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PLENARY MEETING**

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**President:** Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana).

**ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. COULIBALY (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I first of all express to you, on behalf of the people and the Government of Mali, our warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.
2. Through you, we also congratulate the fraternal people of Ghana and its valiant leader, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah.
3. The road travelled by the independent States of Africa in freeing themselves from foreign rule and restoring authentically African moral and cultural values has been a hard road strewn with obstacles of all kinds. In an attempt to justify and maintain their political and economic domination, the colonial Powers have restored to the most subtle methods of obscurantism, so that the outside world and even the young generations of Africans should know nothing of the contribution which successive African societies have made throughout history to world civilization in the arts, in science and in philosophy.
4. While your election to the presidency of this Assembly is evidence of the interest now being taken, at the international level, in the African States, it is nevertheless a fact that, owing to a combination of regrettable circumstances, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, over which you have the honour to preside in the name of a martyred and often derided Africa, is beset by difficulties and uncertainties which are without precedent in the history of the Organization.
5. By a series of actions or decisions obtained from the General Assembly by pressure, the Powers which have always sought to make the United Nations a tool for their hegemony and their imperialist policy have

gradually led the Organization into the most serious crisis that it has known since it was first established. However, we are hopeful that, thanks to the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General and all those who are deeply attached to the United Nations as an effective instrument of co-operation between peoples and a guarantor of international morality and security, the present crisis, which is not only paralysing the work of the Assembly but also threatens the very life of the Organization, will be overcome. The people and Government of Mali consider that the crisis is now political rather than financial, and that to seek any solution other than a political one would be contrary to common sense and to the clear interests of the Organization.

6. I stress the necessity of finding a compromise political solution to the present United Nations crisis, because a confrontation on the applicability of Article 19 in the present case is undesirable and would not lead to anything constructive or reasonable. In the circumstances, improperly and threateningly to insist that Article 19 should apply to Member States in respect of United Nations expenses in the Congo, with the result that the Assembly is kept in an atmosphere of depression, reflects, in my view, an unco-operative attitude.

7. In view of all the passion and controversy aroused during the various stages of the United Nations intervention in the Congo, there is justification for believing that the delegations which, for several months, have been holding the threat of Article 19 over the Assembly like a sword of Damocles, have other ends in view than the solvency of the Organization. Everyone is aware of the gloomy financial situation of the United Nations and, in this context, delegations listened with great interest to the statement made by the Secretary-General on 18 January 1965 [1315th meeting]. We believe that the appeal contained in that statement is a wise indication of the path which must be followed if we really wish to save the Organization.

8. In response to that appeal, and without prejudice to the positions which my Government has consistently taken regarding the United Nations operations in the Congo, operations which are at the root of the present crisis, and also without prejudice to the position my Government may take concerning future peace-keeping operations, my delegation is ready to co-operate with the Secretary-General, and with you, Mr. President, in seeking a compromise solution that will allow the General Assembly to function normally and contribute to the achievement of the noble objectives which are set out in the Charter.

9. As you are all aware, the primary concern of the authors of the Charter, in the 1945 post-war period,

was to maintain international peace and security, to develop co-operation between all peoples and all nations, to ensure equality and the right of self-determination for all peoples—in short, to enable mankind as a whole to benefit from the advances of science and technology. Having regard to these noble aims of the Charter, my delegation, in participating in the general debate, would like first of all to take up the question of international peace and security and to attempt an evaluation of the results obtained in this area since the last session. In doing so, my delegation believes that as long as imperialism and the exploitation of the resources of other countries continues to be the rule of conduct of certain great Powers, international co-operation, in peace and equality, will be no more than a hope.<sup>1/</sup>

10. With regard to this problem of peace, you will recall that at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly all delegations hailed the relaxation of tension, or more exactly the improvement of relations between the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. More than a hundred States Members of the United Nations which are not nuclear powers acceded to the Moscow Treaty on a partial nuclear test ban.<sup>1/</sup>

11. In welcoming the "détente" between the Soviet Union and the United States, the non-aligned countries like the Republic of Mali firmly hoped that this would permit settlement of the problems whose solution had been made difficult by the cold war. We thought that certain peoples, now involved in fratricidal conflict as a result of the situations created by the cold war, would find peace and reconciliation and dedicate themselves to the task of national development. Today, however, we fear that we were mistaken.

12. This period of "détente" between the United States and the Soviet Union has seen many significant events, calling for greater vigilance and a more objective analysis of the international situation on the part of the small States. In this context, Comrade Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali, in the statement which he made at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964, said:

"In spite of the apparent relaxation of tension between the two great Powers—I am referring to the Soviet Union and the United States of America—never have peace-loving peoples been the object of so many acts of aggression and extreme duress in disregard of their sovereignty and their sacred right of self-determination, in total defiance of their inalienable right to choose for themselves the path which seems to them consistent with their true interests. Never have peoples been subjected to so many threats, including the unprincipled use of the atomic bomb. Never has imperialism been so virulently aggressive. Never ... have unhealthy forces benefited by such complicit silence and such impunity. The present international situation, with its acts of aggression, its grave attacks on the sovereignty and freedom of peoples, its attempts at external subversion and its shameful attempts on the

life of [political] leaders, constitutes a real challenge to the world's conscience."

13. While the small Powers and the developing countries, under the illusion that a "détente" exists between the East and the West, are working on the codification of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the imperialists are active and are openly interfering in the internal affairs of new States, preventing the implementation of international agreements which do not serve their base interests.

14. No "détente" or peaceful coexistence can be said to exist as long as the imperialists are enforcing and intensifying the hot war in Viet-Nam and are opposing the will of the Cambodian people to establish a neutralist State. One cannot consider that there is a real "détente" while imperialism seeks to prevent the Republic of Cuba from being a socialist State and still maintains, against the will of the Cuban people, a military base at Guantánamo, an integral part of Cuban territory. In defiance of all international rules and laws, United States imperialism is maintaining an economic blockade of Cuba in order to starve this courageous people, hoping thus to make it renounce its deepest beliefs. Is this also—to use a fashionable expression—a humanitarian operation? The same imperialism is keeping military forces in South Korea in order to prevent the reunification of that country.

15. With regard to the intensification of the war in Viet-Nam, an Agence France-Presse dispatch of 15 January 1965 states:

"Senator Gruening, a Democrat from Alaska, on Friday criticized the Government of the United States for having strongly urged several Latin American countries to send at least token forces to Viet-Nam."

The democratic senator even gave the names of these Latin American countries, which I shall refrain from mentioning out of respect for their representatives here present.

16. The Agence France-Presse reports that a State Department spokesman said, in reply to a question, that the United States had asked Western countries, including Latin American countries, to make a contribution to the free world cause in Viet-Nam, in the form of combat forces or otherwise. A week earlier, the same press agency had announced that 2,000 South Korean troops had been sent to fight what the imperialists call communism in South Viet-Nam, in violation of the Geneva Agreements.<sup>2/</sup> However, since communism is a doctrine, a philosophy or a political and economic system, I do not see how it can be fought with bombers or machine guns.

17. In this connexion, may I, in turn, refer to a book which was much talked about in the United States, and which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali already mentioned during the Security Council debate on the United States and Belgian aggression at Stanleyville. In this book, entitled The Ugly American, a nationalist, replying to an American agent of international subversion, who is attempting to frighten him with the power of his country, said "You've done nothing but lose since the end of the war. And for a

<sup>1/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

<sup>2/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China.

simple little reason: you don't know the power of an idea".<sup>3/</sup>

18. In Africa, while the Organization of African Unity, at the request of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was seeking a political and fraternal solution to the tragic problems which have beset that country since its accession to independence, the same imperialists paralysed the effort of the ad hoc Commission on the Congo headed by President Jomo Kenyatta, one of the most respected African leaders. Under the pretext of rescuing hostages, parachutists and mercenaries were unleashed on Stanleyville, with the sinister aim of cutting short all attempts at political negotiations with the leaders in Stanleyville, who were accused of being communists and pro-Chinese, as if the African peoples—who invented very advanced forms of government and administration long before colonial domination and who founded prosperous empires and maintained diplomatic relations even before certain present-day imperialist States existed—could not, on their own initiative, revolt against attacks on their dignity and their sovereignty.

19. Are all these deplorable actions manifestations of a relaxation of tension and acceptable forms of peaceful coexistence? Are they in conformity with the United Nations Charter, which has brought us together here and which we have all undertaken to respect? Surely they are not.

20. Why then is the Government of the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, always to be found at the focal points of tension which disturb international peace and security?

21. Why do the imperialists wish to take the place of the United Nations, to become international policemen and try to settle, in their own way and in accordance with their selfish interests, the international disputes which in most cases they themselves instigated?

22. What provisions of the Charter give the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers the right to establish throughout the world military bases that constitute threats to neighbouring States, as was demonstrated by the latest United States-Belgian aggression at Stanleyville, to which the United Kingdom was an accessory? As was demanded by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, all foreign military bases must be liquidated. In this connexion, the Government of Mali endorses the recent unilateral decision of the French Government to remove the military bases which it still maintains in the newly independent States of Africa.

