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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

Address by H.E. Mr. Sékou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Guinea.
2. Mr. Sékou TOURE (President of the Republic of Guinea) (translated from French): In the statement he made recently from this rostrum during the general debate [1131st meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea had an opportunity of expressing to you, Sir, the feelings of joy and pride of the people and Government of Guinea on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly's seventeenth session.
3. Your distinguished personal qualities, Sir, your great experience and your long record of endeavour on behalf of the liberation and rehabilitation of the peoples of Africa and Asia provide us with the assurance that you will guide the work of our current session in an enlightened manner.
4. The Republic of Guinea ardently hopes that, in the annals of the United Nations, the important session over which you have the heavy task of presiding will mark a decisive step towards the fulfilment of the great hopes of mankind as a whole.
5. We should also like, through you, to express again to another of our Asian brethren, Acting Secretary-General U Thant, the assurance of our esteem and solidarity. On this occasion, we feel it especially appropriate to greet him as one of the architects of the Bandung Conference,^{1/} and to pay public tribute to the attitude and action of a man who was for five years the distinguished and active Chairman of the Standing Committee on Algeria of the African-Asian Group in the United Nations.

^{1/} Conference of African and Asian Countries, held from 18 to 24 April 1955.

6. One cannot help noticing that, by a symbolic coincidence, the outstanding juncture in international life which is marked today by the admission of Algeria to our Organization and the proclamation—most welcome to us—of the independence of Uganda, another African country, comes at a moment when the two highest positions in the Organization are thus occupied by worthy representatives of the Afro-Asia world, the history of whose struggle for freedom and dignity has just been extended by one of the most glorious pages, written in masterly style by the Algerian people.

7. The admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria is an event of great importance for the international situation and particularly for the situation of the African peoples. Marking as it does the fulfilment of one of the deepest aspirations of those peoples, it will, we are all convinced, be hailed with joy by all nations which have justice and progress at heart.

8. For more than a century, including over seven years of frightful war, the heavy sacrifices bravely borne by the heroic Algerian people have paved the way for this historic moment in which the international community joyfully welcomes, in its midst, the qualified representatives of this martyred nation.

9. The people and Government of the Republic of Guinea, aware that their aspirations are identical with those of the Algerian people, have never confused illegitimate colonial interests with the interests of Algeria, which in their eyes are inseparable from the true interests of a world in a perpetual state of transformation, constantly moving towards greater freedom, greater justice and greater progress.

10. The heroic struggle of the National Liberation Front has been a dynamic—I would even say, the most dynamic—factor in the great struggle of the African peoples for liberation from foreign domination and its attendant exploitation, oppression and indignity suffered by our peoples for a period which has been truly one of eclipse, halting our historical development.

11. We have already emphasized the repercussions of the Algerian people's struggle on the attitude of all parties and mass organizations in Africa, for which it has been a real leaven, producing in them greater awareness and stimulating them to greater efforts in the consolidation and expansion of the decolonizing process.

12. May I therefore, on this day of the Algerian people's political and moral rehabilitation, pay a respectful tribute to the thousands of victims fallen on the field of battle, whose sacrifice has made it possible for the peoples of the world to hail this great event constituted by the presence, at this General Assembly session, of the Algerian delegation vested, in this high forum of the world's conscience, with the sovereign powers pertaining to free peoples.

13. I should also like to address our most fraternal greetings to the Prime Minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, our fellow-fighter and friend, Ahmed Ben Bella, whose political qualities, physical and moral courage and unwavering devotion to his country's cause provide an assurance that the Algerian revolution will speedily triumph over all the forces of evil.

14. For Algeria is indeed undergoing a revolution and this revolution results from the awakening of its entire people, which is resolutely engaged in a process of qualitative transformation aimed at the establishment of a popular and progressive State.

15. The Algerian people has given proof of its high degree of political maturity and patriotism. It remains an ardent champion of freedom, democracy and progress in Africa and throughout the world.

16. We are convinced that, just as it has succeeded in winning its independence despite all the obstacles presented, so it will fully succeed in achieving its legitimate aspirations.

17. Life itself is a constant struggle; but the struggle for progress requires an exact knowledge of the national and international situation, and a rational use of the creative energies of a people "set in motion". In this respect we have no doubt that independent Algeria will work to consolidate the foundations of its new-born sovereignty and to liquidate all the after-effects of colonization, through radical transformation and effective adaptation of the structure of its State and of its people's mentality, outlook and methods.

