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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Statement by Mr. Huot Sambath (Cambodia).</i>	259
<i>Speech by Mr. Bocoum (Mali).</i>	261
<i>Speech by Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria).</i>	265
<i>Speech by Mr. Yifru (Ethiopia).</i>	270
<i>Speech by Mr. Fawzi (United Arab Republic)</i>	273

*President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Cambodia in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation deems it necessary to exercise its right of reply simply in order to prove that, contrary to the assertions of the representative of Thailand all Cambodian policy is founded upon scrupulous respect for the truth.

3. In my statement of 27 September [1134th meeting], I set out facts which had really taken place, while the Thai representative limited himself to gratuitous assertions and prudently kept silent concerning certain events which would shed light on the dispute dividing our two countries.

4. On the matter of the breaks in diplomatic relations, the Thai representative asserted that, once in 1958 and again in 1961, without valid reason, "Cambodia, for some obscure political and psychological reasons of its own, broke off ... its ties with my country" [1135th meeting, para. 132], that is to say, with Thailand.

5. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand should know that the recall of our ambassador from Bangkok in 1958 was directly attributable to the measures of intimidation taken by the Thai Government with respect to Cambodia, at the very time when, in an obvious endeavour to conciliate, our representatives were engaged in negotiating at Bangkok, after a goodwill visit by our Head of State to His Majesty the King of Thailand. Do I need to remind the representative of Thailand that, at the very moment when our representatives sat down at the conference table, the Thai Government unilaterally denounced the agreement on the movement of frontier workers and the Thai armed forces took up positions along the Cambodian frontier on the pretext of an alleged threat of communist infiltration? On the day following the departure of our delegation, a violent demonstration was organized against the Cambodian embassy at Bangkok. The Press,

radio and some Thai Government authorities, both military and civilian, went so far as to assert that our army was staffed by Chinese military advisers and was actively preparing for an invasion of Thailand. Cambodian tourists whose passports bore the proper visas were arrested, interrogated and sent back to Cambodia by the Thai police. Indefiance of the elementary rules of international courtesy, the Thai Press and radio daily insulted the monarchy of Cambodia, its leaders and the Khmer race with unprecedented violence.

6. Diplomatic relations were not broken off in 1961 "for some obscure political and psychological reasons". The Thai Minister for Foreign Affairs surely recalls the accusations and insults issued by his Government which were the cause of that break. The Thai Prime Minister declared on 20 October 1961:

"The statement [of Prince Sihanouk] ... indicates the existence of a plan to make his country a forward base from which the communist armed forces can launch attacks on neighbouring countries.

"... The [Thai] Government must note the dangers from this region"—that is to say, from Cambodia—"with close attention and ... we should overlook [the] arrogance [of Prince Sihanouk] while meditating, for consolidation, upon the old tale of a pig that provoked a lion to fight."^{1/}

Mr. Thanat Khoman himself said on 11 January 1960:

"It is evident now that Cambodia is prepared to be used as a base of aggression by the communists."^{2/}

Those are some political and psychological reasons—which are far from obscure—for the suspension of diplomatic relations in 1958 and the breaking off of these relations in 1961. Two White Books were published by my Government on this subject.

7. I should also like to draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that Thailand's alleged friendly gestures and moderation in fact took the form of territorial claims and even of the occupation of the temple of Preah Vihear. I must recall the continual insults and threats by the Thai leaders against Cambodia; we are able to supply a long list of them, and this does not include the attacks of the Thai Press. Since 1941—to cite only the events of recent history—Thailand has persistently laid claim to parts of our national territory. It even succeeded, at the beginning of the second world war, by the help of lucky military alliances, in stealing three of our north-west provinces, which fortunately were returned to Cambodia at the end of the war.

8. The province of Koh Kong in the south of Cambodia is the subject of periodic Thai claims. Thai-

^{1/} See: Kingdom of Cambodia, *Libre blanc sur la rupture des relations diplomatiques entre le Cambodge et la Thaïlande, le 23 octobre 1961*, p. 1.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, p. 6.

land's forcible occupation of the temple of Preah Vihear in 1954 constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and demonstrates in a striking manner the aggressive attitude adopted by Thailand towards Cambodia. Cambodia replied to this aggression with a peaceful gesture by seeking a negotiated settlement through bilateral conversations and, when these conversations failed, by applying to the International Court of Justice. The Court on 15 June 1962 decided^{3/} that the temple of Preah Vihear was situated on territory which was under the sovereignty of Cambodia.

9. I regret to say that it was not with good grace that "Thailand ... complied with its obligations under the Charter when the International Court of Justice rendered [this] decision" [1135th meeting, para. 133]. And my delegation was both astonished and saddened the other day to hear the representative of Thailand affirm that, in his Government's view, "the Court ... has indulged in legal aberrations"—I stress this word "aberrations"—"and inappropriate consideration of both the facts and the principles of law" [*ibid.*]. I recall that previously Thailand had vainly endeavoured to reject the competence of the Court. Once the judgement was known, violent demonstrations were organized at Bangkok. Some Thai circles declared: "We will fight to the last drop of our blood to keep the temple."

10. An Associated Press dispatch, sent from Bangkok on 16 June 1962 and published by The New York Times on the 17th, reported that "Premier Sarit Thanarat declared today that Thai police forces would fight off any Cambodian attempt to take possession of the disputed border temple of Preah Vihear". According to the Bangkok newspapers themselves, the Thai Prime Minister proclaimed that "Preah Vihear was still under Thai sovereignty" and had ordered the reinforcement of his troops around the temple with orders to shoot on sight any Cambodian who entered Thai territory.

11. Everybody will also recall such reactions of the Thai Government as the breaking off of trade relations with Poland (undoubtedly because the President of the International Court is a Polish judge), the protests to certain Governments which were guilty only in that their judges on the Court voted in favour of our case, and the transitory intention to refuse to take part in the meetings of SEATO and of the International Conference on Laos.^{4/} Lastly, Thailand uses threats and provocations against Cambodia; the most serious was the occupation after a bloody encounter, on 12 August 1962 and for several days thereafter, of a portion of our territory in the region of the temple.

12. The representative of Thailand also asserted that in 1960 "owing to the other party's failure to observe the terms of the agreements"—signed in December 1960 at New York—"the efforts so painstakingly deployed by Mr. Hammarskjöld and his representative remained fruitless" [1135th meeting, para. 131]. My country has proof that, a few weeks after 15 December 1960, the Thais violated these agreements. On 13 January 1961 the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of Thailand issued a false report in a statement reproduced by the newspapers Bangkok World and Siam Rath to the effect that a battalion of Cambodian soldiers

had advanced on 9 January into Laotian territory and that an encounter had taken place between the Cambodian and Laotian troops. In addition to this serious accusation, the Thai Press and radio systematically attacked and made spiteful allusions to the Cambodian Head of State and nation contrary to the agreement reached at New York.

13. The Thai representative referred, with barely concealed irony, to a short extract from an article written by Prince Norodom Sihanouk which appeared on 27 July 1962 in the newspaper Réalités cambodgiennes. He regarded it as inconsistent with the following sentence from my statement, namely, that the disputes between Thailand and Cambodia sprang from the remote past and had nothing whatever to do with current ideologies. I should like to point out to the representative of Thailand that he cited my statement and that of Prince Norodom Sihanouk out of the context in which these statements were made and, in doing so, completely distorted my thought and that of Prince Sihanouk.

14. What I mean to say is—and I quote myself—that "there are no differences between a neutral Cambodia and a Thailand or a South Viet-Nam that is pro-Western" [1134th meeting, para. 93]. In other words, this difference in foreign policy is not the reason for the incursions and territorial infringements by our neighbours, but it gives them the means of satisfying their traditional annexationist ambitions at the expense of our country and the pretext for doing so.

15. The extract from the article written by Prince Sihanouk should be read in its full context, which gives it a completely different meaning from that attributed to it by the Thai representative who quoted only an abbreviated version. The following is the complete passage:

"Cambodia has chosen to be neutral with respect to the ideological conflict which has set the free world and the communist world against one another.

"Thailand and South Viet-Nam ... have chosen to identify themselves with the free world and to set themselves up as avowed enemies of the communist camp. Better still—or rather worse—they have chosen to fight even against neutralism, which they term 'cowardice', 'charlatanism' and a 'crime against freedom' and which they declare must be overthrown for the same reason as communism must be destroyed.

"It is this profound difference in ideological 'choice' which forbids a comparison between the case of our three countries and that of France and Germany."

16. Contrary to the statement of the Thai representative, Cambodia respects the truth and intends to have it respected by others. That is one of the invariable principles of our policy. When we said that 400 Thai soldiers had entered our territory and had withdrawn only after our troops had taken up positions and we had alerted international opinion, when we asserted that Thai troops had occupied Cambodian territory in the region of the temple of Preah Vihear, we had in hand proof which could be submitted to any international investigator who might be called on to verify our charges on the spot.

17. It is not true, as the representative of Thailand contended, that we are content to make charges. Whenever there were aggressions or violations of our terri-

^{3/} Case concerning the temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), *Méris*, Judgement of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 61.

^{4/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, which met from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

tory and airspace, members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, observers of diplomatic missions and foreign journalists were taken to the site of the incident and were able to verify the facts.

18. In the name of truth we feel that we must put the Assembly on guard against this attempt to present Cambodia as a country which engages in "uninterrupted pressure, malicious propaganda and provocations" and in "the puerile ... practice of inventing stories of imaginary threats and danger", to use the very words of the representative of Thailand [1135th meeting, para. 135 and 139].

19. It is also in the name of this truth that our Head of State, while asking for guarantees of our neutrality and integrity, stated that Cambodia was ready to submit to the strictest international control to prove to the world, and particularly to our neighbours, our good faith and our wish to live in peace.

20. Mr. BOCUM (Mali) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Mali, my warm congratulations on your brilliant election to the Presidency of our honourable Assembly. This show of confidence which has just been given to you admittedly entails heavy responsibilities; but I am convinced that you will assume them with impartiality and competence, thanks to your great experience and your thorough knowledge of international affairs.

21. I am also happy to welcome the admission of the States of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations. Their attainment of national independence incontestably represents an important step towards the total liberation of the peoples still under foreign domination. I can assure them in advance of the Republic of Mali's fraternal and sincere desire for co-operation.

22. My delegation is happy to note that the present session is being held in a less feverish atmosphere than the preceding one. It is therefore in a climate of relative relaxation of tension that I shall put to you my Government's point of view on the various questions with which our Organization must deal and, in particular, on the maintenance of international peace and security.