23. The people and Government of the Republic of Mali support a relaxation of international tensions, but it must be a genuine relaxation of tension which will take into account the interests and sovereignty of all peoples. The people and Government of Mali are also in favour of the peaceful coexistence between States having different political, economic and social systems. The party of the Malian people, the Sudanese Union (*Rassemblement démocratique africain*), has as its doctrine the policy of non-alignment. However,

our non-alignment is a dynamic one and will never make us accomplices of imperialism. We shall never tolerate any foreign interference in our internal affairs. It is our firm belief that we are thereby defending the Charter of the United Nations and accepting our obligations thereunder.

24. In addition to imperialism, one characteristic of which is interference in the internal affairs of other countries, these are other regrettable practices which endanger peace and constitute serious obstacles to co-operation among peoples. I am referring to colonialism and apartheid.

25. Our Organization has condemned colonialism and apartheid. It has established special committees in order to accelerate the liquidation of these two evils which are real anachronisms in this day and age. However, in spite of the courageous efforts of these committees, in spite of the unremitting efforts of other organizations such as the Organization of African Unity, the Conference of African and Asian Peoples, the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, and in spite of the moral condemnation expressed by mankind as a whole, there are peoples still living under the colonial rule of the United Kingdom and Portugal and under the fascist tyranny of the Government of South Africa. My delegation feels that the appeals to common sense contained in the resolutions of the General Assembly are a source of encouragement to national liberation movements, but experience has shown that they have a very limited influence upon the Lisbon and Pretoria Governments.

26. As stated in the introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/5801/Add.1], in spite of the many efforts made to persuade it to accept the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and so-called Portuguese Guinea, Portugal continues to claim that the territories in question are parts of its "Overseas Provinces". As the Mandatory Power for South West Africa, South Africa not only has constantly rejected the resolutions of the United Nations, but also refuses to co-operate with those agencies of the Organization that have sought to assist the peoples of the Territory. Yet Portugal and South Africa are Members of the United Nations and have undertaken to respect the provisions of the Charter. The Government of Mali believes that the United Nations would be failing in its duty if it allowed the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and South West Africa, as well as the African peoples of the Republic of South Africa, to remain under the colonial domination of Portugal and the racist régime of Verwoerd and other Fascists.

27. We therefore consider that the General Assembly and the Security Council should decide without further delay to apply to those Governments the sanctions for which the Charter makes provisions. In this connexion, it is significant that the Governments which caused innocent inhabitants of the Stanleyville area to be massacred by paratroops and mercenaries under the pretext of carrying out a humanitarian operation, and those which approved of those massacres, are the same Governments which object to the application of sanctions against Portugal and South Africa. Without indulging in racism as do those whose conscience

<sup>3/</sup> William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, *The Ugly American* (W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1958) p. 24.

is burdened by the death of thousands of Africans massacred at Stanleyville by the paratroops and mercenaries, we consider that the most humanitarian operation and one most in keeping with the spirit and provisions of the Charter would be an operation that would help to put an end to Portuguese colonialism and to the racial discrimination which has been made a veritable system of government in South Africa. Quite recently, in spite of the appeals made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries met at Cairo, the Government of South Africa caused certain African patriots, condemned to death because of their opposition to the policy of apartheid, to be executed. At that time we observed no reaction on the part of the self-styled "humanitarian" Governments which are continuing, on the contrary, to sell aircraft, arms and munitions to the Government of South Africa.

28. My delegation will, of course, have a further opportunity, during the examination of the reports of the Special Committees, to stigmatize apartheid and colonialism. It will have an opportunity to dwell upon the situation of certain territories such as Southern Rhodesia, where a racist, white-minority Government is, with the complicity of the United Kingdom Government, oppressing 4 million Africans. My delegation will have an opportunity to dwell also upon the case of Aden and the Aden Protectorates as well as the situation of certain small territories. For the present, however, I should like, to draw the attention of the Members of the Assembly to the urgent need to take appropriate measures in order to put an end to colonialism and apartheid, which cast dark shadows over the relations between African States, on the one hand, and the colonial Powers and their allies on the other.

29. The question of disarmament and nuclear testing is on the Assembly's agenda, and my delegation will discuss it without excessive pessimism or optimism, because, unfortunately, this is one of the fields in which the great Powers pay very little attention to the views of the developing countries. This is a very regrettable fact, for, although the manufacture and improvements in the design of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons are the private preserve of a few great Powers, the danger which the manufacture and stockpiling of such weapons represents is nevertheless a matter of concern to all mankind. In spite of the hope engendered last year by the signing of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee made no progress in 1964 during its six months of work in Geneva. In these circumstances, the peoples of the world are entitled to ask who is benefiting from the armaments race. Rather pessimistic notes are even heard on occasion, depending on the ill-humour or financial appetite of the monied interests that control war industries. Articles in the local Press often report rumours of a possible denunciation of the Moscow Treaty.

30. This absence of progress in the field of disarmament, and even certain attempts to go back upon previously accepted principles, emphasizes the relevance of the remarks made by the President of the Republic of Mali in his statement to the Second Conference of

Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries. On that occasion, the Heads of State of Mali said:

"For our part, we believe that our high mission as responsible leaders places on us the moral obligation not to arouse vain hopes in the peoples of the world with respect to the present possibility of disarmament and the present desire of the great Powers to disarm and to allocate for the development of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America the immense sums spent on excessive armaments. We must undertake a cool and lucid analysis of the economies of the great Powers, the policies of interest groups, and their age-old propensity to reap vast profits to the detriment of our countries. Any other attitude would lessen the vigilance of the peoples, whereas the maintenance of peace requires that they should be vigilant at all times."

31. In spite of the set-backs encountered thus far in the area of nuclear disarmament, there are grounds for hoping that the pressure of world opinion and the recent admission of the People's Republic of China to the atomic club, thus putting an end to the monopoly of the older nuclear Powers, will help to hasten the attainment of the objectives which the General Assembly has pursued in this field for several years.

32. The nuclear Powers, which have nothing to teach the Government of Peking with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security and the right of peoples to self-determination, were astonished that certain Heads of State expressed satisfaction at the explosion of the Chinese atomic bomb, an event which constitutes an undeniable achievement on the part of the scientists of the People's Republic of China.

33. The Government of the Republic of Mali has always urged the cessation of all nuclear tests and the achievement of general and complete disarmament, but the nuclear Powers have never taken account of the views of the developing countries. After having stock-piled frightening quantities of weapons of mass destruction, they have sought to monopolize the atomic bomb and to use it as an instrument for blackmail and pressure. The Chinese bomb puts an end to the atomic monopoly and blackmail of certain Powers and is therefore regarded by the people of Mali as the bomb of peace, in other words, the bomb which will bring about the destruction of the other bombs. This attitude is in keeping with the unchanging policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China, which, before and after the explosion of its own bomb, always advocated the holding of a world conference at which all States, without exception, would sign an agreement banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and providing for the complete and total destruction of all existing stock-piles. The Government of Mali believes that the objective of that proposal is consistent with the aspirations of all peoples, and the people of Mali unreservedly support it.

34. Since I am speaking of the Chinese bomb, I should like also to refer to the question of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China as a founding Member of the United Nations. My delegation, as well as others, has requested the inclusion of

this item in the agenda of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly [see A/5761 and Add.1 to 8]. In so doing, the Government of the Republic of Mali wished to express its firm belief that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations cannot be postponed any longer.

35. In arguing for the restoration of the right of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, my delegation will not dwell on the question of the universality of the United Nations, the injustice done to 700 million Chinese, or the stability and unquestionably representative character of the Peking Government. Those points have been adequately developed by my delegation and by many others at previous sessions, and they are no longer disputed by anyone. I should like to speak rather of the effectiveness of the Organization and, on this point, it is now generally recognized that none of the important questions on the General Assembly's agenda can be solved definitely and completely without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Consequently, to oppose the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is to work against the interests of the international community. In our view, the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has now become a vital necessity for the Organization.

36. The decision of the Indonesian Government to withdraw from the United Nations has caused considerable consternation everywhere. My delegation considers that those Governments which are hostile to the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should give this matter serious thought. Those Governments which seek to prove, by opposing the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, that they control the Organization must stop playing this dangerous game for it undermines the prestige of the United Nations. The delegation of Mali feels that the wise course for the Assembly to follow, at the present session, is for it to invite the Peking Government to send its representatives to occupy the seat which rightfully belongs to it in the United Nations as the one and only Government representing the People of China.

37. The Tibetan problem is often mentioned in connexion with the question of the admission of China to the United Nations. My delegation considers that this is a spurious problem that may be disregarded. There are ethnic or religious minorities in all countries, and we do not believe that the black minority in the United States of America enjoys as many rights in American society as do the inhabitants of Tibet in the People's Republic of China.

38. The imperialists also seek to undermine the unity of the people and Republic of Cyprus, under the pretext of protecting a minority. The Government of Mali considers that the Republic of Cyprus is an independent State, a Member of the United Nations, and that no Government should interfere in its internal affairs. The people of Cyprus must be sovereign in order to have the constitution and the political, economic and social system of its choice.

39. As a developing country, the Republic of Mali attaches considerable importance to the question of international co-operation in the commercial and eco-

conomic fields. As a landlocked country, it places great hope in understanding and co-operation among States. In this connexion, the delegation of Mali wishes to express its satisfaction at the positive results achieved during the World Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>4/</sup>

40. I should now like to extend my Government's congratulations to the new African States of Malawi and Zambia on their accession to independence and on their admission to the United Nations. The people of Mali have followed with fraternal sympathy the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of those two countries to regain their independence. We have gladly welcomed them both to the Organization of African Unity and to the United Nations, and we are sure that they will make a positive contribution to these two Organizations. I should also like to convey my Government's congratulations to the State of Malta on its attainment of independence and on its admission to the United Nations.

41. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm the faith of the people and Government of Mali in the noble ideals and objectives of the United Nations. I would express the wish that, through the efforts of the United Nations, the peoples of Africa and elsewhere who are still under colonial domination may become free and may join us in the course of the twentieth session, for I firmly believe that the Organization will overcome its present difficulties and will face the future with greater experience. I should also like to express once again my country's confidence in the Secretary-General and to thank his associates, particularly those participating in the Special Fund and Technical Assistance Board programmes for the very useful work that they are doing with modesty and intelligence in the developing countries.

42. Mr. TORSTEN NILSSON (Sweden): It is not my intention to try to cover in these remarks the whole range of the activities of the United Nations. Nor do I propose to analyse the world situation or to discuss the prospects for peace. My purpose is a more limited one. I should like to touch upon some developments in the life of the world Organization which seem of particular importance and reflect basic issues of principle.

43. At the outset I wish to deal with the most urgent and serious problem of our time: disarmament. As one of the countries which are represented at the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Sweden has particular reason to share the general sense of disappointment caused by the inability of the Committee to report any real progress from its work at Geneva during 1964. However, it can and should, I think, at least be said that through the labours at Geneva the ground has usefully been prepared for further and more constructive efforts in both broad and limited areas of disarmament. We should appreciate the fact that through the Eighteen-Nation Committee channels are kept open for intercommunication across boundaries and for continuous contact among the great Powers. The machinery for disarmament negotiations exists. It is now our duty to use it.

<sup>4/</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

44. There can be no doubt that real progress in disarmament is the key to the attainment of the primary objectives of the United Nations to prevent war and to promote economic development. By using that key, we could diminish the danger of a nuclear disaster and, at the same time, increase the prospects of general welfare in peace. The devastating potentialities of modern weapons can perhaps be imagined if we consider that one single bomb now contains as much explosive power as has been used in all wars to date. To continue to live in a world where large numbers of such bombs are ready to be exploded at short notice is in itself a constant threat to human survival. If the nuclear arms race goes on unchecked, this threat will grow and ultimately become intolerable. Conversely, it is almost beyond our imagination to grasp the enormous benefits for the world which would occur if not only the material resources but also, and perhaps above all, the brain power now employed for developing destructive weapons were to be directed toward constructive peaceful purposes.

45. The high priority to be afforded the disarmament question and the urgent need for further progress and additional agreements in order to halt the arms race, especially in respect of nuclear weapons, have also been emphasized by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report [A/5801/Add.1]. Most serious attention should, I believe, be given to his warning that the momentum created by the partial test ban treaty may be lost unless further steps are taken and agreed solutions found in the near future.

46. In the resumption of the attempts that must be made at meaningful negotiations on general and complete disarmament, the fundamental questions concerning reduction and elimination of nuclear vehicles should be given high priority. I refer, in particular, to the problem of the "nuclear shield". There is, in fact, basic agreement between the two nuclear super-Powers on the principle that some nuclear capacity should be retained through the entire disarmament process. It is regrettable that it has not proved possible so far to reach agreement to set up a working group to examine those problems. We believe that the formation of such a group, or, as the Secretary-General has put it, new exploratory machinery, would be of great value.

47. The attainment of general and complete disarmament will by necessity require considerable time, even under the most auspicious circumstances. In view of the urgent and vital importance of the task of reducing and eliminating the nuclear peril, immediate and resolute measures are therefore called for independently. The present moment seems to be propitious for concerted and energetic attempts to reach a broad agreement on a freeze of nuclear armaments.

48. The recent nuclear explosion in China has served as a harsh reminder that urgent steps are necessary to stop further proliferation of those dreadful engines of destruction. It should also be borne in mind that the possibilities of manufacturing nuclear weapons will soon increase in connexion with the rapid development toward use of larger atomic power reactors for peaceful purposes. No additional country, however, now openly aspires to become a nuclear Power. This

situation, which may not last long, should spur us on to quick action.

49. The five great Powers that already have access to nuclear capabilities are identical with those that are given special responsibility in the Charter for the preservation of peace. The nuclear line is now drawn around the circle of the five States entitled to permanent membership of the Security Council. We should do everything in our power to see to it that this line is redrawn so as to add new members to the nuclear club. But we have to act soon.

50. The demands for international action in order to halt the further proliferation of nuclear weapons have been given new impetus and taken on added strength. The African States have brought to the agenda of this session their joint declaration for the denuclearization of Africa [A/5730]. They have stated their readiness to undertake, in a treaty to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, not to manufacture or to acquire control of nuclear weapons. At the same time the Latin American countries represented at the meeting in Mexico City in November of last year have brought to our attention their decision to initiate detailed studies on a treaty for the denuclearization of Latin America. They have already given us valuable definitions of the aims and scope of such a treaty.

51. The Swedish Government attaches special importance to these attempts at organizing regional co-operation in order to reduce the nuclear peril that hangs over mankind. If groups of countries, in areas where conditions for such arrangements exist, were to freeze the nuclear situation by regional agreements, the cause of peace and disarmament would be well served.

52. Other proposals bearing on the present situation aim directly at a ban on the further spread of nuclear arms to countries which are not now in control of these weapons of mass destruction. Sweden has on several occasions voiced the belief, which we still firmly hold, that such arrangements aimed at non-dissemination do not go far enough to meet the widely accepted objective of freezing the present nuclear situation. A real freeze would, in our view, require more active contributions by the nuclear Powers themselves in order to be effective and perhaps even attainable. Thus, the problem has to be attacked from many angles at the same time. It should be viewed against the background both of the rapid growth of nuclear arsenals and of the ambitions for further perfection of these weapons.

53. It seems reasonable to consider a freeze of the number of nuclear Powers in the light of these developments towards ever stronger and more effective nuclear capabilities on the part of the great Powers. In our view, serious attention ought to be given to the idea of a more comprehensive freeze, extending beyond what has been described as the closing of the nuclear club. Thus, efforts should be made to reach agreement simultaneously on the following measures:

54. Firstly, steps to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This would have the effect of freezing the number of nuclear Powers. Secondly, extension

of the partial test ban treaty to comprise also underground tests. Scientific advances in the technique of seismic detection should make agreement easier to reach. Such agreement would have the effect of hindering the further perfection of these already too powerful means of death and destruction. This would hopefully lead to a qualitative freeze. Thirdly, halting the production of fissionable material for military purposes. This would have the effect of freezing at their existing level the stockpiles of such material for use in weapons. This would hopefully lead to a quantitative freeze.

55. Far from upsetting the military balance, an agreement for a freezing of this broad scope would have a stabilizing effect. The suggested freeze would have to be accompanied by adequate measures of control. Fortunately, a solution of this problem is by no means beyond reach. The control requirements relating to the measures I have discussed have already been extensively studied. These studies suggest that satisfactory and mutually acceptable methods of control could be worked out, given a minimum amount of goodwill.

56. Before concluding my remarks on disarmament, I would like to say that, in our view, the People's Republic of China should be given the opportunity to join in further negotiations on nuclear and other disarmament by taking its seat in the organs of the United Nations.

57. While we continue our search for realistic undertakings in the field of disarmament, nuclear and otherwise, we must preserve and develop the capacity of the United Nations to act in the service of peace. The difficulties that now beset the Organization have their origin in differing interpretations of the obligations that we have undertaken under the Charter. It is therefore of vital importance that we try to reach some measures of agreement and accommodation as to the methods of initiating, directing and financing peace-keeping operations in the future. A general review of all these problems has sometimes been suggested, and it may well be that such a review would serve a useful purpose.

58. My Government has undertaken certain military and technical preparations to enable Sweden to respond quickly and effectively, if we should be asked again, as happened several times in the past, to take part in some peace-keeping activity of the United Nations. We have reviewed with great interest similar preparations in other countries. We have noted what the Secretary-General had to say in the introduction to his annual report about stand-by forces. He said, in particular, that he would welcome appropriate action by a competent United Nations organ authorizing a study of various problems in connexion with the setting up of stand-by forces. This statement brings up the question of whether the General Assembly should take some action in order to initiate such a study and, if so, in what way the question should be approached in order to ensure a satisfactory result. My delegation will follow this question attentively and would be prepared, if the necessary support seems to be forthcoming, to take the initiative in having the General Assembly authorize the undertaking of a study of the kind suggested by the Secretary-General.

It should, indeed, be in the interest of all to make the existing machinery more efficient and better suited to the needs of Member States.

59. When I spoke in the general debate at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly I stressed the significance of regional co-operation for the preservation of peace. In particular, I paid tribute to the statesmanship shown by the African States when they met in Addis Ababa and drew up their Charter of African Unity. What has happened in the last year should not cause us to change this evaluation. True, we have witnessed tragic events on the African continent. Bitter conflicts have sometimes pitted Africans against Africans. These conflicts threaten to lead to outside interference, bringing the cold-war differences into the heart of Africa. But the idea has survived of a common responsibility of all African States for peace and security on their continent. The Organization of African Unity deserves the encouragement and support of all Members of the United Nations in the fulfilment of the vital task of negotiation and conciliation.