18. To this end the new Algerian scene must be speedily rid of all the conflicts of interest engendered by the colonial régime and of all irrational factors stemming from former feudal practices, so that unitary action, beneficial to the whole nation, may go forward.

19. Most fortunately, the programme of the Algerian Government is inspired by all these ideas, which will be the easier to translate into reality if the Algerian people remains fully "mobilized" and resolute in its will to emancipation.

20. We shall not fail, however, to urge all nations of the world to grant this newly fledged State their assistance, co-operation and friendship, all of which are indispensable for a young State if it is effectively to shoulder its national and international responsibilities. In particular we appeal to the French Government to provide full political, material and moral support for the action of the Algerian Government.

21. We are convinced that, following the Evian Agreements^{2/} which constitute an act of political realism, the French Government will responsibly and effectively contribute to the rapid and happy development of the independent nation of Algeria.

22. The Algerian people has a very bright future before it. This future is founded on the unity and creative action of the working masses of Algeria, on the active fraternity and solidarity which will exist between Algeria and the African peoples, and lastly on the friendship and co-operation which will spring up between the Algerian State and all other States of the world.

23. On the African plane, Algeria, having helped to hasten the de-colonization movement in the African countries, will continue to play a major part. Indeed, all the African States are anxious to consolidate their relations with the State of Algeria, within the framework of an African unity aiming to be free and dynamic.

24. Aspirations to African unity have been one example of the African peoples' awakening to full consciousness in their struggle to recover their freedom and ensure respect for their personality while safeguarding their own individual traits. This legitimate and deep-rooted vocation of our peoples contrasted with the reasoning on which the colonial régime was based; and its effect was to spread ever wider, both at home and abroad, the influence of Africa, its civilization and its culture, to rehabilitate which the African peoples will have to be mobilized in the fight for economic and social progress.

25. Thus, in our countries' struggle for liberation, African unity has been one of the key slogans. It remains so in the eyes of our States, which are endeavouring to consolidate the national foundations of their newly won sovereignty as quickly as possible and, by inter-African co-operation, to improve their prospects of harmonious and peaceful economic, social and cultural development.

26. It would be superfluous to speak overmuch of the positive significance we attach to African unity, for there is not one of our Governments, parties or women's, youth, workers' or intellectual groups that has not called for it and regarded it as the main guide-line in the process of decolonizing the frameworks and mentalities inherited from the colonial régime, and as a source of energy for the full attainment of the objectives of our peoples' economic, social and cultural development.

27. We would stress that African unity cannot mean uniform institutions and frameworks for our States: still less can it mean the creation of a single African party or a single African super-State.

28. On the contrary—all the Governments of our countries interpret it more realistically, as signifying the establishment of an atmosphere of peace, confidence and fraternal and loyal co-operation between the African States.

29. Through the unity to which they aspire, all these Governments wish to achieve the pooling of certain resources of their States, with a view to protecting their reconquered freedom and their interests from any encroachment. They realize, moreover, that if they stand united it will be easier for them to shoulder more effectively, at the international level, their responsibilities as regards the safeguarding of Africa's legitimate interests and the enhancing of its personality and its material and human values.

30. One of the major obstacles to the complete establishment of this unity has, in the past, been the widespread conception that it had to be formed around a single State or a single man. Today, it has become evident that the political advancement and the social and cultural development of the African States require, rather, united action on their part within the framework of a common programme, freely chosen by all States, corresponding to their interests and the dictates of equality and fraternity in practical solidarity.

^{2/} Agreements concluded at Evian on 18 March 1962 between the representatives of France and of the National Liberation Front.

31. On these lines, African unity will enable all the nations wishing to make an honest contribution to the peaceful development of Africa to help more effectively in promoting that advancement. It will also enable the African peoples which are still colonized to recover their freedom speedily and to manage their own affairs independently, thanks to the more decisive support that their brothers who have already regained their sovereignty will be able to lend them.

32. While we all have reason to rejoice at the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of a resolution concerning immediate independence for the African countries [resolution 1514 (XVI)], we remain seriously concerned at the slowness with which some colonial Powers are implementing that resolution.

33. South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Rhodesias, etc., remain under the yoke of foreign domination and no definite date has been fixed for the end of this humiliating situation. That is why at the present session of the General Assembly a new resolution should be adopted fixing 24 October 1963—the eighteenth anniversary of the United Nations—as the final date for colonies' achievement of national independence.

