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

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NOSAVAN (Laos) (translated from French): His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Laos, planned personally to head the Laotian delegation to the nineteenth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. Unfortunately, at the last moment circumstances beyond his control kept him at Vientiane. He very reluctantly had to turn over to the Vice-President of his Council the chairmanship of the Laotian delegation in New York.

2. Accordingly, Mr. President, it is I who have the privilege of tendering to you the warmest congratulations of Laos on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session. Your election by unanimous acclamation on 1 December is an impressive confirmation of your personal abilities as a dynamic and able diplomat. This election also honours your country and, through Ghana, the entire African continent.

3. Your forceful and inspiring opening address gives ground for hope that, under your guidance, the work of this session will make an effective contribution, founded on wisdom and reason, to the search for solutions to the serious problems of our time. I am convinced that further achievements in the pursuit of the lofty purposes of the Charter and in the application of its principles will be recorded at the nineteenth session and that they will accord with and supplement those of the foregoing sessions.

4. It is in this sense that my delegation expresses its confidence and faith in the future of the United Nations and in the continuity of its work, despite the difficult beginning of this session. The United Nations has already more than once experienced constitutional crises which have threatened its existence. It has survived them, thanks to the patient efforts of those who, at the decisive moment, have been willing to sacrifice some of the individual interests of their countries and Governments in order to safeguard the

interest of the community as a whole. It would be well if the present financial crisis arising from peace-keeping operations were resolved in the same way. For any other alternative would involve the risk of a profitless and hazardous undertaking which would lead straight to disorder and anarchy.

5. It should also be observed—and I do so with profound admiration—that the very worthy successor of the late lamented Dag Hammarskjöld has not spared his efforts or his health in his endeavours to settle, with great tact and political wisdom, the serious difficulties which exist both within the Organization and elsewhere. I refer to U Thant, our respected Secretary-General. On this occasion I wish to express my very sincere wishes for his prompt recovery.

6. I wish also to express the Kingdom's gratitude for the United Nations experts and technicians who were assigned to Laos and who have proved both dedicated and competent.

7. I should also like to add the fraternal wishes of the Laotian people and Government to the brilliant statements of welcome to Malawi, Malta and Zambia—the three new States admitted to United Nations membership. The accession of a people to independence and the admission of a new State to the United Nations are, for us, a source of satisfaction, even as, for the Organization they are a practical illustration of the accomplishment of one of the purposes of the Charter—the emancipation and equality of peoples.

8. I wish these new Members a peaceful and prosperous future, in the conviction that they will make a vigorous contribution to the work of our Organization both in the promotion of its ideals and in the application of its principles.

9. I shall take the opportunity provided by the admission of these three States to explain my Government's views concerning the problem of the eventual admission of other States to membership in the United Nations. Its neutrality being confirmed by the Geneva Agreements of 1962,^{1/} Laos favours the admission to the United Nations of all States, large and small, which fulfil the conditions for membership. At the same time, however, it does not desire the unwarranted withdrawal of other Members. This conciliatory attitude is dictated by my country's policy of strict neutrality and by its people's desire to retain the friendship of all peoples, whatever their political system. This is the spirit in which my delegation views universal representation in the United Nations—as a representation which should conform to the international realities of the times.

^{1/} Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

10. We have many problems to examine at this session. Some are both touchy and complex, especially when subjected to close scrutiny; but most of them are connected with the great questions of peace, disarmament, economic development and decolonization.

11. My delegation considers that the greatest problem of our time—the problem which our generation must resolve if mankind is to survive—is the problem of peace among nations.

12. We are not threatened in the immediate future with a general war which, unfortunately for the human race, would bring weapons of mass destruction into play. Nevertheless, the international situation as a whole remains disquieting, because of the trouble spots which still disturb a part of Africa, a Mediterranean island and a sector of Asia.

13. In most instances these localized conflicts, even when they take place within a country, are of concern to foreign Powers with different systems. That is the tragedy of foreign interference in a troubled country into which, supported by intensive propaganda, flow weapons and munitions, obsolete in their countries of origin but spreading ruin and death among an innocent and formerly peaceful and tranquil population. This situation has for many years sustained an almost permanent state of tension and still disturbs the world. The efforts, even the sacrifices, of men of goodwill to reduce this tension have not always been successful. A relaxation has been occasionally noted here and there, unfortunately for short periods of time. That was the case in the Congo, Viet-Nam, Cyprus and Laos, to cite only a few examples. I shall, with your permission, Mr. President, speak at greater length about my country later on.

14. Fortunately, the dark picture which I have just painted is not likely to discourage those persons who are dedicated to the cause of peace and who continue to work for understanding and co-operation. The powerful leaders, who meet within this Organization and under its auspices, are fully aware of what they can accomplish by a common effort to attain the objectives of freedom, justice and peace.

15. Of course, the undertaking is not easy, for it implies a basic reappraisal of the concept of international morality and a renunciation of the drive for power and domination; it presupposes acceptance of the fact that one political system does not have to surpass another. So long as the desire for conquest and hegemony is not banished from the minds of men, so long as men remain convinced that one system is superior to another—whereas each has its advantages and its shortcomings—the peaceful coexistence and harmony preached by both sides will be merely publicity slogans at the service of a given policy. This is certainly not what we want. We want these words to have the same meaning for everyone and to become tangible and practical realities. If not, distrust and suspicion will prevail and will inexorably lead to the arms race and to the search for positions of strength.

16. This leads me to say a few words concerning general disarmament—a historic endeavour that twentieth-century society, which calls itself civilized, must undertake in order to prevent another world

war. The development of means of mass destruction has made this endeavour a vital necessity for all mankind, for whom it is a question of life or death.

17. Immense advances in the technology of destruction have made the possessors of thermonuclear weapons stop and think. They realize that a nuclear conflict, far from benefiting anyone, would lead to virtually total annihilation of the opposing camps. The fatalistic view that war is inevitable therefore becomes absurd. Hence my delegation has always supported all plans for general and complete disarmament.

18. Laos, which for many years has suffered the misfortune of war and known ruin and sorrow, fervently desires the banning or, better still, the destruction of all conventional and nuclear weapons. For, as long as arsenals are piled high with arms, men will be tempted to use them. We also favour the total prohibition of all nuclear tests. In fact, as is well known, scientists have established that radio-active contamination arising from nuclear tests in the atmosphere is a danger to the health not only of our generation but also of future generations. The establishment of denuclearized zones, the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, the abrogation of military pacts and the elimination of foreign bases will also receive our support.

19. There is indeed much to be done in the matter of disarmament. The task is difficult, but there are some indications that the problem is not insoluble. The Moscow Treaty partially banning nuclear tests,^{2/} the frequent contacts between the major political leaders and the regular sessions of the special Conference^{3/} are encouraging signs.

20. My delegation hopes that other steps towards general disarmament will be taken in the near future, so that atomic energy may gradually come to be used for peaceful purposes, to help mankind to a better life. This new power, mastered and disciplined, could be utilized to produce electricity and heat not only for industrial and household purposes but also for a thousand other worthwhile uses which would increase man's resources and enable them to be fairly distributed.

21. With regard to the sharing out among men of the resources of the earth and the benefits of science, my delegation earnestly hopes that the gap between poor and rich countries will gradually be closed by means of appropriate agreements which would raise the former without lowering the latter and from which, for the greater honour of mankind, any provision implying exploitation would be excluded. We are not going so far as to recommend the system of communicating vessels, which involves no effort, for the rise in a people's level of living is proportionate to the sum total of its labour and industry. It is, rather, mainly a question of providing adequate conditions of work and gain for the less favoured, so that they will be able progressively to better themselves, without any political or economic strings which might hamper them in their peaceful ascent.

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

^{3/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

22. It is difficult for developed countries to be completely disinterested when they conduct operations in an ill-equipped foreign country. It often happens in such cases that those who give cannot understand the resentment of those who receive, and that is liable to become a source of regrettable misunderstanding between them. This is why we consider that it would be better for technical assistance to developing countries to be granted, in the main, through a specialized body of the United Nations. The donor countries would then know the satisfaction of anonymity, while the beneficiaries would appreciate their tact, disinterest and discretion. The two sides will draw closer when they feel that such give and take is normal behaviour in members of the same human family.

23. Peoples which have known subjection understand the bitterness and suffering of those still enduring oppression or racial discrimination. We firmly believe, however, that the liberation of subject countries is a historical process which must inevitably run its course. This is why we hope to see the early disappearance of domination and racism, and we hope that the United Nations will, at session after session, welcome all the peoples of the earth when they have all attained independence.

24. Let me now describe the situation in my country. I think I am justified in quoting the substance of the White Book which has just been published by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In his foreword, Prince Souvanna Phouma, our Prime Minister, writes:

"Laos has complained for a long time about North Viet-Nameese interference in the conflict between the Neo Lao Halisat and other Lao political groups. Yet public opinion has always received these complaints with scepticism, as indeed have certain Governments.

"Nevertheless it is true that North Viet-Nameese troops have played a leading part in the fighting during the civil war which has been going on for more than twenty years as I myself can confirm from the time I spent in Khang Khay. The Pathet Lao who at the start had only two battalions or about 1,200 men at their command can hardly claim they were in a position to overcome Government forces of more than 20,000. Indeed, if the Pathet Lao have not disappeared from the scene it is because of the support they have received in their guerilla activities. Here lies the secret of the interminable crisis of Laos. There is no need to look any further for the reasons why a political party, originally made up of an insignificant handful of Marxist revolutionaries, should have survived.

"This White Paper published today gives an account of North Viet-Nameese interference in Laos, interference which the Government of North Viet-Nam has always categorically denied. At Geneva during the 14-Power Conference the North Viet-Nameese delegate publicly denied the participation of Viet-Minh troops in the internal affairs of Laos and defended this view with vigour and the most cynical insincerity. Today we bring conclusive evidence of their participation.

"It is easier to do this now than it was formerly

because the large number of defections from among the Pathet Lao ranks during recent months has provided us with indisputable proof: Lao soldiers, themselves former comrades in arms of the Viet-Minh, have come to understand that this war is not a war of 'national liberation' but a communist take-over of their country.