60. African spokesmen have made it clear that they do not view the African system of co-operation as an exclusive one. They are aware of the danger of creating new dividing lines. They reject the idea of race supremacy in any form. Forgetting a sometimes painful legacy of the past, they are eager to develop friendly ties with all those who are ready to do so on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. Above all, they have confirmed their wish to preserve and to develop the peace-keeping capacity and the ultimate moral authority of the United Nations.

61. This attitude is a challenge to the rest of us and, indeed to the United Nations itself. It should be recognized as the authentic expression of the new emerging forces in Africa as well as in Asia. We ought carefully to consider the problems that have to be solved if a new and fruitful relationship between the less developed continents and the rest of the world is to be achieved on this basis. I will point to two such problems.

62. Firstly, there is the question of intervention and outside interference. This question concerns one of the great problems of our era, relevant in all parts of the world. What is the scope and what are the limits of national sovereignty and how is national interest to be made compatible with the interest of international co-operation?

63. The continued confusion as to what constitutes co-operation on the one hand and outside interference on the other contains serious dangers to peace. The emotional force that is naturally mobilized against any form of outside interference has an explosive character. This force can be abused for narrow political purposes—as can, indeed, international assistance. There is a risk that programmes of aid and collaboration, which are, in fact, desirable and useful from the point of view of all parties, are made to look suspect and, therefore, may not be carried out. We should try, by clear definition and open discussion, to prevent such abuse of a perfectly legitimate psychological inclination.

64. Secondly, the relationship between all regional groups and the United Nations needs to be studied

anew. The Charter strikes a careful balance between the responsibility of such groups and the Organization itself. It lays down the rule that force may only be used, in the last resort, by the United Nations or, at least, with the authorization of the United Nations. Similarly, no single country is entitled to apply force except in the exercise of self-defence against an armed attack. There are good reasons for these rules, reasons that have not lost their validity and may even have acquired increased importance. Indeed, not only is the use of force an international crime; it also poses the threat of widening the conflict and can, therefore, create a danger for all nations, wherever they are located geographically.

65. It is unlikely that the continent of Africa will find its equilibrium and will be able to play its due part in the world context, as long as the problems of the apartheid policy in South Africa and of the future of the remaining colonies are unsolved.

66. The problem of apartheid is rightly a matter of grave concern not only to Africans, but to us all. The persistent refusal of the South African Government to co-operate with the United Nations gives cause for great concern. In the view of my Government, this refusal is no reason for the United Nations to relax its efforts. It should, on the contrary, cause the United Nations to increase such pressure as the Organization is able to exert. We are encouraged by the fact that the Security Council is now actively dealing with the problem. Since the last session of the General Assembly, two important developments have taken place in the Security Council: the report of the Group of Experts<sup>5/</sup> and the establishment of the Committee entrusted with the task of studying the problem of sanctions.

67. My Government attaches great importance to the recommendation of the Group of Experts that a national consultation be held with full representation of the whole population of South Africa on how to solve the many difficult problems inherent in the present situation and how to allay the fears and apprehensions it has created. At the same time, we welcome the decision of the Council to study the feasibility, effectiveness and implications of measures which could be taken by the Security Council under the Charter. This dual approach to the problem is, in our opinion, the only one that would serve the true interest of South Africa and finally lead to a reasonable and peaceful solution. True, much statesmanship is needed by all concerned in order to find a way out of the present impasse and open prospects for a future in freedom and dignity for all people in South Africa. But so high are the stakes that the United Nations ought to spare no efforts in order to facilitate a reversal of the present dangerous trend.

68. Meanwhile, the Swedish Government will proceed with practical and positive measures to relieve the plight of those suffering from persecution and humiliation. We have responded to the appeal of the General Assembly for relief and assistance to the families of the victims of apartheid by placing some \$200,000 at the disposal of organizations best equipped to render

such assistance. A contribution in the same amount was last year allocated to a Swedish programme of educational assistance for young African refugees. We welcome the United Nations education and training programme for South African which is now under way. It should in due course, in our opinion, be consolidated and include refugee youth from other African areas where education also is restricted on political or racial grounds.

69. I should like to draw your attention to another matter which is of particular interest in this context. Whatever attitude we take on the general question of capital punishment, a question which will be considered by the Human Rights Commission in accordance with a decision of the General Assembly, I think we are all agreed that death sentences passed for political crimes in peacetime are contrary to humanitarian principles. This has given rise to the thought that a special convention should be worked out excluding the death penalty for offences against the State in peacetime. Meanwhile, the General Assembly might call on all Member States to ensure that persons condemned to death for such offences be given the right to appeal to a higher judicial authority and to petition for a pardon or reprieve. Member States might also be invited to undertake not to carry out death sentences of this character without prior notice to some international body.

70. This idea has been received with great sympathy by my Government and we would consider it an important step forward in the human rights field if such an undertaking could be accepted by the vast majority of Member States.

71. It is hardly necessary for me to stress the importance of the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development. That Conference was no less than a turning-point in postwar international relations, reflecting important changes in the political and economic configuration of the world. This was the first time that all the major problems of world trade and economic development were discussed in a worldwide forum. This was also the occasion when the less developed nations found it necessary, on the basis of common economic interests, to form a group in order to carry on businesslike negotiations with the more developed countries. They were keenly aware of their formal voting strength, but they were equally conscious of the necessity for compromise and accommodation. This development is of extreme importance for the United Nations itself and we should be clear in our minds about its meaning and implications.

72. If the United Nations is to work effectively in the economic as well as in the political field, groups of countries with similar or identical interests will have to collaborate closely. The membership of the groups may vary according to the problems under discussion and a country may well belong to several groups. This is a necessary and a useful phenomenon. Whatever the size of such groups, they will have to act with restraint and in a spirit of understanding in relation to other groups. If this does not come about, the consequences are bound to be detrimental to all of us and to the Organization itself. Resolutions may be passed, but their power to influence the action of Member States will be seriously weakened. This

<sup>5/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5658.



is particularly true when the task is one of translating general attitudes into specific and concrete solutions and when the matters dealt with have a direct bearing on the internal policies of Member States in the fields of customs tariffs and fiscal measures.

73. It is, therefore, gratifying that it has been possible, as far as concerns the Trade Conference, to work out conciliation procedures which will help us reach a higher degree of agreement on controversial issues and carry forward the great work of global economic co-operation. We should carefully study the theory and practice of these procedures in order to ascertain their relevance to the total work of the United Nations.

74. I am coming to the end of my remarks. It remains only for me to say again that it is an important part of Swedish foreign policy to work for a strong United Nations, capable of playing its role to further the twin goals of peace and progress in a changing world. The basic principles for international behaviour laid down in the Charter have become inescapable and indispensable. We must persevere in our efforts to translate the obligation to live together in peace into everyday reality everywhere.

75. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, I take pleasure in extending to you our most sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this Assembly. Having had the pleasure of knowing you personally for many years, may I also add my personal greetings, Mr. President. I am confident that your conduct of the deliberations of the Assembly will add to your reputation and further enhance the good name of your country, with which Pakistan enjoys relations of increasing friendliness and co-operation.

76. It is all too evident that we are passing through a time of severe test for the United Nations, for its efficacy and, indeed, its very existence. The constitutional crisis that has overtaken us has its roots in different conceptions of the role of the United Nations in the minds of the great Powers. We all have our ideas on the ideal solution for this crisis. If I do not choose to articulate mine at this stage, it is for the sole reason that the issue is the subject of delicate negotiations at present and I have no wish to try to muddy the waters still more. At the moment, it might not be an excessive hope that the immediate issue of the normalization of the Assembly's proceedings will soon be resolved. But that, of course, will not be the final resolution of the crisis; the deeper problem of the harmonization of our views regarding the functions of the United Nations and its two main organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council, will remain.

77. I am confident that the Asian, African and Latin American countries, which have an enormous stake in the existence and vitality of the United Nations, will play a decisive role in that final resolution. They have demonstrated their deep concern, and it has, I believe, become apparent that no solution of the problem will be viable unless it has the wholehearted support of the smaller Powers that constitute the bulk of the United Nations. It is encouraging to observe that their influence has served to translate the issue

from the clash of rigid, legalistic and doctrinal standpoints to the problem of how the activities of the United Nations can be realistically financed and its constitution worked in such a way that its capacity to keep the peace will not be impaired.

78. It seems to be generally accepted that the whole problem of peace-keeping by the United Nations needs to be comprehensively reviewed. When the occasion arises, my Government will put forth its considered views on the various issues involved. At this stage, it is enough for me to state our basic assumptions. These are: First, like all peace-loving States, Pakistan needs the United Nations with its capacity enhanced. Second, this need will not be fulfilled if the United Nations departs radically from the Charter, unless there is agreement on suitable amendments to the Charter. Third, the international community is confronted at present with immediate and awesome problems, with which no organization other than the United Nations is equipped to deal. Fourth, the present crisis will not be finally resolved unless we all candidly take stock of our respective experiences of the working of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and, in so doing, co-ordinate our viewpoints in order to evolve a common approach to the role and intervention of the Organization in the future.

79. It is enough to consider the international situation as a whole, and the problems and disputes which trouble various parts of the world, to realize the need for a continuous strengthening of the will and the ability of the international community to defend peace and make it possible for the world to work for the progress of its peoples. What is needed, as the United Nations Organization enters the twentieth year of its existence, a year which has been declared the International Co-operation Year, is a reappraisal of its achievements and its shortcomings and a solemn rededication to its original principles and purposes. The League of Nations was established largely for the purpose of maintaining the status quo in Europe. Today, voices are again raised in favour of maintaining a world-wide status quo on the basis of something which has been described as the law of the cease-fire line.