23. The Government of the Republic of Mali considers that of all the items submitted for our consideration and still awaiting solution the maintenance of world peace and security is certainly the most important. These matters are most important for on their proper solution depend the easing of international tension, co-operation among States and the general struggle of humanity against under-development, disease, poverty and ignorance. They are also the most difficult to solve, not only because of their complex nature, but above all because of the desire for hegemony carefully nurtured by certain Powers and the distrust which exists between the Eastern and the Western blocs.

24. The climate created by this desire for hegemony, this antagonism between the two blocs, could not fail to bring about a diabolical arms race with undeniably fatal consequences for the survival of mankind. It is truly deplorable to find that some view this arms race as a factor capable of guaranteeing peace. For our part, we remain convinced that the arms race is a perilous operation; in a world with too many weapons,

this policy of force as a deterrent is to be condemned because it is selfish and criminal.

25. Moreover, if we bear in mind the desire for peace constantly expressed by the two greatest atomic Powers—and as far as we are concerned, we want to believe in this desire for peace—the race to perfect atomic weapons seems to be an inexplicable operation, to say the least. Since the East and the West, since they must be so called, are deeply attached to peace, and one states that it does not wish to attack the other and vice versa, why continue to spend enormous sums to manufacture weapons which there is no intention of using and, what is more, whose accidental use can transform the world into an apocalyptic furnace.

26. If it is an established fact that the arms race costs the world more than \$120,000 million per year, or a sum greater than the annual revenues of all the under-developed countries put together, we have the right to ask ourselves whether those who squander such riches in this way truly appreciate the opportunities they would have been able to give to peoples struggling with inadequate means against disease, poverty and ignorance. In our view, there is no more meritorious form of competition than the rescue of millions of children, women and men in Africa, Asia and Latin America from hunger, illiteracy and death.

27. The Republic of Mali firmly believes that the most convincing proof the nuclear Powers could give of their attachment to the ideals and fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations is to abandon the arms race. It shares with all peaceful States in the world the immense hope created by the holding in Geneva of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The fact that neutral States were taking part in the work of the Committee ought, we thought, to lead to the conclusion of agreements on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. But because of the distrust which is characteristic of East-West relations, a distrust which often assumes acute form as certain problems in the cold war come periodically into prominence the Committee has not yet achieved the results anticipated. Nevertheless we think that it should continue its mission.

28. My Government, which has already defined its position on disarmament at the Belgrade Conference^{5/} and in this Assembly, is still convinced that general and complete disarmament under international control can and should be brought about. There is no doubt that while this problem remains unsolved it will be very difficult to find solutions to questions connected with the cold war.

29. We therefore propose as a first step in the solution of this important problem that all atomic explosions should be stopped immediately, whether in the atmosphere, underwater or underground. In this way, favourable conditions would be created for the relaxation in international tension which is so much desired. We believe very sincerely that the memorandum submitted by the eight neutral Powers to the Committee of Eighteen at Geneva^{6/} can serve as a basis for discussion with a view to the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

^{5/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

^{6/} Official records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement from January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, section J.

30. After disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism seems to us to be the most important objective to achieve by reason of its permanent repercussions on world peace and security.

31. Our Assembly concentrated particularly on the problem of decolonization during its fifteenth and sixteenth sessions and produced a certain number of recommendations, the accurate and faithful application of which would have led all peoples still under foreign domination to national independence in peace and understanding with the former administering powers. By its resolution 1654 (XVI), the General Assembly set up the decolonization committee^{2/} whose report will be submitted for our consideration. We are happy to congratulate this Committee on the work it has already done with so much devotion, ability and objectivity and hope that it will be able to continue its task until colonialism has been completely liquidated. We are bound, however, to express our great disappointment at the negative, reactionary and even scornful attitude of some colonial Powers which seem to have understood nothing of the inexorable march of history and are still clinging to medieval notions and outworn ideas of grandeur and racial supremacy.

32. Thus the reactionary Salazar Government, flying in the face of common sense and reason, continues to claim that Angola, Mozambique and the other territories under Portuguese domination are provinces of Portugal. The reports on these different territories submitted to us by the special committees of our Organization are extremely edifying. All indignantly stress the inhuman methods practised by Portugal in the territories it administers, or rather, oppresses. In this particular case, the word "oppress" in fact expresses the reality better. All these reports conclude that keeping these territories under Portuguese domination constitutes a permanent threat to peace.

33. Still in Africa, South West Africa, administered by the Republic of South Africa, is a subject which permanently preoccupies us. I do not understand, the peoples of the Republic of Mali do not understand, how our Assembly, which on many occasions has had to condemn the Verwoerd Government's policy of apartheid, can continue to leave an African territory under the responsibility of that same Government. I like to think, and now I am expressing the opinion of the Government of the Republic of Mali, that a careful examination of the report submitted to us on South West Africa [A/5212] will induce our Assembly to withdraw from South Africa the mandate entrusted to it. The United Nations could provisionally look after the administration of this territory with the co-operation of the African States which are determined to give their effective solidarity to the brother people of South West Africa. The task of the United Nations during this transitional period would be the organization of the services necessary to the life of the territory and the training of indigenous staff for the management of their country's affairs. Such a measure, similar to that envisaged at the present time for West Irian, would allow the people of the country to administer itself democratically. I have often heard it said in this Assembly that peace is indivisible, that security is one. I agree with these assertions and I congratulate those who have often proclaimed them. If it is so—and I maintain that it should be so—how can we remain indifferent or inactive when States or organized groups

are forcing African peoples into situations of hopelessness which constitute lasting threats to peace in our continent?

34. We are neither sectarian nor chauvinist. But we find it difficult to understand the indifference, if not the resistance to progress, of some Governments with regard to the atrocities and humiliations of every kind to which the African peoples are subjected when their only demand is the exercise of their right to independence, a right which is universally considered as inalienable. It is symptomatic to note that some Powers evince no reaction to what is happening in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and elsewhere, when those same Powers eagerly condemn as crimes against mankind the safety or purging measures taken by the Governments of countries whose régimes are just merely different from theirs. Must we conclude from this that the judgement of these Powers concerning injustice and immorality varies according to the peoples or countries which are victims of them? If that is so, such a notion would have very serious consequences; it is contrary to the ideals and principles of our Organization. The first regrettable consequence of this idea is to be seen in the fact that the Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian Governments derive encouragement in the pursuit of their policy of racial discrimination from the attitude of some Member States of our Organization.

35. The results of this are an attitude of scorn on the part of the backward colonial Powers towards our Organization, a policy not in conformity with the lessons of history and a constant potential source of international tension. As guardian of international morality, our Assembly has no right to allow nations or groups of adventurers to oppress other peoples or shamefully to exploit defenceless territories. The Government of the Republic of Mali believes that these nations, which still adhere to outdated colonial ideas, should be forced to respect the principles and the moral discipline of our Organization.

36. My Government and the people of my country consider that no indulgence should be shown to Powers which fail to comply with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1654 (XVI) on decolonization and which, for centuries past, have turned whole peoples into mere tools for their own interests.

37. I cannot speak of colonialism without referring to apartheid and racial discrimination, for these practices are derived from the same theory: that of the inequality of races. It is intolerable that mankind should retain such ideas. The horrors of the last world war, and, in particular, the extermination of millions of innocent people in accordance with the theory of racial supremacy, are still fresh in our minds. It is, in any case, paradoxical that the United Nations, which is based on the principle of respect for human dignity, should continue to number in its ranks a country which has raised apartheid to the level of a dogma and a social system. The policy followed by the South African Government is a challenge to our conscience. It is absolutely impossible for us to co-operate with a Government that degrades millions of Africans to the level of animals. By means of an arsenal of repressive edicts which it disgusts me to call laws, the South African Government, which is made up of whites who are certainly not the best representatives of Europe on the continent of Africa, has made any peaceful struggle for emancipation by its African subjects practically impossible.

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

38. You can see that the South African Government's example has not remained an isolated one, and we have been roused to indignation by the recent measures taken by the Government of Southern Rhodesia against the African nationalist movements. These measures are absolutely identical with those in force in South Africa, where we have recently witnessed the arrest of the nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, for whom the Verwoerd Government can demand the death penalty. The way in which the policy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia is creeping closer to that of South Africa, under the eye of its accomplice, the Administering Power, which, like Pontius Pilate, looks on but does nothing, is most disturbing, and reflects a doctrine which we must not allow to take root in Africa. The master-minds behind this doctrine have invented a democracy based, not on free self-determination by the people, but solely on the colour of the skin. Thus, the only way now left open to the African inhabitants of these territories in order to enforce respect of their status as human beings is the use of violence. When one considers the powerful military potential at the disposal of the South African Government, and above all when one is acquainted with that Government's contempt for all humanitarian principles and its determination to defend its policy of apartheid at all costs, it is easy to appreciate the difficulties experienced by populations which are victims of such a policy. In order to bring the South African Government back to sound, healthy ideas and impose respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter on it, it is essential that all the States Members of the United Nations should display their disapproval and cease all co-operation with it, for the display of any indulgence towards this Government constitutes, in its eyes, encouragement to continue its policy of racial discrimination. It is this aspect of the situation which should receive our attention, and I hope that this Assembly will call on all its members, in a strong resolution, to break off all diplomatic, economic and commercial relations with the South African Government if the latter persists in defying the resolutions of the General Assembly.

39. Another phenomenon which also constitutes a menace to peace, just like colonialism and apartheid, and which is appearing more and more frequently on the international scene, is the interference—sometimes scarcely veiled—of certain great Powers in the affairs of other States in order to change the political system democratically chosen by these States. This interference assumes various forms. Very often, it begins with blackmail and economic pressure, and when it finds a government which prefers to yield rather than take risks, the result is neo-colonialism. Thus these States gradually lose their independence and become incapable of facing their responsibilities courageously. When the neo-colonialist power, however, is confronted by a government which has strong popular support and which is resolved to follow a policy of genuine independence, then, it foments all sorts of plots both inside and outside the victim country. The final aim of these plots is to overthrow the government of the country in order to set up a puppet government in its place. Even if such plots fail, they still leave their traces on the countries which have been their victims, for the Governments of these countries, which are reduced to a constant state of self-defence, are obliged to meet military and paramilitary expenses which seriously handicap their economic development. The economic slump resulting from such a situation is then exploited in order to

create discontent inside the country. The Government of Mali condemns such practices, and is convinced that every country should be allowed to choose its own way according to its essential national needs, the natural tendencies of its people, and the objective considerations that characterize its economic and social development.