"We hope this White Paper will convince world public opinion that the situation in Laos is not just an internal affair... The Geneva Agreements of 1954^{4/} and 1962 would have succeeded long ago had communist interference ceased completely and had the Democratic Republic of North Viet-Nam been content to set its own house in order...

"This situation accounts for the troubled history of Laos ever since independence. While East and West carry on their conflict in this country, Laos will never be a neutral and independent State in accordance with the Geneva Agreements...

"But the Laos themselves have one wish and one wish only: to be left in peace...

"I hope this White Paper may help world opinion to understand better the grievous problem of Laos, which only exists because the 1962 Agreement has not been scrupulously observed by all its signatories. Peace in South-East Asia, indeed in the world, and the neutrality of Laos do not depend on Laos herself. They depend on other countries."

25. North Viet-Nameese interference in Laos is not a new problem. Ever since the signature of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has not ceased its aggressive activities aimed at undermining the successful implementation of those Agreements.

26. On 16 January 1959 the Royal Government of Laos protested to the Secretary-General of the United Nations that North Viet-Nameese forces had moved into occupation of certain Lao villages in the area north of the 17th parallel; and on 4 September the same year the Laotian Government appealed to the Secretary-General for United Nations assistance on the grounds of North Viet-Nameese participation in attacks on Lao military posts along the north-eastern frontier.

27. The Geneva settlement of 1962 took specific note of the question, stating in article 2 of the Protocol that:

"All foreign regular and irregular troops, foreign para-military formations and foreign military personnel shall be withdrawn from Laos in the shortest time possible."

28. Although the military advisers from other countries had been openly withdrawn by 7 October (the date laid down in the Agreement), the International Control Commission reported that only forty North Viet-Nameese technicians had left the country through its check points at Nhommarat and Xieng Khouang. The total number of North Viet-Nameese at the peak of the fighting had been estimated by reliable observers at several thousands.

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

29. The Government of National Union which had taken office on 23 June 1962 had proclaimed a cease-fire throughout the country the following day.

30. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 provided for an International Commission, not only to supervise and control the observance of the cease-fire, but also to investigate violations of article 2 of the Protocol, in particular those concerned with foreign military intervention. Unfortunately the vague terms of reference of the Commission coupled with the refusal of the Pathet Lao to allow the Commission to make meaningful investigations in the areas placed under its control, prevented the Commission from substantiating repeated charges by the Royal Government that North Viet-Nameese soldiers and military supplies were constantly entering the country, not only for the purpose of supporting the Pathet Lao, but also for supplying the Viet-Cong in South Viet-Nam by means of the "Ho Chi Minh" trail running through Eastern Laos. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has denied these charges, but conclusive evidence of North Viet-Nameese interference has been found in the last few months, as will be shown below.

31. Beginning in February 1964 and following a pre-conceived plan, the Pathet Lao forces launched a large scale offensive to drive the Neutralist forces from the Plain of Jars. The purpose of these attacks, which were supported by North Viet-Nameese units was to destroy the Neutralist forces under His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma and consolidate the Pathet Lao-Viet-Minh hold on the so-called "liberated zone". It was clear that the Pathet Lao could not have launched the attack on their own: they had neither the resources within their territory to produce the sophisticated weapons used in the offensive, nor the trained technicians or soldiers to serve these weapons.

32. On 13 May 1964 the Prime Minister addressed a letter to the Chairman of the International Commission asking the Commission, in accordance with the Geneva Agreements, to keep in readiness mobile inspection teams which could "investigate on the spot and bring immediately to the knowledge of the Co-Chairmen, by virtue of Article 8, all violations of the various provisions of the Protocol".

33. The Prime Minister also addressed a letter on 16 May 1964 to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference^{5/} protesting at "the attacks launched since this morning by the Neo Lao Haksat-Viet-Minh troops against the Neutralist forces in the area of Muongphanh".

34. On 20 June 1964, the International Commission, in its Message No. 31 to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, set out its findings on the situation.

35. The Pathet Lao had rejected the charge of North Viet-Nameese intervention claiming that they themselves were not even involved and that the fighting was only between different Neutralist factions. This was not the view of the Commission, which reported as follows:

"The Pathet Lao capture of Phoukhe on 25 February 1964 and Phou Sann on 27 April 1964 respectively

^{5/} International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 15 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

afforded them domination and observation of the Neutralist positions in the Plain of Jars from south-east as well as from the north. The capture of Phou Theneng and subsequent operations on 16 and 17 May 1964 clearly bring out Pathet Lao forces' co-ordinated actions."

36. The efforts of the Commission to investigate the responsibility for the violation of the cease-fire were frustrated because the Pathet Lao would not allow the Commission access either to the Plain of Jars or to other combat areas, so that it was unable to observe the operations or establish the presence of Viet-Minh support troops.

37. According to the Commission's team at the Plain of Jars, the extent of the military action of 16 and 17 May 1964 was sufficient to justify the assumption that it had been launched not by the small number of neutralist dissidents but by Pathet Lao-Viet-Minh units.

38. It is interesting to note in this connexion that on 24 October 1964 Radio Peking broadcasts, quoting the New China News Agency, announced that the Pathet Lao had awarded medals to some fifteen of its units fighting in the so-called liberated Xieng Khouang region. The unit which had seized Phou Kout, a position in the very centre of the Plain of Jars, was specifically mentioned as one of the fifteen units decorated.

39. The Pathet Lao has never granted facilities for access to the zones it controls to the International Commission to enable the latter to determine responsibility for violations of the cease-fire. Evidence of the obstacles put in the way of the Commission's investigative work by the Pathet Lao has been emphasized in the Commission's report, in which the following will be found:

"Because of limitations placed on its freedom of movement by persistent Pathet Lao denials of ready access to Pathet Lao controlled territory the Commission is unfortunately not able to produce irrefutable evidence to show where responsibility lies for violations of the cease-fire; it is difficult, however, to avoid the inference that the Pathet Lao has something to hide.

"As to investigating the allegations regarding the presence of Viet-Minh fighting alongside the Pathet Lao, the Commission is again hampered by the persistent refusal by the Pathet Lao to permit it to enter its territory except under very strictly controlled conditions. Again this denial leads the Commission to infer that the Pathet Lao has something to hide, otherwise freedom of entry and movement within the Pathet Lao area would be readily granted.

"The Commission permits itself to observe that Pathet Lao insistence on tripartite agreement to investigations, an agreement that is so seldom granted, contains a logical absurdity; no guilty party will ever of its own accord permit the offences of which it is guilty to be investigated. The presumption of guilt therefore when access is denied in the circumstances of the Laotian situation ought to be recognized as a legitimate inference for the Commission to make."

One wonders what the Pathet Lao wants to hide from the International Commission, if not the presence of North Viet-Nameese troops in its ranks.

40. Although the Commission went far towards vindicating the Royal Government's contention about North Viet-Nameese armed interference, it could not give outright support to this view. Given the limitations imposed on its operations, the evidence required was not available to it.

41. It was not until last September that irrefutable proof was discovered. On 15 September 1964, the Royal Government announced that various documents had been taken from the dead bodies of North Viet-Nameese soldiers in the Xieng Khouang province. Included among these were a number of letters from these soldiers to their families in North Viet-Nam. At a press conference called on 15 September, journalists were able to examine these letters for themselves; translations were also available. Handwritten, on cheap paper or on sheets taken from an exercise book, these letters express the feelings and recount events in the life of North Viet-Nameese soldiers far from their families and homeland. In the White Paper you will find a translation of 'a letter sent by a Viet-Minh soldier to this wife, Tran-thi-Lan; this is a specific example illustrating the facts I have cited. Other letters speak of present dangers and difficulties. An excerpt from a letter from Le Xuan Hao to his parents is also reproduced in the White Paper. Any impartial person would accept the authenticity of such letters, for they have the stamp of truth.

42. Shortly afterwards, further and even more convincing proof was supplied by the capture of North Viet-Nameese soldiers. Three North Viet-Nameese, Nguyen Khanh, Dang Son Hai and Tran Van Sinh, were taken prisoner, the first two on 15 and 16 September 1964 at Phon Xang Noi and the third on 19 September at Ban Ngiou Noi.

43. Nguyen Khanh, 19 years old, was called up for military service on 29 February 1964 and enrolled in the second topography company of No. 168 Artillery Regiment at Son-La in North Viet-Nam. On 23 June, his company, composed of about 100 North Viet-Nameese soldiers, was ordered to proceed to Laos. A convoy consisting of nine lorries had left Son-La and taken the troops as far as Muong Sen, close to the Laotian border. There they were transferred to Pathet Lac lorries and taken to Khangkhay and were then divided into several units which participated in ground operations. Nguyen Khanh, lost and starving, was finally captured. Members of the international press were allowed to question him on 17 September.

44. The second prisoner, Dang Son Hai, had been called up on 3 January 1962 and had received infantry training. He entered Laos with a convoy on 1 March 1964, met with the same misfortune and was captured in the same way. Tran Van Sinh, the third Viet-Minh soldier, who had been in Laos for only one month, suffered the same fate. Particularly significant is the second prisoner's admission that on 28 April his battalion received the order to reinforce the Pathet Lao attack on the Plain of Jars. He personally took part in the battle which ended with the capture of the Plain of Jars by the Pathet Lao.

45. Among the documents found on the prisoners was a diary belonging to Nguyen Khanh. The entries in it provide striking corroboration of Nguyen Khanh's own account of his movements. This diary, which is reproduced in the White Paper, was kept from 23 June to 15 September 1964, the day of his capture. It is a very human document; written on squared paper, with notes on range-finding and ballistics at one end, it describes the day-to-day routine of a North Viet-Nameese soldier with the Pathet Lao. Entries taken at random give an idea of the life of Viet-Minh soldiers in Laos.

46. The Royal Government of Laos has informed the Commission of the capture of the North Viet-Nameese prisoners and granted it facilities to interrogate the said prisoners so that it may inform the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference about North Viet-Nameese armed interference. The interrogation is under way, but the Commission's report had not been made public when the White Paper went to press.

47. The Royal Government contends that the capture of the three North Viet-Nameese prisoners provides proof beyond all doubt that, as it has always claimed, North Viet-Nameese have helped the Pathet Lao not only with war materials and food, but by units of their regular army. It also provides conclusive evidence of the extent to which the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has been guilty of interference in the internal affairs of Laos, an action which constitutes a flagrant violation of both the Geneva Agreements and the United Nations Charter.