80. The world is today going through a period of upheaval without precedent. It would be a delusion of the most dangerous kind to believe that the world as it is today, however pleasant it may seem to some, can be maintained on the basis of makeshift solutions and a precariously balanced status quo. Around the world are problems that must be solved: racial conflict, remnants of colonialism, nations divided by war or strategy, the human race divided among those who possess wealth beyond the wildest dreams of the alchemists and those for whom their daily crust of bread must fall like manna from heaven. Where, in a world thus divided, shall we draw our cease-fire lines? The United Nations must not be allowed to become the instrument of injustice and inequality. That is the way not to peace and security, but to the quicksands of expediency and the maze of power politics. If this Organization is not to go the way of the League of Nations, it must never lose sight of its very first purpose: to secure settlement of international

disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

81. The tendency of great Powers to look at disputes between other nations not on their merits, but in relation to their own power interests, the inconclusiveness of the proceedings of the Security Council because of this tendency, the complacent assumption that disputes between countries which are not militarily very powerful can easily be frozen, the refusal to make pronouncements on disputes in accordance with principles universally accepted—all these have been responsible for a state of affairs in which disputes not only remain unsolved but also are aggravated by the passage of time.

82. While mankind places its hopes on significant progress towards an abiding peace, stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction in the armouries of the great Powers and the exactions made on their people by others not so great, in their blind quest for acquiring more arms at any cost, constitute in themselves a cause of world tension and a growing threat to peace. In view of this deplorable state of affairs, disarmament acquires added urgency and becomes an important and vital end in itself. Geneva disarmament talks will soon enter their fifth year. We must pay tribute to the patience of the members of the Geneva Conference, to the spirit of sincerity shown by many of them over these years. The goal of complete and general disarmament unfortunately remains as far away as ever. The partial test ban Treaty gives us no reason for complaints so long as we are unable to secure the objective of a total ban on the production, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. It is difficult to conceive how these complex objectives can be achieved by a body which excludes one nuclear Power and is not joined by another. It is essential that a new start should be made, on a realistic basis, to seeking the elimination of arms and armaments, particularly those which threaten the very existence of civilization.

83. The most immediate problem, in this connexion, is that of stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons. My country is among those which have urged, in the Assembly, year after year, that if the problem of the spread of nuclear weapons is not checked in time and if some firm arrangements are not made to prevent conditions in which a sixth country could join the ranks of nuclear countries, one can be certain that, sooner or later, such a sixth nuclear Power will emerge. This will necessarily be followed by yet other countries as well.

84. Let me recall here the words spoken by the President of Pakistan in his address to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly on 26 September 1962. He said:

"Permit me to observe that mere adoption of resolutions against the dissemination of nuclear weapons and in favour of the establishment of a non-nuclear club, will not remove this danger. Unless the United Nations takes effective and urgent action in this direction, the race in nuclear armaments is bound to overtake other parts of the world in the immediate future.

"This imminent peril demands that the General Assembly give urgent consideration to the conclusion of a treaty to outlaw the further spread of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their manufacture, whether by acquisition from the present nuclear Powers or by any other means. The conclusion of such a treaty cannot wait until agreement is reached on other measures of disarmament." [1133rd plenary meeting, paras. 16-17].

85. In the International Atomic Energy Agency, Pakistan has always advocated and supported the strengthening of a system of safeguards against the use of atomic reactors for weapons purposes. With all its inadequacies, the international safeguards system offers some security against the further dissemination of nuclear weapons. We continue to believe that the Agency's system of safeguards should become mandatory and universal and that it should be developed to cover all aspects of nuclear capability. It has to be recognized, however, that matters have now reached a stage when a piecemeal strengthening of the Agency's safeguards and of their application in a haphazard manner will not meet the requirements of the situation. We would urge that an international conference should be called at which all the countries of the world, including those at present not Members of the United Nations or not represented in it, should examine this whole question in detail and devise strict arrangements which would make it impossible for non-nuclear Powers to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons.

86. The Pakistan delegation has no doubt that such a measure would arrest the further deterioration of the present situation, which threatens the world with a holocaust. It would also open the way to a more realistic attempt to achieve complete and general disarmament on a comprehensive and universal basis.

87. There has been a noticeable change in the attitudes of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. They have both demonstrated a commendable willingness and ability to respond to the changing realities of the world situation. So far progress has perhaps been only symbolic. This needs to be developed so that a new trend might be established in the direction of a universal détente. The logic of this consideration applies, with greater urgency, to the situation in South-East Asia.

88. In the ultimate analysis, such an approach cannot be confined to the political sphere. It is also apt that it be applied to economic relations among countries with different social systems and nations in different economic conditions. Indeed, it has to be brought to bear on the world economy as a whole, as it is here that foundations can be laid for stability in international relations. It is in this precise context that one of the most significant events of our time took place in Geneva last year.

89. I refer to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Convening a Conference of this size and scope was a major achievement, and its results, notably the Final Act, which was adopted unanimously, demonstrated the statesmanship, the understanding and the spirit of co-operation of both the developed and the developing countries.

90. This Conference was a landmark; it marked the logical extension of the process of decolonization to the economic sphere. Its mainspring was a recognition of the fact that, though the colonial era had passed, the basic structure of international trade still denied the developing countries an equal voice and indeed an equal status in matters affecting their vital economic interests. Pakistan welcomed the Conference as a sign that the newly emergent countries would no longer accept an anachronistic world order inherited from the dead colonial past.

91. The importance of the long-range objectives of the Trade and Development Conference goes far beyond the economic sphere. Those objectives touch upon the basic principles of human solidarity. If they are realized, they will mark the extension to the international plane of those regulatory processes which all modern societies accept on the domestic plane in order to ensure stability and elementary justice in economic relations. Moreover, their realization will be a reliable insurance for peace because the so-called North-South problem, if it erupts in a confrontation between the rich and the poor on a global scale, can undermine any fabric in international security. My Government feels that the task of reducing, and eventually eliminating, the gulf between the rich and the poor is perhaps the greatest responsibility assumed by the United Nations, and we hope that the collective wisdom of the world community will be equal to this task.

92. These are global ends and regional action is one of the means to their fulfilment. We in Pakistan were happy to join the fraternal countries of Iran and Turkey in Regional Co-operation for Development. The Heads of State of the three countries launched the enterprise at their meeting in Istanbul in July 1964 when wide agreement was reached on greater freedom of communication among the three countries and on the exploration of possibilities for creating mass awareness of their common culture and civilization. This institution, instead of being exclusive, is open to accession by other countries in either all or some spheres of its activities. We hope that it will produce a broader base for our respective economies and result in the enrichment of our cultures.

93. From whatever vantage point these regional continental structures are regarded, no one can deny that they serve to bring various peoples together. By extending the horizons of nations, by inhibiting parochial tendencies, by opening new vistas for the peaceful assertion of economic and political rights, they check a relapse of the world community into those narrow, strident and exclusive nationalisms which are the sole alternative to the United Nations. As such, they serve the cause of the United Nations and lend content to its message.

94. I would now refer briefly to the situation in Europe. Even though no final settlement of some of the major problems has yet taken place, it is a discernible fact that a measure of political and military equilibrium has been achieved. It would appear that the principal Powers have reached a stage at which there is a greater understanding of the nature and extent of the danger of a military confrontation, and they have succeeded in reassuring themselves as to

the adequacy of their respective security arrangements. Reassurance and confidence are gradually replacing despondency and fear. This is indeed a significant development. Europe is engaged in an endeavour to acquire a sense of cohesion and to play a distinctive role as a link between the Atlantic and the East.

95. Before we turn our attention from Europe, I would like to make a few observations about the Cyprus question. It is gratifying that the tragic crisis, which led to so much violence and bloodshed, is now under some control and conditions appear generally favourable for a durable settlement. My purpose in referring to the Cyprus question is to emphasize the need for resolute efforts towards a fair and final solution. Pakistan maintains that in the search for a final settlement, the relevant international agreements, which were responsible for the emergence of Cyprus as a sovereign, independent State, are of paramount importance. It is only on the basis of a just settlement that lasting peace can be brought to the strife-torn island.

96. Turning now to the continent of Africa, we find that, within the span of but a few years, the vibrant African people have severed the colonial chains which held them in bondage for nearly a century. They have forged a continental unity. The emergence of the Organization of African Unity bears witness to the vision and resourcefulness of African nations who have pledged their power to the struggle against the forces of colonialism and the inhuman policies of racial discrimination. Moreover, they have had the foresight to establish machinery for seeking peaceful solutions of inter-African disputes.

97. The post-independence history of several Asian countries shows that newly independent countries will have to exercise the greatest vigilance against colonialism and exploitation in its more subtle forms. The situation in the Congo is an example. It is most regrettable that outside intervention has further compounded a difficult problem which, in the ultimate analysis, can be solved only by the Congolese themselves. However, we must give thought to this complex problem and determine to what extent we can assist the Congolese people in their quest for a solution to their problems. It has been our experience that United Nations operations by themselves have not served their intended purpose. It is a matter of regret that, instead of promoting stability, the result of such operations has been unsettling and, in some respects, tragic. If we draw the right lessons from our experience in dealing with the Congo problem, we must concede that a more practical way of assisting a solution in the Congo would be for the United Nations to delegate its responsibility to an organization such as the Organization of African Unity.

