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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SOULEYMANE (Mauritania) (translated from French): The great honour has fallen to me, Mr. President, of presenting to you, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, our heartiest congratulations on your splendid election to the presidency of this illustrious Assembly. This choice is but the recognition of the intellectual and human qualities which are readily acknowledged by all who have had the opportunity of meeting you. To the love of religion you add a knowledge of the mind and a taste for tolerance. Once again we are happy to observe that your election is a fresh tribute to the non-aligned countries.

2. The General Assembly has just proclaimed the admission to membership of the United Nations [1122nd meeting] of four new friendly States which have come to widen the circle of our great family. We therefore take this occasion to welcome amongst us Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

3. We must admit, however, that despite appearances our conscience is still troubled because of the grave problems confronting mankind at this moment. Like everyone else, we feel the greatest concern about the tension and rivalries by which the relations between those who hold the destiny of our planet in their hands are dominated. We thirst for peace, for that peace which is the basic condition for our survival and for the creation of a better world from which the spectre of universal catastrophe will be banished for ever. Alas, facts and political reality conspire to lessen our legitimate hopes. At a time when a large part of mankind is beginning to emerge from the colonial night and is trying to contribute to the establishment of a new universal order, the sad truth forces them to replace the old complex of servitude by that of fear.

4. The great Powers are settling down comfortably into the cold war, which seems to govern all contemporary international problems. There is not a single question in international relations which is not considered by the great Powers within that sinister framework.

5. One of the permanent manifestations of the cold war is the feverish race to perfect weapons of mass destruction and the pursuit of nuclear tests, which are spoken of by those responsible as if it were a matter of harmless laboratory experiments.

6. The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has been going on for several months at Geneva, did give rise to some optimism, because for once we believed that the principal protagonists were meeting with the intention of arriving at definite solutions. Unfortunately, we are obliged to recognize that despite the admirable efforts made by the representatives of the non-aligned countries this Conference has not produced any tangible results.

7. The nuclear Powers, acting as if they recognized that a war was inevitable, continue to follow the same policy of making increasing quantities of more and more effective weapons and of inventing ways of delivering them to their destination with frightening precision.

8. Last year, the pretext for resuming nuclear tests revolved, as befitted the circumstances, round the subject of the moratorium. One side had not respected this moratorium and consequently the other side felt itself free to resume its own tests; with the faults of one side justifying those of the other, there was nothing left for them to do but to go on revolving in a vicious circle.

9. This year we are being given to understand that the disarmament negotiations are marking time only because of disagreement on control procedures and the modalities for the destruction of nuclear delivery vehicles.

10. The truth lies in the fact that no agreement will ever be reached if those who possess the power to wipe out the whole of humanity, thanks to their diabolical arsenals, do not succeed in agreeing on a minimum of the ideological principles which separate them fundamentally. Indeed, what is fundamentally lacking in the dialogue between the two colossi is trust; and trust can only prevail if they recognize that it is possible for countries with different political, economic and social structures to coexist and if they make this a rule for day-to-day action. Is that not one of the best illustrations of the principle of peaceful coexistence which is provided for in the United Nations Charter and to which both of them appeal?

11. Ever since its creation the United Nations has been giving its attention to this vital question of disarmament, without being able to reach any positive conclusions. Why not convene a world conference, under United Nations auspices, at which all States would be present without any discrimination and whatever their political régime, to examine the problem of general and complete disarmament? We do not think that a situation which is so fundamental to peace

can be settled only by those who possess nuclear weapons. The life of all mankind is threatened and we should all join together to contribute to the discussion and make the weight of the universal conscience felt.

12. This perpetual threat to peace makes us realize still more clearly our importance, the importance of the non-aligned countries in international affairs. We are also aware, however, that to exercise the influence which is our due and which everything seems to confirm, our own unity is necessary and appears each day to be an inevitable imperative.

13. In the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, we are well aware of this truth because we have experienced it and are still experiencing it within our small country. The lessons drawn from our own national experience prove to us that unity is possible if good faith and respect prevail. As we have achieved national unity within our country, thanks to the desire of the Blacks and the Whites to live in common and to fight for the same ideal, it was natural that we would participate outside our country in any form of regrouping whose direct or indirect aim was to achieve African unity on a continental scale. It is for that reason that we have been an ardent supporter and a loyal member of the African and Malagasy Union ever since its inception.

14. The reason we are so proud of belonging to the African and Malagasy Union is that in our eyes it represents the best instrument for African unity. With its technical bodies—the Association of African and Malagasy Economic Co-operation and Development, the Regional African and Malagasy Postal and Telecommunications Unions, the Defence Pact, the "Air Afrique" transport company—the African and Malagasy Union is now one of the rare African organizations which has such vast and realistic possibilities.

15. This movement towards African unity is taking place in auspicious circumstances since the Monrovia group and the Casablanca group, leaving far behind them everything which might divide them, are now embarked on the path of essential co-operation. There is no doubt that the brotherly discussions between these two groups will lay the foundations for the complete unity of our continent, in which the golden rule will be respect for existing sovereignty and a search for new formulae for co-operation and co-existence.

16. My delegation would like to take this opportunity of greeting, on behalf of my Government, all the African leaders who have made and are today still making untiring efforts to bring all the African Heads of State together round one table. To these apostles of friendship, and particularly to Mr. Sékou Touré, the President of the Republic of Guinea, we extend our thanks.

17. In this quest for unity in the cause of peace and international collaboration, the small countries, or the under-developed countries, as it is now customary to call them, should organize their solidarity and their struggle in the different fields with which we are concerned in a more definite way. If the non-aligned States want to make their voices heard more strongly, if they wish to limit the disagreeable consequences of the cold war and its variants, and if they want to play the important role which is their due, it is more urgent than ever that they should present a united and solid front to the two giants whose positions on the problems of peace and peaceful coexistence are

becoming increasingly rigid. My delegation earnestly calls for another conference to be held in the coming months, like the historic Conference held at Bandung in 1955, from which a sacred charter of the non-aligned countries would emerge.

18. It is now more than two years since the General Assembly, on 14 September 1960, adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Some States, faithful to their national spirit and inspired by their age-long traditions, have understood the needs of our century and have not disappointed us. From this rostrum, we pay a sincere tribute to them.

19. We are particularly grateful to France, which set the first examples to be followed in the matter of decolonization. Under the liberal inspiration of its great leader, President de Gaulle, a friend of Africa who is admired by the Africans, France has closed the annals of colonialism for ever. It has done pioneer work and has anticipated history in organizing new relationships of co-operation and friendship with its former colonies. We who have never ceased to proclaim everywhere our sincere friendship with France, a friendship now claimed by those who vilified it and us along with it, can only rejoice at its splendid achievements.

20. The situation in certain territories under United Kingdom control causes us considerable concern. The United Kingdom deserves our admiration on more than one count; that is why we hope it will find adequate solutions in response to the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous peoples of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and thus spare our continent a new conflagration.

21. What can be said of the Powers which still refuse to decolonize and still cling to their colonial empires, sowing hatred and destruction in our continent? All our thoughts are turned towards martyred Angola. Portugal, whose expulsion is desired by all the States belonging to the African and Malagasy Union, systematically refuses to bow to the evidence and continues to organize vast massacres in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. It is time that Portugal seized its last chance of establishing normal relations with the Africa it needs so much.

22. This year we find South Africa still firmly attached to its retrograde policy. At the Conference held at Libreville in September 1962, the Heads of State of the African and Malagasy Union recommended its outright expulsion from the United Nations, since it continues to flout the principles of the Organization and to treat it with sovereign scorn. South Africa's attitude to South West Africa is an example of one of the most senseless forms of annexionist colonialism. It is imperative that South Africa should take note of the indignation of the whole of Africa at the policy of racial segregation it has cynically adopted as a fundamental principle. It must realize that the present situation is the prelude to a most cruel tragedy which it is preparing to inflict on Africa and on the whole world. We hope that during the present session the severest sanctions will be imposed on South Africa.

23. It must be recognized that the expulsion of Portugal and South Africa from the United Nations will probably have only a symbolic and moral effect. That is why it would certainly be much more effective for representatives of all the African countries to meet together in order to work out the organization and practical means for putting into effect a general and

complete boycott of all relations with those two countries. A carefully chosen body could thus be set up to ensure the frank and loyal application of this boycott and to determine all the necessary measures of control.

24. It is therefore becoming a matter of urgency to break off all commercial relations with these countries and to deny their ships and aircraft access to all African ports and airports and, further, to bring our concerted efforts into harmony, in all foreseeable fields and taking into account the new possibilities, in order to give full effect to this policy of isolating Portugal and South Africa.

25. We firmly believe that by giving definite moral and material aid to all the so-called Portuguese territories—and to Angola immediately—and by organizing a genuine economic boycott of Portugal and South Africa, we shall arouse fresh hopes in the hearts of our brothers who are struggling for their dignity and liberation.

26. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania will always be on the side of those countries which are fighting for complete liberation and for respect for their universally recognized territorial integrity. This being so, Mauritania has always favoured a just solution of the Congolese problem which, while taking into account the interests of the various provinces, would ensure the unity and sovereignty of this sister country. We need scarcely say that we welcome with satisfaction the plan worked out by the United Nations for the settlement of the Congolese crisis on a federal basis.

27. We are convinced, however, that rapid action is essential if order is to be finally established in the Congo (Leopoldville), for every day that dawns brings new evidence that Mr. Tshombé is building up and consolidating his position, with the obvious prompting of his Rhodesian, South African and Portuguese friends. It is already to be feared that, after serving as the cat's paw of foreign financial interests, he may in his turn become the master of these same interests and may seriously complicate the execution of the plan proposed by U Thant, the Secretary-General. We hope that every possible means will be used to bring the secession of Katanga to an end once and for all, whether it be by persuasion and pressure or by force, for this is an essential condition for any workable solution.

28. Before I bring this chapter on colonialism to a close, I cannot but refer to the happy outcome of the war in Algeria. We are waiting with impatience to welcome to this Organization the representatives of a people which has aroused the admiration of the whole world and which has written in letters of blood one of the finest pages of the struggle against colonialism. This is a source of pride and consolation to us in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, for we are linked to the Algerian people by every possible tie: proximity, race, religion, language and, above all, the same ideals. Did not Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, say on 16 November 1961, in this very Assembly:

"As soon as my country was able—on the basis of the reforms instituted by the 'loi-cadre' concerning the internal self-government of our States—to make its voice heard, it took a stand in support of Algerian nationalism and advocated that the conflict between our brethren and our friends should be settled by negotiation." [1056th meeting, paragraph 35.]

29. This attitude to Algeria was not expressed in any spirit of emulation but because it corresponded to our deepest feelings. It should perhaps be recalled at this point that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has always refused to join the Common Organization for the Saharan Regions, thus forfeiting a considerable flow of investment, for fear that its joining might cast even the slightest doubt on the purely Algerian character of the Sahara.

30. It is high time for Algeria to resume the prominent place which is its by right in Africa. Through the quality of its men, the magnitude of its resources and the realism of its experience, it will be the country best placed to set a new stamp on relations between the States situated on both sides of the Sahara and to play the predominant role which falls to it in building up African unity.