48. Further overwhelming corroboration of Viet-Nam's guilt is provided by the numerous soldiers from the Pathet Lao ranks who have defected to the Royal Government because they could no longer bear the increasingly ruthless grip of the North Viet-Nameese.

49. The Royal Government has protested strongly to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and has asked it to cease its hostile acts forthwith. It also appeals to all those nations which believe in peace and justice to bear witness to this North Viet-Nameese interference in the internal affairs of Laos and seeks their support in its attempts to put an end to this aggression. The aim of the Royal Government is, as in the past, to build a peaceful, independent and neutral Laos—an aim that cannot be achieved while North Viet-Nameese armed interference continues.

50. I apologize for this long account of Viet-Minh activities as reported in the White Paper, which moreover is going to be circulated. I consider that this information may serve to enlighten international opinion about the origin of the persistent difficulties faced by the Laotian Kingdom, difficulties which, because of foreign interference, have lasted for more than twenty years. In doing this, my delegation hopes for an impartial judgement on the case of Laos, whatever its source. Then perhaps suggestions and strong recommendations will be made which will influence the guilty and lead to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem, thereby introducing a measure of tranquillity in seething South-East Asia and in this troubled world.

51. Mr. MARTIN (Canada): I hope that the distinguished spokesman for Laos will not misunderstand me if I do not follow and comment on some of the important declarations that he has made. My country, as a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, along with Poland and India, as well as in Cambodia and Viet-Nam, has a very important concern in these matters, but there may be, in another context, and at the appropriate moment and in another forum, an opportunity to deal with some of the vital matters referred to by the previous speaker under our responsibility as a member of the International Control Commission.

52. Mr. President, may I begin by congratulating you on your election to preside over the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly. In electing you to this high office, we have given recognition at one and the same time to the distinguished services you have rendered to the United Nations, to the prominent part your country has played in the affairs of the Organization, and to the growing stature of Africa in the world.

53. I would also like to extend, if I may, a welcome to the delegations of Malawi, Zambia and Malta, which have joined our ranks for the first time. Their presence among us serves as a reminder of the transcendent political changes that have marked the first two decades of the existence of this body. It also takes us yet another step closer to universality of membership, which was the great issue of our debates some ten years ago and which must remain our ultimate goal so long as any significant segment of the world's population remains unrepresented in this forum.

54. Your own country, Mr. President, and mine are associated with these three new countries in the Commonwealth. We regard the development of this association as a vital and imaginative response to the political changes of which I have spoken. We believe that it provides a unique framework for constructive co-operation among peoples of different races, creeds and cultures, and this co-operation, as you know, Mr. President, rests on a partnership of equals and is designed for our common benefit. We have recognized that if the Commonwealth association is to continue to be meaningful, we would have to meet the challenge of racial equality and non-discrimination which is now very central to our partnership. We have not sought to avoid this challenge but we have met it firmly, I believe, and unequivocally by pledging ourselves to work towards "a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed".^{6/}

55. We are now on the threshold of the twentieth anniversary year of the United Nations. On an occasion such as this it is fitting that we should look back on the record of our accomplishments and achievements, and of our failures. It is equally fitting that we should cast a glance forward into the future to survey the opportunities that are open to us, and the means we must deploy towards their attainment.

56. The United Nations—and I have been one of those who was here from the beginning, and I was also in the League—was born of disenchantment, disenchantment with an order of things which twice in a single generation has engulfed us in armed conflict, with all the attendant destruction and human suffering. But the United Nations was also born of a determination to build a new and more rational world order based on constructive co-operation, collective action, shared responsibility, in the common interest of the world community as a whole.

57. It was the assumption and the expectation of the framers of the Charter that along this course the United Nations would be sustained by the strength and resources of the great Powers acting in concert. As matters evolved, as we know, this assumption was not fully realized, and this has slowed the pace of our progress toward a more rational world order, but it has not diminished, I think, the impetus which must inevitably lead us in that direction.

58. Indeed, when we look over the past two decades, we are bound to be struck by the extent to which we have come, over an increasingly wide area, to organize our activities on a basis of international co-operation. There is scarcely an area of human concern which we have not brought within the focus of one international organization or another. We have joined in concerted attacks on famine, disease and illiteracy. We have co-operated in freeing the flow of trade and capital. We have begun to mobilize the resources of the affluent world in support of the efforts of the developing countries. We have made arrangements for disseminating the achievements of science and technology. We have collaborated in drawing up a charter of human rights. And we have endeavoured to work out ways in which the disputes of nations can be contained and brought within the compass of negotiated solutions. In short, we have recognized that international co-operation, far from being incompatible with our national interests, is in many ways the most effective as well as the most enduring way of securing them.

59. Now this is, I think, a creditable record of achievement. It surely demonstrates that the United Nations has not become, as many feared that it might, a mere debating society. But it does not afford us any grounds for complacency. The world in which we live, as we know so well, is one of change, change on a scale and at a pace unprecedented in the affairs of men. If this body is to become the dynamic instrument of Governments which the late Dag Hammarskjöld envisaged, it must not only be able to meet our present needs, but it must have the capacity to serve as an instrument of peaceful change. That is what we, all of us who are interested in collective security at this critical time in the history of the Organization, ought to bear in mind.

60. Already the focus of emphasis in the United Nations has shifted; and it has shifted in large part as a result of the emergence to independent nationhood of countries which now constitute more than half our total membership. These countries are seeking to broaden out the basis and the meaning of their newly achieved independence. They are seeking to provide improved conditions of life for all segments

^{6/} Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting 1964, Final Communiqué, London, H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 2441, p. 2.

of their populations, and they are seeking to absorb the impact of the scientific and technical revolution of the twentieth century in conditions of reasonable social and economic stability. These are formidable tasks. They cannot be accomplished by these countries acting in isolation. They can be accomplished only in a co-operative world environment. This we all know.

61. Inevitably, the new balance of forces in our Organization has brought in its wake problems that will need to be met. For my own part, I am confident—just as I was in 1955, when my country had something to do with bringing in so many of the new nations and breaking the membership problem—that these problems can be met. I say this because it is surely in the interests of all of us that the United Nations should continue to command the widest possible support of those who are involved in the determination of policy in its Member States. Clearly, the greater the size of our membership and the more diffuse the interests represented in our deliberations, the more important it becomes that the conclusions we reach and the recommendations we put forward should reflect the broadest possible consensus of views, and I use the word "consensus" advisedly.

62. In this respect I am encouraged by the new emphasis that is being placed on the instrument of conciliation as one best calculated to reinforce the effectiveness of the United Nations. Conciliation was responsible in large measure for safeguarding the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.^{2/} Conciliation was also instrumental in enabling the General Assembly to embark on its work this year in circumstances which we regard as among the most critical which the United Nations has had to face in the twenty years of its existence.

63. The crisis we face—and I know some do not like this word—the crisis we face—and I cannot, in the name of my Government and the people of Canada who are loyal to the Charter, emphasize the point too strongly—is not merely a financial crisis, nor is it limited to constitutional issues. It is a crisis which touches upon our whole conception of the United Nations as the custodian of international peace and security. It is a crisis on the outcome of which hinges the hopes and the aspirations of the vast majority of its Members for a peaceful and securely ordered world.

64. Canada attaches the highest importance to the concept of peace-keeping. We regard the evolution of that concept, as distinct from the concepts envisaged in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, as affording the most significant example of the vitality of this Organization and its capacity for change in response to changing circumstances. Peace-keeping has evolved steadily from the designation of an observer group to assist India and Pakistan in avoiding further conflict in Kashmir, to the dispatch early in 1964 of a United Nations Force to the island of Cyprus, where Canadian soldiers have been helping to keep the peace. This is a period which is almost coterminous with the whole period of existence of the United Nations. Increasingly over this period there has been recourse

to and reliance upon the United Nations presence to prevent unstable situations from erupting into open conflict.

65. Because of the importance which my country attaches to this development and the implications which it has for the maintenance of world peace and security, we have participated in every peace-keeping operation mounted by the United Nations since 1948, and we have done our best to meet its calls for logistic and financial support. We are paying our own way in order to help maintain peace in Cyprus. We have also over the past years maintained a standby force which is available on short notice should it be requested by the United Nations for participation in duly authorized peace-keeping operations.

66. The same motives which prompted us to respond readily to the calls of the United Nations also prompted us last month to convene a conference in Ottawa for the purpose of taking stock of the practical experience which has been gained in past peace-keeping operations. The conference was attended by representatives from twenty-three countries and I am pleased to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the excellent work they did. There was no attempt made by the conference, as we indicated clearly beforehand would be the case, to produce formal conclusions or to chart any forward course of collective action. But I am confident that the conference has done something to improve the capacity of the participating countries to respond more effectively and more rationally to future appeals by the United Nations.

67. I have been encouraged since the conclusion of the conference to note the proposal of the Secretary-General, who was ably represented at that conference, that the whole question of advance planning for peace-keeping operations be studied by the United Nations. In putting forward this proposal in the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General expressed the hope that such a study might "yield recommendations for consideration by the competent organs" which may then authorize him "to proceed along such lines as may be generally approved" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. XI]. We strongly support this proposal and we will naturally be prepared to play our full part in carrying it forward at the appropriate time.

68. The availability of properly trained and equipped forces is one element of an effective United Nations capacity to keep the peace. The availability of the necessary financial resources on an assured basis is another. It would be tragic, it would be tragic indeed, if in a future crisis this Organization were debarred for lack of funds from intervening in the cause of peace, and I need only remind all of us of the situation in this regard in Cyprus.

69. Canada has always supported the view that the responsibility for maintaining peace and security is one which is shared by all States Member of the United Nations. We regard it as a logical consequence of that view that the cost of peace-keeping must also be shared equitably by all with due regard to their relative capacity to contribute. We believe this principle of shared responsibility to be inherent in the Charter and we find ourselves confirmed in that belief by the advisory opinion of the International Court of

^{2/} Held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

Justice.^{8/} According to that opinion, the expenses incurred by the United Nations in the Middle East and in the Congo are expenses of the Organization and the assessments for them approved by the General Assembly are binding assessments.