98. The member States of the Organization of African Unity have a vital stake in the Congo and their efforts would be based on a closer appreciation of the currents and cross-currents that seem to stand as insurmountable obstacles in the way of a just and equitable settlement in the Congo. Without rancour or recrimination, I would also submit that the use of non-African elements by the United Nations has been a factor which has been largely negative. It is necessary,

therefore, that the peaceful objectives of the world community and its collective goodwill should be exercised through the African community which alone can render meaningful assistance to the people of the Congo. I would venture to suggest that such a delegation of responsibility should also be supported by financial and material contributions to the OAU for the accomplishment of this important objective.

99. There will be no peace in Africa unless the remaining vestiges of colonialism—in Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia—are eliminated and the peoples of these territories are granted the right to determine their own future. We are happy that two more African countries, Malawi and Zambia, achieved independence during the last year. My delegation extends to them, as well as to Malta, a warm welcome as new Members of this World Organization.

100. No reference to Africa can be complete without deploring the grave situation in South Africa which threatens, more than ever before, to shatter peace and plunge the continent of Africa into turmoil and bloodshed. The Government of South Africa has not been deflected from its inhuman policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. Instead, it has let loose a reign of terror against the brave freedom fighters and imprisoned thousands of opponents of apartheid. It has thrown a challenge to world opinion and rejected all appeals and peaceful approaches made to it to abandon its policies, which violate the principle of equality between man and man.

101. The problem of South Africa is not a problem of Africa alone. It is not only the anticipation of tragic consequences that compels our attention. In this twentieth century, when science and technology are helping the foundation of a single world community, in which peoples of different nationalities, of different creeds and different races might live in peace and harmony and work for the collective good of mankind as a whole, it is anachronistic and intolerable that, in South Africa, a Government should pursue the policy of dividing man from man on the basis of his birth. This is a matter which put the birth of an international community in jeopardy. It is not merely a matter of right or wrong, but a matter of fact, that the South African situation is a burden on the conscience of the human race. It threatens to arouse passions beyond our comprehension. This is no imaginary fear. Mankind's abhorrence of massacre and bloodshed is not a matter of controversy.

102. The South African Government must be prevented from plunging headlong into a situation that can lead only to death and devastation, and that would make nonsense of our endeavours to provide a better world for our children. Such is the nature and magnitude of this problem, and it is for this reason that my delegation appeals to all to take individual and collective action against the South African Government. The Government of Pakistan has fully implemented the General Assembly resolution of 1962 [resolution 1761 (XVII)] and imposed a total embargo on trade with South Africa. I would urge sincerely that the major trading partners of South Africa apply economic sanctions against that country to give effective demonstration to their condemnation of the policy of apart-

heid from which the South African Government will not otherwise desist.

103. I would now like to deal with the region of the Indian Ocean. It is in Asia that actual war continues in the swamp and jungles of South Viet-Nam. It is there that the threat of a confrontation between the nuclear Powers now exists, carrying with it the risk of world-wide conflagration. It is in Asia, too, that secondary arms races are developing, increasing the danger of involvement by the great Powers and diverting the resources and energies of the region from the urgent tasks of economic development. If international peace is to be safeguarded and a system of international security established as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, then a beginning must be made by seeking a durable settlement in Asia. Such an Asian settlement, to quote an eminent political commentator of this country, must stretch from the Yalu to the Himalayas. It is imperative that a beginning be made, however daunting the work.

104. The most dangerous feature of the Asian situation is that one of the principals, in fact the country with the largest population in the whole world—the People's Republic of China—is kept isolated and quarantined from normal international relations. During the worst phase of the cold war, the line of communications between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers was open and a dialogue between them, even if bitter and full of invective, could take place in this Organization. But no communication has existed with China. For this reason alone, it should cause no surprise if policies relating to China's place and role in the world are based on a lack of proper comprehension. It is imperative, therefore, not only for the effectiveness of the United Nations, but for the sake of the very peace of the world, that the People's Republic of China be brought into the United Nations. Only then can a beginning be made towards regulating the situation in Asia and restoring to that vast and conflict-torn continent the peace and tranquillity which its peoples so desperately need. Unless this is done and done speedily, there can be no real progress towards meaningful disarmament. In fact, if the deliberations of the United Nations are not to continue to be deprived of the voice of a major world Power and a country with a population of 700 million, if the unreality of this situation is to be ended—and indeed it has to be ended—then it is imperative that the People's Republic of China should take its place in our midst in this Organization.

105. In the United Nations Organization rest the hopes and aspirations of mankind for an orderly progress towards peace and prosperity through justice and equality. It has come to embody our collective dedication to this high purpose. It is the duty of every Member to bring to this forum a sense of history and a true spirit of the community of man. Much as we would like to dispense with incongruity and discordance, it is also one of our necessary functions that we should point out the dangers that lie in our path. These arise from policies pursued wilfully and in deliberation, policies that are contrary to the purposes of the United Nations and that threaten to frustrate our collective quest for a better world order. It is indeed with the utmost regret that I now proceed to put on record a series of developments in our region

which have the most dangerous possibilities, not only for those of us who are directly concerned but also for those who live beyond our frontiers.

106. I draw your attention to the policy-makers of India, who are determined to create tensions on their borders and produce an artificial situation for the exploitation of international rivalries. They have steadfastly refused to see merit in a policy of justice and equality which would bring peace to the region and strengthen natural affinities on the basis of honour and goodwill, and thus lay the foundations of a permanent peace and bring a sense of security to the more than half a billion people of the sub-continent of Southern Asia. The policies being pursued by Indian leaders are fraught with consequences detrimental to the whole world. For historic reasons and because it is the largest of India's neighbours in Southern Asia, Pakistan is the main target of Indian hostility. But Pakistan is not the only country in the region to have felt the impact of Indian ambitions and chauvinism. India's smaller neighbours have had experience of the way in which India can ride rough-shod over the legitimate interests of smaller countries when these happen to conflict with her ambitions. It was not for nothing that Senator Senanayake of Ceylon warned his countrymen to be on guard lest, like Kashmir, Ceylon too might fall under India's domination. Nepal's natural and legitimate interest in promoting closer relations with other countries has for long been impeded by pressures from India. Sikkim has been virtually occupied by Indian forces, and in the once-peaceful kingdom of Bhutan India ruthlessly makes use of financial and economic weapons to interfere in the internal affairs of that country.

107. Blinded by dreams of reviving the imagined glories of the past, India has embarked on a programme of extending her hegemony across the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean from the Hindu Kush to the Mekong. She has thus set her foot on the path of naked militarism and political adventure.

108. The Five-Year Plan of rearmament which India intends to carry out with the assistance of foreign Powers will cost the staggering amount of \$12 billion. A vast and fearsome panoply of war is being created in a country whose citizens eke out a life of misery on an average income of 35 cents per day and are deprived of the most elementary amenities of human existence. \$12 billion are to be spent on instruments and symbols of power by a country which, according to the recent statement made in Delhi by the head of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, must depend on the import of food grains for another thirty years—the lifetime of a whole generation. And yet factories that might produce fertilizers will spew forth gunpowder; steel that could be used to manufacture tractors will go instead into tanks.

109. This well-publicized augmentation of arms is proceeding with the proclaimed object of defending India against an alleged threat of invasion by China. It is not my purpose to go into the history of the events that culminated in the hostilities between Indian forces and the forces of the Chinese People's Republic in October 1962. A good deal has been written on the subject since then which throws light on the asser-

tion that a innocent and unwary India suddenly became the victim of an aggressive and expansionist China during those October weeks. It has only to be recalled that, a short while before the outbreak of the Sino-Indian conflict Indian newspapers announced the order by the late Indian Prime Minister to the Indian Army to drive out the Chinese from the disputed border regions, and the establishment of a special task-force, under the command of General Kaul, to achieve this objective. Be that as it may, the situation that exists on the undefined and disputed border between the People's Republic of China and India is one which needs to be settled. Of course, there is no reason for holding that it cannot be settled peacefully. Similar boundary differences have been settled amicably in all parts of the world and, in this very region, such differences have been settled between China and others of its neighbours such as Afghanistan, Burma, Nepal and Pakistan.

110. The peculiarity of India's so-called confrontation with the People's Republic of China is that, while the situation on the ground remains quiet, every now and then a clamour is raised that Chinese troops are being concentrated, air-space is being violated, incursions are taking place here, there and everywhere, and that India is about to be invaded. On the other hand, with all this picture of impending and imminent catastrophe, the major portion of India's forces continues to remain where it has always been, namely, in Jammu and Kashmir, on India's border with West Pakistan and all around East Pakistan. Indian military missions come and go in the capitals of obliging great Powers, seeking supersonic planes, submarines and tanks, and the like, in order to strengthen India's fighting capacity in the mountains of the Himalayas. Can anyone seriously believe that China is preparing to invade India? Were that so, would China be calmly waiting while India augmented her strength through a series of five-year military plans? Indeed, would China, in October 1962, have voluntarily called a cease-fire, withdrawn from parts of the disputed territory into which its troops had advanced, cleaned, oiled and returned to India the guns left behind by its retreating troops? Even in the perpetration of this gigantic fiction the Indians give the lie to their own claims by keeping the great bulk of their fighting forces poised against Pakistan and by adding submarines to their naval might. The fact is that the one abiding aim of Indian policy is to establish an Indian hegemony over the Indian Ocean region from the Hindu Kush to the Mekong.