40. One of the fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between States is non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the policies freely chosen by such States. The Government of Mali wishes that there were more restraint in relations between States, and that the great Powers would refrain from trying to impose their ideas on small States by force or by underhand methods. Likewise, the Republic of Mali considers that the assistance given by the great Powers to the developing countries should not be used as a pretext for forcing the Governments of such countries to follow policies which are against the profound desires of their peoples. Such a form of assistance, which is incompatible with the dignity of the people to which it is offered, is hardly the best form of co-operation.

41. Although many of the questions put to the United Nations since its inception remain unanswered, it is nevertheless encouraging to note that it has been possible to settle by negotiation certain important issues, which constituted serious threats to peace.

42. My Government is glad to note the settlement reached in the case of the violent dispute between the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands over West Irian, and I offer the congratulations of the Republic of Mali to all those who, from near or far, worked to bring about this agreement which has put an end to hostilities in that part of the world.

43. My Government is convinced that every dispute that has its origin in relations between nations and peoples can be settled by negotiation and it rejoices every time that passion and violence give way to discussion and reason.

44. We are therefore particularly happy that the terrible war to which the Algerian people has been subjected for more than seven years is now at an end, and I offer my congratulations to the Government of General de Gaulle and to the Algerian leaders for the objectivity which they have shown in finding a just solution to this painful issue, which was also a struggle of conscience for most of the members of this Assembly, who were torn between their friendship for France and their bounden duty to back up the Algerian people. For us, the independence of Algeria, which is in conformity with the onward march of history and which was won at the price of great sacrifices on the part of the Algerian people, is a capital event. The Republic of Mali has never doubted the eventual success of Algeria's struggle, the democratic sentiments of its people, and the soundness of the economic and social plans of its leaders, and together with some other States we have linked our peoples' destinies by creating the Casablanca Charter, which is the prelude to African unity. The Government of Mali rejoices at the forthcoming admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations, and is sure that it will make a valuable contribution to our work.

45. We are following the situation in the Congo with great interest as also the progress of the plan put forward by the Acting Secretary-General of the United

Nations for ending the secession of Katanga. We sincerely hope that everything possible will be done to put an end to this tragedy and allow a unified and genuinely independent Congo to play its part beside the other African States. Nevertheless, however optimistic we may try to be we think that all nations should be asked to refrain from interfering in any way in the internal affairs of the Congo. Any co-operation given to the Government of Katanga will encourage it to keep up its secession. The Central Government should be the only national authority in the Congo with the right to maintain international relations. So soon as the secession of Katanga is brought to an end and the organization of the Congolese National Army is complete, the United Nations forces should be withdrawn from the Congo.

46. Although the negotiated solutions to which I have just referred have led to a relative easing of tension in certain areas, other issues raised by the division of some countries such as Korea, Germany, and Viet-Nam continue to cloud the horizon of international politics and sometimes become serious threats to peace. Our firm conviction is that it is necessary to start from present realities in seeking a solution to these difficult situations. What are these realities? They are the existence of two German Governments, two Korean Governments, and two Viet-Nam Governments. Our task should be to promote conversations between these Governments so that they can find formulas and solutions which will permit them to settle their difficulties in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of their peoples. In some cases, the proper application of the agreements which put an end to hostilities in these countries could greatly facilitate a settlement of the present difficulties.

47. The antagonisms set up and kept alive in these countries through the practice of the policy of power blocs serve only to complicate and delay the solution of these questions. Political realism demands that these matters be placed in their proper surroundings.

48. The same is true of the question of the refugees from Palestine, which must be re-examined in a more objective manner. Practical measures must be taken to safeguard the rights and interests of these refugees, who, it seems, have been stateless for 14 or 15 years. In our opinion, the fairest solution would be to allow the Arab refugees to return to their homes and regain possession of their property. Whole generations cannot pass all their lives in refugee camps.

49. Another subject which is once more on our agenda is the restoration of its legitimate rights to the People's Republic of China. The Government of Mali is convinced that the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is a flagrant injustice and indeed a paradox. This country meets all the conditions required for membership of the United Nations, and the refusal to restore its seat to it seriously detracts from the principle of the universality of the United Nations. I have already spoken of political realism, and our determination to call together all States, without exception, to seek fair and lasting solutions to international disputes is well known. The United Nations is at present making great efforts as regards disarmament, particularly for the cessation of atomic explosions. Now, it is an open secret that the People's Republic of China may very soon be a nuclear power. If, however—as we all hope—the United Nations manages to reach an agreement on disarmament, would the People's Republic of China,

which has been excluded from all discussions, feel bound by such an agreement? Moreover, this great country has common frontiers with a number of Member States of the United Nations, and disputes exist or may arise between the People's Republic of China and those States. Such disputes could certainly be settled, or at any rate smoothed over, by means of United Nations mediation, but such mediation could only be direct and effective if the People's Republic of China were a Member of the United Nations.

50. For all these reasons, and because of the fact that the People's Republic of China has nearly 700 million inhabitants, we feel that it is neither just nor realistic to oppose any longer its entry into the United Nations and the restoration of its legitimate rights:

51. One of the primary objectives of the United Nations is the bringing together of peoples and the raising of man to a level of dignity corresponding to the elementary principles of humanism. Unfortunately, the solutions proposed for the economic and social advancement of millions of men lag behind the constant efforts made since the end of the Second World War for their political emancipation, and, indeed, one of the recognized characteristics of this second half of the twentieth century is the state of economic underdevelopment of over half the human race.

52. Our country is one of the many in which the major part of the population is still living with a subsistence-level economy. Our state of underdevelopment is characterized by a number of fundamental maladjustments, the most spectacular of which is the lack of adaptation of the economic structure to the needs of a constantly-increasing population. At the international level, it is not simply a question of structural maladjustments, but of revolting contrasts between "those who are dying of hunger" and "those who eat too much" and who "refuse to eat more, and do not know what to do with their surpluses".

53. Since the Second World War, the peoples of the so-called "under-developed" countries have become aware that it is abnormal and monstrous that they should live in poverty when the developed countries enjoy opulence. In order to narrow the gap between the wealth of the so-called "advanced" countries and the poverty of the so-called "backward" ones, economists have developed and tried out various policies regarded as likely to alleviate the condition of underdevelopment. Nowadays, most bookshops are glutted with works dealing with under-development. That type of study even seems to be a way of thinking. The studies, surveys and papers submitted for our consideration contain every conceivable theoretical plan for liquidating under-development. In fact, however, the many forms of assistance given to the under-developed countries have often enabled them merely to balance their operational budgets. Consequently, those artificially expanded budgets in no way reflect the actual economic situation of the "assisted" countries. Yet the assistance of the technically advanced countries is necessary to the developing countries for reasons well-known to everybody. The grants, loans and technical assistance which most of our countries receive are the expression of a sincere desire to co-operate and a laudable feeling of international solidarity. Indeed, the efforts of certain developed countries, supplementing those of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, have enabled most of the non-aligned countries, if not to work out basic principles of development, at least to begin to build the economic in-

frastructure necessary to implement their development plans.

54. It is generally agreed however that the gap between the development of the highly industrialized and the less developed countries is steadily widening. The reason is probably that the solutions proposed and partially applied do not form part of a general plan for balanced world economic development. Recognition of that state of affairs impelled thirty-six under-developed countries to meet in Cairo from 9 to 18 July 1962 for the purpose of examining the problems of economic development. The participants in the Conference quite properly emphasized "the growing disparity in the standards of living prevailing in different parts of the world" and the need to develop and apply concrete measures "to enable the developing countries to attain a reasonable rate of growth" [see A/5162]. The Conference gave particular attention to seeking concrete and urgent solutions to the economic imbalance prevailing in the world. That imbalance is reflected, for example, in the steady deterioration in the terms of trade between primary-producing and manufacturing countries. The fluctuations in primary commodity prices, by constantly upsetting the balance of payments position of the under-developed countries, merely aggravate that imbalance. The solutions advocated thus far by various authorities led the Conference to take the following position:

"The Conference declares itself resolutely in favour of the holding of an international economic conference within the framework of the United Nations and calls upon developing countries to work for the convening of this conference at an early date in 1963." [Ibid.]

Moreover, that position is in keeping with the concern expressed by the Members of the United Nations who, by adopting General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI), are planning a ten-year crusade against under-development. The Development Decade is essentially an act of faith. The objective of an annual rate of growth of 5 per cent which it intends to attain by an annual capital expenditure of \$150 million is entirely feasible if it is borne in mind that the colossal sum of \$120,000 million is wasted every year in expenditure on weapons of destruction.

55. As a start, we believe that the urgent execution of the General Assembly resolution for the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund [see resolution 1706 (XVI)] would be an important first step towards the fulfilment of the Decade's programmes. We in Mali, however, believe that the first task for the purposes of economic development in a former colonial country is the decolonization of its economic institutions. It demands a reversal of the flow of trade established by the notorious "colonial covenant" and to initiate a resolutely dynamic economic development policy. In other words, we still believe that the effort to be made in this matter is primarily an internal one. It requires a thorough knowledge of the real possibilities of the country and a mobilization of all its productive forces with a view to improving the standards of living of the people. But of course it is essential, beforehand, to bring about an equitable distribution within the country of income and of social opportunities among the various strata of the population. That would result in a strong capacity for savings which is vital to internal investment.

56. The five-year plan which is being carried out in Mali was worked out on that basis, and may be sum-

marized as: "Everything by the people and everything for the people." Naturally, in the view of my delegation, all those goals, whether it be international co-operation or our own development, can only be achieved in a disarmed world, a world rid of the colonial system and a world united in a common cause.

57. We are convinced that our Assembly should learn from the experience of the past two years and undertake certain structural reforms. Furthermore, we think that those reforms have become inevitable owing to the increasing number of new Members and in order to ensure equitable geographical representation in the various United Nations organs. Thus, the United Nations will be able effectively to discharge its many responsibilities and enjoy undisputed world authority.

58. Let me, before leaving this rostrum, reaffirm Mali's devotion to the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. Of course, the unfortunate events of the Congo, which resulted in the murder of that great African nationalist, President Patrice Lumumba, caused us to adopt certain positions vis-à-vis the United Nations. My Government wished to indicate its disagreement with the way in which the resolutions of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Security Council were carried out in the Congo.

59. I should also like to reaffirm the determination of the Government of the Republic of Mali to co-operate loyally with all States, without exception, on the basis of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

60. The Republic of Mali continues to be dedicated to the policy of non-alignment because it is conscious of the decisive role which the non-aligned countries must play in order to bring about the rapprochement between the two great blocs which seek to divide the world into ideological spheres of influence.