31. We are deeply attached to the United Nations and we consider that just solutions can be found here for all the problems with which we may be faced. It is because we are convinced of the importance of the part played by the United Nations in international affairs that we believe it is necessary to make the Charter which governs it more democratic.

32. Since the San Francisco Conference^{1/} the number of Member States has almost doubled and the political context has developed considerably. In order to give the United Nations a still more pronounced universal character, the new world conditions must be taken into account. Although the purposes and principles of the United Nations are fundamental and consequently unchangeable, the same is not true of its working methods and of the structure of its various bodies.

33. It is becoming a matter of urgency to carry out the reforms which are essential in order to ensure the equitable representation of all the areas of the globe and to enable all problems to be dealt with effectively. In particular, the Security Council must be freed forever from the unjust system of the veto. The number of its members should be considerably increased and Africa should be given equitable representation on it.

34. A careful study of the rules governing the International Civil Service should be undertaken without delay, within the general framework of the United Nations, in order to ensure that here, too, each country has the number of staff members to which it is entitled and has a share in the administrative life of the Organization.

35. Our generation has the good fortune to be a witness of the historical process which is sanctioning the birth of many States whose peoples were hitherto subjugated and deprived of any international existence, and this process is continuing today, to the great benefit of peace. In order to bring about better harmony in the world, however, this political evolution towards the elimination of all the after-effects of colonialism must create the right conditions for an all-embracing effort to achieve economic progress and social advancement.

36. Three quarters of humanity are still languishing in hunger and poverty, while enormous resources are squandered for destructive purposes. Thus over and above the political and ideological differences we have economic and social differences which emphasize the division of the world by erecting a great barrier

^{1/} United Nations Conference on International Organization, which met from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

between the industrialized countries and the countries which people like to call under-developed. In order to remedy this state of affairs, it is high time to reconsider the arrangements for giving aid to countries which are desperately trying to build up their economies.

37. Those whose good fortune and, indeed, whose duty it is to come to the aid of countries which have been deprived of their heritage must imbue themselves with the feelings of fellowship which are essential in order to rid their assistance programmes of any political character. All too often bilateral aid programmes are accompanied by more or less disguised political conditions. The benefits of multilateral aid are frequently acclaimed, but this form of co-operation is often made difficult by certain tacit divisions into economic zones of influence. In their understandable haste to establish a sound economic and social infrastructure and to ensure a modicum of well-being for their people, many of the new African States are unable to escape the necessity of belonging to new forms of zones of economic solidarity. They will take care, however, as far as they are able, not to allow their association to be the means of perpetuating the simple colonial system of the exchange of commodities for manufactured goods or to act as a brake on their industrialization.

38. It is here, within the United Nations, and particularly within the framework of the Economic and Social Council, that we should work out, in all urgency, a new doctrine of co-operation between all nations, in order to solve the problem of under-development, and methods of assistance which are adapted to the new needs.

39. That is what I had to say and I now have pleasure in concluding with the words spoken in this very Assembly, almost a year ago, by the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, who said:

"...I would appeal to those who now face each other in a futile competition and who would, at the same time, be the guides of this tortured world, to think of the two thirds of mankind that is still suffering from poverty, hunger and disease... May they, instead, help us to bring peace to all men and to preserve our common heritage." [1056th meeting, paragraph 49.]

40. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): Mr. President, the delegation of Nepal associates itself with all the delegations that have congratulated you on your election to the high office of President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Your personal ability and distinguished record of achievement amply qualify you for this high office. We feel especially happy, at this time when the attention of the Assembly will, perhaps more than ever, be drawn to the problems of the developing countries in Asia and Africa, that the Assembly will be presided over by a man of your deep understanding and intimate experience of these very problems. Also in this context it is almost symbolic that a representative of our great Asian continent has been elected President of the Assembly. My delegation wishes you all success in your difficult and important task. With your permission, I would also like to put on record our appreciation of the memorable services of your predecessor, Mr. Mongi Slim, who guided with unmistakable wisdom and restraint the work of the sixteenth session, which proved to be most onerous.

41. When we met in this hall at the sixteenth session a year ago, it was under sombre auspices. The tragic

death of Dag Hammarskjöld had left the United Nations without a Secretary-General. The possibilities for an agreement on a successor to that important post seemed to be very remote. Our Organization was involved in one of its most crucial undertakings ever, the solution of the Congo crisis, and this enterprise was threatened with failure. Many representatives expressed misgivings about the future of the United Nations itself.

42. It must give us some satisfaction today to recall that nobody eventually wanted to put the existence of the Organization at stake. In the alarming situation that prevailed, the voice of reason and responsibility finally gained victory. An Acting Secretary-General was unanimously elected, the Congo operation could continue and the United Nations proved able to take new, fruitful, positive actions in line with its purposes and aims and to continue successfully its less spectacular, but not less important, work in the social and economic fields.

43. The most significant event was perhaps the election, without dissenting votes, of an Acting Secretary-General. The office of the Secretary-General is one of the corner-stones of the United Nations. The structure of the United Nations is such that without a Secretary-General it cannot function. We knew already at the time of the election that U Thant would fulfil with honour the duties imposed on him. Today when we have seen him in action for almost a year, we have to give him the highest praise for his dedication to his duties, for his ability, skill and integrity in carrying out his responsibilities and for his vigorous initiative in the implementation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

44. To him goes much of the credit for the happy solution of the dispute over West Irian. He will be commended for his firm measures for a settlement in the Congo in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. His initiative and deep interest in the subject of the United Nations Development Decade should appeal not only to the developing countries but also to those who will be more on the giving than on the receiving side.

45. My delegation entertains the sincere hope that U Thant will be given the opportunity to continue as full-term Secretary-General his successful work to the benefit of the United Nations and all that it represents.

46. U Thant has been brought up in the traditions of neutrality and unselfish service. This fact, to which can be attributed his usefulness and the strength of his position, is significant for the situation and the conditions in which the United Nations is working. When it comes to major controversies in the relations between the big Powers, it is to the uncommitted countries and their representatives that these Powers appeal. We may admit that they mostly look for support, each for his position, rather than for assistance in bringing about a mutual understanding. But experience has shown that a short-sighted policy of expedience has been more and more abandoned by these small nations. They know that it does not pay, and I think it is only fair to say that these nations have to an increasing extent found that their purposes are best served by scrupulous adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

47. Our late Secretary-General used to say, and U Thant has repeated it, that it is the small nations,

rather than the big Powers, which need the protection that the United Nations can give. This in itself is reason enough for us to close our ranks in defence and support of the United Nations.

48. With this in mind, it is surprising to hear from such a distinguished personality as the President of France sweeping expressions of contempt for, or at least lack of faith in, the small nations. We have heard him talking of the irresponsible voice of the multitude. We have heard it being argued that the votes of the small nations are out of all proportion to their contributions to the United Nations and to their capacity for playing a role in international politics. These cynical statements sound like a strange echo of La Fontaine's famous fable of the wolf and the lamb: "The opinion of the strongest is always the best." Statements of this kind are all the more shocking as they come from countries that once were the champions of the democratic principle that every citizen, be he rich or poor, shall have an equal voice in public affairs.

49. Statements like this, and references to military and economic strength as measures of political maturity, imply as a matter of fact a negation of the validity of the principles on which our Organization itself is built. We in Asia and Africa have to keep vigil against all such tendencies which may tend to destroy the very foundations of the United Nations. There is no better way to keep this vigil than by demonstrating as often and as frequently as possible our solidarity with the ideals and the purposes of the Charter.

50. So let us take these statements as a challenge to us. Let them be another reason for strengthening our sense of responsibility. Let us remember that the display of responsibility by the small, the newly independent and the non-aligned countries during the sixteenth session brought them respect among men of good will in all quarters.

51. Our arguments are neither money nor weapons. Ours shall be the moral arguments, arguments of justice and legality, conscience and truth.

52. Only the thoughtless can minimize the strength of these arguments. We have witnessed their strength in the past; we are witnessing it practically every day. We know how in almost every question the representatives of the mighty anxiously look for moral arguments. Nobody wants to enter the rostrum empty-handed in that respect. We have seen the principles of justice being implemented in the granting of freedom to colonies, in settling disputes over territories, in investigations in trouble-ridden areas, in the hearing of representatives of depressed groups of people.

53. Our best contribution to the future of this Organization will be to honour incessantly these principles of justice and morality which are embodied in our Charter.

54. May I now turn to some of the specific questions which are the focus of our attention today and which will be the subject of deliberations in this Assembly?

55. The problem of over-all importance which is inscribed in the Charter as the primary object of all the strivings of the United Nations is the preservation of peace. The United Nations has on several occasions, and sometimes with remarkable results, tackled this problem at its very root by trying to remove the causes for armed conflict. I have already mentioned the latest contribution in this respect, the settlement

of the Netherlands-Indonesian conflict over West Irian. Here the United Nations has gone to the extent of providing administrative machinery for carrying out the peaceful changes on which agreement has been reached.

56. The prerequisite for success in this and other similar undertakings is the existence of a certain amount of good will and trust on the part of those primarily concerned, a common desire to follow the path of reason, and a willingness to give up extreme selfish interests.

57. Whereas it has been possible to some extent to create trust and confidence between the smaller nations or between conflicting groups within such nations, we are apparently far from obtaining that kind of understanding between the two big Power groups whose mutual distrust finds echo in vitiated charges and countercharges, the armament race and nuclear explosions.

Sir James Plimsoll (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

58. The two main opponents seem to find themselves in a vicious circle. Distrust leads to the continuous building-up of nuclear arsenals, which in turn causes increased distrust. Unless we believe in the balance of terror as a future guarantee against war—and of course, the much talked-of possibility of war by accident makes such a belief difficult to uphold—this vicious circle must be broken.

59. It could perhaps be argued that the remedies which are being sought today—disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests—do not aim at the roots of the evil but only at the symptoms. But I think such an assessment would not be correct. There has appeared a new element in the disarmament talks since eight countries outside the big Power blocs have entered the scene. Although it is difficult for somebody who has been able to follow the developments only from a distance to evaluate the prospects of these talks, it seems anyway to be evident that these uncommitted countries have been able to suggest ways which would lead to the lessening of distrust. If that is true, we have another example, and an outstanding one, of the positive role that non-aligned countries can play in realizing the ideals of the United Nations.

60. The ultimate aim of the talks held at Geneva is to provide for complete and general disarmament. However, we must face the fact that unless a miracle happens at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, the conclusion of a treaty to that effect and the implementation of such a treaty will not be possible without patient work for a long, long time to come. We in Nepal cannot share the view that a ban on nuclear tests must necessarily be coupled with a decision on general disarmament. The banning of nuclear tests would in itself be an achievement of tremendous importance. It would not only protect the health and well-being of the millions in the world who now are being subjected to the hazards of nuclear fall-out, but it would also be a first step towards creating a favourable atmosphere for the success of the negotiations on general disarmament.

61. The disarmament question focuses our attention on another matter which has been discussed in this Assembly for more than ten years, that is, the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. Any treaty or agreement on disarmament will

be incomplete without the participation of the People's Republic of China. If it is true that China within a short time can be expected to be in possession of nuclear devices, it will be all the more obvious how necessary it is to get China to join in the discussions.