34. We have already stated that the peace of the world calls for the complete decolonization of all peoples and that the liberation of a colony necessarily involves that of the colonizer.

35. Relationships between peoples must be on a voluntary and therefore a free basis, so as to strengthen international co-operation and lead to greater mutual understanding, both of which are absolutely essential for the safeguarding of world peace and security.

36. The Assembly, which is assailed by the contradictory criticisms of those who accuse the United Nations of being an institution without authority and a forum for every sort of demagogue and of those who regard it as a despotic Organization which, in the name of solidarity of nations, restricts the authority and even the privileges of States, is nevertheless the only point where the ideas and interests of nations and the most varied State systems meet and sometimes clash.

37. According to whether the Assembly is judged by the criterion of practical effectiveness or by that of moral influence, it is called upon to operate either in the field of tactics or in that of the international principles of the rights of peoples and individuals.

38. In speaking today from this rostrum, we wish to appeal principally to the international personality of the Organization and, through it, to the conscience of the world.

39. The objective reality now governing the evolution of international history, and the quality or even the validity of the development of a universal society, are related not so much to antagonistic ideologies and conflicting political interests as to the vast inequalities which divide the world into poor and highly industrialized nations.

40. Our century is not merely that of over-production, of the perfecting of techniques, and of great scientific discoveries; it is also that of recurring famines, leprosy, record infant mortality rates, and ignorance. It is not only a world of space vehicles; it is also a world in urgent need of ploughs, wheelbarrows and lorries. It is not only a world of

space travel; it is also a world of villages buried in jungles and deserts. It is not only a world of the atom and of great human hopes; it is also a world of homes without fire or bread, of peoples without freedom and without sovereignty over the soil of their own countries, which are dominated by foreign Powers.

41. Century of wealth on the one hand and poverty on the other. Century in which human science and world resources are used far more for destructive than for constructive ends. The manufacture of war equipment and the upkeep of armies consume a total of material, technical, financial and human resources which is an affront to the starving peoples of the earth, an affront to humanity, which is yearning for peace, security and progress in fraternity and solidarity.

42. The objective reality of our world is its division into free peoples and subjugated peoples. It is also, as a result of domination by imperialism and feudalism, the division of the earth into areas of abundance and areas of penury. In that connexion, I wish to offer the warm congratulations of the people and Government of Guinea to the new States which have just been admitted to the United Nations. I should also like to assure their representatives of the unreserved support from the representatives of Guinea on which they can count in making their just claims and defending their legitimate aspirations, which are common to all peoples that have undergone foreign domination.

43. It is because we ourselves have suffered under the imperialist and colonialist régime of oppression and exploitation that we regard ourselves as particularly qualified to denounce all its horrors and all its tragic consequences. Our judgement and opinion of Governments are based on their attitudes rather than on their intentions, because we wish to remain in close contact with objective reality and the progressive trend in human history.

44. In conformity with this reality we place in the same group of negative and dangerous forces everything which obstructs, hinders, prevents or opposes the free development of nations and the social advancement of peoples; we place in the same retrograde category de facto imperialism and de jure imperialism, institutional and organic trusteeships, attempts at domination and domination itself, the determination to exploit and oppress, and all the feudalisms throughout the world which still impede human advancement and the democratic progress of peoples and men.

45. Domination—whatever form it may take, whatever its historical origin and whatever its apparent motives may be—inevitably entails the ruin of economies, the de-personalization of peoples, the degradation of nations and, finally, a world-wide imbalance which endangers world peace and threatens all the achievements and potentialities of world society.

46. In fact, although we express the same concern for the preservation of international security as that which inspires all well-intentioned Governments of the earth, the means that we advocate may be very different, since they are based on ideas peculiar to the underdeveloped peoples—ideas which correspond to our specific realities but which to the highly developed nations frequently appear to be empty phrases, outdated platitudes or demagogic arguments or even, possibly, demonstrations of subversive or evil intentions.

