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AGENDA ITEM 58

**The question of Morocco (A/2923 and Add.1,
A/C.1/L.148) (*concluded*)**

1. Mr. NUNEZ (Costa Rica) said that it was more difficult to unravel the facts than to agree on the excellence of great principles such as the self-determination of peoples. For example, in order to justify the impossibility of recognizing the sovereignty of some peoples, the assertion was made that they were not ready to exercise sovereignty or that they would jeopardize economic progress. Hence the need for advancing in stages.

2. The term "anti-colonialists" had sometimes been applied to those who asked that sovereignty should be restored to peoples who had lost it. The proper term was "anti-imperialists", because all who fought against the continued domination of one State by another were engaged in the good fight to vindicate the self-determination of peoples, which was an essential principle of international organization.

3. It was in that spirit that the delegation of Costa Rica had voted for a debate on the Moroccan question. Despite the criticisms which might have been levelled against a small State which presumed to have the same voting rights as the great Powers, Costa Rica would persevere in its fidelity to the principle of the liberation of formerly independent peoples. Moreover, the aim should be, without any hostility to France and in a constructive spirit, to restore a confidence which had always been strengthened by the political wisdom displayed both by France and the Moroccan people.

4. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) expressed his support of the principles which previous speakers had defined when speaking in favour of the thirty-one-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.148). It was obvious that, without casting aspersions on the integrity of France, the right of the United Nations to defend the self-determination of peoples must be affirmed.

5. Very fortunately, it appeared that a solution of the Moroccan problem could be achieved by mutual consent in accordance with the aspirations of Frenchmen like Mr. François Mauriac. The return of Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef, by repairing an injustice, had already opened the way to the independence of Morocco and

to fruitful French-Moroccan co-operation. The Bolivian delegation hoped that a spirit of idealism would guide the French and Moroccan political leaders and that the right of self-determination of peoples, a principle for which the founders of the American Republics had laid down their lives, would triumph.

6. Mr. NAJAR (Israel) supported the thirty-one-Power draft resolution. In expressing his confidence in the wisdom of France, he noted that the fundamental principle of direct negotiation with a view to peaceful co-operation between the States directly concerned was being applied.

7. At a time when French and Moroccans were engaged in historic negotiations aimed at modifying the ties by which they were bound, the return of an undisputed sovereign had provided a happy solution to the constitutional problem. Although the events in Morocco had claimed victims among Moslems, Christians and Jews, there was ground for the hope that further negotiations would restore peace and lead to the triumph of democratic principles including the right of self-determination. Such a solution deserved the support of all advocates of equality, liberty and tolerance, and of all friends of Morocco.

8. Mr. BROHI (Pakistan) observed that by an irony of fate France was on the side of colonialism against nationalism, although the French Revolution had been a landmark in the history of the liberation of peoples. What was good for one nation was surely good for another.

9. Owing to the wisdom recently displayed by France and to the Moroccan people's unity and singleness of purpose in seeking the return of Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef, it was today fortunately possible to foresee a solution of the Moroccan problem.

10. The Sovereign in his statements had already displayed both goodwill and political foresight.

11. In an article in its issue of 1 November 1955, the *Christian Science Monitor* had observed that the departure of the Sultan from Madagascar had reflected the quickening pace of reform which it appeared must prevail over the intricacies of French politics. Instead of perpetuating racial and regional rifts, the deposition of the Sultan, which had been a central error, had rallied the non-Arab groups around the Arabs. In those circumstances, the Sultan's return would not represent a humiliation for France, but would be the result of the efforts of the more liberal elements in French politics.

12. The events in Asia and Africa had radically changed the concept of power. That had been well understood by that distinguished man Mr. Chester Bowles, as was to be seen from his book *The New Dimensions of Peace*. Today, the ingredients of power must be understood to include not only nuclear weapons, armed forces, alliances and industrial production, but also ideas and people. Otherwise there was no explanation

tion for how peoples had succeeded in overthrowing the *status quo* in China, India, Indo-China and Indonesia, even though their leaders had begun the struggle with comparatively minor forces. The time had come, therefore, to see the writing on the wall and give up the gospel of force.