111. A noted spokesman of modern India, Dr. Panikkar, has described the outer limits of the Indian sphere in the following words:

"Our vision has been obscured by an un-Indian wave of pacifism. 'Ahimsa' (non-violence) is no doubt a great religious creed, but that is a creed which India rejected when she refused to follow Buddha. The Hindu theory at all times, especially in the period of her historic greatness, was one of active assertion of the right, if necessary through the force of arms. To the Indian Ocean we shall have to turn, as our ancestors did who conquered Socotra long before the Christian era and established an empire in the Pacific."

112. Notwithstanding this open advocacy of a policy of expansion and domination, for a long time the posture of non-alignment served its purpose by enabling India to play off the United States against the Soviet Union. Today the Chinese bogey is being used to project the image of India as a bulwark of security and freedom for Asia and Africa against so-called Chinese aggression and expansionism. Borrowing the language of the cold war, India now speaks not only of military conflict and invasion, but of a struggle between a Chinese ideology and a so-called Indian way of life. This image of selfless devotion to the noble cause of defending freedom and democracy in Asia and Africa does not, unfortunately, accord with the fact that India has, in the past, made frequent use of force, both military and economic, for the settlement of disputes with its smaller neighbours. Is it conceivable that a re-armed and militant India will radiate a spirit of peaceful benevolence?

113. Those Powers that are helping to re-arm India in the fond hope that India will become an example of stability and democracy are entitled to their illusions. Let us, however, beware of the high-sounding platitudes in which the Indian policy is expounded. The reality behind the verbal façade is very different. We got a glimpse of the reality when, after the fall of Mr. Khrushchev and the resumption of Sino-Soviet contacts, there was alarm and despondency in India over the possibility of the stoppage of Soviet military aid. The self-appointed torch-bearers of non-alignment now travel under the banner of double alignment, and the apostles of peaceful coexistence pin their hopes on the continuation of world tensions.

114. An idea has now been put forward that, as a result of the Chinese atomic explosion, the non-nuclear Powers are facing a new unforeseen danger. It has been suggested that certain nuclear Powers should join together to guarantee non-nuclear Powers against nuclear attack. What does this proposal amount to? The Chinese test cannot be said to have created a new situation for Europe or for Latin America. This leaves the Indian Ocean area, at the centre of the land masses of Asia and Africa. It is here, evidently, that the proposal for a nuclear guarantee, made by Prime Minister Shastri in London, is intended to have its impact. What in fact is the real nature of this so-called nuclear guarantee? "Umbrella" or "shield", it really amounts to no more than a lining up of the other nuclear Powers against the People's Republic of China. This dangerous proposal would turn the Indian Ocean into a cockpit of great Power conflict. This is in direct contradiction with the efforts and objectives of the Asian and African peoples which are persistently directed towards freeing their continents from any nuclear presence and involvement.

115. My delegation, therefore, views the Indian proposal with serious concern. It would extend a nuclear hegemony into a non-nuclear area and thereby further complicate the already complex problem of disarmament. For Asia, in particular, this would represent a misfortune of the greatest magnitude by bringing the entire continent under the perpetual shadow of nuclear weapons and extending the nature and scope of the confrontations between the great Powers. If this dangerous proposal were to find support, it

would inevitable have the effect of undermining the sovereignty and independence of the countries of Asia and Africa.

116. My country is a signatory of the test ban Treaty and we have always hoped that conditions will be created under which the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments can be stopped and indeed their use and possession outlawed. The answer lies neither in self-righteousness nor in the sort of ingenious opportunism reflected in the plan of a nuclear umbrella. An agreement for the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons can be brought about only if all existing nuclear Powers participate in it. If, on the other hand, it is sought to align some of the nuclear Powers against others for the benefit of non-nuclear States, or one such State, all chances of arriving at a quick, comprehensive agreement will vanish.

117. Even in this respect, the Indian proposal strikes at the roots of mankind's urge to restrict, and possibly to eliminate, the proliferation and presence of nuclear weapons. Where we, the nations of Asia and Africa, intend to reduce tensions, India seeks to add tension to tension. Whereas we desperately need disarmament, India embarks upon rearmament. Where we want peaceful settlement of disputes, India seeks to resolve them by force.

118. What is needed is a fresh and sincere effort at a general settlement which would attack the problem of international security both from the points of view of armaments and from that of the settlement of disputes and differences which are a potential threat to peace and likely to lead to war.

119. It is imperative that India be restrained from involving the great Powers in an arms race in the region of the Indian Ocean. It is not only in the context of India's contemporary aggressive postures and the record of its recent conduct that Pakistan and other neighbouring countries feel alarmed. There are historical reasons why the introduction of an arms race in the area causes serious disquiet. It is a historical fact that the British Empire in India was the direct result of conflict and turmoil among the peoples of this area, who were helped to wage war against each other by the British East India Company and its French rivals. The adventures of Clive and Dupleix must not be re-enacted in the twentieth century. This is indeed a matter of serious concern not only for Pakistan and India, but for the whole of Asia and Africa, since it represents a positive danger of outside domination and influence. I do not wish to labour the point, but I would emphasize the need to refrain from military interference in Africa and Asia in the interest of world peace.

120. If, in this connexion, I refer to Jammu and Kashmir, it is not only because the problem of Kashmir is closest to the heart of Pakistan and because it affects the lives and the well-being of the hundreds of millions who inhabit the sub-continent of Southern Asia, nor even because the peace and security of that region are affected by the continuance of this increasingly bitter dispute. I do so because Jammu and Kashmir is, above all, a test of the ability of the United Nations to live up to its own high purposes and to meet the challenge to international order and

law by States which will set themselves above the law. The case of Jammu and Kashmir is not the only one in which a Member State has flouted the resolutions of the United Nations and persistently refused to honour its obligations under the Charter. Kashmir is only the most insidious instance of the way in which the very purpose of the United Nations Charter may be defeated by bad faith, on the one hand, and expediency and power politics, on the other.

121. Members are aware that this problem, which has been before the Security Council now for years, was again considered last year by that body, at the instance of Pakistan. It was the unanimous view of Members that both parties should meet in order to reach a just and honourable settlement of the problems that have prevented the solution of the Kashmir dispute for so long. In his summing up on 18 May 1964, the President of the Council, Mr. Seydoux of France, speaking on behalf of the members of the Council, addressed both parties as follows:

"(e) The members of the Council expressed the hope that the two parties would abstain from any act that might aggravate the situation and that they would take steps calculated to re-establish an atmosphere of moderation between the two countries and peace and harmony between the communities.

"(f) The members of the Council expressed the hope that, in the light of our recent debates, the two countries concerned would resume their contacts in the near future with a view to settling their disputes, particularly that centring upon Jammu and Kashmir, by negotiation."<sup>6/</sup>

122. Pakistan has at no moment shown any reluctance to hold bilateral talks with India for the settlement of the dispute about Jammu and Kashmir. In the seventeen years during which this problem has festered and grown bitter more than a score of suggestions have been made by eminent mediators and conciliators appointed by the United Nations in order to bring the parties together and move the dispute towards a final solution. Each one of these proposals was designed to meet the objections raised by India to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir. But even though every single proposal was accepted by Pakistan, none could be put into effect because of India's refusal to accept any conditions under which the people of Jammu and Kashmir would be enabled to exercise, in a truly free manner, their right to decide the future affiliation of the State.

123. On many occasions, we have held bilateral talks with India. Pakistan is even today ready to discuss with India the modalities by which the people of Jammu and Kashmir may exercise their right of self-determination. Pakistan is equally prepared to submit to the opinion of the International Court of Justice, or the arbitration of any other agency, by mutual agreement, the differences that stand in the way of implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir. What Pakistan cannot and will never accept is that the people of Kashmir should be deprived of their birthright and be held in bondage under alien rule.

124. In occupied Kashmir, repression increases as revolt and resentment grow. The meeting of the Plebi-

scite Front, held in November 1964 at Sopor in occupied Kashmir itself, reaffirmed the determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to continue their struggle until the right of self-determination is achieved and the intruder expelled from their homeland. The Government of India, having failed to silence the voice of the people of Kashmir, was obliged to set free Sheikh Abdullah, who for long years had languished in Indian gaols for no other fault than that he had spoken up for the right of his people to self-determination.

125. Today, as the latest Indian puppet postures on behalf of his masters, the Government of India has cast aside all pretensions, and is preparing to absorb Jammu and Kashmir into India by imposing upon it the direct rule of the President of India. This latest defiance of obligations is a clear indication of the lack of sincerity which characterizes India's relations with its neighbours, and in particular with Pakistan.

126. India is following a deliberate policy of denial of the right of self-determination not only in the case of Kashmir, but in its suppression of the valiant tribesmen of Nagaland. As the whole world is aware, this is not an isolated phenomenon where the Government of India is concerned. It is only a manifestation of an earlier trend, which was demonstrated by the fall of India's heavy hand on the people of Hyderabad and Janagadh, any by a deliberate and ruthless policy of animosity against Pakistan which the Government of India initiated and has followed relentlessly from the birth of Pakistan up to this moment.