62. At our last session, I stressed the legal considerations which, by any standards of international law, call for recognition at the United Nations of the régime on mainland China as the proper representative of the Chinese people. I do not know whether these arguments, which I know are shared by many, fell on deaf ears. I heard of no attempt to refute them. Anyway, I am not going to repeat them today. I rather want to stress the absurdity of the situation, which one day may threaten to impair the whole work of our Organization. Even the strongest opponent of representation here of the People's Republic of China, that is, the United States of America, has found it necessary to try to talk with that Government. They have had to use rather circuitous procedures. The most remarkable one of these was, I think, when the United States secured the assistance of the late Secretary-General of the United Nations for such talks. Can the appropriateness of the recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of China be more clearly demonstrated?

63. It has often been repeated in this Assembly that the question cannot be dealt with from the point of view of whether you like a particular ideology or not, or whether or not you agree with some actions taken by a particular régime. In this Organization we have representatives of all kinds of social systems. And that must be so if we want our Organization ever to be universal. And in what concerns disagreement with actions taken by one régime or another, there could be no better place than the United Nations to bring about moderation or even changes in such activities. Those who hinder a proper representation of China are doing a disservice to the United Nations by preventing it from becoming a forum for discussions with the most populous country on earth. Without the presence of the People's Republic of China the United Nations will not reflect the political reality prevailing in the world outside. My delegation will, as heretofore, join in the efforts to bring about such representation.

64. When we talk of the moral influence that is being brought to bear through the United Nations and which often has effected remarkable improvement in the political situation and also in human relations, it brings to mind the contributions that this Organization has made in the field of decolonization. It is true that other forces might have been more decisive than the United Nations; but to the United Nations and to the exchange of opinions that is going on under its auspices goes much of the credit for the rapid and orderly way in which progress has been made in this field.

65. We welcome the emergence of Rwanda and Burundi as independent States and their admission to the United Nations—the most striking example of a development where the United Nations has played an important role in the decolonization process. We are also pleased to have Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in our midst.

66. The Congo (Leopoldville) has been the great stumbling-block. But this can, in a way, be considered an exception that proves the rule. The real shortcoming has been that the United Nations has not been able to bring to book the vested colonial interests in

that country. Deplorable power politics within the United Nations itself have also impaired the final solution of the Congo problem. For a neutral observer it is difficult to follow the logic in the recent suggestions from one of the permanent members of the Security Council that the United Nations forces in the Congo should take bold and radical actions aimed at eliminating the vested interests, and then withdraw completely within a pre-set time limit, although political stability obviously will not be obtained in the country within that time.

67. The worst thing that could happen would be if the efforts to establish peaceful conditions in the Congo over two long years were to be given up just at a time when success seems to be within reach. The set-back that is likely to follow a too hasty withdrawal would be terrible and perhaps irreparable. We should have the right to expect that all the members of the Security Council, and especially the permanent members, will pull together in carrying out their responsibilities towards the Congo and refrain from using the situation for Machiavellian purposes in disregard of the future well-being of this unfortunate country. The judgement of history will weigh heavily against those who are trying to make the Congo a pawn in their devilish game of power politics in utter disregard of their sacred trust to safeguard the vital interests of the land and the people of the Congo.

68. The effect of world public opinion has been so much against colonialism that no country dares to stand up in defence of it. Still colonialism is not dead. It has shown an appalling vitality, notwithstanding the various disguises that have been devised to conceal it. The outstanding example is provided by Portugal. We are being told by this ancient colonial Power that its colonies are as a matter of fact no colonies at all. We are being told that Angola and Mozambique actually are outlying provinces of Portugal, and that the conditions in these provinces are a purely domestic concern of the Government in Lisbon. Fortunately this costly nonsense has been practically unanimously condemned in the United Nations. But apparently there is still quite a long way to go before Portugal can be brought to reason in this respect. All forces of reason and goodwill will have to join in an effort to bring home to this delinquent Member of the United Nations what we expect from it. Portugal has been warned not only by statements, declarations and advice in this Assembly—although their representatives found it fit to absent themselves whenever the matter was dealt with—but also through the violent actions in its own colonies. If Portugal will not care to read the writing on the wall, the consequences are likely to be disastrous for Portugal and its colonies alike.

69. The discussion of the situation in the Portuguese colonies naturally leads us to the consideration of the situation in South Africa. Here is another country that has not been able to heed the "wind of change". It is heartening, indeed, to know that the apartheid policy has not a single defender in our circle. For those of us who believe in the predominance of moral factors in international relations, it is gratifying to note that the Union of South Africa was forced out of the Commonwealth on this very issue.

70. But no measures taken so far have been of any avail. My delegation thinks that no efforts should be spared to make the South African Government aware of its responsibilities. It must be feared that time is

running short. The "wind of change" may rise to a hurricane almost any day. The revolution that is bound to come if a new policy is not introduced in South Africa will mean catastrophe to the coloured and the white alike. Any appeal we can make to the South African Government, any pressure we can bring to bear, will be of no less benefit to the white overlords than to those who suffer from their oppression.

71. Before I leave the subject of colonialism, it is appropriate to hail the advent of independence in Algeria after 132 years of subjection under foreign rule and after eight years of armed struggle. It is also fair in this connexion to pay tribute to President de Gaulle for statesmanship and foresight in dealing with the situation. We know that his task has not been an easy one. If nothing else, the assaults against his life give ample evidence of what has been at stake.

72. It seems that the leaders of the Algerian freedom movement have been able to close their ranks with a view to ensuring the growth, stability and prosperity of the new Republic. We hope that the concord will last and that personal or factional differences will not be allowed to thwart the outcome of the heroic struggle of the Algerian people. We have no doubt that Algeria will have valuable contributions to make as a new Member of the family of nations.

73. My voice in this Assembly is the voice of a small country, a poor country that is making a minimum contribution in terms of money to the United Nations and which is receiving more aid and support from the United Nations than it is able to pay for. It is only recently that we have ventured to tread the extremely delicate path of world affairs. Our policy in this respect is, and has been, to maintain friendly relations with all countries irrespective of any political ideology they practise, and without committing ourselves in advance to a particular course of action in any international situation that may arise. History has shown, and the deliberations in the United Nations prove, that we have retained and firmly exercised our independence of judgement in evaluating each international issue as it arises and on its own merit. We believe that only by pronouncing ourselves clearly and unequivocally on what appears to be right to us, can we reach that stage of objectivity and detachment which is essential for the scrutiny of problems of international import. Our refusal to align ourselves with one or the other of the Power blocs does not, therefore, stem from our desire to sit on the fence or shirk our responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations in assessing international issues.

74. There is nothing passive or immoral about our policy of good will towards all and ill will towards none. We have always been an independent and free nation and the cause of freedom of nations has always been dear to us. We are, as it were, definitely against interference of any kind in the internal affairs of our country—or, for that matter, of any country—no matter where it comes from. Colonialism, as we understood it, is counting its last days; but as our delegation put on record in the course of the general debate during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [878th meeting], the international situation of today is singularly dominated by what might be called "a big Power complex" not only among the big Powers themselves but among Powers aspiring to play big, a phenomenon which is no less disastrous than colonialism in its effects. The situation has not changed since, and the world stands today in greater danger of the old phase

of colonialism being superseded by a manifestation of desire on the part of bigger and more resourceful nations to dominate the affairs of poorer and smaller nations by exploiting the inherent helplessness of the latter's position.

75. Nepal being a land-locked country, our position has deprived us of equal opportunity for developing trade and economic relations with other nations of the world. Nepal has no outlet to the world except across the vast Indian peninsula and through the snowbound passes of the Himalayas. We have planned to broaden the arena of our relationship with China by venturing jointly with it in the construction of a highway connecting our capital with the Tibetan region of China, which will give impetus to the local trade in the border area between the two countries. And with India, we have entered into a Treaty of Trade and Transit which, judging from the experience of the past few months, will, I hope, be smoothly implemented in practice. In view of the obligations the United Nations has undertaken under Article 44 of the Charter to promote conditions of economic and social progress and development, on the basis of equal rights, with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, my delegation urges the United Nations to revitalize its efforts in that direction, especially in the less advanced areas of the world.

76. In conclusion, I would like to stress the fact that our foreign policy, as reflected in our attitude at the United Nations, is aimed at realizing broadly three points: freedom, prosperity and peace. By freedom we mean every nation's right to shape its national destiny in its own way, without being subject to pressure of any kind from any quarter; for the Charter of the United Nations itself is governed by the principle of non-interference and the sovereign equality of all nations, big and small. By prosperity, we mean the economic welfare of the world community as a whole. Peace denotes not only the negation of war, but the creation of a healthy atmosphere of understanding among nations. We believe that there is no better basis for furthering these objectives than the Charter of the United Nations. In the spirit of the Charter we try to promote, by the limited means available to us, fraternity and reasonableness in international relations. We honour the United Nations as the finest, and possibly the only, means of guaranteeing the survival of humanity in an era of atomic explosions, and as the only Organization that has heretofore proved itself equal to the task of averting a new world war and of promoting decency in dealings among nations.

77. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I would ask the Vice-President to convey the greetings of our delegation to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan. His career and standing as a jurist and statesman are well known and have our sincere admiration. In these few meetings we have already seen that he is and will be a great President.

78. He began his work, moreover, by commending himself to Almighty God, "humbly, sincerely and earnestly", asking for His grace to guide him in his mission. He is thus a man of prayer—convincing proof of the strength and profound idealism of his character. His is a devout soul, and the great Spanish mystic, Fray Luis de Granada, has described devotion as "a virtue which awakens all virtues and makes a man swift and ready for all that is good. In addition, this virtue is greatly praised because it always goes in

company with other excellent virtues which are its fellows and kin".

79. The United Nations too is a movement which seeks the ideal: to overcome the thousand obstacles and difficulties, material and otherwise, of which the web of man's history and life is woven. To the extent that the United Nations is a healthy force for progress, we ourselves, though we may not be aware of it, represent the best elements in each of our countries, united in the pursuit of noble ends.

80. This is not mere idle talk nor the outcome of a natural desire to express oneself agreeably in surroundings to which one belongs and in which one has to live. Countries with a culture like that of Spain do not take as easily as countries with a northern civilization to general ideas, which strike the Latin mind as nebulous. In discussing the United Nations in Spanish, it is necessary to express ideas in more concrete terms and, in view of our completely un-northern mentality, to use shorter words to convey spiritual ideas. We can and do say in praise of the countries of the North that the United Nations is in fact a northern creation. We Spaniards find its establishment foreshadowed, as we have mentioned in other debates, by our great thinkers of the sixteenth century. In his statement [1131st meeting], the representative of Uruguay quoted the great words of Father Vitoria essentially expounding the ideas on which the work of the United Nations is based. However, so far as recent events—those within our own memory—are concerned, the initial impetus behind the United Nations was northern, as were the eminent men who first took on the responsibilities of Secretary-General. The language and intellectual ramifications of the great Organization which we form today are also unavoidably of northern inspiration and are, moreover, outstanding in their quality and range. I must, therefore, apologize or rather account to myself for the need which we of more southern climes feel to use our own more direct and popular forms of expression in our genuine desire to ensure that the United Nations wins the affection and full confidence of every nation.

81. I apologize for speaking about the United Nations without giving the usual list of the problems which we have met to consider. But the United Nations itself is also a problem; our positions and our countries' support of the Organization constitute one of the world's serious concerns and one to which we must give our attention.