13. The rebirth of nationalism, which had already liberated 1,200 million human beings, would today enable the Moroccans to take their place in the international community.

14. The United Nations too must be complimented on its contribution to the solution of the Moroccan problem, for although strictly speaking, the United Nations had not taken any decision, the mere fact that its discussions had been proceeding since 1952 had created a new climate of world opinion. Thus, it could confidently be hoped that the anxiety caused by the Moroccan problem would disappear.

15. In recommending the adoption of the joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.148), the delegation of Pakistan expressed the hope that France and Morocco would succeed by their negotiations in securing the happiness of the Moroccan people and in restoring to them their economic and political independence.

16. Mr. MENON (India) pointed out that the Moroccan problem had been under discussion in the United Nations since 1951. It was now possible, however, to foresee the time when the Moroccans, instead of being a subject of discussion, would themselves participate in the work of the United Nations.

17. The spirit in which the United Nations had approached the question should be noted, for far from wishing itself to settle the dispute, it had merely endeavoured to act in accordance with the principles of the Charter, so as to serve as a centre for harmonizing conflicting interests. Furthermore, a constant element of United Nations policy had been to recommend negotiations. Thus, in resolution 812 (IX) it was stated that "some delegations"—and India had been among them—"declared that negotiations between France and Morocco would be initiated regarding this question". The same resolution had then expressed the decision "to postpone for the time being further consideration of this item".

18. That was also the main purpose of the draft resolution before the Committee, for the rest of it was merely an expression of the General Assembly's confidence.

19. The United Nations was therefore entitled to commendation for having displayed a moderation which it was to be hoped the parties themselves would imitate. Thus would begin in the history of Morocco a new chapter that might blot out the memory of the period during which the country had been deprived of its independence.

20. The Indian delegation trusted that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously and that the cause of freedom and the settlement of disputes by negotiation would thus be promoted.

21. Mr. PLATE (Argentina) noted that the difficulty in the Moroccan question had been to reconcile the right of self-determination with the exigencies of politics in an effort to achieve a peaceful and honourable solution.

22. By deciding today to postpone further consideration of the item, the General Assembly would demonstrate its confidence that France would succeed in resolving the problem in accordance with its traditions.

The Assembly would thus express its hope for a peaceful future for the Moroccan people, whose calmness had made it possible for events to develop favourably. The fact that so many Latin American, African and Asian nations had agreed to propose the draft resolution before the Committee was in itself a happy augury.

23. Mr. VAVRICKA (Czechoslovakia) observed that the United Nations, although its jurisdiction had on occasion been disputed, had in recent sessions played a positive role. New elements in the situation were emerging, for France had displayed greater realism and by restoring the Sultan to his throne had acted in accordance with the aspirations of the Moroccan people. It was to be hoped that further negotiations would result in the development of free political institutions for the Moroccan people.

24. It must, nevertheless, be noted that the calmness and confidence to which frequent reference had been made would not be restored until the Moroccan people were convinced that their freedom, national unity and independence would be guaranteed. The Moroccan people's confidence had, however, been shaken by numerous measures which were still in force. Effective decisions for maintaining peace must therefore be taken, for no solution was possible so long as the rights of the Moroccan people were not recognized in conformity with the Charter.

25. The Czechoslovak delegation was of the opinion that through negotiation an agreement could be reached that recognized both the rights of the Moroccan people and the legitimate interests of France. Such negotiation was specifically advocated by the thirty-one-Power draft resolution. As, furthermore, the thirty-one States included all those which had requested the inclusion of the item in the agenda, Czechoslovakia would vote for the draft resolution.