70. I am bound to acknowledge, however, that some important Member States do not share this view either of the principle or of the law involved. In circumstances where the five permanent members of the Security Council between them are responsible for meeting two-thirds of the costs of this Organization, the dissenting views of two of these permanent members are clearly of critical importance. The divergence between their views and those of the majority of members has set us on a collision course which, if not diverted, can only have the gravest consequences for the United Nations, as we understood it to be, whatever the outcome. In this situation then, it is incumbent on each and every one of us to reflect on the implications of our present course and to explore all avenues of reaching an accommodation to which we can all subscribe.

71. The vital importance of this problem has, of course, been recognized for some time. As far back as 1961, the Canadian delegation, in an effort to find a solution, sponsored the proposal which led to the establishment of the Working Group of Fifteen.^{9/} In this group—and subsequently in the Working Group of Twenty-One—we sought actively to reconcile the fundamental divergences which have threatened the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace. We deeply regret that it has not proved possible so far to arrive at any accommodation.

72. Such an accommodation must be found. If it is to be found, I recognize that there will have to be a willingness to make concessions on all sides. I am confident that, in the same spirit of conciliation which has attended the opening phase of our deliberations, the necessary concessions can and will be made. Agreement on this issue is vital to the future of the United Nations, but I believe it will also have implications beyond this body. It could be as important as the nuclear test ban treaty as a means of broadening the basis of international understanding, that is to say between East and West. For it is surely in the interests of the great Powers that the international community should be free to act in situations which might otherwise have the effect of extending the area of confrontation between them.

73. The search for agreement must be initiated at once and it must be pursued vigorously. We welcome the steps that have already been taken by the Secretary-General toward this end. We look forward to the early advancement of the more restricted discussions now under way to the point where the Group of Twenty-One can be called into action. We believe that at that stage the detailed explorations of this issue, which has been carried out by the members of the Working Group over the past few years, will be of value.

^{8/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

^{9/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 49/50, document A/4740, paras. 11, 13 and 21-23.

74. The Canadian objective in these discussions will be to achieve an accommodation, not a capitulation. I would not want to leave this subject, however, without affirming once again our belief that the principle of shared responsibility must form the basis of any ultimate consensus. We believe, in particular, that the responsibility for meeting the costs of operations such as Cyprus, the need for which has been acknowledged by the Security Council, must be shared by all Member States rather than left to a few. The pattern of operation in Cyprus on the financial side cannot be used as precedent for our future settlement; that, in our judgement, would cause a great impairment in the strength and integrity of this, the second attempt in the history of man to create a world collective security organization.

75. With regard to the maintenance of peace and security, I wish to emphasize as strongly as I can that it is not enough for the United Nations to rely on the goodwill of a few; it must be able to count on the response and the responsibility of the whole membership.

76. I believe that there will continue to be a need for peace-keeping operations in the foreseeable future, unless we want to take a regressive step, and I say this because we have witnessed great political and social changes in our world, which will take time to work themselves out and which cannot be counted upon to do so without some element of upheaval. Meanwhile, there is an obligation which the Charter places upon us, to settle our disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against one another in any area. We also have an obligation to carry forward our pursuit of peace and security by working towards our agreed objective of general and complete disarmament.

77. The events of the past few months have made it clear that the central issue in the disarmament field at this session of the Assembly is the need to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. When I speak of events of the past few months, I have naturally in mind the nuclear test conducted by Communist China on 16 October 1964. We deeply regret that the Chinese Communist Government should have chosen to disregard world opinion in such deliberate fashion. We also look upon this development as profoundly disquieting for the future. If it does nothing else, I would hope that it will impart fresh urgency to our efforts to reach agreement to limit the spread of independent military nuclear capability.

78. The nuclear test ban treaty, for the time being, is the only international instrument inhibiting an expansion of the number of nuclear Powers. The Canadian position has been that nuclear and non-nuclear Powers should be bound reciprocally in an undertaking to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons. The need for such agreement is greater now that the number of nuclear Powers has increased. It is no longer sufficient to depend on the restraint of the nuclear Powers themselves. What is now required is the elaboration of an international agreement or agreements by which the nuclear States would undertake not to relinquish control of nuclear weapons nor to transmit the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons; while

the non-nuclear States, for their part, would pledge themselves not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of nuclear weapons. In the Canadian view, an agreement on these lines would have a significant contribution to make to the enlargement of world peace and security.

79. My country has been in the forefront of the development of nuclear energy. The manufacture of nuclear weapons has long been within our technical capability. It has, however, been the deliberate policy of successive Canadian Governments to refrain from exercising that capability and to concentrate on the peaceful uses of the atom. That remains the position of my Government. There are other nations, notably India, which though within range of a nuclear capability, have taken the same position of self-denial. We believe that this is the position best calculated to advance the cause of peace.

80. I have been speaking about the part the United Nations has played and must continue to play in the enlargement of world peace and security. World peace and world prosperity, as we know, are closely linked together. A climate of world peace is indispensable if the struggle against poverty, hunger and disease is to be waged effectively and with the full mobilization of all the resources at our command. Conversely, there cannot be any assured prospect of peace and security in a world in which affluence and poverty are so unevenly distributed.

81. We are now approaching the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. The object in designating the 1960's in this way was to achieve in the developing countries targets of economic growth that held out some prospect of narrowing the gap between their living standards and those of the developed countries. These targets were set as minimum targets, representing as they did a compromise between what needed to be done and what was considered to lie within the realm of practical achievement. Experience has shown that even these minimum targets can be met only if domestic effort in the developing countries is properly deployed and if it is supported by appropriate international policies. Experience has also shown that trade has a vital contribution to make to the total development process.

82. And so it was with the object of bringing trade and development into closer focus that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened in Geneva earlier this year. This was the largest economic conference held, as we know, in the history of this or any other organization. It was also the first such conference to concern itself comprehensively with the problem of under-development which affects two-thirds of the world's population. It enabled us jointly to take stock of the magnitude of this problem. It brought about a substantial measure of identification of the interests of developing countries as a group. Indeed, the coalescence of the seventy-five developing nations within the larger community of interest which includes all of us was perhaps the most significant single feature of that Conference. I think it is fair to say that the Conference enabled us to arrive at a much better understanding of the broad lines along which domestic and international effort must henceforth be directed. It also produced

broadly agreed recommendations on a number of important questions, especially those relating to development planning in a framework of international support.

83. Inevitably, the Conference did not go as far as many wished it to go. But I think it would be wrong to judge the Conference only in terms of its short-term results. World public opinion is now seized of the problem of under-development as never before. We can also now look forward to the establishment of an institutional framework within which the work that was begun at Geneva can be carried forward in depth. For my part, I look upon the Conference as a turning-point in history, marking the vital challenge of the next decade or so. It has set in train developments which I am sure will not be reversed and which are bound to make a lasting imprint on the whole pattern of international economic relations.

84. The Canadian Government is prepared to play its part in the co-operative effort that will be required if the developing countries are to be brought to the threshold of self-sustaining economic growth. We are expanding and broadening our programmes of economic assistance. We were able at the Geneva Conference to announce a 50 per cent increase in the volume of Canadian assistance during the current year. Only four days ago, on behalf of the Government of Canada, I signed an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank under which we have agreed to make loans on favourable, very favourable, terms to Latin American countries for programmes designed to accelerate their economic, technical and educational development. I mention this agreement because it provides for the first concerted programme of Canadian assistance to our neighbours and friends in Latin America and thus an extension of the area in which Canada has carried out such programmes in the past.

85. I would also like to say a brief word about the World Food Programme of the United Nations. We regard this programme as contributing significantly to economic development and we look forward to its renewal in 1965. The present contributions to this programme have been either used or committed, and so, in these circumstances, the Canadian Government has authorized me to say that we have decided to make a further contribution of \$2 million to be added to the \$5.4 million of our original pledge.

86. The United Nations itself is on the point of consolidating its development assistance by merging the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The Canadian Government supports the considerations which have prompted this move. We attach importance to the new combined programme carrying forward the same sound policies which have characterized the operation of the present programmes and commanding the same confidence and support.

87. We recognize that there will be a continuing need for both bilateral and multilateral assistance to sustain the efforts which the developing countries themselves are making to mobilize their resources for development. We also recognize that these countries look towards a world trading order that is in the closest

possible harmony with their interests. The Canadian market imposes no barrier other than the tariff to the products of the developing countries. We are prepared, in the context of the negotiations which have now formally been launched at Geneva, to reduce our tariffs with particular regard for the trading interests of the developing nations. In common with other developed countries, we are prepared to do so without requiring an equivalence of concessions from the developing countries themselves. We believe that a stable world trading order is of interest to all countries, including particularly those in the process of development, and that there cannot be such a trading order without some balancing of rights and obligations. On the other hand, we are prepared to recognize the special position of the developing countries in the world trading context. I believe that the agreement which has now been reached to give statutory recognition to this special position of the developing countries in the context of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is one we all welcome as a significant step in the right direction.

88. In the introduction to his annual report the Secretary-General speaks of the new conciliation procedures which have emerged from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as adding to "the broad concepts of negotiations and co-operation inherent in the Charter" [A/5801/Add.1, sect. IV]. As I have already indicated, my country attaches importance to this concept of conciliation, particularly at this stage of the evolutionary process of this Organization. We regard it as a valid and efficient concept in the management of our domestic affairs, although its application demands patience and goodwill. We also believe that if we are to proceed to a closer identification of the attitudes and activities of members of the world community at large, we can best do so by taking serious and realistic account of one another's concerns. Any other course is likely, in our view, to weaken the very organizations which embody our hopes for a new world order, and among which the United Nations itself must stand first and foremost.

89. World peace and world prosperity—these are the twin pillars on which the United Nations must stand or fall. We have now reached, as I said at the outset, a critical juncture in our affairs. What we must decide is whether the United Nations is to be enabled to play its appointed part in securing world peace and world prosperity, or whether its capacity to do so is to be seriously impaired, if not crippled. For let us not think that the ability of the United Nations to serve the broader interests of the world community will be unaffected by the way in which we solve the present crisis.