47. Quite apart from what remains in the way of survivals or after-effects of colonialism, and from the activities of neo-colonialism and the misdeeds of imperialism which is not yet disarmed, the stage of legal decolonization has not so far been followed by psychological decolonization. While it has been recognized, more or less willingly, that the colonized countries may achieve political independence, apparently, in the eyes of most States of long-standing sovereignty, this important change need not alter the political structure of the world. Yet is it not obvious that the liquidation of colonialism is but the beginning of a new phase in international evolution, and that the liberation of the peoples of Africa and Asia is more pregnant with historic consequences than the changes which have followed the last two tragic world wars? Who can fail to see all the riches and all the promises of human progress and happiness offered to the world community as a result of the admission of the liberated peoples to the international family? Who can fail to understand that a new chapter of world history is being begun?

48. Let us not dismiss as mere rhetoric the hopes which inspire and guide the daily conduct and human conscience of nearly 2,000 million men, women and children.

49. I admit that the old-established peoples must make a great effort of imagination in order to grasp realities which are outside their experience. This difficulty of approach is the more tragic in that reality has in itself a strength and a will to live which are irresistible. Here the ordinary words in daily use have not the same meaning, for we cannot compare the hunger felt by some people at tea-time with the hunger from which other people suffer all their lives and it is often the case that whereas, to the former, comfort means an excess of refinement, to the latter it means the possession of the most elementary necessities.

50. Hence, if we want to ensure that the wealth of certain nations is not submerged by the poverty of the world, let us have the courage to look at the world as it really is, not allowing self-satisfaction to blind us to the dissatisfaction of others; let us draw up the balance sheet of universal inadequacies, defects and needs, possibilities and means. Is it not time to think of rebuilding the world and abandon the pre-tentious old building which has heretofore sheltered the privileged few?

51. Willingly or unwillingly, the world, in apparent discontinuity of historical evolution, is already progressing towards a higher stage, thus testifying to man's power of development and capacity for progress, notwithstanding the resistance and egoism of reactionary forces. It is this total world evolution that we desire to accelerate, in order to ward off the threat presented by a divided and dehumanized universe.

52. In this respect, however, there are certain preliminary conditions. First, the liberation of Africa must be completed. The process of decolonization must be speeded up by the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Rhodesias, etc.

53. How can we endure that representatives of the most retrograde, barbarous and stubborn colonialism should join here in discussing and deciding the affairs of the world, that we should have among us those who practise the most shameful and degrading racialism,

which defiles with squal impunity a civilization and a whole group of cultures?

54. We must repeat that we shall never sanction the domination of one race by another, that we shall never agree to a foreign minority imposing its rule on a national majority. What matters, in our lives, is the interest of our peoples; it is not the interest of the East or the West, or the future of Portugal or Spain, still less of the Afrikanders, which is at stake here; it is the future of the world, of all mankind. Can the needs, the demands and the hopes of humanity be weighed in the balance against the criminal obstinacy of Lisbon, the hesitations of London and the barbarity of Pretoria?

55. Let morbid hopes cease; there will not be another Congo in Africa. The tragedy of the Congo has opened the eyes and illumined the understanding of Africa, which in future intends to settle its own problems for itself. From the long series of disappointments, miseries and abuses of every kind inflicted on the young nations of Asia by foreign interference, the African people has learnt more than from ten centuries of diplomatic practice and exercise of sovereignty. Those who hope to take Africa by surprise in that respect will themselves be the only ones to be surprised. Nor should African neutralism be taken to mean the neutralization of the African peoples. The peoples of Africa, it must be reaffirmed, are not passive; on the contrary, they are ever more forcefully committed by and for Africa, for world justice and for world progress.

56. Africa does not need philosophic formulae or doctrinal theories; it needs honest co-operation, disinterested assistance and sincere friendship. Those needs are infinite; yet Africa will not barter for any assistance, for any friendship, however pure, or for any co-operation, however beneficent it may appear, one iota of its sovereignty or one token of its independence.

57. The positive neutralism adopted by the majority of the Asian and African peoples is now seen to be a major factor in the strengthening of world peace, and any attempt to minify its effect and import would be a most criminal one. We for our part believe that the peaceful coexistence of the different political systems, which remains the only way of preserving international peace, can be conceived and achieved only in terms of the principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference and of the positive neutralism which was to be the most logical outcome of those principles.

58. That is why I venture, from this rostrum, to make a pressing appeal to the peoples of Asia and Africa that Afro-Asian solidarity should go forward, gaining strength day by day, towards an ever more effective unity of action, mainly concerned to impose the latent conflicts of antagonistic ideologies—which are draining the strength of the highly developed nations—a new element, perfectly attuned to the higher and interdependent interests of world society.