82. The United Nations will not be able to solve every problem. Many will always remain to be solved in this complex world of so many different States and so many races and peoples with legitimate aspirations and attitudes. Nevertheless, I view its presence among the world's concerns as a good omen; although it cannot always be successful, it is bound to achieve much. It will be our own failings and lack of restraint which may make the United Nations into the instrument of confusion which many delegations fear, not the nature of the Organization itself. We, on the contrary, bear in mind the influence of this world-wide discussion which is frequently so enlightening and fruitful and which must act upon our minds and consciences, inhibiting our primitive impulses in the interest of furthering the paramount concern of the United Nations, the cause of peace.

83. In order to carry out its noble mission, the United Nations must at all times show complete

integrity and set itself high moral and legal standards. This is among the purposes of our Organization, and there is no need for me to retrace its history or quote portions of the Charter. Our Organization would be seriously imperilled by the slightest indulgence towards any infraction of its precepts or the rules of justice. If the United Nations were to condone violence, if—under the influence of attitudes and aims inherited from age-old policies—it were to show animosity in dealing with certain problems or a tendency to forgetfulness, sloth, indifference and an insensitivity to the urgent and immediate needs of others, then the prophets of doom—among whom we certainly do not rank—could produce some evidence for their forecasts of gloomy developments and an inglorious end.

84. Mr. Hammarskjöld, our unforgettable Secretary-General, in one of his writings which Mr. Cordier, our eminent friend of long standing and former Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, recently published in a major newspaper, made the acute observation "that the essence of the United Nations was to find the best way to develop the material and moral resources of mankind, without giving orders". I would stress the words "without giving orders". Mr. Hammarskjöld rightly defined the purposes of the United Nations in those concise terms and he added that, in this way, it gave peoples an opportunity to achieve whatever was best for themselves.

85. I find this a subtle, wise and perceptive view. "Without giving orders." And this is correct. Let us use our powers of command and sanction sparingly; let us be chary of denunciation and indictment. If we view ourselves in the guise of a Renaissance State, we shall run all the risks of living as a people apart, which is not in keeping with our character. In the cause of world peace, it may be necessary for us to take emergency action, even action involving the use of force, as is now the case in Africa and as has been the case elsewhere in the past; in that event, it is right for us to proceed as the Secretariat is proceeding now, and my delegation will give its full support to any operations which we are compelled to undertake for sound purposes. Let us not meddle, however, or overstep our authority.

86. No Member country of the United Nations should ever feel threatened by interference in its domestic affairs by the Organization. Strong emotion is sometimes kindled by the criticism of certain modes of conduct. It is the duty of the United Nations, as an organ of legality and concord, to combat such emotions. At present we observe—and have indeed done so today—the wide-spread and often heated criticism, almost a hue and cry, raised against our sister-country which is located on the same Iberian peninsula as ourselves and to which many bonds unite us. Although we Spaniards are subject to many human failings, I do not think that ingratitude towards our friends—especially our friends in trouble—is among them. Although we have our own ideas on the so-called colonial problems and our own ways of handling and solving them in keeping with the nature and range of Spanish experience, and although we support the policy which my delegation is now attempting to outline, we are none the less conscious of the obligations which stem from our cordial relations with that nation and which lead us to plead for reason, calm and adherence to the governing principles of this Organization; when the time comes to take up this controversial subject.

87. "Without giving orders" does not mean refraining from making judgements and taking clear positions, as I have already mentioned, in order to conceal one's real thoughts or to avoid expressing censure when faced with a genuine evil. We lean neither to one extreme nor to the other. If this sense of justice were absent and if the angel with the flaming sword—metaphorical sword though it is—departed from the United Nations, then our Organization's function as a lofty moral force which marks it as the creation of present-day mankind would be superseded by other and less elevated activities. To settle disputes and reduce them to their most practical and accessible terms is a large part of the mission of the United Nations and one it has often accomplished. But let us recall an observation made by Alfred Capus, a great French wit and a member of the school of humour which was typical of my young days, some time ago now, and which was called the "Boulevard". Alfred Capus said: "Everything always gets settled in the end—whether for better or worse." If the United Nations were to adopt that way of thinking, it would be forgotten as completely as those same wits of that period of the nineteenth century. If the cynical motto of Alfred Capus were to become that of our Organization, we would have paved the way for its decline by ourselves forsaking and losing faith in its principles which impel us to overcome obstacles and above all to accomplish the often difficult task of restoring justice. That would be regrettable, because the United Nations has brought to all peoples a new ideal of life, an ideal which private diplomacy and purely international contacts did not provide. When we see ourselves assembled here, when we see the representatives of the various countries of the world seated side by side, we are inspired to follow the right course traced out by the Charter.

88. To discuss peoples and subjects in general terms and at a distance is not the same as to be here in the mortal flesh, ready to present ourselves with our abilities and aims before the supreme tribunal of the United Nations. To return to a point I previously made, since each people's feelings depend on its own character, I should like to say that my remarks are realistic because it is not the spirit of the North but the realism of Iberia which prompts me to place my trust in the United Nations.

89. This Organization in which we are assembled serves as a safeguard and a firm defence of the individuality of each people and at the same time as a lesson in universality. To copy the phrase of a great French leader with regard to Europe—a phrase which I do not think was actually ever used—we might even say that it constitutes the "universality of nations". The United Nations, with its scrupulous respect for the character of the people represented in it and its meticulous observance of its rules concerning the independence and individuality of each country, is promoting universal representation in every sense of the term.

90. A fruitful universality cannot be attained by trampling upon and levelling differences, or by imposing criteria and systems—however lofty—applicable to everyone living on this vast, complex and varied planet. The United Nations is an object lesson in the variety and independence of personalities. Peoples feel stronger in the knowledge that their ways of life are safeguarded by our rules and regulations.

91. Each day, as we assemble for our deliberations, we see represented here a great variety of political systems, régimes and philosophies of internal organization.

92. Our United Nations is the best illustration of universal respect for the wishes of nations, first of all because nations are admitted to the Organization, not on the basis of their population or territorial area—which are merely matters of political or physical geography, but on that of their actual existence as individual products of evolution. They are depicted on the map in different colours, to distinguish them from one another. All the flags fluttering before our doors are a tribute to the reality of their existence. If the United Nations were, as some say, a body with confused universalist and doctrinaire pretensions, those colours would not be making such a splendid display out there and God knows what curbs might have been imposed on our true personalities.

93. If these efforts to subdue and oppress the consciences of peoples, efforts entirely alien to the thinking of this house, were to prevail, it would mean the invention—and let us hope that this has not yet occurred—of a new colonialism, to use the term of opprobrium we hear most frequently today, the doctrinal colonialism which, by attributing divine origin to its own principles and imposing its own systems, would put an end to the freedom of peoples and deprive them of the priceless satisfaction of living as they choose. It would be an "ideocratic" force, as dangerous as that of the political and state control with which we have long been familiar and under which we have deeply suffered.

94. Fortunately that system does not prevail. Inevitably there are in every country—or at least in many countries—ardent political groups which seek to export their views and to impose their own ideology on others. Fortunately, with the notorious exception of one fanatical group, namely, the Soviet, neither States nor peoples are guilty of this desire to dominate. It is only embittered minorities which demand proof of doctrinal orthodoxy and seek to exclude from society those who do not accede to their wishes.

95. In many countries, specifically in Spain in the not too distant past, there have been—and there are to this day in others—military orders of the nobility with a restricted and select membership based on rigid personal qualifications and strict standards with regard to conduct, purposes and, of course, lineage and family. I do not know whether it is true, but it was said that in order to join some of those orders an applicant must never have ridden an inferior horse, one which was not the product of the breeding and selection which gave the name "caballero" in Spanish or its equivalent in other Latin languages to those who belonged to such orders.

96. Yet today we still see contemporary inquisitors determined to uphold similar doctrinal demands in respect of the internal organization of nations, demands which it is certainly not within their competence to make. They demand an unblemished doctrinal pedigree, impeccable political conduct and a record of never having ridden the horse of tainted doctrines or ideas, in violation of the tradition which rules in those exalted circles. Spain, being fully convinced of the correctness of its own political conduct, says this in all sincerity.

97. This is assuredly not the system which prevails, nor is it the standard for mankind. On the contrary, the admirable association within the United Nations of all the different systems and aspirations in an atmosphere of mutual respect provides the most reassuring reply to the misgivings of peoples jealous of their dignity.

98. The full flowering of the United Nations coincides with the entry on to the international scene of countries which, as a result of readily explainable historical processes, hitherto lacked a characteristic and complete personality such as is primarily derived, in international relations, from the full attributes of statehood. These countries are ready to assume all the duties and responsibilities inherent in such a personality.

99. Whatever we may think of these various processes, the present situation as a whole gives us ground for rejoicing and hope. There has been a vernal flowering of races and peoples, especially on the African continent, and it is only fair to recognize the magnanimity and the timeliness with which the old countries, those that brought the most ancient and distinctive cultures to other lands, guided the course of development to which we owe this happy emergence of nations. In the past few days we have admitted Rwanda, Burundi, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, to whom we extend the most cordial and friendly welcome.

100. Only if we follow the path of justice and general goodwill rather than that of violence and disregard of the spiritual realities in the countries which are still the subject of controversy, can we reach the point—as has already happened in many cases—where these new nations are truly nations in the full and complete sense of the term and can join with the older nations in serving the cause of peace. Any tendency to force their development, to disregard realities and wishes or to subject to a demanding and baseless "ideocracy" the evolution caused by the spirit of the times will aggravate the existing problems and do violence to justice. We need an atmosphere "where States old and new can work together to help bring into existence in lands not yet free the conditions essential for successful nationhood", as the United States representative said in his statement at the beginning of our debate. His thinking, precisely because it reflects the purposes of a nation adamantly opposed to any form of colonial domination, has special value and sets a standard for us. If we want justice and right to triumph, if we calmly evaluate all aspects of problems facing us, we cannot but agree that these developments which enrich humanity must take place, as they already have in so many instances.

101. In view of this fact, which is no mere coincidence but a fundamental truth, let none of us be asked to deny ourselves the satisfaction of witnessing the new flowering and sensing the aspirations of those who are emerging into national life and who so often speak not with rancour but with grateful remembrance of those who, in the course of history, contributed to their material and moral advancement.

102. We Spaniards, who for centuries were so much involved in the process of establishing colonies (and I use this word although it is not very much to our liking or to that of our chroniclers in the past), would find it very difficult to dissimulate our keen satisfaction or to appear downcast or unmoved at this hour when a new world is being born. That a greater number of people should live happily, with a greater sense of

their worth as human beings and with greater freedom coupled with greater responsibility, is indeed cause for rejoicing.

103. At the great Council of Trent we Spaniards were champions of human equality. Our theologians argued that all men had sufficient grace to attain their own salvation and an equal capacity to win eternal life. If they were worthy of such a supreme destiny, how could they be denied that essential equality in their earthly existence? When the time for practical action came, although material errors were made, the treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards safeguarded those essential principles and paved the way for the racial fusion which was the pride of Spain's expansion and the source of new civilizations. Our theory of equality is not limited to the mere acceptance of lofty principles or even to the sharing of common ideals. In the course of history we have brought about not only a spiritual but also a physical fusion which provides supreme and conclusive proof of our concept of the races of man, of their kinship with each other and their equality before God.