90. We have made great progress in the course of international co-operation over the past two decades; of this there is no doubt. We must now consolidate that progress and build upon it. We cannot afford to go back on what we have achieved. Here in the United Nations are embodied the hopes and the aspirations of mankind for a better world order. We have an obligation, as we see it, each and every one of us acting within the concept of shared responsibility, to see that these hopes and aspirations do not go unrealized.

91. I close my remarks by saying to you: let it not be said of this session of the General Assembly that we failed to discharge that obligation, with all the consequences this could have for the future course of international co-operation.

92. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like to begin by offering you the warm congratulations of the Senegalese delegation on your triumphant election as President of the Assembly. Apart from the honour done to Africa, we welcome your election for many other reasons. Your long experience of the United Nations, your sound qualities of intellect and character, your universally recognized ability, all provide an assurance of the success of this important session.

93. It often happens that, just before the opening of a session, some sudden event occurs to occupy the foreground of the international scene. Carried away by the passion of the moment, we allow this event to assume such dimensions that it blurs our vision of the fundamental problems confronting the contemporary world. On such occasions, however, we should not lose our equanimity and should rise above the event, which usually is no more than an incident, an adventitious and transient phenomenon. Crises are not always the sign of a new sickness; they may denote the acute phase of a sickness of long standing for which we have been unable to find a remedy at the proper time. So long as certain fundamental problems have not been resolved, crises will inevitably erupt from time to time. Instead of becoming excessively excited, we would do better to attack the evil at its root by tackling candidly, and as lucidly as possible, the fundamental problems which cause the shocks we experience.

94. Until we have found a solid foundation for peace, until we have built a new international order which answers both the political and the economic needs of our age, we must not be surprised that the world moves from crisis to crisis and that conflict succeeds conflict.

95. What have we done to bring lasting peace to the world? I will not now repeat the words of the Secretary-General's excellent report on disarmament, but I cannot but note that it concludes with an admission of defeat. As the Secretary-General himself observes, at the time when he signed the report, the Eighteen-Nation Committee had not yet presented to him any resolution which could be submitted to the Assembly. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that the General Assembly met last year in an atmosphere of general euphoria. From this rostrum, almost every delegation hailed the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons as a historic event. The mass accession to this Treaty of the smaller Powers was equivalent to a referendum—a referendum overwhelmingly in favour of peace. The way in which our peoples flocked to accede to the Moscow Treaty was not, as will be appreciated, the expression of a boundless satisfaction. Everyone knew that the Moscow Treaty was not perfect; but in acceding to it we were asking for a continuation of the task which had been begun, in order that the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament might be attained.

96. I have said that the Moscow Treaty was not perfect. It is not perfect in that it sanctions the sovereign power of the few by conferring on them the exclusive privilege of possessing nuclear weapons. Yet we, like many others, signed the Moscow Treaty in order to give broad popular support to the ideal it embodies and to encourage the realization of that ideal. This broad popular support for the Moscow Treaty should have served as a spur to more rapid progress on the work begun. Because it failed to do so, we are now confronted with a serious threat. Other countries have learned the secret of atomic weapons. The arms race might be resumed, because some countries might wish to maintain their lead and others to overtake them.

97. A world disarmament conference has been suggested. It is true that peace is everyone's business; but my delegation, recognizing world realities, does not consider it necessary or useful to hold a world conference. Peace is not a matter for oratory. The important point is that those who for the time being are directly concerned because they possess atomic weapons should be able to discuss this problem among themselves. We are concerned only with the result: the reaching of a genuine agreement on the principle of, and practical arrangements for, general and complete disarmament. Our role is to speak for the world conscience, to reflect international public opinion, to exercise salutary pressure on those who possess atomic weapons.

98. Before there can be disarmament, however, certain anomalies must be corrected. No one arms for the pleasure of arming; but the lack of a perfect order gives rise to certain anomalies. There are injustices, iniquities, dreams of territorial or ideological expansion or both, economic domination of the weak by the strong. All this is not conducive to the inauguration of an era of peace.

99. There are a number of anomalies, both political and economic, in the existing international order. Politically, there is conflict between blocs, and sometimes conflict within blocs. Conflict within blocs may be a good sign but conflict between blocs is not. It has unjust and dreadful consequences.

100. It is abnormal, for instance, that the People's Republic of China is not a Member of the United Nations. Leaving aside any question of ideology, 700 million human beings cannot be deprived of their right to membership in the international community and to participation in the decisions taken by it. My delegation will actively support any proposal which would enable China to recover its lawful rights.

101. Another anomaly of the international order is the existence of divided countries. In our view, the principle of self-determination must be allowed to operate. Let the peoples of those countries decide either to unite in a single State, or to separate once for all. In either case, we should simply note what is done and give it legal sanction.

102. A third anomaly is the structure of the United Nations, which is not adapted to the international realities of today. We have for long been demanding changes in this structure. Everyone agrees on the principles, but no one agrees to its realization in practice unless it is done in the way he wishes.

103. A final anomaly of the existing international order is colonialism. We are pleased, of course, at the progress of decolonization. This year, once again, new Members have been or will be admitted to the United Nations. We offer our sincere congratulations to the delegations of Malawi, Zambia and Malta, whose countries have now achieved full national sovereignty. Yet, although decolonization has made progress, one cannot fail to note the shocks which accompany it and, at times, the spectacular setbacks it suffers.

104. In both Asia and Africa, the colonizers have withdrawn, only to leave the stage free for new masters, although often not acknowledged as such. In some cases, the colonizers themselves have attempted by indirect means to embroil matters anew. There has been talk, for some years past, of neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that the word stands for a painful reality.

105. However, we wish to be fair and to make allowances. Although the colonialists bear a heavy responsibility, the formerly colonized peoples are also not entirely blameless. Very often, it is we ourselves who introduce the cold war into our countries. Because of internal rivalries between individuals and political factions, we invite outsiders to interfere in our affairs. Again, being in dispute with a neighbour, we appeal to a third country, in many cases a great Power, to intervene in the dispute, and this impels our adversary to do likewise. We establish the Organization of African Unity, but we allow factions to arise within it, so that problems can scarcely be solved objectively, but only on the basis of alliances, sympathies, rivalry and sometimes enmity. Attempts have often been made to have that Organization play a role which does not belong to it, making it a supranational body, as though States, by acceding to its Charter, had surrendered their own sovereignty. Let us not go too quickly. African unity is, at present, a trend, an aspiration; it is not yet an institutional reality. All these contradictions paralyse us and give others the impression that we have no principles and no rules. The Congo is a typical example of this.

106. Since 1960, that unhappy country has been floundering in difficulties without number. It is the worst example of decolonization that can be found. Of course, the original fault lay with the Belgian colonizers, who were less concerned with educating men than with exploiting wealth. There was also unquestionably pressure from financial groups, which had no intention of quitting the Congo and which worked for the dismemberment of the country. That was the cause of the secession of Katanga. But have we Africans really facilitated a solution of the problem by coherent and concerted action? I do not think so.

107. My delegation feels perfectly free to discuss the Congolese problem, because we condemned the secession of Katanga from the outset, we sent troops to help to undo it, and we defended the territorial integrity of the Congo here at that time. Last year, although we appreciated the financial reasons which were given for withdrawing the United Nations troops from the Congo we faced that development with some apprehension.

108. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization confirms how justified that apprehension was. The report says:

"The United Nations military advisers agreed that the Congolese army and police were still lacking the ability to assume full responsibility for law and order in the country and that therefore a case could be made for a need of military assistance from outside beyond 1963." [A/5801, p. 1.]

109. In other words, if the United Nations withdrew, the Congolese National Army would be unable to maintain order and public security, all the more so, the report went on to say because:

"... there would appear to be little basis for optimism about the prospects for significant progress in the training and modernization of ANC by June 1964" [*ibid.*, pp. 1 and 2].

110. That is what the Secretary-General said in his report when the United Nations troops were about to be withdrawn. Afterwards, Mr. Adoula resigned. Mr. Tshombé replaced him. It is not for us to evaluate the causes or the manner of that change in the internal politics of the Congo. Countries change governments every day, sometimes according to constitutional procedure and sometimes, unfortunately, in the wake of revolutions. Those are internal questions which are not within our competence.

111. The surprising thing is that attempts have been made in Africa, even some persistent attempts, to challenge the legality of the present Congolese Government. That is a dangerous precedent and we Senegalese cannot accept it. Whether Mr. Tshombé has made mistakes or has acted in the interest of the Congo is for the Congolese people alone to decide. We, for our part, abstain from any interference in the Congo's internal affairs.

112. Senegal desires to remain faithful to certain principles, come what may. Any policy not based on respect for principles is doomed to failure. But in this Congo affair, we must admit, we do not always see what principles are being observed, but sometimes we can guess what interests are being pursued. The recent American-Belgian intervention in the Congo aroused much excitement in Africa, and often, we must say, false indignation. Only recently, African Governments appealed for the intervention of European Powers to put down uprisings, and nothing was said. We must be consistent with ourselves. There cannot, in any case, be a double standard. Instead of charging into the Security Council chamber to debate a question on which we are far from unanimous, I think we Africans should rather begin by examining our consciences. Have we done all we could to help the Congolese people? We have often carried our internal disputes into the Congo; often, consciously or unconsciously, we have helped to sow anarchy there. We approve or condemn interventions depending on whether they come from the right or the left, from Washington or Moscow.

113. We wish to speak as a truly non-aligned country: non-aligned with regard to the blocs, of course, but non-aligned within Africa as well. What binds African people together is their solidarity, and sometimes

the identity of their situations. But solidarity does not mean subjection or submission. It presupposes the equality of all African States and mutual respect for their sovereignty. The Congolese problem is serious, but let us Africans begin by ourselves refraining from any interference in the internal affairs of the Congo if we want to have the right to judge and criticize other interventions.

114. We do not feel it would be useful to say anything further and we hope we have been understood. But my delegation could, if necessary, revert to this question.