61. So far as Africa is concerned, our policy is guided in all things by our strong determination to promote African unity. In order to attain that goal, the Government and people of Mali are determined to accept every sacrifice. With that in mind, the Head of the State of Mali, President Modibo Keita, in an address made during his recent official visit to the sister Republic of the Ivory Coast, recalled article 48 of our Constitution which lays down:

"The Republic of Mali may conclude agreements of association or community with any African State entailing partial or total renunciation of sovereignty in order to achieve African unity."

62. Mali has no ambitions to expand its territory. Our concern is to enjoy friendly relations and loyal co-operation with all our neighbours. Consequently, Mali will be present at the next summit conference planned by the Heads of the African States without ceremony and with malice toward none.

63. I hope you will forgive this brief recapitulation of the main features of my country's policy.

64. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from French): I should like first, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate the President of the General Assembly upon his election.

65. The main concern of peoples, since the beginning of the last session of the General Assembly, has undoubtedly been to preserve an uncertain and precarious

peace which has been threatened daily by unforeseen and dangerous developments. Constant efforts have been made to find ways to spare the world from war which, given the present technological advances—in particular, in nuclear technology—would mean unprecedented disaster.

66. The constant efforts to preserve peace have indisputably included during the past year certain developments which have resulted in a measure of relaxation and spurred the hope that a peaceful solution of some of the bitter disputes of our time might be possible. During that period, certain matters which had long been pending, disputes which threatened to create extreme tensions, have received a more or less satisfactory settlement through negotiations. The question of Laos, which had been aggravated by foreign military interference, has been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The birth of the Republic of Algeria is another important event which gladdens the hearts not only of the Algerian people, but of all who have supported their noble cause since the beginning of their heroic struggle for national liberation. The triumph of the Algerian people in its struggle for independence is all the more significant as it points the way to national liberation for other peoples still under colonial rule.

67. Only a few days ago, the first step was taken towards settling another question which had also been deferred for a very long time. This step was the General Assembly's decision regarding the solution of the question of West Irian. We are sure that this settlement will bring a lasting and final solution.

68. The solution of these isolated problems, which threatened to degenerate to the point where they could have touched off an armed conflict, cannot and must not, however, make us forget the dangerous turn taken by other questions no less important for the safeguarding of world peace. The statements directed against the Republic of Cuba, which were recently made in the United States by certain circles in the service of the financial interests and by eminent political figures of that country, have extremely unfavourable effects on the efforts of the peoples to strengthen the uncertain and unstable peace of the world of today. Profound disquiet is felt when, on the pretext of making a stand against the frantic campaign of threats and provocations directed against the heroic people of Cuba, members of the United States Government and the President himself declare that if, at a given time, the military forces of Cuba were such as to threaten the United States, or certain points that it considers to be strategic, the United States would take military measures in order to ensure its security and that of its allies. Hearing such statements, one wonders how a country like Cuba, with approximately one thirtieth of the population of the United States, could threaten a country which is economically and militarily the most powerful in the capitalist world. That is indeed like the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Such statements can only be made where there is a firm determination to disregard the reality of the facts resulting from the imperialist policy carried out against Cuba by United States circles. The reality is that after the military intervention in Cuba in 1961 the Government of that country decided to organize the armed forces needed to deal with possible new acts of aggression, with which the Cuban people are being daily threatened by the United States and particularly by certain influential circles in that country.

69. If there had been no such aggressive intentions, if the United States had not organized the Bay of Pigs invasion, and if the preparations made by the different counter-revolutionary organizations subsidized by powerful groups in the United States, under the eyes and with the active help of the United States authorities, had not taken place, there would doubtless have been no need for the Cuban people and the Government of Cuba to gird themselves to resist. These preparations and this direct intervention are nevertheless continuing, are becoming more and more pressing and are taking on an official character. Recently, the United States Government even decided to enlist Cuban counter-revolutionaries in the United States armed forces.

70. Other particularly significant facts about the real intentions of certain influential circles in the United States have also come to light. Not long ago, President Kennedy was obliged to submit—and Congress passed—a bill described by United States newspapers as an instrument sanctioning the use of force if necessary to prevent the dissemination of Cuban Marxism in the Western Hemisphere. Such an enactment is without precedent. It prepares the ground opens the way for direct armed intervention in the Republic of Cuba. Such an enactment is contrary to the principles of peaceful coexistence enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is an offence against the rules of good neighbourliness and the basic norms of international law.

71. It is obvious that there can be no question of any preparation or aggression on the part of Cuba against the United States or any other country. What the financial circles in the United States fear is certainly not aggression on the part of Cuba; what they fear are the ideas which propound the liberation of the people from the economic and social slavery imposed by the United States monopolies and of which the Republic of Cuba is the living incarnation. War is being prepared against Cuba and its peoples because they bear the torch of resistance to foreign domination and to the exploitation by United States monopolies of the countries and peoples of all Latin America. We salute from this rostrum the heroic people of Cuba and their revolutionary Government for the courage and admirable endurance they have shown in their valiant struggle against the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

72. To combat the ideas of national and social liberation by force of arms is to want to transform ideological arguments and controversy—which are bound to exist in the developing present-day world—into military aggression and armed intervention against peoples and States, and to turn ideological struggles and debates about the advantages of one régime or another into armed conflict between States.

73. Those who are preparing public opinion for aggression against Cuba are, however, forgetting to take into consideration one very important fact, which is that the international situation and the balance of forces on the world scene no longer favour imperialism. The balance of forces had radically and completely changed in favour of the countries of the socialist community and the forces of peace in general. In this respect, we cannot fail to be in agreement with Lord Home, the United Kingdom Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who declared:

"It really is too dangerous to all of us in these days to allow politico-ideological crusades backed

by arms. We cannot have that in the late twentieth century." [1134th meeting, para. 57.]

Indeed, by the middle of the twentieth century, the United States no longer held the monopoly of nuclear weapons on which the policy of atomic blackmail was based. The imperialist forces of the West are no longer in a position to impose their will on the peoples and small countries. The community of socialist countries formed around the Soviet Union, and the forces struggling against imperialism and for socialist transformation, now represent the determining factor in the historical development of contemporary society. There also exists a very large number of non-aligned countries which oppose with all their moral and material strength any infringement of national independence and sovereignty, any intervention in the internal affairs of States, which the imperialist countries would like to make once more the prevailing rule in international relations.

74. Those who are preparing ideological and military crusades against Cuba and its heroic people should bear in mind that the Cuban people are not alone. They have faithful friends who would not fail to support them to the utmost in their struggle to safeguard their independence. We hope that the Soviet Government's appeal contained in the Tass Agency statement of 11 September 1962 and calling on the United States Government to show patience, to remain calm and to display common sense and a realistic appreciation of the possible repercussions of its actions against Cuba—we hope, I repeat, that this appeal will be heard. There is, to be sure, no need for the socialist countries, at the present time, to undertake actions like that of the United States Government, which has asked for and just obtained the authority to mobilize 150,000 men if it considers that necessary. The socialist countries have no need to make such spectacular demonstrations, to hurl themselves into such a bustle of battle. The Bulgarian Government is in full accord with the Soviet Government's statement of 11 September. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people are ready at any moment to do what is necessary to help the Cuban people safeguard their national independence.

75. Very recently, dangerous machinations have been set on foot by responsible political figures in the United States to bring the Berlin "pot of trouble" to the boil, to use Lord Home's expression. He added:

"But men who live in a nuclear age and stir the pot of trouble when it is simmering are worse than fools; they are knaves." [1135th meeting, para. 48.]

However, only a few days ago Mr. McNamara, the United States Secretary of Defense, made a trip to West Germany at the head of a group of specialists in the field of nuclear weapons in order to ascertain that the nuclear forces deployed in West Germany and on the frontier of the German Democratic Republic could be put into action at any moment. On his return, Mr. McNamara held a press conference and let it be understood that the United States was readying itself to use its nuclear power in any settling of accounts by force in Berlin. The United States Press noted that Mr. McNamara's statement coincided with the efforts made by members of the United States Congress to adopt a "fight if we must" bill on Berlin, similar to the motion adopted on Cuba.

76. It is significant that the United States is preparing itself to settle accounts by force on the subject of Berlin when the Soviet Union and the socialist coun-

tries, for their part, together with other countries seeking to preserve peace, want and are proposing a pacific settlement of the German question; the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, in order to abolish this hotbed of war in the middle of Europe. The elimination of this permanent bone of contention from the centre of one of the regions in which a world war, and consequently a nuclear war, is most apt to be set off will beyond any doubt render an immense service to the cause of peace and the whole of mankind. However, the United States and certain other Western Powers reply to the proposals and the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries by intensive preparation for war, by incitement to a settling of accounts and the use of nuclear weapons. It is significant that the response which the Western countries persist in wanting to give to the peaceful intentions of the socialist countries and to their firm determination to have peace, both with and in Germany, is a response by force of arms. We are certain that the great majority of countries represented in the United Nations, being concerned to safeguard peace, will make their voices heard, will calm the hotheads among the Western militarists and will oblige the politicians of the same mind as these militarists to reconsider their position. It is monstrous even to think that anyone could oppose the conclusion of a peace treaty and the liquidation of all the after-effects of the Second World War by unleashing a new world war, this time a nuclear one.

77. The socialist countries are firmly resolved to liquidate this hotbed of conflict in the middle of Europe, to eliminate the after-effects of the Second World War, and thus to deprive the militarist forces of West Germany of any pretext or opportunity for advancing vengeful claims or entertaining territorial ambitions, and to prevent them from preparing for a new world-wide conflagration.

78. Despite the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on the restoration of peace in Indo-China, which provided for strict non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region, the United States, through the intermediary of reactionary circles in South Viet-Nam, has arrogated to itself the right to intervene directly in the internal affairs of that country. It has thus taken on the role of fomenting and organizing the struggle being carried on against the people of South Viet-Nam. At the present time, more than 10,000 United States officers and men are stationed in the territory of South Viet-Nam and are directing the war which the puppet régime of Ngo-dinh-Diem is waging against the Viet-Nameese people. A United States High Command has been established at Saigon itself for the purpose of organizing a campaign of intervention, not only against the Viet-Nameese people, but also against the other peoples of the region. In such circumstances, it is not by chance that provocations are systematically launched from the territory of South Viet-Nam against its neighbours, and especially against Cambodia. Such provocations were referred to in moving terms in the statement of the Cambodian representative. The dangerous activities and the provocations inspired, encouraged and directed by imperialist circles of the United States in South Viet-Nam are creating a dangerous source of tension in that part of the world. The war which the United States Army is organizing against the Viet-Nameese people must be stopped, and the sooner, the better.