104. In America, at the time of its discovery and for three centuries thereafter, we Spaniards were the protagonists of many historical developments, including that of emancipation. When Africa's hour struck—I am thinking in particular of the midway point in the nineteenth century—Spain had an infinitely smaller role to play. We were given only a very minor part in the great African drama of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Other peoples reaped the benefits and the glory, those peoples who, at the cost of danger and sacrifice, made African colonization possible. We barely had a place at that banquet table. To quote a well-known verse, we might call ourselves "the ill-starred guest at the banquet of life". That is why our responsibilities are so limited today. I need hardly add that we consistently accept those responsibilities in a spirit of co-operation with the United Nations and of support for its principles.

105. A possible danger in the United Nations is that the beneficent and at times decisive trends towards liberation will be exploited by groups interested in creating political disturbances and able to feign ideological fervour and liberal enthusiasm for the sole purpose of stirring up those who are honestly pursuing that aim and of inciting them to hot-headed action which serves the purposes of such groups.

106. In the debate on independence for the colonies the Soviet Union and the countries associated with it politically have attempted, to some extent successfully, to exert such an influence on the groups which are pressing for liberation. On the whole, those groups have shown considerable circumspection and have not taken the temptations spread before them by the great enemy of freedom at their face value. Complete abstention would have been contrary to human nature; it is very difficult to resist the desire to make use of allies, even where the situation is highly confused and the lack of sincerity is all too apparent.

107. Is it really possible to imagine anything more curious than the call for a struggle against colonialism so persistently made by the delegation of the Soviet Union in this Assembly? If the motives were not so grim and if the problems involved were not such as to transcend petty tactics and comedy, those antics would make a farce of our deliberations. I often recall an article published in The New York Times of 24 September 1960 which deals with what that newspaper

calls the Soviet lack of sincerity and notes that those who ordered the Hungarian revolution drowned in blood dare to shed crocodile tears over the fate of other States which are now Members of the United Nations and which have won their freedom in recent years without a struggle of any kind.

108. This has been pointed out by a number of eloquent speakers in the course of the debate. I shall not, however, express myself in such heated language as, for example, did the representative of Guatemala. Such language reflects an intemperate approach which is not ours. I shall remind the Assembly of a statement which was calmer both in its terms and content, that made by our eminent colleague the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs. On 25 September [1130th meeting] the Secretary of State had the following to say:

"In 1960, the Prime Minister of Canada reminded the General Assembly about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire. Many millions there cannot today exercise the right of self-determination which the Soviet Government demands for others.

"This denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms casts grave doubt"—I emphasize this—"on the Soviet Union's whole position on colonialism. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, it should not ignore the areas under Soviet rule."

I regard the Canadian Secretary of State's reference to his "grave doubt" about Soviet conduct as most correct and charitable. The unique talent for understatement of the British literary mind has clearly spread to the Commonwealth. I fear that the rest of us, if we were to speak our own minds on the matter instead of leaving it to others, would have used expressions stronger than "grave doubt". For example, the representative of the Federation of Malaya [1140th meeting] warned the United Nations against the danger of concerning itself exclusively with the traditional and more easily recognizable form of colonialism without being aware of the dangers of a new and more subtle form of imperialism. The violation of the right to freedom, said the representative of the Federation of Malaya, constitutes imperialism, whether it appears in Tibet or in Hungary.

109. The point is that all the activities of the United Nations, the activities peculiar to the Organization, cannot keep us from considering the basic problem of international politics. Our efforts to solve United Nations problems are sound; attempts to reduce partial conflicts are commendable and measures to promote friendly relationships among peoples, none of which must be excluded if we are to achieve our true purpose, are most useful. The clear statement made yesterday to that effect by the representative of Honduras—who did not fail to note the part played in this task by the Hispanic world—was deserving of the highest praise. But all this is not enough to make us forget the fundamental fact of our times: the division of the world into two great politico-military camps, pursuing conflicting goals and locked in a struggle—fortunately so far bloodless—to decide what course the evolution of our culture, our civilization and our very life is to take.

110. The delegation of Spain—let me repeat this as I do every year—is not neutral in its attitude towards this conflict, much less neutralist, for the concept of

neutralism reflects a doctrine and a position which it is sought to impose on others. Yet we have many good and close friends in these camps. For ourselves, we are not neutral nor do we not aspire to persuade other peoples to fold their arms and adopt an attitude of indifference towards the present conflict. With all due respect for the views of others, I say that the world seems to us today to be divided into two camps, one of which constitutes a real danger and, if allowed to have its way, will destroy all the values of civilization, while the other is committed at the cost of effort and sacrifice to the defence of those values and to the necessary preparation of the instruments which would be needed if at a crucial moment it had to resort to violence in defence of those principles.

111. I beg the Assembly's indulgence for this lack of subtlety in our statements, which is the fruit of a Spanish tradition of realism in art, literature and human relations; we speak in accordance with that tradition and we speak with complete sincerity. We do not desire, we do not relish and we do not seek these clashes and this state of permanent hostility. Who could think that we do! It is simply the reality confronting us: on the one hand evil, on the other a position which is right, a position which is good, to put the matter with simple but well-weighed candour. We believe that everyone has a duty to apply his best efforts, his heart and his soul, to the defence of the principles symbolized for us by the so-called Western Powers, which are headed by the United States of America, no doubt because of its spiritual leadership and material power. A cordial European spirit, such as that with which we are imbued, is perfectly compatible with the words and thoughts of our delegation on this point. We Spaniards, after all, spent much of our substance on the process of expansion towards the Western hemisphere and to that memory, which is a reality today, we remain faithful. European harmony in no way impairs this definition of Spain's approach to world affairs.

112. This clear statement of principles, it need hardly be said, does not imply that, where political matters not affecting the general policy of the Western community are concerned, we are unable to adopt a position different from that of some of the countries in this bloc.

113. In this Assembly we always reiterate our honest desire to praise the great Powers when their strength is placed at the service of law and provides a safeguard against possible infringement of law. As long as Germany, one of the most illustrious European nations, lives at the mercy of violence, its national unity destroyed, its territory divided into two by an invader infinitely ruthless towards its inhabitants, whose dramatic escapes from oppression are a sobering daily occurrence, it will be impossible to speak impartially of the activities and precautionary measures of both sides—and I emphasize those words. We cannot but feel that it would be derisive to speak in measured tones while such a violation of right continues with impunity, as if proclaiming the slogans of anarchy and of disregard for the traditions of law.

114. The whole of political international life is vitiated by the peculiarities of the Soviet moral code. As a result of the application of its current principles, normal debate is replaced by interminable communist points of order, disruptive and ever-threatening. Therefore—as I have said time and again—when we hear talk of disarmament and observe enthu-

siastic choruses and concerts zealously advocating that goal, we too are willing to sing along and to play whatever instruments we should in the orchestra for peace—of course we are!—and quite sincerely; but only provided that this does not jeopardize to the smallest degree the vigilant strength of those who stand for civilization by, as it were, increasing their isolation under moral pressure. We find it impossible to address ourselves simultaneously to the two political divisions of mankind and to join, at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in urging "both" without distinction to limit their armaments, to cut down excessive expenditure on military preparations and to reach agreement on precautionary measures. Our first concern is that the group defending the eternal principles of morality and law must remain vigilant and alert so as not to be taken by surprise by the other party. Let not our well-meaning appeals serve to dishearten, or at the least to confuse, those who defend us. Let us stand at their side ready to co-operate with them. We feel that this way of thinking makes us no less human than others; only, in our modest way, we are somewhat cautious.

115. We welcome, quite as warmly as all the representatives who have spoken here, the fact that meetings of the great Powers are taking place with the participation of others which, although smaller, also have an interest in the matter, to try to attain general and complete disarmament as speedily as possible. The results achieved have been meagre, but there is something constructive in the fact that the meetings have taken place and may continue in the future with the helpful participation of eight countries which do not belong to military blocs and whose activities have earned the praise of the other participants. We long for the discontinuance of nuclear testing, and we hope that rapid agreement may be reached, with adequate international safeguards, so that the countries now carrying out the tests will be able to abandon them without fear that their good faith may be abused, as has happened in the past.

116. It is also gratifying to note that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has held a number of meetings and is submitting its report on them to the Assembly, thus giving hope of better co-operation between the various countries in this connexion in the future. Let us hope, too, that the debates at the present session of the General Assembly may help to point the way to solving the legal problems which arise from the exploration and use of outer space but on which the Committee has made no specific recommendations.

117. We would speak in greater detail to demonstrate our total attachment to right principles and purposes, were it not that our aspirations, as a nation without up-to-date weapons, are so Platonic. We leave it to others, like the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom who has ably done so, to enumerate, recount and speculate. Speaking from a position of strength based on massive armaments, he shrewdly said [1134th meeting] that it was unheroic and degrading that in the twentieth century men should depend for their existence on the balance of terror, but that we must accept that it was so and must not disturb the balance of power while striving to base peace on interdependence.

118. If there is no respect for basic security, if it has not been possible to establish these firm foundations, and if those who lead the forces of civilization in the

face of tremendous dangers have found no respite, let us not harass them with our importunity; let us all, as our strength allows, tread the path of sacrifice.

119. The introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/5201/Add.1] states that the division of the world into rich and poor countries is much more real and explosive than the division of the world on ideological grounds. We find it difficult to share this belief, which is based on a philosophy different from that of my delegation. Let it be noted, moreover, that we speak for a country which is not particularly prosperous, a European nation which leads a somewhat austere life quite different from the splendours of those who occupy the apex of contemporary society. And yet this belief seems to us confused, doctrinaire, and a traitor to the truth which it purports to serve. Seldom do the poorer sections of any country feel envious of other countries. Such feelings usually relate rather to individuals or classes but are quite alien to the complex and emotional make-up of national entities, with all their aspirations and illusions. We say this to the credit of human nature, which is not so materialistic as it appears.

120. However, this difference of outlook does not prevent us from participating fully in the task of assisting the various peoples, and we most fervently welcome the United Nations Development Decade, which may lay the foundations for satisfying the legitimate aspirations of a large part of mankind, unable to supply even its most elementary needs.

121. Despite what I have said, the great Powers do have a duty to heed the just demands of other countries for a uniform political and economic development of international life. The Spanish delegation would not therefore oppose conferences or meetings which might facilitate understanding economic and trade matters if they can be kept free of political considerations hostile to our fundamental beliefs.

122. The representative of Chile has well said during this debate:

"We are running the risk that we shall soon conquer the moon, which is a dead planet, without being able to conquer the earth, which is a live planet. To conquer the earth means to make it habitable and capable of providing education, a decent dwelling and sufficient food for the millions of men who at present lack basic essentials" [1135th meeting].

123. This assistance by some peoples to others who are in need and the disinterested support given to improve conditions on the hard pathway of life are a credit to the public conscience—and the United Nations has made a great contribution in this regard. We ourselves have received economic assistance from other countries—particularly the United States—and we recall this in order to express our gratitude and affection towards those who thus sustained us in times of difficulty.

