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

**Address by Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of  
Pakistan**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. Mohammad Ayub KHAN (President of Pakistan): I thank you, Mr. President, for having provided me with the opportunity to address this Assembly. I had a similar opportunity three years ago. These three years have seen dramatic events which have transformed much of the world's pattern and its premises.

3. The frontiers of freedom have been pushed farther and wider, illuminating vast areas from which the light of self-determination had remained shut out for many a dark century. I see that light shining brightly in the many new faces here today, representing the newly independent countries of the world which have found their rightful place in the community of nations.

4. Further, a fuller and deeper awareness of the need to coexist peacefully as the only hope for the survival of mankind has created a new compulsion for co-operation amongst the peoples of the world, irrespective of race or ideology.

5. While many of the tensions and conflicts which loomed large in the political horizon three years ago still cast their menacing shadows across the world, there is a growing sense of urgency to establish areas of understanding if nations are to be spared the horrors of a nuclear war and mankind is to survive at all.

6. This awareness has helped to promote the concept of equality of nations. The measure of a nation's self-esteem and sovereignty is not determined by the magnitude of its territory or its resources. All nations, big or small, are equal in terms of their will and determination to secure and preserve their freedom, to maintain the integrity of their thought and action, and to strive for the welfare of their people. The United Nations has provided a forum for the expression and development of this high concept of equality, and the United Nations must continue jealously to nurture and sustain this wondrous and delicate plant so that it may in course of time bloom into flowers of human happiness and bear fruits of human prosperity.

7. This can be achieved, I am convinced, only in a spirit of humility and tolerance and in the knowledge that all nations are entitled to equal consideration and equal opportunities. No country of the world, big or small, should be denied full representation in this world Organization. A new and hopeful outlook is steadily emerging for this Organization. The fact that 117 nations are assembled here today to identify problems and seek solutions demonstrates the deep desire of peoples of the world to live together in purposeful amity and peaceful accommodation.

8. The great ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter represent the spirit of the times. On occasions performances may not have fulfilled the promises, and often the keepers of world peace may have taken a narrowly national view of international issues. On occasions, too, they may have allowed matters to drift, matters affecting the destiny of peoples. Sometimes they may have even blocked or thwarted constructive action, but these are aberrations that must be corrected and it is for this great Assembly to foster respect for world opinion, to which all nations must respond. No nation, however great, must be able to secure a political advantage in defiance of international morality.

9. Time was when mankind was divided by vast oceans, high mountains, waterless deserts, and immense distances. A nation could then live in seclusion and even prosper in isolation. Not so now. Today we all live next door to one another. Geographic dimensions have shrunk visibly, and with the development of means of communication, distance has been virtually annihilated. Mankind is fast becoming one, as the great Creator intended it to be. The affairs of one nation now impinge on the affairs of others. And a new world of interdependence has now emerged, demanding urgent understanding of one another's needs and problems and their co-operative fulfilment and resolution.

10. The greatest threat to this new world springs, however, from the ever-widening inequalities within societies, between one society and another. With the rapidly rising aspirations of the people, the gulf between rich and poor is giving rise to grave tensions. Man, who once accepted privations as part of the pattern of divine dispensation, now demands a better life as of right. The same with nations. Even those whom the technically advanced societies may regard as ill-endowed or ill-equipped now refuse to accept that another society has a right to rule over them or deny them the good things of life.

11. The stampede for freedom in Africa, as in Asia, is a spectacular display of the spirit of man bursting forth to fulfil itself. With political freedom has come the demand to live a richer and fuller life. Although all brands of political domination have receded from most of the world, their economic versions are trying to persist.

12. The developed nations are joining together in an unwise effort to lay down the ground rules for the developing nations. A sort of trade union of the rich is emerging. Hence we witness such unwelcome developments as the holding down of prices of primary commodities, the unchecked movement of terms of trade against the primary producers, and the marked restrictions on the manufactures of developing countries. This strategy inevitably creates unfair conditions. It inhibits the capacity of the developing countries to raise the standard of living of their people, to improve their economic productivity, to increase their purchasing power, to buy more from the developed countries, and to repay their loans. And by accentuating inequalities, it adds to the explosiveness of the world situation.