115. In any case, it is dangerous to create some precedents in Africa, all the more dangerous because decolonization is as yet incomplete. Foreign interventions, even when we invite them, often offer an opportunity for reopening the question of our independence and sovereignty. But for such interventions to cease, we must make an effort to solve our internal problems ourselves. We in Senegal can say this all the more freely because, since we have achieved independence, two very serious crises have shaken our country, to such a point as to bring about changes of government. We did not call on any foreign country to solve our difficulties. We settled them ourselves. Of course, no one can deny that a country enjoying its sovereign rights is entitled to appeal to a foreign Power to help it in solving its difficulties. But that country does so at its own risk. We cannot condemn it for doing this; the most we can do is regret it. That is our attitude as regards the Congo. But the situation in the Congo is truly so exceptional that we must examine it with sympathy and even with humility, in view of our own failures as Africans in this affair.

116. The Congolese problem deserves to be deeply pondered. Tomorrow, we may face a similar situation in the Portuguese colonies, especially if Portugal does not at once take the necessary steps to train technical, administrative, and political leaders capable of taking over.

117. We have long been calling on the United Nations to shoulder its responsibilities. Instead of quarrelling about the impossible and undesirable application of Article 19, we would do better to stress the direct responsibility of Portugal and South Africa, and of all those who are now tempted by neo-colonialism, so as to let them know that the establishment of a new international order is irreversible and that they must bid farewell to the dead past. We say frankly that it would be undesirable and inadvisable to apply Article 19 of the Charter. To deprive the Soviet Union of its right of vote would create an imbalance fatal to the United Nations and, in the end, fatal to peace. The United Nations cannot live with the United States alone or the Soviet Union alone. These two great Powers have been condemned to coexist and to cooperate in the interest of peace. Our duty as non-aligned countries is to advise, conciliate, and help to find an acceptable compromise. We feel, moreover, that once a compromise has been found to the present situation, we must not rest on our laurels. We must attack the basic problem, that of finding ways in which the United Nations may undertake peace-keeping operations with the commitment of all its Members.

118. Once again, I have tried to speak as the representative of a non-aligned country, consistent with itself. My delegation can do so all the more easily in that our country is not engaged in any conflict, and is practicing a policy of peace and negotiation, the only policy which may make it possible to bring about, without conflict, the new world which we so fervently desire.

119. But if anomalies exist in international political relations, they exist equally, and indeed to a greater degree, in economic relations. The establishment of a new international order cannot but effect the economic sphere. Fortunately, everyone has become aware of this, and it is recognized unanimously that the greatest problem of our time is the problem of reviewing economic relations, especially between rich countries and poor countries.

120. Internal revolutions are always caused by injustices, abuses and social inequities. But this time, such upheavals threaten to affect the international order itself. We are menaced by a vast confrontation on a global scale, in which the rich would oppose the poor, to their mutual peril.

121. What is our situation as non-aligned peoples? So as not to give rise to suspicion, I shall cite from sources not our own. In a recent document on the problems of co-operation published by the French Government this is textually what we find:

"During the last fifty years, the eighteen principal products representing 90 per cent of tropical products have experienced average annual fluctuations of 14 per cent in price, 19 per cent in volume and 23 per cent in export revenue... For exporting countries the deterioration in the terms of trade has led to losses of revenue equivalent to part of, and even, for some countries, more than, all the aid they receive. The fall in price of the primary commodities exported by the poor countries is aggravated by the rise in price of the industrial products they import."

122. We knew all this, but the new and certainly encouraging fact is that a developed country should officially recognize it. The price index published by FAO is also significant. In ten years, the index for primary commodities dropped from 113 to 82, while the index for manufactured products coming from the industrialized countries rose from 83 to 110 and even, in the case of some products, to 134.

123. Has decolonization improved this situation? Was the previous economic order upset when we obtained our independence? We do not think so; or rather, if it was upset, it was to make our situation worse. Yet the purpose of decolonization was to improve, not worsen, the living conditions of the peoples concerned. In the days of the colonial régime, the effects of fluctuations in the commodities market were offset by compensatory mechanisms, in both the sterling and the dollar zones; no doubt those mechanisms were imperfect, but at least they existed. Today, they are gradually being dismantled, and as yet no systems have been established to replace them. While we await the establishment of these new systems, we are being asked to align our prices with world prices, bring about diversification in our production here and

now, and find markets for our young industry within the framework of free competition. That is what we are being asked to do.

124. The situation is serious, and we must have the courage to say that the responsibility rests first of all, and principally, on those who embarked on the colonialist venture. For centuries, they systematically maintained among us a one-crop trading economy to satisfy their own needs for raw materials. It is true that in existing regional organizations, such as the European Common Market, timid attempts are being made to correct that injustice. But as I said last year, to the displeasure of our friends, aid in diversification and production is not aid, strictly speaking; it is a reparation, imperfect in character and insufficient in volume, for the harm which was done us.

125. An elementary duty of justice and humanity demands that the former colonizers should not withdraw and leave us to foot the bill. But the responsibility of the former colonial Powers is based not only on ethical and humanitarian considerations; it is an objective responsibility, deriving from a situation of their own making.

126. I quoted from a recent document describing the effects of decolonization as seen by a Western country which has made honourable efforts to decolonize and for that reason deserves our esteem. But in that document, the opinion is expressed that one of the consequences of decolonization must be that a newly-independent country should no longer be able to demand the help of another people in invoking the natural and permanent right it enjoyed under the extension of national solidarity to the colonial territories. For a rich people, the report says "to extend aid to a poor people, it must be prompted in so doing either by a selfish expectation of the advantages it stands to gain as regards its own prosperity, prestige, defence or power, or by an ethical sense of human solidarity".

127. That is precisely our dispute with our former colonizers, although they have remained our friends, at times even good friends. Since our situation and the present structure of our economy are the results of their deliberate policy, the colonizers cannot be bound, in their relations with us, only by a duty of human solidarity. They are bound by a definite specific responsibility which has nothing to do with the simple duty of human solidarity. But that is only one side of the problem, and, in any case, we cannot force the former colonizers to do something they do not wish to do.

128. Moreover, it is only fair to say that colonialism is not the sole cause of economic dislocations and inequalities. Many countries which have never had any colonies are in the category of developed countries; while some countries which were never colonized are still under-developed; so that some of the blame must be laid on international economic relations as a whole. If we wish to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries, we must build a new system.

129. We are pleased that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development approached this problem in a spirit appropriate to our time. Although no

immediate results were achieved, that Conference gave us reason to hope. At least, it enabled us to sound the alarm, and we hope that the patient efforts of the promoters of that important Conference will be followed up.

130. Diversification of our production, stabilization of commodity prices, the opening of markets in developed countries to industries in our countries, a reciprocal concern for our interests, assistance and co-operation progressively organized on a multilateral basis and involving the collective commitment of the developed countries as well as the efforts of the countries receiving aid—such, I believe, are the means whereby we may gradually establish a new order, which will guarantee peace and equality among peoples through economic justice.

131. I have now finished. The whole problem, whether examined from a political or an economic point of view, is one and the same; it is the problem of reorganizing our world on the basis of a new morality. So long as we have not solved the great problems of our time by applying new principles, we need not be surprised if the chance events we call "crises" occur on the eve of each session.

132. If the bomb was exploded in China, it is because we were unable to find a successful solution to the disarmament problem, that is, the problem of peace. If a crisis developed in the Congo, it is because we were unable to draw up a charter for decolonization acceptable to the international community as a whole and providing in advance for methods and processes. If blood is flowing in Viet-Nam, it is because not everyone accepts the principles of peaceful coexistence, and because the principle of self-determination of peoples has not been rigorously applied. If there is a financial crisis in the United Nations, it is because we have not clearly defined the principles and established the methods to be applied to peace-keeping operations; instead of becoming excited over such crises, we would do better to try to find effective means of preventing them.

133. Since the year 1965 is to be International Co-operation Year, let us try to co-operate for a better future for mankind under a new international order.

134. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We welcome, in your person, the representatives of a friendly country, Ghana, which, under the leadership of its President and our friend, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, is playing a distinguished progressive role in the historic struggle of the African peoples for the liberation of Africa and for its political, economic and cultural development. We value highly the active participation of the African countries in the efforts to strengthen world peace and bring about a peaceful solution of the burning problems of our time. We are confident that under your presidency all the important questions on the agenda of this session will be discussed in a constructive spirit, and that the work of this General Assembly will assist in the implementation of the noble principle incorporated in the United Nations Charter.

135. We are glad to welcome new Members to the United Nations—Malawi, Malta and Zambia—and believe that their presence and active participation will contribute to the further development of international co-operation.

136. In the world of today, the only reasonable foreign policy in relations among States with different social systems is the policy of peaceful coexistence. The existence of thermonuclear weapons of mass destruction only underlines the vital importance of this policy for the future fate of mankind.

137. We note with satisfaction that in recent years certain positive results have been achieved in lessening international tension. I have particularly in mind the well-known measures agreed upon in 1963: the Moscow Treaty for a partial ban on nuclear tests, the agreements not to place in orbit objects carrying nuclear weapons [see resolution 1884 (XVIII)], the declaration by the Governments of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom of April 1964 on the limitation of production of fissionable materials for military purposes and the reduction of the military budgets of the USSR, the United States and a number of other countries including my own. Peace-loving people all over the world have welcomed these measures as the first steps towards the triumph of reasonable and realistic policies over the forces of the "cold war".

138. To a decisive extent these positive results were facilitated by the consistently peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by their untiring efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems. Czechoslovak foreign policy takes an active part in strengthening peace, friendship and understanding among nations and fully supports the efforts and steps of other countries to the same ends.

139. As was stressed by the President of the Republic, Mr. Novotny, on the occasion of the visit by the Czechoslovak Party and State delegation to the Soviet Union on 3 December 1964, the efforts of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the field of foreign policy are consistently guided by Leninist principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and are based on the assumption that world thermonuclear war can be avoided and also upon a purposeful endeavour to give international assistance to the struggle for peace, freedom and the security of the peoples.

140. The Czechoslovak Government and people highly appreciate the great contribution made by the non-aligned countries in the peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for a solution of the main international problems of the day with a view to strengthening the peace and security of all peoples. The concluding declaration by the recent Conference of representatives of those countries in Cairo^{10/} will, we believe, assuredly find positive reflection at the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

141. However, there are forces in the world that do not welcome any positive trends in international rela-

^{10/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo from 5-10 October 1964.

tions. This is borne out by the continuous and recently intensified efforts of the imperialist forces, the old and new colonizers, to exacerbate international relations anew, to suppress the national liberation struggle and to interfere in every way in the domestic affairs of independent States.