59. We affirm, for our part, that the destiny of the world cannot depend on power that was usurped or on the arbitrary continuance of *de facto* situations brought into being in defiance of the will of the peoples subjected to them.

60. Far from living in fear and despair, the young nations of Africa and Asia are living with firm hope and unshakable faith in the interdependent destiny

of mankind; but our confidence in the future is accompanied by a fierce resolve to be active and informed participants in the building of a new world. Such an attitude and such conduct may appear precocious to some people, but they reflect our unanimous will to progress and our determination to hasten the changes which must take place.

61. Thus in Africa a new phase, which we regard as decisive for the progress and emancipation of the African peoples, has just opened; I refer to the phase of African unity, which is first and foremost a unity of interest that must lead to unity of action and to the pooling of our common efforts. It matters little to us whether this unity is institutionalized, given organic structure and established in legal form. What is important is that the concentration of the activities of the African peoples should become a new and powerful instrument from which those peoples will all derive substantial benefit.

62. In accordance with the Bandung principals,^{3/} this unity should find expression, at the international level, in unity of action by the peoples of Asia and Africa, which have the duty of imposing, upon the narrow interests and selfish concerns of the nations with the greatest influence on the world's destiny, a new outlook that meets the standard demanded by the higher interests of world society, by the conversion of international relationships of subservience into relationships of equality, by respect for national character and for the peoples' freedom to choose their political system and their trade procedures, and by a mutual guarantee involving the renunciation of all spheres of influence, whatever the pretexts employed to mask their purpose.

63. Liberty, sovereignty and neutrality for Africa—these three are incompatible with membership of any military, political, economic, financial or cultural group. We consider "defence" groupings to be as dangerous as military pacts, and no one will ever convince us that the interests of the people of the United States and of the people of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics end at Formosa and Berlin respectively. We regard such theories as nothing more than an excuse for plans which cannot be avowed but whose main result is to poise over a number of peoples a potential threat of domination and over all nations the danger of a third, and perhaps the last, world conflict.

64. The international power of positive neutralism is that it promotes, independently of all external pressure, the free choice of peoples; in days to come, this power will be able to impose, on all nations, respect for the political choice of every people in the world.

65. But if this political power is to be brought into play, it is not enough for us to believe that justice will in the end triumph over injustice, that the use of force will give way to the use of reason, and that anti-popular régimes and usurped powers will eventually crumble away of themselves, corroded by their own incompetence. To believe this would be to cherish very Utopian illusions, for which history provides no justification. On the contrary—justice, equality and respect for nations must be built upon the framework of a new world, forever freed of subject nations, subjugated peoples and slave states.

66. While at the international level positive neutralism, which has been adopted by the majority of the African countries, is increasingly recognized to be the only outlook compatible with the preservation of nations' independence and with strict respect for the character of their peoples as the positive basis for their speedy development and complete emancipation, we cannot but note that the antagonisms and conflicts, both of interest and of prestige, which dominate the relations of the fully developed countries allow the aspirations of the undeveloped and under-developed peoples neither the hearing nor the place to which they are entitled in the concert of nations. The flagrant tendency to enlist the newly independent countries in one of the camps which dominate the international scene must spur us into redoubling our efforts to gain respect for our determination to remain the conscious servants of our peoples, with a rejection of any subordination or ideological or doctrinal domination contrary to the interdependent interests of all nations.

67. The aim of our activities must be to replace the negative struggle between different systems by a positive struggle for the speedy harmonization of development conditions in all countries, with a view to abolishing the inhuman discrimination to which the peoples of the undeveloped countries are subject.

68. Our countries are kept, through the operation of the great economic markets, in a constant state of impoverishment which reduces the poorer nations to the status of suppliers of the highly developed ones. A multinational economic imperialism, as the successor to political imperialism, seeks to extend its domination over the economically undeveloped countries. Thus the continual deterioration of the terms of trade makes the technical assistance and co-operation which our countries receive quite inadequate, if not completely useless.

69. We must establish, against the neo-mercantile trends that are a feature of the international markets, a common front for the defence of our economic interests, with which the safeguarding of our independence and the social advancement of our peoples are intimately linked.

70. We prefer to take action which is essentially positive and, by transcending the past conflicts of world society, broadens the channel of co-operation between peoples and accelerates the harmonious development of all nations.