79. The heroic struggle of the peoples of the entire world to safeguard peace and to settle disputes through

negotiation has scored some successes in recent years. Yet as long as formidable armaments exist and the arms race continues each day to become more intense, it is inconceivable that peace and security can be assured merely by the settlement of the conflicts and disputes created and fomented by the large international monopolies involved in the arms race.

80. There can be no doubt that efforts to find solutions for international problems through conciliation and negotiation are necessary and urgent, but it is only through general and complete disarmament and the elimination of the means of waging war that it will be possible at the present time to ensure a stable peace, to guarantee security for all and to inaugurate an era of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among peoples. Despite the affirmations of some Western representatives, who still like to say that the precarious peace now prevailing depends on a balance of forces, there can be no doubt that the only means of achieving a durable peace and ensuring true security is general and complete disarmament. However, the negotiations at Geneva on general and complete disarmament have shown that the Western Powers, despite their statements, are doing everything in their power to obstruct the solution of this question.

81. Only two years ago, the Western delegations were opposed to say proposal for general and complete disarmament. However, under pressure from the peoples, the Western Powers were obliged to give way and to declare, at least in words, that they were in favour of general and complete disarmament. In reality, however, they continue to practise their old policy of stubborn opposition to any constructive proposal for the achievement of general and complete disarmament. The whole set of Western proposals is so designed that, even if the United States draft^{8/} were adopted, the world would never achieve disarmament. While the Soviet Union draft^{9/} provides for the practical elimination of the nuclear threat as from the first stage of the disarmament process, the United States draft allows the threat of a nuclear war to hang over mankind until the end of the disarmament programme and even afterwards. The United States proposals amount in substance to an attempt to legalize nuclear armaments in one form or another.

82. During the Geneva negotiations, the Soviet Union, in a desire to accommodate the Western Powers, submitted several addenda and amendments to its draft. In his statement in the general debate [1127th meeting], Mr. Gromyko, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, announced the new concessions which the Soviet Government had agreed to make in order to take account of the position of the Western Powers in regard to the destruction of delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons during the first stage of disarmament. The Soviet delegation has already submitted its draft treaty on general and complete disarmament embodying the new Soviet concessions.^{10/} We are convinced that the adoption of the original Soviet draft would have effectively and securely ensured general and complete disarmament. We hope that the Western Powers will now make a sincere effort to meet the position of the Soviet Union in order to facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament.

83. In the face of the stalemate on the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests resulting from the intransigent and unrealistic position of the Western Powers, the eight neutral Powers taking part in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee submitted a memorandum^{11/} to serve as a basis for negotiations on that problem. Although the Soviet Union had earlier submitted clearly defined and scientifically sound proposals which offered a sure solution to the problem of the discontinuance of nuclear tests, it accepted the memorandum of the eight neutral Powers as a basis for negotiation almost immediately after its submission. On the other hand, the Western nuclear Powers refused to accept that memorandum as a basis for negotiations. Despite their subsequent statements, made under the pressure of world public opinion, to the effect that they accepted the memorandum as one basis for negotiations, the Western Powers have in fact adhered to their original position in regard to underground tests. Their position on the memorandum of the neutral Powers was defined at the outset. On 19 April, in response to a request for information concerning the contents of the proposal of the eight neutral countries, Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, stated in the House of Commons: "As I understand it, the proposals would not make verification compulsory; it would be only permissive." The Western Powers are now, just as they have done in the past, making compulsory on-site inspection a prerequisite for any agreement on the discontinuance of underground tests. They thus adhere to their former positions.

84. By their proposals to discontinue nuclear tests solely in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, the Western Powers are in reality seeking to legalize the continuation of underground tests and to continue the nuclear weapons race.

85. It was in order to continue the arms race—and especially the nuclear arms race—that the United States was the first to carry out nuclear tests in outer space during its last series of tests in the Pacific. Those tests have caused disturbances in certain layers of outer space. The United States was also first, it will be remembered, in promoting the nuclear arms race and in carrying out atomic weapons tests. The Soviet Union, which is a socialist country and therefore by its very essence a peaceful country, refuses to be the first in nuclear tests; since it had no aggressive designs or purposes, it is content to be the last to conduct such tests.

86. On the other hand, the Soviet Union prefers to be the first in peaceful competition, in the field of science which enables man to acquire new knowledge of the universe and in the conquest of outer space, and we should like to pay a tribute to its brilliant achievements. It is to achieve such objectives that the socialist countries prefer to work and are working.

87. If, however, there is a real desire to end the nuclear arms race, it is not enough to discontinue tests in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water; it is absolutely necessary, at the same time, to put an end to underground tests. Concrete and effective proposals in this sense have been submitted by the Soviet Union. The adoption of those proposals would make it possible to halt the nuclear arms race immediately while an agreement on the discontinuance of underground tests was being negotiated.

^{8/} Official records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, section F.

^{9/} *Ibid.*, section C.

^{10/} *Ibid.*, document DC/205, annex I, section D.

^{11/} *Ibid.*, document DC/203, annex I, section J.

88. In these circumstances, we are surprised to see that certain non-aligned Powers, which are well acquainted with the precise positions of the parties on the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests, put the attitudes of the Soviet Union and of the Western nuclear Powers regarding the Eight-Power Joint Memorandum on an equal footing.

89. We would like to stress once more that the Soviet Union has accepted this Memorandum as a basis of negotiation, without making any attempt to interpret it, whereas the Western Powers have stated that they accept it as only one of the bases of negotiation, and then only on condition that compulsory on-site inspection is agreed to. It would be useful to keep the respective attitudes of the parties in mind when discussing the question of the discontinuance of tests. We are certain that, on the basis of the eight-Power Joint Memorandum and the new Soviet proposals, an agreement could be reached for the immediate discontinuance of nuclear tests until such time as a treaty providing for the definitive prohibition of all tests was concluded.

90. The question of the condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war, which was raised by the Soviet Union [see A/5232], also falls within the general framework of disarmament. A campaign for the psychological conditioning of public opinion so that it might accept a nuclear preventive war as a necessity and an inevitable prospect is being carried on, and it is to oppose this constant and unremitting propaganda for the most destructive war the world has ever imagined that the Soviet proposal has been put forward. We hope, and are sure, that it will be favourably received by the great majority of delegations at this session.

91. It would seem that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly two years ago, has not prevented the colonial Powers from continuing to keep numerous territories and tens of millions of human beings under their sway, or from doing all they can to re-establish their domination in new forms. Some representatives of the colonial Powers are now trying to represent themselves in their statements as benefactors and liberators of the colonial peoples. This shows that, far from disowning their colonialist past, these Powers are trying to exploit the difficulties created by their colonial domination in the countries which have gained their independence, so as to continue their former colonial domination in a new guise.

92. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that this seventeenth session of the General Assembly should take effective and energetic steps to ensure that the declaration on the elimination of the colonial system may be applied to all countries and peoples still under the colonial yoke. The idea put forward by the delegation of the Republic of Guinea [1131st meeting, para. 53], namely, that the date of the anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter, 24 October 1963, should be designated as the time-limit for the final elimination of all colonial domination, is worthy of particular attention. Such a decision might oblige the colonial Powers to loosen their grasp and give way to the pressure of world opinion.

93. A question which is particularly vital to the effective functioning of the United Nations is without doubt that of the restoration of the lawful rights of the

People's Republic of China in the United Nations, for there is not a single international problem which can be finally solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Neither the problem of disarmament, nor that of the discontinuance of nuclear tests, nor, above all, the problems of safeguarding peace in Asia and in the world in general can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China. It is therefore high time to remove from all the agencies of the United Nations those who are at present occupying China's place, and to restore the lawful rights of the great Chinese people by inviting the Government of the People's Republic of China to send a delegation to the United Nations.

94. With regard to the effective functioning of the United Nations, there is another question which, although not on the agenda, is of particular importance to our Organization, namely, the adaptation of the principal United Nations organs to the present world situation. Now, more than ever, must the organs responsible for the administration of the United Nations be made to function efficiently in the light of present-day needs and realities. It is futile for anyone to think that it is possible any longer to influence, through trickery and against the will of the other Powers, the manner in which decisions on certain problems are carried out so as to favour in practice only one of the parties concerned.

95. It is inconceivable that the United Nations can be made to function effectively unless it represents the three groups of Powers existing in the world of today. Efforts have been made by the United Nations to promote economic development, but in the last few years economic difficulties—particularly those of the developing countries—have been increasing rather than diminishing. As the representative of Brazil, Senator de Melo Franco, has stated: "the value of the external aid granted to our continent . . . has been far less than the loss suffered through falling prices for its products on the international market" [1125th meeting, para. 31].

96. Economic difficulties have increased as a result of the setting up of restricted and closed economic groupings such as the European Common Market, which is used for the purpose of speeding up the arms race and adapting the economies of the member countries to the military objectives of NATO. At the same time, this economic grouping is striving, by means of various restrictions, to preserve the old economic and military structures in the States recently freed from the colonial yoke and to fetter these States to itself as sources of raw materials and agricultural products. Such restricted associations are harmful and dangerous both to the normal development of international trade and to the development of the national economies of the under-developed countries.

97. In these circumstances, the only reasonable and prudent course is to support the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union—the first for an economic programme for disarmament providing for the diversion of part of the resources made available by disarmament to the economic development of countries [A/5233], and the second for the convening of an international conference on trade problems in 1963 [A/5219]. We are sure that these two proposals will be enthusiastically welcomed by delegations.

98. Our indomitable opposition to restricted and closed groupings set up with the aim of hindering the normal course of relations between countries is matched by our will to provide for and promote ar-

rangements between neighbouring countries or countries in the same area as an aid to solving important international problems, strengthening peace and promoting international co-operation. Contrary to the opinion expressed by certain delegations which have defended closed economic associations and are opposed to regional arrangements for the solution of international problems such as disarmament, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which pursues a policy of peaceful co-existence and friendship among all countries without regard to political systems, is firmly convinced that open regional arrangements between neighbouring countries could make an effective contribution to the easing of international tension and the establishment of mutual confidence. This is the reason, moreover, why our country voted last year for the resolution providing for the consideration of Africa as a denuclearized zone [General Assembly resolution 1652 (XVI)].

99. Faithful to this policy of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between all States, the People's Republic of Bulgaria let it be known at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, through Mr. Todor Zhivkov, the head of the Bulgarian delegation and First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, that:

"Our Government has always manifested and will continue to manifest its readiness to discuss and support any proposal, wherever it may come from, as long as it is in the interests of the general development of the Balkans along the path of understanding, ... co-operation and peace." [875th meeting, para. 92.]