127. I want to declare with all the emphasis at my command that India's attempt to pursue its policies of national chauvinism in flagrant violation of its international commitments and in open contempt of the principle of self-determination, which is an article of faith with nations and with men of goodwill throughout the world, will and must be frustrated. A dangerous situation is being created in south and South-East Asia by India's attempt to set itself up as a successor to a colonial régime. This represents an attempt to reverse the entire history of the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke and their struggle for national independence, which has become enshrined in the conscience of our times.

128. My country has had to contend with the declared ill will and active hostility of India at every turn and corner. The world at large, however, has yet to recognize the gravity of the situation caused by the deliberate and inhuman policy of evictions by the Government of India, a policy perpetrated against its own people, which has already resulted in the entry into Pakistan of nearly a million Indian Muslims. For India it is not enough merely to acquire vast quantities of military aid to intimidate its neighbours. It is prepared to use innocent lives, even of its own citizens, if they can be employed as an instrument for exerting additional pressure. In this case the victims are the Indian Muslims. The callous and inhuman treatment being meted out to these Indian Muslims merely because they follow the faith of Islam, the same faith as the majority of the people in Pakistan, is a blot on the conscience of civilization. The purpose is clearly to maintain a continuous and overwhelming pressure on the eastern half of Pakistan, a part of

<sup>6/</sup> Ibid., Nineteenth Year, 1117th meeting, para. 6

the country which already has one of the highest densities of population in the whole world.

129. The plight of the evicted Indian Muslims, ejected from their homes, deprived of their goods and property, and forcibly pushed across the Indian border into East Pakistan on the unfounded charge that they are "Pakistani infiltrators", presents a spectacle of inhumanity. They are a source of grave tension. The Government of Pakistan has done everything possible to avoid a conflagration. A commission of inquiry, headed by a retired judge of the Dacca High Court was appointed by the Government of Pakistan to examine the national status of those persons. The Government of India was invited to send its representatives to sit on that commission, but it refused to do so. The commission examined a large number of evicted families, and on the basis of documentary and other evidence, it found that the vast majority of the so-called "Pakistani infiltrators" evicted by India were in fact Indian Muslims who owned properties, earned their livelihood and in many cases had voted in the elections in India. Those findings have been borne out by the Jamaat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, an Indian political organization, and by General Cariappa, former Commander-in-Chief of India, who came to East Pakistan last autumn and personally visited relief camps where the evicted Indian Muslims have been temporarily housed by the Government of East Pakistan. It is indeed a sad commentary on the much-vaunted secularism of Indian society and its political institutions that every one of the persons expelled from India as an alleged infiltrator is a Muslim.

130. I said in this Assembly last year that Pakistan was prepared to accept the determination by an impartial tribunal, or some other body under international auspices, as to whether the persons expelled as infiltrators were equally Pakistani citizens, as alleged by India, or whether they were Indian citizens who had been turned out from their ancestral homes, deprived of their means of livelihood and evicted for no other reason than that they practised the religion of Islam. That offer was repeated to the Indian Government when the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan met last year to discuss the question of the treatment of minorities in the two countries and the eviction of Muslims from India. The Government of India turned down that eminently reasonable proposal on the ground that it would infringe upon its sovereign right to decide the nationality of its citizens.

131. Now it is true that the right to determine whether a person is a national of a certain country must rest prima facie with that country. In the present case, even if the matter were to be considered in purely legalistic terms, India has no right to determine unilaterally that the persons involved are Pakistanis and then to push them across the border into Pakistan. The matter is not one which ought to be dealt with in that way.

132. Eviction of Muslims from India has caused alarm and uncertainty among the 50 million Muslims of India and resentment and bitterness in Pakistan. There are 10 million Hindus in Pakistan. It has been the policy of the Government of Pakistan to make sure that the minorities are enabled not only to live in

peace and security but to flourish and prosper as honoured citizens of the country. It is a matter of the deepest regret to Pakistan that, as a result of the continuing tension between the two countries and the large-scale rioting which took place in various parts of India last year, some disturbances broke out in East Pakistan and a number of Hindus were led by their fears to flee the country. I am happy to say that many of those persons have now returned to Pakistan and many more are returning. By the end of last year, more than 50,000 had already returned and been settled in their homes and restored to their properties. There can be no clearer proof of the policy of justice and generosity which the Government of Pakistan is following with regard to the minorities in Pakistan.

133. By contrast, the fate of the 50 million Muslims and of the other minorities in India is constantly in the balance. It is not only the Hindu revivalist parties which openly advocate an exchange of population between India and Pakistan on religious grounds, but eminent leaders as well. Speaking in the West Bengal Legislative Council, the Provincial Chief Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, stated that the total evacuation of Hindus from East Pakistan over a period of five years was possible.

134. In the context of the complexities of the present international situation, India is pursuing policies which will lead us headlong into clash and into an era of darkness and strife. It is our solemn duty to make every possible endeavour to prevent this. And I should like to assure the Assembly that Pakistan is determined to spare no effort to resist, and fight against this threat.

135. In conclusion, I would remind this great Assembly that it is necessary, in the interest of world peace, to undertake the task of arresting this rapid deterioration. For in the twentieth century no country stands alone in fighting tyranny. The African-Asian world in particular is conscious of the dangers that might flow from this deplorable situation. It has been our sincere endeavour over the years to seek a settlement with honour and justice, and thereby protect not only ourselves but our region.

136. There are forces in Africa and Asia which are positive and represent the wave of the future. Asia and Africa are no longer passive and sterile, led one way or the other, according to the dictates of great-Power politics. They have emerged with a distinct personality of their own. Notwithstanding the brief period that has elapsed since their emancipation, they are not only prepared but determined to play their rightful role in shaping and making their fullest contribution to the welfare of the world community. The historic Bandung Conference<sup>1/</sup> played a decisive role in giving substance to the Asian-African personality. My delegation considers it a privilege to announce to this forum, with full confidence, that the forthcoming conference in Algiers will not only be a milestone in our contemporary history; it will herald the birth of a mighty force which will be wielded for the collective good of humanity at large; it will seek to eliminate the last remnants of colonialism

<sup>1/</sup> Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung, 18-24 April 1955.



from our region; it will be animated by a spirit of dedication to the progress and development of freedom and justice for all, without exception. We have faith that the second Asian-African conference will lay the foundation of a new spirit, a new force, resolute and determined to work for the collective aspirations of the entire human race. We are also confident that the countries of Africa and Asia will draw a lesson from history and proceed to take concrete steps against the continuance of inequality and injustice, which has bedeviled the history of man from time immemorial.

137. In making those assertions, my delegation is fully conscious of the fact that this is indeed the rostrum from which such a declaration should be made, as the Asian and African Member States constitute the majority of the United Nations. It is in this understanding that we appeal to our fellow Member States without exception to lend their support and give their blessing to the second Asian-African conference, which has set itself a historic purpose of such great significance. In so doing, they will be expressing their own dedication to the high purposes and the lofty ideals of the United Nations.

138. The PRESIDENT: There are three representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. I shall now call on them.

139. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The representative of Mali, in his statement this morning, repeatedly referred to his country as "non-aligned". We find it difficult to understand how he reconciles this description with his intemperate attacks on the United States. It would seem that he adopts unquestioningly the Communist thesis that it is not imperialism when a Communist Government or Governments assist a Communist or a revolutionary movement to overthrow an established Government of a peaceful State, but that it is imperialism when a Western State assists such a Government and its people to defend itself against this aggression. I refer, of course, to the situation in Viet-Nam.

140. Similarly, the distinguished representative of Mali, while condemning nuclear weapons and weapons tests, praises the recent explosion of a nuclear device by the Chinese Communist régime in defiance of the test ban Treaty, and even goes so far as to describe this device as a "peace bomb".

141. The representative of Mali and his Government are, of course, at liberty to hold whatever views they choose. When, however, they choose to apply the term "imperialism" to one group of States only, and to ignore or even to praise warlike and expansionist activities of other States, they no longer have any right whatever to describe themselves as "non-aligned". At least, if they do so, they will hardly be widely believed.

142. Mr. Narendra SINGH (India): We have just heard the statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. In that statement, the Foreign Minister attacked my country and engaged in a mixture of fables, fables and fabrication. I have come to the rostrum to request the President to give us an opportunity on Monday, in the exercise of our right of reply, to rebut Mr. Bhutto.

143. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): In exercising my right of reply, I merely want to refer to certain contradictions in terms that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan made in his reference to Cyprus. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan expressed the wish for a peaceful and enduring solution to the Cyprus question. With that, we entirely agree. But then he went on to suggest—by making references to the so-called international treaties which were imposed upon Cyprus while it was a colony—that a peaceful and enduring solution was not possible. I trust that we shall have the opportunity to expose before the Assembly all the glory of those treaties and of those that attempted to impose them upon the people of Cyprus while it was a colony. Those treaties contained the seeds of strife and division. I feel that the world has had enough divisions as a result of colonialism, as remnants of colonialism, for the elimination of which the Foreign Minister of Pakistan called at the beginning of his speech.

144. The PRESIDENT: Before I adjourn this meeting, I should like to say that today is the birthday of our Secretary-General, U Thant.

145. I judge from the applause that you wish me, on your behalf, on the basis the no-objection procedure, to wish him a happy birthday. It is my hope that your birthday present will be an acceptance of every compromise solution which he puts to you.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*