142. The hostile acts of the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States armed intervention in South Viet-Nam are extremely dangerous. Czechoslovakia is not indifferent to the fate of a fraternal socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and stands firmly side by side with it. The imperialist provocations in South-East Asia, also directed against the independence and sovereignty of Laos and Cambodia, are flagrant violations of the Geneva Agreements and may have serious consequences. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic condemns those acts and supports the just struggle of the peoples of South-East Asia for free and independent development without imperialist intervention.

143. We also give our sympathy and support to the just struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country and the peaceful reunification of their homeland.

144. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has supported and will continue firmly to support the just cause of Cuba, against which the imperialist reactionary forces are organizing an economic and political blockade, creating and supporting bands of saboteurs and preparing for actions aimed at changing by force the social system in Cuba. This policy, expressed in the illegal decisions of the Organization of American States, is in flagrant contradiction with the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations and is absolutely condemned by world public opinion, as it deserves to be.

145. It is high time the United States and certain other countries put an end to this policy and finally recognized the fact that a free and independent Cuba, whose people has been successfully building socialism for several years now, does exist in the Caribbean.

146. A dangerous situation is also being created by overt military intervention on the part of the imperialist Powers in the domestic affairs of the Congolese people. All over the world great indignation was aroused by the recent attack against the patriotic forces in Stanleyville by Belgian paratroopers dropped from United States aircraft that took off from airports controlled by the United Kingdom. This collective intervention by the old and new NATO colonizers constitutes a further flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, and was directed not only against the Congolese people but also against Africa as a whole. All anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces must unite firmly in opposition to this intervention. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in its statement of 1 December 1964, expressed full support for the efforts of the African countries, united in the Organization of African Unity, to stop this colonialist intervention in the Congo.

147. We also condemn the interference by NATO States in the domestic affairs of Cyprus and the arti-

ificial inflammation of communal strife, whose aim is to deprive the people of Cyprus of their independence and to subordinate Cyprus to the military and political plans of NATO. There must be respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Cyprus, for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, so that its population—both Greeks and Turks—may live and work in peace and enjoy their democratic rights.

148. The Western Powers should long since have put an end to their policy of creating and stirring up hotbeds of tension which may bring the world to the brink of war or plunge it straight into a fatal world nuclear catastrophe.

149. At present there do exist objective conditions and opportunities for reaching agreement on further measures to relax international tension and to improve the general atmosphere in international relations. We need only embark resolutely on the course of peaceful co-operation and respect consistently the right of every people to independent political and economic development and a free choice of social system.

150. One of the most important matters before us continues to be the problem of disarmament. The unsatisfactory results of the fruitless talks in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva make it imperative that the General Assembly should have a thorough and responsible discussion of the present situation and the real reasons for it.

151. We welcome the fact that the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, too, spoke out so vehemently in support of efforts to achieve some progress on the question of disarmament, and proposed that a world conference on disarmament should be convened under United Nations auspices. We support such an active approach to the problem of disarmament and the actual idea of convening a conference.

152. General and complete disarmament under strict international control, the demand for which enjoys wide support among all peace-loving peoples, continues to be the principal objective of the common effort to avert the danger of war and to ensure lasting peace throughout the world.

153. The problems which are encountered in negotiations on this matter can be settled positively, given goodwill and sincere effort on the part of all the participants. The Soviet Union has already made realistic and practical proposals which offer a suitable basis for agreement. These relate particularly to one of the central problems of general and complete disarmament, namely, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war at the very outset of the disarmament process.

154. Despite the highly favourable response which the Soviet proposals have elicited throughout the world, the Western Powers have rejected them one after another. This naturally prompts the question: what do the Western Powers really want?

155. This year's discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva have once again proved that the Western Powers do not wish to embark on the definitive destruction of their nuclear stockpiles, do not wish to renounce the possibility of waging

nuclear war, and in defiance of elementary logic, continue to propose broad control measures as a prior condition for any step towards actual disarmament. In short, they persist in seeking out the most diverse theories and arguments to make agreement on general and complete disarmament more difficult and remote.

156. The General Assembly, which in its earlier resolutions has adopted the idea of general and complete disarmament, should take resolute steps at its nineteenth session to help bring about an agreement on its implementation.

157. At the same time, we must constantly explore the possibility of agreement on measures to bring about a further relaxation of international tension, a strengthening of mutual trust in relations among States and a curtailment of the arms race.

158. If it were not for the opposition of the Western Powers, a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons could have been signed long since, on the basis of an appeal by the General Assembly: such a convention could constitute a significant step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and their elimination. A new initiative in this direction, which deserves our attention and support, is the proposal by the Government of the People's Republic of China that a conference should be convened at the highest level, with the participation of representatives of all States, to discuss all these problems.

159. The statements of many Governments and statesmen show that sober-minded people all over the world realize how regrettable would be the consequences of a constant increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons. It is absolutely essential, therefore, immediately to prevent the further dissemination of nuclear weapons, however effected, whether on a bilateral basis or within the framework of military groupings, and for that purpose to conclude a suitable international agreement.

160. The widest possible application should be given to the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. For understandable reasons, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic attaches great importance to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, where the forces of the NATO States and the Warsaw Treaty States are in direct contact. That is why we also supported the proposals by the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the creation of such a zone and for the freezing of nuclear weapons in the territories of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The main obstacle to the implementation of these measures is the stubborn opposition of the Federal Republic of Germany and certain other Western countries.

161. We also attach great importance to the conclusion of a non-aggression pact among the States that are members of NATO or of the Warsaw Treaty. The need for such a step is particularly pressing because both these principal military groups possess powerful nuclear arsenals and their armed forces directly confront each other in the very heart of Europe. The prohibition of the use of force and the

assumption by both sides of an obligation to settle all disputes by peaceful means exclusively would have a favourable effect on international relations as a whole. There is no doubt that conditions have long been ripe for the conclusion of such a pact.

162. In our opinion nothing should hinder the conclusion at the earliest possible date of agreements on the reduction of military budgets, the reduction of armed forces and their armaments, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from the territory of other States, the elimination of bombers and the banning of underground nuclear tests.

163. Experience shows that positive results can also be achieved on the basis of a policy of mutual example.

164. Mr. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, yesterday submitted to the General Assembly a memorandum by the Soviet Government on measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race [A/5827]. That document is a good basis for constructive discussion by the General Assembly of the questions I have just mentioned.

165. Since I am speaking of matters of peace and security in the world, it is unthinkable that I should not dwell on the problem of Germany. As immediate neighbours of the Federal Republic of Germany, we are seriously alarmed by the growth of militarism in that country, whose Government does not wish to take the facts into account and by its actions is directly creating a base for the revanchist activities of the West German militarists. The Federal Government is demanding the restoration of the pre-war frontiers of Hitler's Germany and even refuses to acknowledge that the Munich Diktat was invalid from the very beginning, with all the consequences that that entails.

166. A significant illustration of the Federal Government's policy was that Government's recent statement that it refused to extend the statute of limitations for the most serious Nazi war crimes. This is contrary to international law, which does not recognize any statute of limitations in the case of international criminal offences such as war crimes.

167. A special danger for peace in Europe and throughout the world is created by the desire of the Federal Republic of Germany to have access to nuclear weapons and to have a voice in settling the matter of their use. It is no secret that West German militarist circles link the realization of their revanchist plans directly with the possession of nuclear weapons. At a time when the Governments of the overwhelming majority of States are emphasizing the urgent need for measures to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons—and I recall various statements by leading representatives of the United States—the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States are pressing for the speedy realization of a plan which would lead to the spread of those weapons—the plan to set up a so-called NATO multi-lateral nuclear force. We would urgently warn against any concessions to the West German militarists in this matter.

168. An inevitable consequence of creating a NATO multilateral nuclear force would be to intensify the arms race, including the race for nuclear weapons, which, apart from anything else, would swallow up large State resources and bring up a reduction in the funds available for the development of international economic co-operation. There is no doubt that this step, if actually taken, would greatly complicate further talks on disarmament, on the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons, on the strengthening of European and world security and on other outstanding questions.

169. It is not surprising, therefore, that the plan for the creation of a so-called NATO multilateral nuclear force is meeting with strong opposition from all the forces in the world which are striving to improve the international atmosphere and to ease international tension, and with an unfavourable reaction from the Governments of some NATO States. If some Western Powers continue to insist on this plan, despite the facts I have mentioned and the appeal of the United Nations General Assembly of 4 December 1961 against the spread of nuclear weapons [resolution 1665 (XVI)], they assume full responsibility for the consequences of their short-sighted policy. We openly declare that we will not look on in silence while these plans are being implemented; together with our allies, we shall be compelled to draw the appropriate conclusions from the situation which will have been created.

170. The attitude and actions of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany with regard to the so-called problem of German reunification conflict directly with the interests of peace and security and with the interests of the German people themselves. The Federal Government illegally claims to be the sole representative of Germany. On the basis of the so-called "Hallstein doctrine", it even exerts strong political pressure on other sovereign States to refrain from establishing normal relations with the German Democratic Republic, and itself refuses to establish diplomatic relations with States which maintain such relations with the German Democratic Republic. The Federal Government speaks of the "German people's right to self-determination", thinking that by so doing it will deceive world public opinion and conceal its true aims, which are to absorb another existing sovereign State—the German Democratic Republic.

171. The reunification of Germany is a matter for the two German States. It is a question which cannot be settled without taking into account the special and complex conditions resulting from their different social systems. There is no doubt that the creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force would greatly complicate the reunification of Germany.

172. All peace-loving forces throughout the world highly esteem the peaceful activities of the Government of the German Democratic Republic aimed at easing tension in Europe and bringing the two German States closer together. This was again clearly shown by the proposals put forward by the German Democratic Republic on 1 September of this year, under which both German States would undertake not to manufacture or in any way acquire nuclear weapons, not to station or allow other States to station nuclear weapons on their territory, and never to use nuclear weapons.