Mr. Zhivkov went on to say:

"On many occasions, our Government has proposed detailed and concrete measures which would help to improve relations among the Balkan States. We have proposed, for example, that we should sign a non-aggression pact among the Balkan States; reach an agreement for a decisive reduction of the armed forces of the Balkan States to the level sufficient for frontier guard duty; transform the Balkans into the area in which the idea for a general and complete disarmament would first find its application ..." [Ibid., para. 93].

It is in this spirit of co-operation and understanding that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Government intend to collaborate both in the Balkan area and in international institutions, and are ready to contribute, as much as their modest resources allow, to the settlement of the questions of the moment.

100. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): Mr. President, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, I extend to you warm congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

101. We are assembled here to fulfil what is, I believe, a most useful tradition of the United Nations: to review the activities of our Organization during the past year, to give attention to some urgent problems and to project ourselves into the future in search of a just and durable peace. In discharging this duty I shall be brief.

102. During the last few years we have been gratified to welcome to the family of nations an ever-increasing number of new States. We are thus fortunate at this

session to welcome the sister States of Burundi and Rwanda, Jamaica, and the State of Trinidad and Tobago, and we are eagerly awaiting Algeria and our neighbour Uganda. I wish to extend to the Governments and peoples of these new States, on behalf of my Government and people, our best wishes for a happy and prosperous future. We take this opportunity to reiterate our profound satisfaction at the fact that so many African countries have joined the community of free and independent nations. In this connexion, we are happy to note that the movement to establish a regional organization for the continent is receiving ever-increasing support. Furthermore, it is our expectation that, having regard to the increase of States in our Organization, the Assembly will adopt in the course of the present session a just and equitable system of representation in the various organs of the United Nations.

103. In the relation of States, we are happy to note that, as we had urged from the outset, the Governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia have settled the question of West Irian by direct negotiation. We take this opportunity to express to the Acting Secretary-General our appreciation of his valuable contribution in the settlement of this question. Furthermore, it is our sincere hope that, in order to continue to have the faithful and devoted service of the Acting Secretary-General, the Security Council will elect him soon for a full term of office. An early decision on the matter is necessary in order to give stability and confidence to the Secretariat.

104. We take great satisfaction from the fact that the Algerian people have attained their independence after a long and costly struggle. On this occasion we would like to congratulate both the Algerian people and the Government of France for taking a wise decision.

105. The world continues to witness the madness of searching for security in ever-increasing stocks of armaments of mass destruction. It is because of this illusory development that the question of disarmament—nuclear and conventional—assumes every year an ever-increasing importance to the entire human race. The development of weapons of mass destruction has made wars no longer the private affair of belligerents. Theatres of conflict can no longer be contained within the territories of States possessing weapons of mass destruction. The global effects of nuclear and thermo-nuclear warfare make disarmament therefore the concern of all of us, and we should not delude ourselves that conventional wars among nuclear Powers cannot develop into nuclear wars, for the passions of men raised in war cannot be restrained. War, as a means of settling disputes among States, has become more than ever before an anachronism.

106. The possible use of outer space for military purposes and the danger of nuclear weapons entering into the arsenals of a wider circle of States would no doubt introduce new difficulties in the disarmament negotiations which are already beset by too many complexities in their technical aspects. A bold decision to stop the armaments race is therefore imperative.

107. The acceptance of general and complete disarmament as a practical and attainable goal represents the triumph of man's will to survive and his determination to rely in a disarmed world on the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is indeed an express determination of States Members not to refashion the Char-

ter of the United Nations—which in fact antedates the present thermo-nuclear age—to the exigencies of a cold war situation.

108. Although disarmament negotiations in the past have led to no tangible results, certain conceptions of disarmament have emerged and culminated in the adoption of the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations,^{12/} approved by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. These principles proved their usefulness at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament held at Geneva, in which my country was honoured to participate with seven other uncommitted States. The principle of no disarmament without control and no control without disarmament—now an axiom in disarmament talks—the idea that disarmament must be effected by stages, that an adequate peace-keeping machinery must be progressively strengthened, and that at any one stage of the disarmament process no State should gain military advantages over another, have to a great extent contributed to a consideration in depth of the complex issues involved in disarmament negotiations and to reduce to a minimum controversies of a cold-war nature.

109. In Geneva, both the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Powers explained at length the merits of their respective proposals for disarmament. As a result the areas of disagreement were brought into relief. The suspicion and mistrust of our divided world have thus far however seemingly made difficult a readjustment and mutual accommodation. Concern for the greater need of preservation of life on our planet should compel the nuclear Powers to bridge the gap between their divergent positions. We hope that the present session of the General Assembly will give fresh impetus to the disarmament talks when resumed in Geneva.

110. Independent of an agreement on general and complete disarmament, the question of the cessation of nuclear tests deserves urgent consideration and an accord should be reached thereon at the earliest date. The world awaits with impatience the cessation of all nuclear test explosions. No argument of the nuclear Powers can convince us of the need for the continuance of nuclear test explosions, which entail grave hazards to our very survival and give increasing momentum to the armaments race. It is on the question of the cessation of nuclear tests that the eight uncommitted participants in the Geneva conference most exerted their efforts in the search for a constructive compromise proposal. Ethiopia believes to this day that the joint memorandum^{13/} submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament by Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic, offers to the nuclear Powers a reasonable basis for the negotiation of a nuclear test-ban agreement for all time. The memorandum is based on the assumption that a mechanism combining the demands of national and international detection systems can be worked out without prejudice to the interests of any of the nuclear Powers. We appeal to the nuclear Powers to resume negotiations on the basis of the joint memorandum and save humanity forever from the threat inherent in nuclear test explosions. We believe the points of difference which separate the nuclear Powers on a test-ban

treaty to be small and susceptible to a negotiated settlement. We are convinced that this subject can no longer be postponed and that the General Assembly can and must contribute to the settlement of this question by bringing its influence to bear on the nuclear Powers.

111. In the midst of the great changes and crises of the world, the United Nations has continued to contribute to the lasting interest of the community of States. The Economic and Social Council has persisted in its creative labour for the historic efforts of the United Nations to promote economic and social development. We know that these ever-expanding efforts are both varied and imaginative; yet, viewed against the background of the total needs of the under-developed countries, they fall far too short of meeting the most elementary and urgent needs.

112. The United Nations, by offering suitable platforms for discussions and by enabling the confrontation of divergent ideas to take place, has made it possible for a consensus of views to emerge on the nature and cure of economic and social under-development. Nowhere is the consensus and sense of pragmatism more manifest than in the proposals of the United Nations Development Decade. Apart from the very practical and tenable goal of the Development Decade, namely, the initiation in the developing countries of a rate of annual growth of at least 5 per cent in aggregate national income, the Development Decade proposals rest on propositions which only a few years ago were very controversial. Planning as a necessary tool for economic development and the need for industrialization as the foundation for economic development are today universally accepted.

113. The United Nations has also made a significant contribution to economic co-operation by developing important instruments of international action. In Africa alone we have witnessed the start which the Economic Commission for Africa has given to the development of inter-African economic co-operation. Already the proposals conceived in the commission for an African Institute of Economic Development and Planning, and an African Development Bank are in the process of elaboration. These are institutions which have proved their value to other under-developed regions and which, we Africans feel, could be usefully employed to meet some of our acute problems. We hope that all those countries which on many occasions have declared their intention of assisting the African countries in the momentous task of economic development will indeed help in these modest undertakings.

114. I would not conclude my remarks on the economic and social activities of the United Nations without reference to the proposed world conference on trade and development. The phenomenon of the declining terms of trade of the under-developed countries, so characteristic of the last decade, continues. Quantitatively expressed, this decline has been in the magnitude of 20 per cent since 1950. More recently, with the creation of regional economic groupings, new patterns of international trade have emerged with serious implications to the economic interests of some under-developed countries. In the various United Nations bodies, new ideas for arresting this declining trend in the income of the under-developed countries have come to the stage of decision. These were some of the considerations which were uppermost in the thinking of thirty-six Governments when they met in Cairo in July last, and recommended, among other

^{12/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

^{13/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, section j.

measures, the holding of a world conference on trade in 1963. Acting on its own, the thirty-fourth session of the Economic and Social Council also came to the same conclusion [resolution 917 (XXXIV)]. We believe the conference to be timely, especially in these days of dynamic changes, when an economic decision of one country or a group of countries can affect the interest and the economic well-being of other countries. A conference of this nature will no doubt serve a useful purpose by providing an appropriate forum for identifying problems, for airing anxieties and views, and for exploring new ideas and solutions.

115. Of the most pressing political problems, we are sad to note that despite two years of sacrifices the objectives of the United Nations in the Congo have not been attained, because of the presence of mercenaries and the influence of foreign companies who continue to encourage and finance Katanga's secession in defiance of the laws of the Congo, the resolutions of the General Assembly and those of the Security Council.

116. Two years have passed and the situation remains even more precarious, indeed even more dangerous both from the viewpoint of the unity of the Congo and of the financial solvency of the Organization. The intermittent negotiations on the reintegration of Katanga have not given the desired result because one party has used the negotiations to gain time, consolidate its forces and thereby frustrate the will of the Congolese people. The dilemma of the Organization is brought home by two contradictory policies: on the one hand, those who contribute materially and financially to the operation place their faith only in negotiation and, on the other hand, those who do not so contribute, believe that the only solution of the problem lies in a prompt and effective enforcement action. While this situation persists, the plan of the Acting Secretary-General to bring about the reintegration of Katanga through a combination of measures, although publicly accepted by those who are in a position to implement it, has not in fact been put into operation.

117. As we have stated in the past, at meetings of the Security Council and of the Advisory Committee on the Congo, the position of my Government is this: we firmly believe that the United Nations should take prompt, decisive and swift enforcement action to achieve the fundamental aim of the United Nations presence in the Congo. This is a must and a necessity, for in our view, we owe it both to ourselves and to the Republic of the Congo not to continue to station troops in that unhappy land, unless they are used to serve the best interests of the Congo which we ardently believe to be the interests not simply of Africa but of the whole world. We would, therefore, call on the Secretary-General to set the only course of action open to the Organization—immediate, determined and sustained enforcement action to achieve the unity of the Congo. We say "determined and sustained", because experience shows that suspension of enforcement action at the howl of the wolf simply whets the appetite of the adventurers to drive both the Republic and the United Nations to bankruptcy.

118. Furthermore, the present state of affairs cannot continue, precisely because the Organization's resources are limited and are being exhausted without achieving its main objective and, hence, it does not make sense to continue the present policy in the belief that money may somehow be forthcoming. Such a tendency can lead to further bankruptcy and more diffi-

culties to the Organization because the expected windfall of money may never take place. Therefore the only logical way to break this deadlock is vigorously implement the resolutions of the Security Council and of the Assembly. We are confident that Members who have repeatedly affirmed the unity of the Congo will not fail the Acting Secretary-General in this crucial period.