124. In the Preamble to the Charter, the United Nations expresses its desire "to promote... better standards of life in larger freedom" and "to employ international machinery for the promotion of... economic... advancement". Seventeen years after this statement of purpose, the problem of economic development is one of those which receive the greatest attention in the work of this Organization. Progress thus far has been very slow. While a great many countries—by gaining their independence—have

achieved political development since the United Nations was founded, very few have succeeded in that period in overcoming their state of economic stagnation. In recognition of that fact, we adopted resolution 1710 (XVI), containing a complete programme of action known as the United Nations Development Decade, to which I have already referred.

125. This foreign aid may be channelled through certain kinds of mechanisms—and mainly through external trade—but it cannot be regarded as a panacea. The main development effort must come from the nations themselves, each country imposing upon itself the sacrifice and self-denial which are needed to set the economy in order, without expecting lottery prizes. I speak, moreover, for a country which is certainly no stranger to lotteries.

126. In this connexion, perhaps I may cite the case of Spain as a significant example. By modernizing economic methods, overhauling its structures and making better use of its resources, my country has achieved, primarily by its own means, a notable rise in the level of living, a definite stability in its currency and the formation of reserves which provide safeguards of every kind as we confront the vast development programme now in progress.

127. On the basis of this experience, we can affirm that the establishment of a realistic exchange rate, an effort to increase exports and an overhaul of domestic structures are essential prerequisites for attaining the results desired of foreign assistance.

128. It is true, of course, that if an effort to increase exports is to produce results, particularly in the early stages when the necessary degree of diversification has not yet been achieved, there must first of all be an effective stabilization of the international commodity market. This is a matter of concern to almost every country, as it will secure those countries against price fluctuations that can ruin their plans. In this connexion, international agreements on specific commodities may prove to be a useful approach, and one perhaps more practical than a conference—although we do not reject that idea—which would try to cover all the problems raised by world trade. In our view, the existing agreements, including GATT as an outstanding example, are adequate for the purpose.

129. Because the United Nations has to contend with so many problems, it is only logical, before concluding, to give some thought to improvements in its working and in its structure. Where the United Nations itself is concerned, as I said at the outset and as my statement has indicated, we should seek whatever measures will make it more useful and effective. The greater our faith in its purposes—and we have such faith—the greater the effort we should make to achieve these benefits.

130. We appreciate that the introduction of certain changes in working methods has become necessary so that the United Nations will be able to meet the needs of the times and to act in accordance with its true character, which differs greatly in many respects from that of 1945, when the Organization was established at San Francisco. In particular, an increase in the size of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council appears called for in the near future so that they may reflect the growth of membership in recent years.

131. Pending the institution in a constitutional manner of the necessary reforms, my delegation feels that we

must make use of what we have and must try, in that way, at least to improve the working of the United Nations, if it is not possible to improve its structure. In this connexion, we are in general agreement with many of the comments put forward by the President of the General Assembly at the last session, the representative of Tunisia, with a view to expediting the work of the Organization. This must be done not only by adopting certain formal resolutions but also by bearing constantly in mind the need to shorten the debates, to avoid points of order that are not absolutely necessary and to reduce to a minimum statements on secondary questions which sometimes divert the attention of the Assembly to the detriment of its essential work. If this were done, it would be possible to avoid the indefinite prolongation of sessions and to ensure that the Assembly—and this is the most serious aspect of the prolongation of sessions—does not decline in importance and interest in the eyes of the world by becoming a kind of permanent deliberative body.

132. In speaking of changes in the structure of the Organization, we should like to comment on the idea supported by some Member countries that its executive organ should be replaced by a kind of triumvirate—the so-called "troika" system—which, according to the Soviet Union representative's statement, should also be extended to other principal organs of the United Nations, thus converting it into an established organization of disunited nations divided into three blocs.

133. My delegation does not share the outlook of the Soviet representative, and it strongly supports the retention of the office of Secretary-General in the hands of one person as the only way of making effective the organ which typifies the executive aspect of the United Nations and whose prestige in the world is beyond question. Much less can we accept the setting-up of a system of three rigid groups in other United Nations bodies, which would introduce a basic opposition between those groups and would allow of no flexibility in coping with political realities at any given time.

134. Happily, the office of Secretary-General is at present vested in a person of calm temperament and proved competence, whose capabilities and political skill we know well, having worked with him in the Assembly and particularly in the First Committee, where his statements will always remain alive in our memory. We hope to see consolidated on a permanent basis—and we shall do our part to that end—the provisional status of an official who has the qualifications for playing one of the major roles in working for peace. We are happy, too, that the civilization to which he belongs, a great civilization that has shaped the history of the world, should be thus honoured.

135. Therefore, with both reservations and endorsements, neither disregarding realities nor losing hope because of them in the betterment of mankind and in co-operation between all peoples, let us continue, in this seventeenth session of the General Assembly and in the whole life of the United Nations, a work worthy of universal trust and of the application of our best endeavours to the task of perfecting and improving that work, and worthy also of the blessings of the Almighty, who never fails noble endeavours.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

136. Mr. PUPLAMPU (Ghana): Permit me, Mr. President, to offer you the warmest felicitations of the delegation of Ghana on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. It is a matter of deep gratification to my delegation that the deliberations of this most important session of the General Assembly are proceeding under the guidance of so distinguished a statesman, jurist and diplomatist as you, renowned as you are for impartiality and a lofty sense of duty, and coming as you do from a country with which my own country is maintaining such close and friendly ties within the framework of the great Asian-African community.

137. It also gives my delegation special pride and satisfaction that four new States—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—have achieved independence and taken their rightful place in the United Nations. My delegation was happy to be associated with their applications for admission to the United Nations. We assure them of our welcome, understanding and support and we express the confidence that they will so conduct their affairs as to consolidate and strengthen their independence, successfully undertake the vast tasks before them of social and economic reconstruction, and make an effective contribution to the work of this Organization.

138. My delegation is particularly happy also at the prospect of the admission to the United Nations in the near future of Uganda, whose progress along the road to independence my Government and people have followed with fraternal sympathy and support. Furthermore, we have greeted with boundless joy the accession to sovereignty of Algeria, after many years of heroic struggle and unprecedented sacrifice, which we have always saluted with deep admiration and total brotherly solidarity. Can there be a more inspiring symbol of what a people under foreign domination can achieve, in the face of overwhelming odds, given singleness of purpose and the determination to secure its liberation? Ghana, which yesterday co-sponsored Algeria's admission to the United Nations at the Security Council [1020th meeting] looks forward to welcoming the delegation of Algeria, which will take its seat in this Assembly next Monday.

139. The Government of Ghana has also welcomed with pleasure the recent agreement on West Irian between the Government of Indonesia and the Government of the Netherlands, which has eradicated a relic of colonialism which was increasingly endangering international peace and security. My Government, which has been as firm a supporter of Indonesia's legitimate rights as it is dedicated to the peaceful settlement of disputes, is appreciative of the patient and constructive efforts of the parties concerned and is gratified at the important role played in the achievement of the solution by the Acting Secretary-General and his special representative.

140. Not only do these auspicious events constitute a notable landmark in the inexorable historical process of liberation of subject peoples from the yoke of colonialism; they are also a significant addition to the existing breaches in the fortifications of colonialism, through which the winds of change, now raging with the force of a hurricane, will soon dislodge all remaining obstacles to the liberation of all other colonial peoples and countries, in fulfilment of the objectives laid down in the epoch-making Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries. Equally they cannot fail—how can they?—

to strengthen the promotion of peaceful co-operation between States on the basis of equality and the maintenance of international peace.

141. To say this is not to deny that there still remain serious impediments in the road towards complete liberation and independence for all subject peoples. On the contrary, how can one but recognize the fact that there still exist under colonial domination a large number of territories in which the decolonization process has not even got under way, or where it is painfully and stubbornly slow. Surely this cannot be the rate of progress envisaged when the General Assembly, in resolution 1514 (XV), solemnly proclaimed the necessity of bringing a speedy end to colonialism in all its forms. This clearly cannot be what was contemplated when the Assembly asked that immediate steps be taken to transfer all powers to the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

142. Examples are readily at hand. In Southern Rhodesia, the situation has become more explosive than ever. The Assembly's resolution on the question [resolution 1747 (XVI)] has been callously disregarded, and instead, what do we have? We have a new round of repressive legislation and the banning of nationalist activities, with the United Kingdom unwilling to exercise its constitutional powers to reverse these developments—developments which can only result in a serious set-back to the cause of multiracial co-operation in that territory. These trends must be arrested.

143. If a conflict of the Algerian type is to be avoided, the United Kingdom must urgently undertake, by the normal British method of consultations with all political elements, a reconsideration of present constitutional arrangements, with a view to formulating a fresh constitution based on universal adult suffrage and the immediate restoration of all political and civil liberties, and to ensuring the independence of the territory with the least possible delay. At the same time, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which has been rejected by the majority as undesirable and unworkable, must be dismantled and the territory given an opportunity to decide for itself after independence what other forms of association and co-operation it will maintain with its neighbours.

144. In Northern Rhodesia, too, there prevail retrograde features of classic colonialism; constitutional changes have failed to take account of the wishes of the vast majority of the people; there is no universal suffrage, fundamental political and civil freedoms are denied, and the whole edifice rests on the thesis of white supremacy. Although, in a praiseworthy spirit of conciliation, the nationalist leaders have agreed, on certain conditions, to participate in the forthcoming elections, the only lasting solution to the situation and the only way of ensuring peaceful co-operation between the races is to take immediate steps to establish universal and equal suffrage and to transfer all powers to the indigenous population, in an atmosphere purified by restoration of all liberties and the removal of all coercive influence by the Federation authorities.

145. Though Nyasaland gives less cause for concern, there, too, such undemocratic features as the limited franchise and the unrepresentative character of the legislative assembly must be deplored and the basic demand of the political parties for immediate independence granted.

146. Equally in the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, where present constitutional arrangements are unsatisfactory, there must be no delay in the holding of free elections based on the principle of "one man one vote". At the same time, no effort should be spared to prevent their annexation by South Africa whose protestations in this connexion cannot be taken at their face value.

147. Indeed, the present problems in Central Africa must be viewed as part of a greater crisis involving the whole of southern Africa. For who can view with anything but grave alarm the emergence within the past year or so of an unholy and far-reaching alliance, of a military as well as political character between the white Governments of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal and the province of Katanga, dedicated to the halting of African advance and the maintenance of white supremacy?

148. In Portugal, this Assembly confronts a State that continues to deny the competence of the Organization to discuss affairs in its Non-Self-Governing Territories and rejects their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Its response to this Assembly's resolutions has merely been to produce irrelevant arguments and distorted versions of developments, to strengthen its machinery for repression and suppression, with the indirect assistance of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and certain members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. True, it seeks to offset criticism by introducing a number of so-called reforms and legislative changes, but it has become increasingly clear that they are mere shams, which can do nothing to ameliorate the appalling economic and social conditions in its territories. Recently, on the initiative of Ghana, a Commission of Inquiry of the International Labour Organisation found that forced labour was still rampant in Angola and other Portuguese territories.^{2/}

149. There is no doubt, therefore, that the situation in these territories continues to threaten international peace and security, in the face of African opposition, and that if a peaceful solution is to be found before time runs out, all possible pressures, including diplomatic and economic sanctions, must be brought to bear on Portugal immediately to initiate the measures necessary to grant the Portuguese territories in Africa their independence.