13. Even nations which had the vision—and there are many like that—and generosity to provide economic assistance to the developing nations and to equip them for the manufacture of finished products, so that they may raise their living standards, have largely frustrated that objective by denying the developing nations access to more than a limited share of their markets. No doubt, the developed nations have their own problems and limitations, but such a policy is self-defeating. The developed nations will need to show greater imagination and statesmanship in their approach to the problems of the developing nations, not only in the enlightened interest of each other, but also for the sake of both social justice and world peace.

14. These persistent inequalities and lingering reservations about the sovereignty of all nations, however small, are at the root of many of our present-day tensions and conflicts. While we all talk of peace, there are those amongst us who break it with impunity, which is as tragic as it is astounding. We too have suffered on this account. It is with a sense of deep sorrow that I turn to the tragic developments that recently overtook the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

15. The facts of the violent upheaval which shook the sub-continent last September are well known to the world. I will therefore not dwell upon the details. But this Assembly must know that we have been through one of the bloodiest of armed conflicts in the history of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

16. It ended with a cease-fire on 23 September, in compliance with the Security Council resolutions, but the two armies still face each other. The cease-fire is violated almost every day, and we continue to hear from the Indian leaders highly provocative and inflammatory speeches indicating a desire to reopen hostilities. Members must know that the grave situation still exists, and if the peace of the sub-continent is again broken the rest of the world may also be sucked into the resulting conflict.

17. We have been urging the United Nations to adopt effective means to implement its resolution concerning the internal dispute. Our repeated requests for the implementation of resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) on the State of Jammu and Kashmir went unheeded. The results are now before this Assembly.

18. An act of injustice or of defiance of an international commitment does not become just with the passage of time. The Kashmir dispute is today more explosive than at any given time in the past. The need to resolve it in a fair and honourable manner, in accordance with international commitments, is today more urgent than ever before.

19. That a large part of the disputed territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has remained under forcible occupation does not mean that the spirit of the people of that area has also become captive. Their hearts remain free as ever and their will to determine their own destiny can never be suppressed. Demonstrations are a daily occurrence in the Kashmir Valley, demonstrations in which thousands of men, women and students have taken part. Every political leader of any consequence has been arrested. There is

independent testimony that Indian prisons are crammed with those who demand a plebiscite to determine the future of the State. The Indian army has burned down Kashmiri villages wholesale, and 120,000 Kashmiri men, women and children have fled from the Indian territory into the Azad Kashmir area.

20. But no amount of force or oppression can frustrate the self-determination movement in Kashmir. The right of self-determination can never be suppressed. It must ultimately triumph. The movement for self-determination is universal. It is now in full flood. As President Wilson warned the world, self-determination is an imperative principle of action that statesmen will ignore at their own peril. Whether the question relates to the continent of Asia or of Africa, whether the people involved live in Jammu and Kashmir or in Rhodesia, that warning holds equally true today.

21. I may be asked: what is the future of relations between India and Pakistan? What are the prospects of peace in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent? The recent Security Council resolution calls for a cease-fire, withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan forces and a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Obviously, a cease-fire and withdrawal would not by themselves be enough. There was a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces after the Rann of Kutch clashes, but that did not prevent an India-Pakistan war. Clearly, so long as the basic cause of Indo-Pakistan conflict—namely, the Kashmir dispute—is not resolved, tensions between India and Pakistan will continue to pose a threat to the peace of Asia.

22. It is vitally important that India and Pakistan live in peace as good neighbours. It is important in the interest of peace and stability in Asia. The most challenging problems facing India and Pakistan, like all emergent nations in Asia and Africa, are basically economic. The two countries cannot afford to live in a state of constant tension necessitating massive diversion of their scarce resources to armed preparations against each other. I am acutely conscious of the tragic predicament in which India and Pakistan find themselves today. Neither country can afford to spend any sizable proportion of its budget on defence. Nevertheless, both countries are today devoting the maximum of their resources to the acquisition of arms. And, inevitably, that further aggravates the existing tension. Clearly, a way must be found out of this dangerous vicious circle. The interests of 600 million people of the sub-continent are at stake. More than that: international peace is in jeopardy.