71. At this period in history, the under-developed peoples in particular must take vigorous action to bring about universal recognition of the interdependent destiny of mankind. We take pleasure in affirming, here and now, that we shall never subordinate the interest of the African peoples to that of Guinea; on the contrary, we wish solemnly to reaffirm that the people of Guinea, fully conscious of the dictates of history, will ensure that its actions are always strictly in line with the higher interests of all the peoples which have had to suffer colonial domination and are fighting against everything that breeds injustice and indignity.

72. But at the same time we express the hope that the sister nations will look resolutely towards the future and, standing together in their legitimate aspirations for happiness and peace, will join forces in order to build, together, a new life based on justice, progress and the brotherhood of man.

^{3/} For the text of these principles, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

73. So far as practical action is concerned, we again call for a radical reform of the structures of the United Nations, which tend increasingly to make the world body into a meditation room for the majority of nations and an instrument of intrigue for a minority of States.

74. With this trend it is not surprising that the international Organization can make little headway with specific problems as simple, from the juridical standpoint, as the settlement of the Congolese question. I must state that, in our view, the latest United Nations actions in respect of the Congo are possibly a solution, but not a solution which will go to the root of the problem—since it is for the Congolese people itself, once it has been completely liberated and unified, to solve in its own best interests the problem of choosing the nature and structure of its national institutions. Nor is it surprising that Cambodia has to resort to an exceptional procedure in order to obtain guarantees of the most inalienable and most sacred rights of a sovereign State. It is equally no matter for surprise that, from conferences to committees, from committees adjourned to conferences suspended, the problems of disarmament have ended up in a spectacular and menacing assumption of nuclear testing.

75. The world Organization, which for some States lacks sufficient authority while for others it is a sanctuary or instrument of value, is in danger of becoming the negation of the principles it represents.

76. The inability of the United Nations to adapt to the facts of international life the principles of equality, liberty and co-operation on which the Organization is based is due to its structural defects. Seventeen years after the last world conflict, it remains the supra-national club of a few Powers holding the right of veto in the Security Council, which itself, despite the importance attaching to it, is constituted in defiance of the rules for the effective representation of all continents—Africa, indeed, is arbitrarily excluded from it.

77. In questions of international justice, the present structure of the United Nations makes it a restraining institution which, far from promoting and stimulating world progress, tends to perpetuate the factors impeding balanced development, by making co-operation a matter of politics or ideology.

78. It is not enough to say that the peoples of Asia and Africa have set their faces against everything which helps to keep relationships based on domination alive; we must make it clear that our action on the international plane is designed to modify the conditions of development of all countries, for unless this is done, there can be no hope of achieving true equality among peoples. Such a choice involves a profound democratization of the whole structure of the international organization and complete respect for the principles of equality, liberty and solidarity which must determine the new nature of international relations.

79. The Security Council, in order to correspond with the obligations set forth in Article 26 of the Charter, must be reshaped not only in terms of the conditions of the present historical evolution, but also in terms of the prospects opened up by such evolution.

80. It would be necessary to be blind to present conditions in order not to realize that the ending

of colonialism and imperialism will restore equal responsibility in the conduct of international affairs to all peoples, and that only the actual exercise of this responsibility, without any substitution or transfer of authority, can really start the evolution of the world towards a new humanism that will be commensurate with the aspirations and vast creative possibilities of world society.

81. If the majority of nations are disconcerted, nay, revolted, by the inability of the international organization to bring about the restoration of "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique to their peoples, to put an end to the heart-rending genocide which is raging in Angola or to eliminate the White dictatorship which reigns in South Africa, then what are we to say about those who are dying a hero's death on the soil of their native land in their quest for justice?

82. What is to be said, too, about the Trusteeship Council, except that it is the incarnation of every legal possibility for multi-national colonization and is a refurbished version of the Treaty of Berlin? To us, who assert that every people, no matter where or when, is fully and entirely capable of governing itself, the Trusteeship Council appears to be nothing else but the antechamber of colonization.

83. But what good is it listing one after the other all the instances in which the international organization falls short of the principles of justice, equality and democracy unless we are determined to improve it so that it may become the vigilant guardian of international justice and security?

84. By dissociating the legal status of nations from the objective realities of their rights and international status, we arrive at the state of affairs in which 650 million Chinese are considered a mere abstraction while, in contrast, seats, and hence international power, are given to the Portuguese Government and the South African usurpers. Yet, despite all this, attempts are made to convince us that the United Nations is independent of the opposing blocs and that it guarantees the same liberties and benefits to all peoples!

