country waging a merciless war on a white people would at once be pilloried by international public opinion and by this Assembly, and would then be warned, on pain of sanctions, to abandon its aggression.

111. I also ask representatives to imagine an Asian or African nation giving a white minority the treatment which the United States metes out to its 20 million Blacks. The West would certainly not tolerate it and, similarly, the recent events in Los Angeles, had they occurred in a "coloured" country, would certainly have led to immediate intervention by the Marines.

112. Such racism is a disgrace to a country or a society. Our Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, expressed the feelings of the Cambodian people on this matter when he asked, some months ago, whether the United States could retain the privilege of having the Headquarters of the United Nations in its territory. Is it in keeping with the dignity of the Afro-Asian peoples to send their representatives to meetings in a country which adopts, towards its black citizens and towards all "coloured" people, an attitude which conflicts with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights?

113. We, for our part, would like to have the Headquarters of the United Nations transferred to a country which practises no racial or political discrimination—to Switzerland, for example.

114. May I, in conclusion, clearly define the position of Cambodia as regards the United Nations. We are deeply disappointed that the Organization, which was "our only refuge, our only comfort", has become a tool in the hands of a few great Powers and finds itself powerless to provide minimum security for small countries such as ours. Moreover, we cannot fail to note that the Charter is now a completely forgotten document and that the independence and peace of a country are no longer founded on a sacred right but on the good will of a few great Powers.

115. Nevertheless, Cambodia does not intend to withdraw from the United Nations, because it still hopes that, in the end, wisdom will prevail and will restore its full meaning to the Organization. We are, however, aware of our impotence in the face of present trends. Having stated our point of view, we shall therefore simply attend the Assembly, but we shall not take part in the work of the Committees or accept any honorary positions which might be offered to us.

116. I now wish, Mr. President, to repeat, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly. Your personal gifts and eminent statesmanship will ensure the smooth progress of our work and we wish you every success in the fulfilment of your task.

117. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Thailand, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

118. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): It is with extreme reluctance and deep regret that I have asked to speak at this juncture in exercise of my right of reply, but my delegation feels it is essential to make some clarifications concerning the references just made to Thailand by the representative of Cambodia so that this world Assembly might not be misled by the unfounded allegations and accusations against my country.

119. In his statement, the speaker from Cambodia attempted, as he and his leaders have for years attempted, to make the world believe that Cambodia has all along been a poor and innocent victim of Thailand's alleged aggression. Cambodian leaders and representatives have taken every opportunity and have used every means and forum to carry on a systematic campaign of calumny and vilification against Thailand, against their neighbours and sometimes against anybody. Their themes may vary, their tones may differ, but their aims remain the same, namely to cover up their own malicious intention and activities, in collusion with the aggressive forces, in seeking to disturb and destroy peace and stability and to subjugate the peoples of South-East Asia.

120. To describe Thailand's aggression, Cambodia complains everywhere about its borders being violated and about its men being arbitrarily arrested or killed within the Cambodian territory. But the truth revealed by the established evidence proves the contrary. As a matter of fact, men were sent from Cambodia purposely into Thai territory to practice espionage and to terrorize Thai inhabitants along



the borders. Aircraft and ships were on various occasions sent into Thailand's air space and territorial waters as acts of provocation. Radio broadcasts and Press articles emanating from Cambodia have long subserviently represented the voices of those countries that have an interest in subverting the independence of nations in all Asia. The hostility on the part of

Cambodia towards Thailand knows no bounds. It is therefore no surprise that the attack was unbridled again in this Assembly. Their attitude is understandable but their behaviour can have only the gravest consequences for regional as well as international peace and security.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*