23. What is of prime importance is that leaders in both India and Pakistan should resolve in all sincerity that they will compose their differences. Given that, it should not be difficult to find the means of doing so. For my part, standing here in this world forum, I make this offer. Let India honour its agreement, as we would, to allow the people of Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination in compliance with its own past pledges. Let India also agree, as we do, to settle other Indo-Pakistan differences through the same peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation, or, if those fail, through arbitration; and then let India and Pakistan sign a no-war pledge.

24. In making that proposal I am not asking India to accept any commitment that we ourselves are not

prepared to accept. Nor is the proposal I have made intrinsically difficult of acceptance. Only recently both India and Pakistan agreed to submit the dispute relating to the Rann of Kutch to international arbitration. That was an act of high statesmanship. It should be possible to follow a similar procedure in settling other differences between India and Pakistan should negotiation or mediation prove unavailing.

25. I make that offer in all earnestness, because I am profoundly conscious of the tragic consequences of a continuing India-Pakistan conflict. That conflict must be resolved if India and Pakistan are to survive and prosper as free nations and if peace is to be preserved in Asia.

26. The United Nations is dedicated to peace with justice. In the sub-continent both are at stake. Where can nations, and more particularly the newly independent nations, turn to avert war except to this world Organization, which has outlawed war? Where can people invoke their rights against abuse of power except in this forum, which is the repository of the world conscience? It is incumbent on the United Nations, and more particularly on the great Powers, to see that justice is done and peace is maintained throughout the world.

27. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the President of Pakistan for his address on the international situation and on the problem of peace.

28. I invite representatives to remain in their seats while the Secretary-General and I accompany the President of Pakistan from the Assembly Hall.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.40 p.m. and resumed at 3.55 p.m.*

29. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of India, on a point of order.

30. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): It is a well-established tradition that when a Head of State is given the courtesy of being heard by this body he is expected not to raise issues of immediate controversy involving his own country with another Member State, but to speak in an elevated and statesmanlike manner. It is a matter for regret that on such a special occasion, speaking as the Head of State, the President of Pakistan should have referred in the terms that he did to his country's differences with my country.

31. The President of Pakistan has referred to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent part of the Indian Union and whose people—Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians—and the free and equal citizens of our modern, secular and democratic Republic. He has expressed simulated concern about the destiny of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who have unmistakably made their choice. His concern is as misplaced as it is unwarranted.

32. It must be clear to the Members of this Assembly that to apply the principle of self-determination to integral parts of sovereign and independent States would inevitably lead to unsettlement, disruption and chaos in the entire community of nations.

33. Considering the nature of the occasion, I shall not dwell further on the partisan and tendentious presentation of the case, meant to mislead Members of the United Nations, particularly on the topsy-turvy and upside down rendition of the recent unfortunate events resulting from what has been internationally accepted as aggression committed by Pakistan on India on 5 August of this year.

34. Our regret is all the greater today as both the matter and the tenor of the speech of the President of Pakistan will not help in the creation of the congenial atmosphere necessary for a friendly, peaceful and neighbourly settlement of the differences between the two sister nations. As representatives are aware, talks are to be held in the Soviet Union between my Prime Minister and President Ayub in a few days' time. On our part, my Prime Minister is going to the meeting at Tashkent in the spirit expressed by his words in the Indian Parliament on 10 December of this year:

"We, on our part, have agreed to the Tashkent meeting as we believe in establishing peaceful and good-neighbourly relations for discussions. I have made it clear that our discussions in Tashkent should cover the totality of relations between India and Pakistan so that the two countries can live on the basis of enduring peace and mutual co-operation. The facts of history and geography make it imperative that India and Pakistan should have harmonious and mutually co-operative relations.

"If Pakistan has agreed to those talks with the genuine realization that peace is preferable to conflict, the coming meeting at Tashkent may be worth while."

35. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

36. Mr. Amjad ALI (Pakistan): It is with a sense of deep regret that I have come to the rostrum to reply to the representative of India. I thought that a healthy convention had been established in the United Nations that when a Head of State speaks it is a solemn occasion. My President, as the Assembly is well aware, today talked of peace, peace with honour and justice. The representative of India and myself, his colleagues and my colleagues, his Foreign Minister and my Foreign Minister, have had many exchanges here in this hall and in the various Committees. We have put our points of view quite clearly, quite categorically, quite emphatically, and I do not want to use this solemn occasion categorically to reassert once again the position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. By unilateral declarations, that territory cannot become an integral part of India. The agreements, the resolutions of the United Nations are there for anyone to see; anyone who has objectivity can examine those resolutions and find out the truth. Therefore, on this occasion I have not to repeat what has been said so many times.

37. Again, with these words, I regret that the representative of India has seen fit to reply to the address of my Head of State, particularly when the President of Pakistan made proposals of peace.

#### AGENDA ITEM 74

Financial reports and accounts for the financial years ended 31 December 1963 and 31 December 1964 and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) United Nations;
- (b) United Nations Children's Fund;
- (c) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (d) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6131)

#### AGENDA ITEM 76

Budget estimates for the financial years 1965 and 1966  
Establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6152)

#### AGENDA ITEM 77

Review of salary scales of the professional and higher categories of the international civil service:

- (a) Report of the International Civil Service Advisory Board;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6135)

#### AGENDA ITEM 79

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly  
(continued):\*

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
- (d) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6061/  
ADD.1, A/6064)

38. Mr. PRUSA (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to introduce five reports concerning a variety of administrative and budgetary matters. I believe that only two of them call for any comment on my part, and I can be very brief.

39. First, with regard to the report contained in document A/6152, I think it is only proper to draw the attention of the General Assembly to paragraph 37, in which a well-merited tribute is paid to the attitude of the French delegation which made it possible for the Fifth Committee to reach virtual unanimity on so important a measure.

40. Secondly, I would refer to document A/6135, which deals with a review of the salary scales of the professional and higher categories of the international civil service. Draft resolution A, in annex I of this document, reflects the decisions taken by the Fifth Committee, namely, to modify the rates of staff assessments, to revise the service scales for the professional and higher categories, and to revise the post adjustment system.

41. Draft resolution B modifies the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2007 (XIX) concerning

\*Resumed from the 1365th meeting.

the pensionable remuneration of the staff as a necessary corollary of the action recommended in draft resolution A in respect of the provisions of the post adjustment system.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

42. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now consider agenda item 74. If no representative wishes to speak, we shall take a decision on the two draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/6131, para. 7].

43. I invite the Assembly to take a decision on draft resolution I. If no representative asks for a vote, I shall consider that the draft resolution is adopted by the General Assembly.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

44. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to take a decision on draft resolution II. If no representative asks for a vote, I shall consider that the draft resolution is adopted by the General Assembly.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

45. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take up agenda item 76, with regard to which the Fifth Committee has submitted a report [A/6152] on the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to study the finances of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The draft resolution of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 45 of the report and the Committee's recommendations concerning the financial implications of the draft resolution appear in paragraph 43.

46. If no representative wishes to speak, the Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution which the Fifth Committee recommends for our adoption.

47. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): I should merely like to inform the Assembly that it is certainly not my intention to reopen a question which was, I think, thoroughly discussed in the Fifth Committee, since we had occasion to discuss in detail the purpose and the terms of reference of the proposed committee and since we noted that the exchange of views had revealed the goodwill and co-operative spirit of delegations.

48. I simply want to draw attention to a few essential points, which are moreover emphasized in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/6152], and I take this opportunity to thank the Rapporteur for his excellent, comprehensive and precise work, particularly regarding the draft resolution before us [*ibid.*, para. 45]. The points I wish to emphasize are the following.

49. The establishment of the Committee is in no way the result of a lack of confidence in the Secretary-General and his colleagues; on the contrary, his co-operation is desired and, moreover, is considered necessary by the French delegation. May I recall here that I informed the Secretary-General of this proposal at once and that he was good enough to give his consent in principle to the draft resolution which we submitted.

50. I would also point out that it is by no means the object of the proposed study to place a ceiling on the expenditure of the United Nations; the aim is to lead to a rational and efficient use of resources.