173. We are convinced that in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the German problem and to improve the situation in Europe and relations among States the last vestiges of the Second World War must be eliminated by the signing of a peace treaty with both sovereign German States and of an agreement on the status of West Berlin as an independent political unit.

174. An ever-increasing number of States recognize the fact that two German States exist and this fact should be recognized also by the United Nations. It would be in accordance with the principle of universality of the United Nations and it would facilitate the fulfilment of the Organization's tasks if both German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, were admitted to full membership in the United Nations.

175. The common responsibility of all Governments and of the United Nations itself for the preservation of international peace and security calls for continuous efforts to implement fully the policy of peaceful coexistence.

176. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always consistently pursued this policy and in so doing expresses the will of its people, who again in the Constitution of 1960 proclaimed their determination "to live in peace and friendship with all nations of the world and contribute to peaceful coexistence and to good relations among countries with different social systems". It was in this spirit that in 1962 Czechoslovakia submitted to the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly a draft Declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence.^{11/} The General Assembly supported this initiative and at its eighteenth session took the first step towards the progressive development and codification of those principles with a view to securing their observance and more effective application [resolution 1966 (XVIII)].

177. Just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 [resolution 217 A (III)] or the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples of 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)] met the urgent needs of the time, so the proclamation by the General Assembly of a declaration on the principles of peaceful coexistence would be the best way of supporting the persistent efforts of the peoples today to ensure international co-operation, to eliminate the centres of international tension and to establish conditions for lasting world peace.

178. The Czechoslovak Government considers that the necessary conditions for the achievement of that aim now exist and that the nineteenth session of the General Assembly should prepare a draft resolution to be solemnly proclaimed at the Assembly's twentieth anniversary session. We accordingly welcome the recommendation to this effect which was addressed to the General Assembly by the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. The proclamation of the principles should be accompanied by an appeal from the General Assembly to all States to apply fully the principles of peaceful coexistence in

^{11/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 75, document A/C.6/L.505.

their mutual relations. This would be a notable contribution by the General Assembly to the achievement of the aims which underlie the idea of the International Co-operation Year [resolutions 1844 (XVII) and 1907 (XVIII)]. I should, therefore, like to appeal to all States Members of the United Nations to participate effectively in the preparation and adoption of such a declaration.

179. Another integral part of the efforts to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence and to preserve and strengthen international peace and security is draft measures to avert and eliminate the threat to peace. The proposal of the USSR Government for the renunciation by States of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers [A/5751] is also directed towards this end. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic associates itself with the USSR Government's proposal that this idea should be given effect through the conclusion of an international agreement or treaty.

180. In emphasizing the principle of the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes, we fully support the inalienable right of the peoples of countries still suffering under the colonial yoke to carry their struggle for freedom and independence to a victorious conclusion. It is essential to put an end to the occupation by foreign Powers of those territories which are still non-self-governing, to destroy the bases of the imperialist States and to abolish all the inequitable commitments and agreements which were imposed on the developing countries in the past.

181. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will, as always, stand resolutely by the side of the peoples fighting to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism and to secure their political and economic independence, which is threatened by neo-colonialist plots and direct imperialist aggression. Our active solidarity with the national liberation movement and our friendly relations and co-operation with many countries which have freed themselves from colonial domination are already long-standing and well tried. We support the demands that the last remnants of the colonial régimes and all neo-colonialist tendencies should be removed from the face of the earth as soon as possible.

182. The fact remains that in spite of the great successes achieved by the struggle for national liberation, the colonial system still holds sway in countries with tens of millions of people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and in certain parts of the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

183. It is essential that the United Nations should immediately take effective measures against the Portuguese colonialists, who, with the help of their Western NATO allies, are terrorizing the African population of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The time has come to undertake appropriate measures, on the basis of the Charter, to put an end to the situation in which the Government of the Republic of South Africa continues to pursue its policy of apartheid and persecutes the finest representatives of the South African people and the defenders of the people's rights. The present situation in the Republic of South Africa constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

184. The situation in Southern Rhodesia also calls for effective measures which would make it possible to put an end to the racist and anti-democratic policy of the white minority Government and would enable the people of that country to gain freedom and genuine independence.

185. It is urgently necessary that the people of British Guiana, too, who for many years have been striving for the independence of their country, should at last achieve their liberation.

186. Full support should also be given to the Arab people who are struggling for their rights in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.

187. The present session of the General Assembly should adopt decisive measures in order to make the year 1965, in which the United Nations will celebrate its twentieth anniversary, the year marking the final elimination of colonialism. The fundamental guideline for the Assembly's work in this respect should be the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which the United Nations adopted in 1960 on the initiative of the USSR.

188. In recent years, economic matters have been coming more and more urgently to the fore. Increasing attention is being focused on those provisions of the United Nations Charter which emphasize economic and social progress as the goal to which the collective efforts of the peoples should be directed and as a means of strengthening peaceful co-operation among them.

189. To achieve these aims it is essential, through the concerted efforts of all countries, to develop world-wide economic co-operation and to make use of all existing possibilities for the solution of present-day problems in this field. The main prerequisite for this is the establishment of absolute equality in international economic and trade relations and the elimination from those relations of all discrimination and other obstacles.

190. In the interests of developing world-wide economic relations, it is necessary to eliminate such disproportions as, for example, the low volume of trade between the socialist and the industrialized capitalist countries, which does not correspond to the potentialities. The more rapid development of such trade is still hampered by the remnants of the wide variety of artificial obstacles placed in its way by the capitalist States. The United Nations should become a forum where, in the face of the obstacles to trade, both old and new, a purposeful expansion of international economic co-operation on a world-wide scale would be recognized as necessary.

191. At the present time, the need for practical measures to bring about a gradual economic levelling in the various regions of the world is emerging as a matter of particular urgency. In magnitude and importance this is one of those problems for which the United Nations Charter wisely made provision by linking together the need for peace and the need for the economic and social advancement of the peoples.

192. We believe that the prospect of a further improvement of international relations is creating the

fundamental political prerequisites for seeking effective ways of solving the economic problems of the developing countries. Modern scientific and technical progress is providing new and effective means to this end.

193. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held earlier this year, indicated the need to revise the previous understanding of the principles and rules of international economic relations so that instead of acting as a brake on progress they might help to bring about the necessary changes in the international division of labour and in world trade. The Conference stressed that the United Nations, in its efforts to develop trade, should concentrate not only on the removal of obstacles in the field of commerce, but also on the carrying out of positive political and economic measures both in international collective actions and in the economic policies of individual countries.

194. The immediate aim of the new permanent United Nations organ to deal with matters of trade and development should be the gradual implementation of the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference. This would help to enhance the international authority and the importance of the new principles governing trade relations and trade policy.

195. We consider it essential to ensure that the new organ is given the opportunity to develop dynamically so as to become a forum for constructive discussions of the urgent problems of the day in world trade and for the adoption of appropriate practical measures. It should gradually develop into an independent international organization with universal membership and a broad field of competence.

196. Since the founding of the United Nations, important changes have taken place in the world and in the Organization itself. In the United Nations the participation of the socialist countries has expanded and their influence in the settlement of all problems has increased. As a result of the people's victorious struggle for liberation and the collapse of the colonial system throughout the world, the number and influence of the African and Asian countries in the United Nations have substantially increased. This new situation, however, is still not adequately reflected in the very structure of the Organization and in the composition of some of its organs charged with grave responsibilities and important tasks.

197. The authority of the United Nations is considerably reduced by the fact that up to the present time the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China have not been restored in the Organization. If the United Nations is to fulfil its mission, the settlement of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations by its only legitimate Government, which is the Government of the People's Republic of China, must not be further postponed; attempts to apply the "two Chinas" theory in any form whatsoever must be rejected and the Chiang Kai-shek clique deprived of the place in the United Nations and its organs which it occupies altogether illegally.

198. The strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in the performance of its principal tasks, particularly in safeguarding international

peace and security, depends above all on how all States comply with the United Nations Charter.

199. We have always spoken out against any action which was in contravention of the Charter and which compromised the United Nations in the eyes of the world. We again deem it necessary to stress that all the difficulties which have arisen up to the present time have been due to the fact that a number of Powers have tried to misuse the Organization—and in certain cases have actually misused it—in their own interests and for their own ends. The Czechoslovak statement of 26 November 1964 on certain questions concerning strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations declared:

"It should be clear to everyone after almost twenty years of the existence of the United Nations that compromises between the position of those who abide by strict observance of the Charter and those who adjust the Charter to their unilateral needs would be harmful primarily to the Organization itself [A/5821].

200. Being interested in the United Nations as an effective organization, we are also interested in seeing that such important problems as the question of the United Nations armed forces are solved in complete accordance with the principles on which our Organization is founded. The well-known Soviet proposals for strengthening the United Nations fully meet this requirement. Therefore we, too, have supported them and we associate ourselves with them.

201. The Czechoslovak Government, on the basis of this fundamental position, is ready to make available to the Security Council in accordance with Article 43 of the United Nations Charter, a contingent of the Czechoslovak armed forces and to that end to conclude an appropriate agreement with the Security Council. If necessary and under conditions specified in the aforementioned Czechoslovak statement on 26 November 1964, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is also willing to participate in the financial coverage of military operations undertaken by the Security Council in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the Charter.

202. At its nineteenth session the General Assembly faces a number of extremely important tasks. At the same time, the United Nations is on the threshold of its twentieth anniversary.

203. The peoples of the United Nations, who bore on their shoulders the burden of the war against facism and who in the final days of the war laid the foundations of a new Organization, set themselves a truly great aim—nothing less that "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . .".

204. At the same time they proclaimed their profound "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and promised "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

205. Our task is to strive to ensure that our Organization consistently fulfils this legacy of the anti-fascist struggle.

206. The Czechoslovak people, who next year will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of their liberation by the Soviet Army and who know from their own experience what the horrors of war are like, are fully committed to the cause of peace and constructive international co-operation.

207. Our people and their Government, guided by the sincere desire that all nations of the world should "live together in peace with one another as good neighbours", are firmly resolved to participate in strengthening the United Nations and increasing its effectiveness. The Czechoslovak delegation will proceed in that spirit at this session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.