150. What of South Africa, which has for so long defied this Organization's efforts to exercise its legitimate supervisory functions over South West Africa? It continues to resist all attempts to correct in South West Africa the pursuit of a whole line of policy, method and action which is in direct contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations, the League of Nations Mandate and the enlightened conscience of mankind. How can this Assembly once again content itself merely with declarations when the pernicious system of apartheid continues to be applied, resulting not only in segregation, discrimination and deprivation of basic human rights but also in the complete subordination, to those of a small minority of Europeans, of the interests of the indigenous people, who are treated in their own country as outcasts, a source of cheap labour, and denied even the solace of education. No further proof is required that South Africa is manifestly unfit to administer the territory. In the

view of my delegation, it is imperative that action should now be taken effectively to transfer all power to the people, and to institute assistance, by means of the establishment of a United Nations presence, on a scale sufficient to permit them to maintain their independence.

151. Not satisfied with the present and already ruthless operation of apartheid, the Government of South Africa has recently introduced even more savagely drastic legislation, notably the so-called Sabotage Law, designed, by means of incredibly harsh penalties, to silence all criticism of the régime and to eliminate all elements seeking to bring about political, economic or social change. Increasing reliance on repressive measures is illustrated by a threefold increase in military expenditures over the past three years, and steps have even been taken to prevent the flight to neighbouring territories of political refugees or their return. In order to perpetuate white domination, settlers from Europe are being induced to emigrate to the country, and, with the same object in mind, plans have been announced about the grant of so-called internal self-government to the Xhosa community in the Transkei, thus demonstrating the underlying self-deception of the authorities. This Assembly would be abdicationing its responsibilities if it did not condemn these developments in the strongest terms and mobilize all possible sanctions with a view to securing in that country the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter.

152. If I have dwelt at some length on the manifestations of colonialism it is not because I am unmindful of the new strategies to which colonialism has now resorted. Having resigned itself to the formal independence of the colonial territories, neo-colonialism seeks to defend the same old interests, to perpetuate its political, economic and technological hegemony by means of a complex of economic, ideological and military arrangements. In these circumstances the struggle against colonialism should be waged against all its forms, so that independence should not be purely nominal but true and complete. The Government of Ghana is firmly of the opinion that the colonial Powers should relinquish their domination of Africa at once and that within one year all dependent territories in Africa should be completely free.

153. The situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) has been a case in point. The tragedy of that country is largely due to the flagrant interference in its affairs, which still continues, by powerful international monopolies with the acquiescence of certain Governments. Without the support and encouragement of these elements the attempted secession of Katanga would not have dragged out so long. It is for this reason that my Government has consistently stressed that the only basis for a solution in the interests of the Congolese people lies in the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of the country and in the elimination of mercenaries and all forms of foreign interference. It is in this spirit that my Government welcomed the Acting Secretary-General's proposals to bring home to the Katangese authorities the realities of the situation and to put an end to the attempted secessionism. But while welcoming these proposals, we would be wanting in candour if we failed to point out that they are, in our view, not sufficiently far-reaching, based as they are on an unduly restrictive interpretation of the mandate established by the pertinent Security Council and General Assembly

^{2/} See: International Labour Office, *Official Bulletin*, vol. XLV, No. 2, Supplement II, April 1962.

resolutions. With these same considerations in mind and in a spirit of fraternal solidarity, the President of my country recently addressed to the Prime Minister of the Congo an appeal to set his face against any constitutional changes which would act as a permanent bar to the unity of the Congo, that would militate against all stability and progress and give further impetus to the balkanization of Africa, which is the very antithesis of African unity.

154. And if African unity is such a passionate and overriding concern for my Government and people, it is because only in unity can be found that strength which is the ultimate answer to imperialist and neo-colonialist designs; only through unity can we in Africa mobilize and co-ordinate our efforts for the vast tasks confronting us in economic and social reconstruction. Needless to say, the kind of unity my Government and people envisage is a programme of free, equal and fraternal co-operation in all spheres and to the closest extent possible; it does not entail any imposition of leadership, however great or laudable.

155. We aim at over-all economic co-ordination on a united continental basis, seeing this as the only alternative to a state of affairs in which African countries were reduced perpetually to the role of producers of raw materials. Equally, in order to ensure our security, in order to avoid military entanglements with outside Powers, which are mere neo-colonialist devices, and in order to obviate the waste of national resources on the build-up of military establishments, we would like to see the emergence of joint-defence arrangements among African countries. At the same time, in order to give direction to these policies, and on the basis of our common historical experiences and the identity of our aspirations, it would be desirable to take steps to harmonize our respective foreign policies.

156. Not only are these aspirations of passionate concern to my Government and people, but the value of the arrangements they involve is generally accepted by the international community, and this acceptance finds its reflection in the Charter itself. But what useful purpose will be served by all these aspirations unless lasting and universal peace can be maintained, and unless one essential condition of such peace, namely complete and general disarmament, can be fulfilled?

157. Unfortunately, the unremitting efforts of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have not led to any real progress. It must be conceded that some limited results have been achieved: unanimity exists on the basic "Joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations"^{3/} and, for the most part, on a draft of a treaty preamble; the non-aligned delegations at the Geneva negotiations, whose efforts deserve the warmest tribute, were also able to agree on and present a joint memorandum^{4/} which constituted a constructive attempt to resolve the deadlock in the nuclear-test negotiations. But in the face of lack of mutual confidence between the great Powers, in the face of their entrenchment in rigid positions based on exaggerated ideological, political and security considerations,

significant progress has been held up, principally by differences over "balanced" disarmament and over international verification and control. Meanwhile, the stockpiling and development of the most horrible means of mass destruction continue unabated.

158. If any consolation can be derived from this situation, it lies in the constructive contributions of the non-aligned nations in Geneva; no less importantly, it lies in the massive force of world public opinion whose revolt against the intensification of the arms race has acquired increasing significance. In order to assist in mobilizing and giving full weight to this world opinion, the President of Ghana had the honour to originate the idea and to sponsor the holding of a non-governmental conference to make a new approach to the search for workable solutions to present-day international tensions and problems which have led to the threat of nuclear war. The success of this conference on the "World without the bomb", which took place at Accra in June 1962 and which was attended by over a hundred highly qualified and independent-minded personalities, exceeded the most sanguine expectations, and my delegation commends its conclusions to the Assembly, in anticipation of their detailed presentation to the First Committee.

159. Suffice it to state now that my delegation will support any honest and sincere attempt during this session of the Assembly to break the existing impasse—beginning with the question of the cessation of nuclear tests—basing itself on the ideas of the non-aligned nations at Geneva, the areas of agreement so far achieved, and the concepts and conclusions which have commended themselves to the bulk of world public opinion. At the same time, we shall support any initiatives, free of cold-war manoeuvres, aimed at the establishment of denuclearized zones—towards which a modest beginning was made, where Africa is concerned, by the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1652 (XVI), which my delegation had the honour of introducing last year. We shall also express a favourable attitude toward any efforts to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and to ensure the peaceful uses of outer space.

160. The importance of disarmament for the achievement of universal and lasting peace is reinforced by the enormous benefits in terms of economic and social progress that all mankind will enjoy from its achievement. The findings stated in the United Nations document on the economic consequences of disarmament,^{5/} as well as other objective studies on the subject, are impressive evidence of the size of the resources that can be readily converted from military to civilian use and devoted to the provision of aid to the developing countries, for the eradication of hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty.

161. On the other hand, it is equally true that the eradication of hunger, disease, illiteracy and poverty cannot and must not wait upon disarmament, for those evils themselves contribute to international tension and are a threat to peace. As the Acting Secretary-General has repeatedly pointed out, the gap between the rich third and the poor two-thirds of mankind is much more serious and ultimately much more explosive than the division of the world on ideological grounds. This gap, instead of narrowing, is progressively becoming wider, for not only has the growth of

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

^{4/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, sect. J.

^{5/} Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1).

the population in developing countries outstripped the rate of economic development, but according to authoritative estimates they lose twice as much on the swings of commodity price fluctuations as they gain on the roundabouts of aid. This condition is aggravated by restrictive and discriminatory regional economic groupings, of which the European Economic Community is the prime example, and by the present inadequate structure of international liquidity which uses national currencies as an international means of payment.

162. These problems have been brought into sharp focus by the launching of the United Nations Development Decade, which has underlined the need for international action and co-operation in order to achieve certain tasks which, if faithfully carried out, would assure the minimum targets for economic and social development accepted by us all in General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI). These tasks, however, are in grave danger of being frustrated unless increased trade with aid is made available to the developing countries by the developed countries, and unless international co-operation takes place on the basis of equality and non-discrimination.

163. Attempts have been made from this rostrum to paint a glowing picture of the European Common Market and especially how it will benefit the associated African and Caribbean States. The delegation of Ghana is far from impressed by these arguments and overtures which are only calculated to sap, very slowly but surely, the hard-won independence of developing countries. At the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, Ghana, along with other Commonwealth countries, stated that it was for the United Kingdom to decide on its application to enter the Common Market, but that Ghana would under no circumstances associate with the enlarged Common Market and thus continue to be a producer of raw material for European markets and a receiver of expensive industrialized goods.

164. These preoccupations were reflected in the recent Cairo Conference on the Problems of Economic Development, of which my Government was privileged to be a sponsor. In the Declaration of Developing Countries the Conference stressed the need for planned and systematic mobilization of national resources; it expressed its apprehension that "regional economic groupings... will adversely affect the interests of the developing countries, if conceived and operated in a restrictive or discriminatory manner"; and affirmed, however, that "the economic and social problems of developing countries could be solved effectively within a reasonably short period of time through common endeavour on the national and international planes and within the framework of the United Nations Charter and of international co-operation and assistance".

165. Furthermore, the Conference underlined the usefulness of trade expansion between developing countries, but at the same time expressed the view that international trade should expand on the basis of equality and that action should be taken to minimize the consequences in the developing countries of the various groupings of industrialized countries. The Conference also asked that concrete efforts be taken within the United Nations framework to stabilize international primary commodity markets, that energetic action be taken by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to improve the prospects of exports of developing countries, that the International Monetary

Fund examine measures for a more effective balancing of payments of developing countries, that international technical assistance, particularly United Nations assistance, be further developed, and that international financing be expanded and as much of it as possible channelled through the proposed United Nations Capital Development Fund.

166. These declarations, together, amount to a charter of the developing countries and constitute a notable contribution to the purposes of the Development Decade. The Conference's deep appreciation of the importance of these purposes is reflected in its proposal for a World Economic Conference to be held early next year, the agenda of which will include all vital functions relating to international trade, primary commodity trade and economic relations between developing and developed countries. If the determination expressed in the Charter of the United Nations "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" is to be fruitful, then all of us, developing and developed countries alike, should embark on a sincere, determined and unflagging campaign, within the framework of the United Nations, to implement the constructive and coherent programme that the Development Decade represents.

167. Although we now meet at a time that seems less precarious, less dangerous than last year, although several positive elements and developments have given rise to some hope for the future, international tensions have continued at an intensified level over the past few months. The confrontation between the great Powers has grown more strident, the duel more sharply drawn.