85. It is far too easy to admit that the political struggle transcends the principles of law. We wish, however, to proclaim in this speech that the political struggle influences the evolution of law and that a reactionary policy has the inevitable effect of dehumanizing the law. If each political régime can endow the law with nothing more than its own characteristics, then how can we hope to prevent the selfish interests of nations from bringing injustice and inequality into international relations?

86. The perfecting of legal rules and principles, the improvement of personal relationships and the development of relations between nations are all influenced by the struggle carried on by the peoples to free themselves individually or collectively from the practices of oppression and exploitation. This is why the struggles for freedom carried on by the peoples of Asia and Africa have made, and are continuing to make, a substantial contribution to the broadening of international justice, which implies equality between men and the strengthening of friendship between peoples.

87. Thus, whether it is a question of domestic law or international law, only a fundamental, and not merely formal, democracy can promote the evolution

of the law by restoring to all men and to all peoples their liberty, their sovereignty and the exercise of their responsibility. We have fought long enough and hard enough for equity and liberty to be able to refuse to acknowledge that human justice cannot be made more perfect. On the contrary, we are convinced of the need to promote the constant growth of the law by the continual extension of human liberties and responsibilities, which are indispensable conditions for the full flowering of the intellectual faculties and moral resources of mankind.

88. Far from regarding the law as a transcendent entity, we assert its infinite capacity for improvement, and consider the relationship between the nature of the law and the nature of political régimes to be of the most vital importance. We know, moreover—and this is confirmed by experience—that in the great majority of cases, the independence of justice is nothing but a snare and a delusion which, when it is not helping to keep in power the most unpopular régimes, is engaged in defending and maintaining the most unjust of privileges. When the people constitute the centre of interest of a régime inspired, actuated and controlled by them, justice cannot be dissociated from the body politic of the nation without vitiating the popular character of the law which it is the function of justice to administer.

89. Reshaping the law in accordance with the interests of the people involves humanizing the legislation which governs the law in order that justice may be identified with the law, the law with the statutes, the statutes with the interests of the people, and the interests of the people with the interests of the nation. When these different conceptions become intimately mingled with each other in practice in the hearts of every people, then the human conscience will become the universal code of law so long, however, as antagonistic social relationships persist among men, so long as relationships based on domination persist between peoples, justice will be what the political struggles of peoples make it.

90. Thus, the first objective towards which nations favouring positive neutralism must strive is the re-organization of the international organization by the democratization of its structure; the perfecting of its principles; the replacement of the Security Council with a permanent judicial council to which representatives of the various geographical areas of the world would be elected; the admission of all legally constituted States which are not yet members of the United Nations; the disappearance of the Trusteeship Council and the abolition of the principle of trusteeship under one or more nations; a new definition of the law of peoples and nations; a statement of determination to modify the nature of international relations in the direction of true equality of rights and respect for all nations, without distinction or discrimination; the establishment of a conciliation procedure to be followed before any appeal is made to the General Assembly or to the judicial council; the establishment of a procedure for appeals against the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly; an extension of and increase in the autonomy of the United Nations bodies for social affairs, economic co-operation and technical assistance; a restrictive enumeration of the ways and means to be left at the disposal of the United Nations in order to give effect to its decisions; and so forth.

91. It is obvious that structural reforms, no matter how highly-perfected they may be, can never be sufficient, by themselves, to endow the international organization with the universal authority which is indispensable to it and which can be conferred upon it only through the moral soundness and practical effectiveness of its actions.

92. It would not be fitting for us to terminate these remarks concerning our international organization without expressing the confidence which we have in it: a confidence which is all the greater because we believe in the boundless possibilities for the improvement of the international organization and in the continued up-lifting of the world conscience which it will faithfully interpret and consciously inspire.

93. We believe that, despite the contradictions, tensions and explosions of the world, the international organization is able to find ways out of impasses, to plug breaches and to calm antagonisms, while retaining for the well-being of the people all the progressive elements and positive forces that will be liberated and made fruitful through international co-operation in peace and friendship.

94. We have all the more confidence in the United Nations because it is gradually imposing the real face of the universe, with all its indispensable shades of difference, on the world, and is instilling in the people an awareness of their international responsibilities and their human solidarity.