51. It seemed to us, after discussing this with a number of delegations, that it would perhaps be reasonable to make a slight increase in the number of members of the Committee, which in our draft resolution is fixed at twelve and which could be raised to fourteen without any great difficulty. I think that we can propose that number and we hope that the Assembly will be good enough to ratify it.

52. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly has just heard the proposal made by the representative of France for increasing the number of the Members of the Committee.

53. If there are no objections, I shall put the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee [A/6152, para. 45] to the vote, taking into account the amendment proposed by the representative of France.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 104 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

54. Mr. EL-KONY (United Arab Republic): In the course of the debate which took place in the Fifth Committee on this resolution, my delegation expressed its views very amply and in clear terms. However, we wish to express again our satisfaction with regard to the manner and co-operation shown by all concerned in overcoming the differences of opinion on certain aspects of the draft resolution. Fortunately, the efforts in that direction were fruitful and achieved the desired success. Indeed, this success was due to a great extent to the spirit of understanding which was clearly shown by the delegation of France at all times.

55. Having said this, my delegation earnestly hopes that the outcome of the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee and the recommendations which it will submit to the twenty-first session will lead the Organization to a course of action which will safeguard the needs and assure the activities of the United Nations as it affects the interests of the developing countries; at the same time all possible economies should be achieved and security and savings should be sought.

56. Mr. President, with your permission, I wish at this stage to state that my Government has decided to respond to the appeal contained in the statement of the President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session on 1 September this year [1331st meeting] and later reiterated by the Secretary-General in a communication to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country. In accordance with instructions, I am pleased to announce that my Government will make a contribution in the amount of \$50,000 to help solve the financial difficulties of the Organization. This contribution is naturally made without prejudice to the position taken by the different Member States in respect of the subject of peace-keeping operations and on the basis of paragraph 11 of the report of the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations of 15 June last.

57. May I also point out that it is my delegation's understanding that the making of this voluntary contribution for the purpose of solving the financial difficulties of this Organization does not prejudice the terms and stipulations contained in resolution 1874 (S-IV) adopted during the Fourth Special Session.

58. My delegation is communicating the details of this contribution to the Secretary-General.

59. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Operative paragraph 2 of the resolution which the General Assembly has just adopted requests the President of the Assembly to designate the Member States which will compose the Ad Hoc Committee, choosing them on an equitable geographical basis. I assure Members of the Assembly that I shall announce the membership of this Committee within the next few days and that I shall take that point into account.

60. We shall now take up agenda item 77, on which the Fifth Committee has submitted two draft resolutions, which appear in annex I to its report [A/6135].

61. I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution A.

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 88 votes to 12, with 4 abstentions.*

62. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the Assembly to vote on draft resolution B.

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 91 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions.*

63. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will now consider agenda item 79 (a) and (d). If there are no objections with regard to agenda item 79 (a), I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution of the Fifth Committee [A/6061/Add.1, para.5].

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

64. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): If there are no objections with regard to agenda item 79 (d), I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution of the Fifth Committee [A/6064, para. 5].

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

## AGENDA ITEM 15

### Election of non-permanent members of the Security Council (concluded)

65. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This afternoon we shall complete our consideration of agenda item 15. Representatives will recall that at our last meeting we elected the non-permanent members of the Security Council. We decided that we should elect the new members who are to serve for a term of two years by secret ballot and by a simple majority. Nigeria was chosen to serve as a member of the Security Council for two years, from 1 January 1966. The Assembly now has to appoint the other member to serve for a term of two years.

66. One ballot has already been taken but the required majority was not obtained. We are therefore going to take another ballot. The candidates, as you will recall, are Japan, New Zealand and Uganda.

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Czarkowski (Poland) and Mr. Montero (Uruguay) acted as tellers.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	113
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	113
<i>Abstentions:</i>	1
<i>Number of Members voting:</i>	112
<i>Required majority:</i>	57

#### *Number of votes obtained:*

Japan . . . . .	57
Uganda . . . . .	39
New Zealand . . . . .	16

*Having obtained the required majority, Japan was appointed to serve as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for a period of two years, from 1 January 1966.*

*Uganda and New Zealand were appointed to serve as non-permanent members of the Security Council for a period of one year, from 1 January 1966.*

*The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.*