168. One of the chief testing grounds has been Cuba, whose unhappy relations with the United States constitute one of the sorest points in present world tensions. We have on several occasions, in various organs of the United Nations, pronounced ourselves on this unfortunate situation. We would therefore have been content to pass over the issue at this particular time, but for the dangerous dimensions which it has attained. Pronouncements from the capitals of the two great world Powers make one shudder at the thought that Cuba, like Berlin, may well involve the world in a nuclear war unless steps are taken to ameliorate the present situation.

169. As we have had occasion to state before, we believe this question is essentially one of peaceful coexistence of two States with different political, economic and social systems. As stated in the debate on Cuba at the sixteenth session in the First Committee [1238th meeting], the position of my Government on this issue may be summarized as follows:

"We are no less committed to the principle of non-intervention and of the equality of rights in international relations. We believe strongly in the peaceful settlement of international controversies as the only way to overcome tensions and of assuring a stable and lasting peace. This position flows directly, not only from the generally accepted principles of international law, but also from the Charter of the United Nations."

170. While we are not here to apportion blame for the unhappy situation, we still cling to the belief that the present difficulties can be resolved in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity rather than one of sabre-rattling and threats. It is in this conviction that we appeal to both the United States and the Soviet

Union not to conceive or take any action which might further aggravate the situation, and express the earnest hope that the Government of Cuba, without prejudice to its sovereign rights, will not take any measures or positions which might legitimately be considered as provocative by its neighbours. What is needed is negotiation between the Government of the United States and the Government of Cuba to resolve all outstanding differences, on the basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereign rights.

171. Another sore point in present world tensions is the problem of Berlin which continues to cause my Government serious concern; the talks and contacts that have been proceeding for months have yielded no positive results, and if anything the situation has become more alarming than ever. Is it not time that a supreme effort was made by the Powers concerned to generate a more favourable atmosphere, based on a reduction of mutual suspicion and bad will which have hitherto bedevilled their initiatives and reactions in this matter? If such an atmosphere could be created—and in this connexion the United Nations could perhaps play a useful role—my delegation is confident that a solution or at least an amelioration may be found, which would take account not only of existing realities and interests, but also of the aspirations of the peoples themselves.

172. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, it may be recalled that the President of Ghana, in his address to the General Assembly at the fifteenth session, stated:

"It is my view that the time has come for a supreme effort to be made at the international level to reduce the fever and heat of tension in this part of the world, and I would propose that the United Nations should consider as a matter of urgency inviting the various States in the Middle East to provide a just and permanent solution to these problems." [869th meeting, para. 83.]

173. After thus expressing his concern about the burning issue of Arab-Israel relations and the continuing gravity of the situation in the Middle East, my President concluded by saying:

"This is one of the thorniest problems facing this world Organization, and unless a permanent and realistic solution is found, the danger of its development into an armed conflict still remains. The solution of the Middle East question lies in the recognition of the political realities there. In the light of this, I submit that the United Nations should set up a committee to study and evolve a machinery in which it will be impossible either for Israel to attack any of the Arab States or for the Arab States to attack Israel, and to make some sort of arrangement to keep the cold war out of the Middle East." [*Ibid.*, para. 85.]

174. My delegation recognizes, and has consistently taken the stand, that little progress can be made towards a permanent or realistic solution, unless the road adopted involves, as its starting-point, the unqualified acceptance of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III). Thence, with the co-operation of the parties concerned, the efforts of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine for the implementation of this provision should be intensified, bearing in mind the programme outlined in paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 513 (VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation

or resettlement: where resettlement is the only alternative possible, Israel must be prepared to absorb as many refugees as possible, and the Arab countries could assist either by assimilating some refugees or by apportioning them areas where they could settle with such autonomy in the management of their affairs as may be appropriate. Ultimately, though this may be too much to hope for, a stage may be reached where some kind of arrangement on the pattern of Austria or Laos may be feasible, with guarantees designed to allay fears of extermination or expansionism on one side or the other.

175. I cannot conclude this statement without reaffirming the great importance which my Government attaches to the work of the United Nations. We regard it not merely as a system of resolving conflicts of interest but also as a means for achieving more and more effective and constructive international co-operation for the implementation of the principles and purposes of the Charter.

176. It is true, nevertheless, that, with the growth in its membership, with the increasing scope of its activities, and in the light of our collective experience as well as the changing conditions of international life, its organization and structure has to be so revised as to make it more adequate to its objectives. It is necessary, for instance, that the composition of the principal organs, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, should be reviewed so as to reflect the growing importance of Asia and Africa in the Organization. It is also desirable to give attention to the procedures, methods and competence of the Assembly and the Security Council in order to make such adjustments as are dictated by experience, changing needs and the exigencies of the present international situation. So far as the Secretariat is concerned, it is important that steps should be taken to accelerate the implementation of the principle of equitable geographical distribution; and with regard to the top level, greater use should be made of the existing cabinet of eight which the Acting Secretary-General has devised for constant consultation, while, of course, preserving intact the Secretary-General's responsibilities under the Charter.

177. Ghana is of the view that the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, has shown great qualities of leadership in carrying out his functions and deserves the full support of all of us in the years that lie ahead.

178. There must be a quick resolution to the question of the proper representation of China in the United Nations: we believe that the People's Republic of China, with its vast human, economic and scientific and technological resources, can make an effective contribution to the work of this Organization. Sentiment, vehemence, and irrelevant oratory must no longer be allowed to obscure the issues. The character and composition of the Government of the People's Republic has nothing to do with the issue involved; it is in effective authority over China and is in a position to employ its resources and direct its people in fulfilment of the obligations laid down in the United Nations Charter. It is therefore entitled to be represented in this Organization, just like any other Member State, unless and until it is expelled in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

179. If the United Nations is to become increasingly important for the maintenance of international peace and the development of international co-operation,

then it requires the active and positive support of all Member States. It is in this conviction that we have accepted the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice^{6/} on the question of the costs of peace-keeping operations like the United Nations operations in the Congo, although, like many Members, we feel that the question of the apportionment of these costs, on which the Court has not pronounced itself, deserves more careful consideration in order that due weight may be given to the responsibilities of permanent members of the Security Council as well as of the countries accountable for the situation for which the costs were incurred, and to the relative inability to pay of the developing countries. Without the active support necessary in this and other directions, the growth and development of the United Nations will be retarded and its capacity for action stunted.

180. Let us unite in our pursuit of peace and make the United Nations an effective instrument for the maintenance of international concord and harmony.

181. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Cambodia in exercise of his right of reply.

182. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia): The statement of the representative of Thailand left me no alternative but to ask to exercise my right of reply and I crave your indulgence and that of the General Assembly. No nation worthy of the name could remain silent in the face of the attitude taken by the representative of Thailand, and it is in the knowledge that I am fulfilling my duty to my country, to this Assembly, and to our respected Head of State that I have asked to speak. In order not to hinder the smooth progress of the debate, I shall try to be brief and shall limit myself to three points.

183. The first point to which I would like to draw the attention of the representatives is that, while in its statements the delegation of Cambodia has always strictly confined itself to facts which can be verified, the representative of Thailand persists in expressing tendentious personal opinions and making vague accusations which have no foundation. The representative of Thailand alleges, for example, quoting a Reuter dispatch, that our Head of State declared "that he would ask his children 'to go to kill the Thais in order to prevent them from existing on an international plane'" [1141st meeting, paragraph 13]. I wish to declare solemnly that the Head of State of Cambodia has never held such ridiculous ideas. What Prince Norodom Sihanouk really said, in speaking of Preah Vihear, was that if the Thais ignored the judgement of the International Court of Justice restoring the Temple of Preah Vihear to Cambodia,^{7/} they would be violating the United Nations Charter and would become "morally dead".

184. The representative of Thailand also stated:

"It was also alleged that Thailand did not attend the SEATO meetings and the Geneva Conference on the Laotian problem on account of this decision." [Ibid., paragraph 9.]

This is a typical example of the way in which the delegation of Thailand distorts my words, for what I really

said in my statement of 2 October was that the Government of Thailand had shown "the transitory intention to refuse to take part in the meetings of SEATO and of the International Conference on Laos" [1139th meeting, paragraph 11].

185. For us, there is a difference between "refusing" and "showing the transitory intention to refuse". Indeed, the representative of Thailand rather clumsily tried to justify himself by saying: "It would be preposterous indeed if a sovereign nation is to be called upon to give, before this Assembly, its reasons why on such-and-such an occasion it is absent from such-and-such a meeting". [1141st meeting, paragraph 9.]

186. Another example was when the representative of Thailand, at his wits' end for arguments to put forward, spoke of what he called "the traditional mythomania inherent in Cambodian political thought" [ibid., paragraph 14].

187. In view of the facts which I have presented calmly and objectively in order to explain the difficulties in our relations with Thailand, one need not be a genius to see that the causes of the past and present troubles lie in the malevolent attitude of Thailand towards my country.

188. The second point, which is, in our eyes, of exceptional seriousness, concerns the grotesque assertion made by the representative of Thailand that the provinces which were retroceded to Cambodia under the terms of the Agreement signed at Washington in 1946 "were part of Thailand from time immemorial" [ibid., paragraph 10].

189. If we must go back to time immemorial, then in that case everyone knows—and history is there to prove it—that many provinces of Thailand formed part of the Khmer empire. The 1907 Treaty under the terms of which the provinces in question were retroceded to Cambodia was negotiated and freely signed by France, in the name of Cambodia, and by Siam, and it is difficult to see why the representative of Thailand said that in 1907 "Thailand was forced to cede these provinces to a colonial Power", since he claims later in his statement that "unlike Cambodia we have managed to retain our political independence and sovereignty" [ibid., paragraph 10]. There could be no better example of the art of contradiction, and the representative of Thailand has here given us vivid confirmation of his country's pliability and opportunism in international politics.

190. Similarly, the 1946 Washington Agreement which gave legal recognition to the final restitution of its provinces to Cambodia was freely negotiated and signed by Thailand. In spite of this international treaty, the representative of Thailand continues to make such ambiguous statements as: "It would appear therefore that Thailand, and not Cambodia, had lost its territory..." [ibid., paragraph 10]. This is further proof that Thailand still harbours imperialistic designs on Cambodia.

191. The third point relates to a question of the utmost seriousness from the point of view of international relations between States. I refer to the fact that the representative of Thailand deliberately made a personal attack on the Head of State of Cambodia. This, in my opinion, is an intolerable procedure which is unworthy of any self-respecting nation. The representative of Thailand has shown the world that he is willing to break the golden rule requiring speakers to refrain from making personal attacks in their state-

^{6/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

^{7/} Case concerning the temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

ments before this Assembly, particularly when such attacks are directed against the person of a Head of State.

192. On behalf of my country, I protest most vigorously against the procedure followed by the representative of Thailand. Whenever my delegation has made any reference to the Head of State or the Head of the Government of Thailand, it has done so in dignified terms conforming to the rules of international behaviour. The representative of Thailand, however, speaking with a discourtesy which has no precedent in the history of this Organization, said: "...it does

appear that Cambodia itself excels in the art of blackmailing. Prince Sihanouk himself appears to be an authority on the subject..." [*ibid.*, paragraph 12].

193. Scorning to make use of such an unworthy procedure, I call this Assembly to be my witness and leave it to judge the unspeakable attitude of the representative of Thailand, for which he alone is to blame.

194. This type of procedure and this type of attitude explain to a certain extent why it is difficult for my country to have normal relations with Thailand.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.