26. Mr. SÄRPER (Turkey) said that the recent progress in relations between the French and Moroccans had been a matter of satisfaction to the people and Government of Turkey. Both inside and outside the United Nations, it was considered that the legitimate aspirations of the Moroccan people should be satisfied by peaceful means and through direct negotiation. That, incidentally, had been the sense of the resolution adopted by the Asian-African Conference at Bandung.

27. The Turkish delegation hailed the return to Morocco of a sovereign cherished by his people, and would vote for the draft resolution of the thirty-one Powers in the hope that future negotiations would consolidate the results already achieved.

28. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) pointed out that the Moroccan question had already been considered on numerous occasions by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. At the basis of the question was the legitimate desire of the Moroccan people to achieve independence.

29. As early as the seventh session, the General Assembly had adopted resolution 612 (VII) expressing the hope that the parties would continue negotiations on an urgent basis towards developing the free institutions of the people of Morocco, with due regard to the legitimate rights and interests of the parties concerned. The resolution had also appealed to the parties to settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, refraining from any acts or measures likely to aggravate tension.

30. However, the hope of a peaceful settlement of the Moroccan question had not been realized, and the

situation had steadily deteriorated. That was why fourteen States had proposed (A/2923 and Add.1) that the Moroccan question should be included in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly. The USSR had already indicated that it had been in favour of the inclusion of the item in the agenda, for the French Government had not given the matter proper attention, and its failure to do so had made the situation worse.

31. The USSR believed that the United Nations could and should assist in an equitable solution of the Moroccan problem with a view to strengthening peace, consideration being given to the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples of the French Union and especially to the rights of the Moroccan people.

32. The position of the Soviet people, as was well known, stressed the moral aspect of questions and was always sympathetic towards peoples struggling for their freedom.

33. Since the sponsors of the joint draft resolution included the delegations which had requested the inclusion of the item in the agenda, and since, furthermore, the draft resolution noted that the negotiations between France and Morocco would be initiated and expressed confidence that a satisfactory solution of the question of Morocco would be achieved, the delegation of the Soviet Union, faithful to its policy of peace and actuated by its attachment to the principles of the equality of nations and their right to independence and self-government, would support the draft.

34. Mr. BASAGOITI (Uruguay) considered that the thirty-one-Power draft resolution, of which his delegation was a co-sponsor, embodied the best solution of the Moroccan problem by providing for negotiations between France, the cradle of human rights, and Morocco, which was struggling valiantly for its independence.

35. Uruguay, which had fought to win its freedom, would of course support all peoples fighting for the same ideal. It therefore could not help but be gratified at a solution which would enable the principles of the United Nations to prevail.

36. The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the thirty-one-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.148).

The draft resolution was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

37. Mr. NUTTING (United Kingdom) said his delegation had abstained because it considered that the General Assembly was not competent to judge or discuss the matter. Nevertheless, it expressed its satisfaction that the situation in Morocco had so developed as to render unnecessary any substantive resolution. The problem was one which could and would be resolved by the French Government and the Moroccan people; the experience of Tunisia supported that view. While his delegation had no objection to the various provisions of the draft resolution, it had withheld its support because the General Assembly was not competent to deal with the matter.

38. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia) applauded the motives of the sponsors of the thirty-one-Power draft resolution. He was glad that progress had been made in the negotiations between the parties. Nevertheless, because the General Assembly was not competent to deal with the matter, he had been unable to give the draft resolution his support.

Order of discussion of agenda items (A/C.1/767 and Add.1) (continued)

39. Mr. SARPÉR (Turkey) proposed that the Committee should consider simultaneously the item entitled "Regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments; conclusion of an international convention (treaty) on the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction: report of the Disarmament Commission", and the item entitled "Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and development of international co-operation", which had been included in the agenda at the request of the Soviet Union.

40. The CHAIRMAN said that, since there were no objections, the Turkish proposal was adopted.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.