119. During the fifteenth session the liquidation of colonialism received a powerful impetus through the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the mechanism established by resolution 1654 (XVI). The Special Committee of seventeen members,¹⁴ established by the latter resolution, has held 117 meetings both at Headquarters and in Africa and has considered over twelve territories on a basis of priority. It is our belief that the contents of the reports and recommendations submitted by the Special Committee provide the General Assembly with solid grounds for taking proper decisions and action. We are, therefore, confident not simply of the approval by this Assembly of the work of the Special Committee, but also of the continued support of all Member States. This is necessary because the Special Committee provides not only background documentation for the Assembly but, more important, it serves as a forum for the peoples of the dependent territories for the expression and assertion of their legitimate right to national independence.

120. As regards the work of the Special Committee, it is, of course, for the Assembly to consider. For our part, we would say that as the Special Committee's present mandate is quite extensive, it can encompass all the work relating to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). This, we believe, would avoid proliferation, maintain continuity of work and of established conventions and thereby fulfil with speed the wishes of this Assembly as contained in its resolutions.

121. While the liquidation of colonialism has proceeded with a certain amount of speed and some territories—such as Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and British Guiana—are on the threshold of independence, the outlook for those territories in which there is a large number of privileged settlers is bleak. The settlers of Northern and Southern Rhodesia persist in their belief that they can continue to live in utter disregard of the rights and interests of over 8 million Africans. The leaders of these entrenched minority groups continue to defy the irreversible trend of African nationalism, unmindful of the fact that their life could be more secure and richer if they gave up their desire for privileges of a temporary and illusory character. While there is no doubt whatsoever that contemporary African nationalism will in due course isolate them and compel them to give up this illusion, we firmly believe that much chaos, disorder and loss of life could be avoided if the Powers in charge of these territories took a firm and clear stand in discharging their obligations towards the African majority specifically undertaken in the Charter. This is in the interest of all, and we therefore call upon those who are responsible for these territories to demonstrate to this Assembly their good intentions by concrete declarations of policy consonant with the irreversible forces of our times.

¹⁴/ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

122. The sorry plight of the people of Africa under Portuguese administration continues, and the belated, scanty reforms of the past year are simply designed to make palatable to the Africans and the world the alleged mission of civilization and of assimilation. Whatever the purpose of this mission, whatever its guise, the fact is that the Africans of Mozambique, Angola and other Portuguese territories remain dispossessed of the land of their fathers. Indeed, the findings of all the committees on these territories show that the Africans are simply fodder for the economy of the settlers and the industries of Portugal, and that this condition can be brought to an end by the adoption of measures which will compel Portugal to give up the exploitation of the defenceless people in these territories.

123. The Government of South Africa continues to strengthen its legislated policy of discrimination, in violation of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the many resolutions of the General Assembly which have been adopted with the overwhelming concurrence of many of the States from which the settlers of South Africa originally came. The same is true of the policy of the Union of South Africa regarding the international territory of South West Africa. The violations by South Africa of provisions of the League of Nations Mandate are so numerous that the joint applications of Ethiopia¹⁵ and Liberia¹⁶ to the International Court of Justice cover a thousand pages. The Court is to consider on this very day—2 October 1962—the preliminary question of jurisdiction, and we trust that thereafter the Court will decide on the substance of the issue with speed. While we are convinced that our case is watertight and have no fears whatsoever about the outcome, we firmly believe that the General Assembly should take vigorous action to implement its resolutions in these related areas.

124. These problems are grave and complex and long and sustained efforts are required to solve them. Yet we must succeed in some and make progress in others, because the survival of the human race demands it. And the United Nations, over whose Members hangs the monstrous threat of nuclear and thermo-nuclear destruction, has no alternative but to struggle relentlessly so that nations, whatever their differences in ideology and social systems, shall live together in understanding and tolerance.

125. Mr. FAWZI (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, in congratulating you and the Assembly upon your election to preside over our deliberations, the thought of your brilliant and most distinguished service to the United Nations and to international law comes readily to mind. May I wish you all the success you deserve.

126. Today being the first time that I come to this rostrum since the election of U Thant as Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, it is my pleasant duty, too, to greet him and once again wish him well, and to express my Government's appreciation of the excellent work which he has already done in this capacity and which, it is confidently expected, will

be a prelude to more of his endeavours in devoted and enlightened service to the United Nations.

127. As we look ahead at the present session of the General Assembly, we may conceive of it as dealing mainly with disarmament, decolonization and economic development. Although it cannot be reasonable expected to tackle with finality these vast aspects of human evolution, let us hope and so exert ourselves that it may make notable steps forward in relation to these and other weighty matters on our agenda.

128. Disarmament is so far a mere word, a dream or a vision. Alas, it is not yet a reality, or even the beginning of one. Rarely has a word been more firmly confined within the bounds of language than has this word "disarmament". Millions of other words have been translated into reality, have stepped at will into fact. But so far fact and reality remain out of bounds to this one word, and disarmament remains, for all practical purposes, an abstraction waiting painfully in the anteroom of realization.

129. We are, however, encouraged—even if mildly—by the glimmer of hope looming over the current negotiations, which may, if successful, achieve an agreement on the cessation of nuclear arms experiments. Such an agreement, in addition to its own obvious great importance in terms of human, economic and political values, would serve as a stepping-stone to wider successes in the quest for general and complete disarmament.

130. My Government, with many others, supports the proposal, originally made by the Mexican representative at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, that a target date, 1 January 1963, be set for the cessation of all tests. I recall here that this date has been accepted in principle by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, and I share with the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada the wish that the date for the cessation of all tests could be earlier.

131. Meanwhile, our concern over the dangers to humanity's health and future posed by the continuance of nuclear arms experiments is unfortunately confirmed by the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/5216], which has been submitted to this session of the Assembly. A parallel economic report on the effect of those experiments would vie with this health report in cheerlessness. Other speakers have enlarged—and I am sure that still others will enlarge—on these topics and put in clear outline the relevant facts and figures showing how very high are the heights which human folly has reached in the field of armament and the feverish competition for a so-called supremacy in arms.

132. The gateway to the vast field of disarmament seems at present to be an agreement on the cessation of nuclear arms tests. The recent disarmament negotiations in Geneva, in which for the first time non-aligned countries took part, have almost led to such an agreement. That we have fallen short of that goal does not hide the fact that the gap between the Eastern and Western positions in this connexion is at present narrower than it has ever been before. That gap may not be as easily bridgeable as a casual look would tend to suggest. But that is one more reason why we should all redouble our efforts to produce forthwith that vital agreement which the world is looking forward to with extreme eagerness and anxiety and which has

¹⁵/ See International Court of Justice, *Application instituting Proceedings, South West Africa Case (Ethiopia v. Union of South Africa)*, 1960, General List, No. 46.

¹⁶/ See International Court of Justice, *Application instituting Proceedings, South West Africa Case (Liberia v. Union of South Africa)*, 1960, General List, No. 47.

been called for by the various resolutions of this Assembly exhorting the States concerned to refrain from further test explosions.

133. Most closely linked with the cessation of nuclear arms experiments are the prohibition of the dissemination of such weapons and the consideration of Africa as a denuclearized zone. It will be recalled that the Assembly dealt with these two aspects of disarmament and adopted resolutions concerning them. These resolutions have not been well heeded in relation to the prohibition of the dissemination of nuclear arms and were disregarded, until Algeria's independence, in relation to the denuclearization of Africa which, now that Africa is becoming a continent of independent States, has a better prospect of becoming effective.

134. A few words may not be out of place here concerning the role of the non-aligned countries in the disarmament negotiations. Referring particularly to the eight countries which have joined these negotiations in Geneva, several speakers have pointed out that these countries are a cross-section of the present-day world and that their presence reflects the fact that disarmament is the concern, not exclusively of the big Powers, but of all countries, large and small. It was said, further, that these non-aligned countries bring a fresh perspective to the negotiations and may play a useful role in breaking the stalemate which has been obstructing serious progress on the road to agreement.

135. As previously stated by my Government's delegation in Geneva, our concept of the role of the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is that they, by joining the other members, have become part of a team and should play together in mutual understanding and according to the rules of the game.

136. It is gratifying to note that the non-aligned members of the Committee have in their turn contributed, even if modestly, to the progress of the disarmament negotiations and that their proposals are considered by many to be widely acceptable as a basis for negotiations and eventual agreement.

137. Before closing my delegation's brief comment on disarmament, I should like to mention the parallelism between it and the use of outer space, and the bearing which each has on the other.

138. My Government is a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and has submitted to it a proposal outlining a code for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The Committee referred this proposal to the General Assembly for consideration [A/5181], and we hope that the General Assembly will give it its unanimous support.

139. We meet this year in an atmosphere of mixed augury.

140. I have just submitted a brief comment on disarmament and the armaments race and have expressed my Government's deep concern over the present dim prospect for real and substantial progress on the road to that general and complete disarmament, under strict international control, for which we are all striving with utmost determination but so far with little success.

141. Furthermore, the Berlin situation remains fraught with danger, despite the laudable and continuous efforts to keep it from bursting into flames.

142. The situation around Cuba is a source of concern to many lovers of peace and of the rule of law in international relations. We trust that such concern will eventually prove to have been unwarranted and that the principle of non-intervention by any country, whichever country it may be, in any other country's internal affairs will be steadily and soberly honoured and respected by all concerned.

143. Recent developments in Yemen also call for a similar reminder that there should be no foreign intervention whatsoever by any country in Yemen's internal affairs.

144. The independence of Oman is still disregarded by the United Kingdom. The southern part of the Arabian peninsula continues to be the victim of both British domination and British scheming.

145. The situation in the Congo continues to defy all endeavours for a definitive solution. Among other things, we were told a few days ago, by the United Nations Officer-in-charge there, that Katanga continues to recruit foreign mercenaries and receive foreign military supplies. These charges cannot be lightly brushed aside by Mr. Tshombe's describing them as being like the stories of sea serpents or the abominable snowman. They show further that foreign imperialist intervention is still very active in the Congo, as is co-operation and support for secessionist Katanga in defiance of United Nations resolutions upholding the real independence and integrity of the Congo. Unless we all decide—and respect the decision—to abide by these resolutions, the Congo question will remain both unsolved and explosive. The responsibility for all this should be laid at the door of the countries which, by their direct or indirect intervention, are to blame.

146. Racial discrimination in South Africa is being maintained and even made worse as we were assured by South Africa's disdainful Minister for Foreign Affairs here a few days ago.

147. An extension of this attitude of defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion by the Government of South Africa is that Government's position and action in relation to South West Africa.

148. Still another extension is the treatment and the denial of rights, including independence, which are suffered by the original inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia, and from which the Government of the United Kingdom cannot exonerate itself, as it remains principally responsible in this regard.

149. Parallel to all this, a most ominous situation arises from the fact that the Palestine question remains unsolved.

150. On the other hand, Laos, West Irian and Algeria are luminous names on the map and are medals of honour to statesmanship—wise, patient and determined statesmanship.

151. In this connexion, we give credit to all those to whom credit is due—most particularly the people of Algeria, who unwaveringly kept faith with freedom, and whose sons, in hundreds of thousands, have died willingly so that freedom may live.

152. Algeria today, still pale and haggard from the trials and ravages of a battle, marches forward carrying with her stirring memories of a recent past and new hopes for a future full of promise. The world owes her help in the healing of her wounds and in

making up for the bitterness and the moral and material havoc of an irretrievable past.

153. A great debt is particularly owed by all the Arab people to the people of Algeria who, immune from the treachery which has bedevilled Palestine, have been able, as well as most willing, to fight bravely and honourably for liberty and their rights, and who have thus contributed in abundance towards the redemption and rehabilitation of the name of all the Arabs.

154. Will Palestine's turn come for a decent and, by now, long overdue solution which would fully restore to the Arabs of Palestine all their rights? Or shall we go on from year to year throwing these people, as refugees, on the mercy of a reluctant world and, for those of them who are in Israel, allowing them to be treated there, in their own country, as worse than third-rate citizens, as has been amply demonstrated on previous occasions by my delegation and many other delegations?

155. The United Nations has been unable to solve the questions of Palestine, not because it cannot be solved, but because of a shockingly persistent unwillingness by many to face this question squarely and make in regard to it the only honest choice between right and wrong, justice and injustice, morality and immorality.

156. This year of grace 1962 marks the fifteenth anniversary of the partition and dismemberment of Palestine in the year of disgrace 1947. Fifteen years are an eternity when they mean, as do these fifteen years, an era of intolerable suffering and humiliation to a whole nation, in this case the Arab nation of Palestine. But they shall not make the just and righteous forget or forgo the sacred rights of this or any other nation.

157. I beg leave to comment at this point on certain related developments which have taken place and which have been announced during the past few days. I refer to the recent decision by the Government of the United States of America to start negotiations with Israel for supplying it with missiles, a matter which is inevitably of a nature to prompt it to more aggressiveness and more hostility.

158. The record of Israel aggression should have served as a reminder of that country's real personality and of the evil policies behind its creation which give it continuous and most undeserved support. We have, for years, been told—and they who told us practised what they preached—that Israel must have and maintain equality in arms with all the Arab States combined. That position has been persisted in, in close and provoking conjunction with the long series of Israel aggressions which have been condemned many times by the United Nations, and which included participation in the tripartite adventure of 1956.

159. I do not need to belabour the view that such a position is untenable. Would those who adopt it, who activate it, accept a parallel position and a similar practice relating to one of their neighbours, even if that neighbour has never committed an aggression? Would they, further, accept it, and practise it, if that neighbour is an incorrigible aggressor and is even a usurper of the country it occupies? I merely ask the question and leave everyone to derive his own conclusions.

160. The position of my Government relating to Palestine is firmly based on the inalienable rights of the Arab nation of Palestine. My country, which has

borne the brunt and by far the main sacrifices of supporting the Palestinian Arabs in the struggle for the restoration of these rights, will unflinchingly continue to give unstinted support to the Arab brothers and sisters of Palestine and resist most strongly any attempt, openly or by devious means, to surround their rights with equivocation, detract from them or fritter them away. Thus, and to the utmost of our ability and our means, shall we in the United Arab Republic be, as ever, taking the only stand in this regard in which we believe and for which we shall strive until right is done and wrong is thoroughly undone.

161. I have referred previously to decolonization as one of the main features of the present session of the Assembly. The process of decolonization is taking its course, as witness the many new and most welcome Members of the United Nations and the many others which are expected to join it in future.

162. While we greet the new Members, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda and Trinidad and Tobago, and are sure that their presence in this Organization will make it richer and more powerful, we deeply regret and resent the persistent colonialism of Portugal and several other Powers which, in Africa alone, obstructs the independence of no less than twenty-four countries.

163. There are, moreover, two remarks which are of special relevance here. The first is that too little attention has been paid to the fact that what world political Zionism did and is doing to Palestine and its Arab people is distinctly the worst expression of colonialism which history and our present generation have ever known. The usual procedure by colonialists has been to get hold of the reins of power in some other countries, while the local people remain there, and invariably to state and repeat that the intention is to prepare them for independence, for home rule or self-government, as it was alternatively said. Through struggle and sacrifices, or through a residue of goodwill and foresight, independence would actually be attained in due course.

164. But in the case of Palestine we are facing an outright invasion which has entrenched itself in the country, declared it to be its own, and which has deracinated and supplanted the lawful Arab people and replaced them by a flow, that still continues, of imported and motley segments of misled Jewry, while claiming loudly that there is no room for the return of the Arabs to their homes. Moreover, Israel which lives on outside charity and alms-giving extends so-called financial and economic aid to numerous countries in Asia and Africa as a bait and a spider's web. This, in its turn, is contradictory. But it falls, nevertheless, into the same pattern of political Zionist action which has set Israel as a spearhead of colonialism in its ugliest and most ferocious form.

165. The second remark to which I referred as relevant here relates to the recurrence of colonialism and foreign domination in new forms which, no matter what they are, does not make them less reprehensible. Honesty and foresight will not permit us, on the one hand, to live under the illusion that colonialism is over and done with while, on the other, we allow its return.

166. A basic approach to this problem is economic development, which is distinctly among the most effective means of bolstering and safeguarding the newly acquired independence of many countries, and of guar-

anteeing world peace and prosperity. World economy should not and cannot continue safely on the basis that most countries produce mainly primary materials and get for them prices which are often lower than the cost of production, while a few other countries produce manufactured goods and get exorbitant prices for them which are out of proportion to the prices of primary materials. With the exception of a few years before 1955, the prices of primary materials have for many decades been actually below the cost of production, as I have already submitted. This is a fact which is both painful and indisputable, especially if we take into account the actual return on capital outlay and the actual wages in the countries producing primary materials, compared with the fair returns and wages which should prevail. Indeed, the return on capital outlay in these countries has been almost nil and wages have been much below what is fair and necessary even for mere reasonable sustenance.

167. One principal and well-known result is that the rich nations get richer and the poor get poorer. Another result, which also should serve as a warning and a strong reminder, is that the highly industrialized countries would go on producing more goods without there being any real prospect for those goods finding adequate markets throughout the world.

168. A Western writer paraphrased this situation correctly as follows:

"The basic fact is that the world will not be a safe place if hungry nations are not given an opportunity to pay for their own development by selling their goods to the West. More than that, Europe's future is increasingly going to depend on development of overseas markets for the export of industrial goods. Where else will Europe find those markets except in the under-developed world? And how can those markets grow if the poor nations are denied their fair share of world trade?"

169. On 26 September 1962 the President of Pakistan reminded us here that the Acting Secretary-General had expressed the view that the present division of the world into rich and poor countries was much more real, much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive than the division of the world on ideological grounds. The President then told us:

"... This indeed is a patent truth and the sooner the more powerful and more prosperous nations of the world recognize it, the better for the well-being of mankind." [1133rd meeting, para. 19.]

The President of Pakistan continued:

"Even if the most modest targets of the United Nations Development Decade are to be attained, improved access to world markets for the exports of developing countries must be assured. Without this, those countries could not reach the necessary stage of self-sustaining economic growth.

"The prospects of improved access to export markets, however, are getting dimmer with the increasing trend towards the formation of common markets of continental proportions. It is indeed a grave prospect for developing countries like Pakistan. The time has come for the Western world to decide whether it will make a viable place for the developing countries, or whether it intends to turn itself into a powerful international cartel denying to our manufacturers access to their markets and forcing us to remain primary producers to feed their fac-

ories, dictating the terms of our trade and compelling us to pay several times more for their furnished goods. If this were to happen, it would amount to re-establishing imperialism of the worst kind, which may well lead to disastrous consequences.

"Let me say unambiguously that just as you cannot have abject poverty alongside affluence within a country, so also you cannot expect friendly co-existence between those countries that are forced to remain backward and the ones that are overflowing with wealth." [*Ibid.*, paras. 20-22.]

170. I ask leave to refer now to the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development which was held in Cairo during the month of July this year and attended by thirty-six countries from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. Addressing the Conference at its opening meeting, the President of the United Arab Republic said:

"This conference represents hope for progress and for peace. The conference realizes that these two great hopes cannot be reached without widespread international co-operation, the scope of which would not only embrace the participating States, but would extend beyond that sphere to encompass the whole world, in the profound belief that progress is for all mankind and peace their right, transcending all frontiers."

The President of the United Arab Republic added:

"The Conference does not represent an alliance of nations aspiring to development while bearing a grudge against those States which have gone ahead or being envious of what they have achieved.

"The Conference in this sense represents a new kind of international endeavour.

"The word 'against' is not listed in its agenda.

"The word 'for' is in every line of its agenda.

"We are all for progress and for peace."

171. The Conference summed up the result of its deliberations in a declaration made on 18 July 1962, which dealt principally with internal problems of development, co-operation among developing countries, problems of international trade, regional economic groupings, economic aid for development, international technical assistance, and United Nations development activities. The Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries has been submitted to the General Assembly as an item for consideration at the present session [see A/5162].

172. In the meantime, the United Arab Republic, for its part, is setting out as speedily as possible on the road of development. The High Dam project on the Nile continues to be carried out with utmost diligence; industrialization is proceeding at a rapid pace, agricultural reform gives increasingly its encouraging returns, and the Suez Canal renders its ever improved services to international navigation and goodwill. By these and similar endeavours the United Arab Republic is trying to contribute its share in the process of transforming the big part of international economy, which has been one of imperialism and foreign exploitation, to an economy of independence and service to all peoples.

173. Clearly, the world to which we all aspire and for which we strive, a world which is within our

reach through determination, goodwill and common sense, is one where international peace and security are maintained, with, as the Charter states, the least possible diversion, for armaments, of human and economic resources, while modern science and enlightened foresight make the rich among us richer

and the poor less poor, pending the day when the world will, as it can, abound with riches for all, and dignity and happiness for our human race.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.