95. We have all the more confidence in the United Nations because its disappearance would be a disaster for the whole world, and we would like to believe, with all our hearts, in its triumph.

96. This shining confidence is the same as that which we have in the victory of justice over injustice, or of right over might, of love over hate, and of freedom over slavery. In this game in which the stakes are the world, we do not wish to be passive spectators, but intend on the contrary—joined with all the forces of progress, human solidarity and social peace—to be an active instrument and a people wholly engaged in the struggle for the future well-being of the world.

97. But although the improvement of relations between peoples is linked with the democratization of the United Nations and the refinement of international law, it is also dependent on a better understanding of the realities of each people and a juster appreciation of the legitimacy of their aspirations.

98. There is therefore little point in expecting that the African peasant, with his primitive tools, his absurdly small productive capacity and his altogether distressing conditions of existence—which may seem very fine from the point of view of the exotic effect which they create, but which are not so amusing from the human point of view—should think, act and behave like an employee of General Motors or a steelworker in a socialist country.

99. Because they are associated with social phenomena which gives them different meanings, the same words are often applied to completely separate realities, and such differences of meaning are sometimes very great indeed. To deduce from this, however, that the peoples of the world cannot attain mutual understanding does not bring a solution of this problem the slightest bit nearer. In order to understand the language of Africa and what lies behind it, the words, the expressions and the turns of phrase must

be regarded as reflecting, not the abstract character of a dialectic, but the substance and reality of life: that life made up of human compulsions, of social requirements, of vital needs and of real necessities which are its fundamental attributes, and which are becoming ever clearer and more pressing as the conscience of the peoples of Africa develops and awakes to all the social injustice which fundamentally characterizes and undermines the status of Africans as human beings.

100. The position is that the poorer countries and the under-developed nations are forced to face vital needs, requirements and demands and to come to grips with hopes and difficulties which have no limits in terms of the problems of the highly-developed countries and prosperous nations.

101. There is nothing unusual in the fact that all peoples aspire to security and to an improvement in their living conditions, since the true universal aspirations of mankind are those which are inherent in progress, social justice, liberty, prosperity and peace. It should be observed, however, that although these aspirations are of a universal nature, each of them has a particular well-defined degree of urgency for each people because of the infinitely varied nature of each people's potentialities and its capacity for training and the mobilization of its resources. This is precisely the situation in the countries which were until recently colonies.

102. For these reasons, and because of their historical past and their present state, which is characterized by under-development, it is obvious that there are greater similarities and a more marked community of ideas between the peoples of Africa and Asia than between the peoples of Africa and Europe. It is not, however, from this point of view nor on the basis of such facts that the problems of relations between peoples should be studied, if we wish to avoid accentuating the existing division of the world and thus aggravating the unbalanced state of affairs which already exists in world society. There can hardly be any need to point out that this division and this lack of balance concern all peoples, whether they be rich or poor, all nations, weak or powerful, and all men, whether they be millionaires or paupers.

103. The magnitude of the movement of national liberation which has led to the sudden rebirth of a whole continent and to its emergence into international life is sufficient proof of the strength of this upsurge of feeling and the collective awakening of the conscience of our countries and peoples. The truth is that an important historical evolution is taking place at this moment, and its effects and consequences, whether direct or indirect, will exert an increasingly greater influence on the progress of world society.

104. The colonial and semi-colonial countries, whose inhabitants made up the majority of the population of the world, were nothing more than names on the map, and although those countries were prominently displayed in the atlas, their peoples, who had been pushed completely into the background by the imperialists, were unjustly considered to be of little importance because they were dominated and enslaved by foreign Powers.

105. They remained silent and static in appearance, whereas in reality there had taken root and was growing within them the conviction that they must

fight for their national liberation. Today, the majority of these peoples have reconquered their rights to a worthy and independent existence. The ignoble racial segregation that is rampant in South Africa will make no difference. On the contrary, it stimulates the historic role of Africa. It makes its peoples more sharply and sensitively alert, and it further strengthens and hardens their personality, since the ultimate tests of strength which the racialist notions and profoundly reactionary attitude of the "Afrikaners" must inevitably bring about will compel the peoples of Africa to take a stand with respect to this crucial problem. The more that people are subjugated and the more they are oppressed, the more capable do they become of rising to their historic destiny. Similarly, the more that people are threatened in their lives, their freedom, their personality, their dignity and their hopes, the more heavily will they arm and the more resolutely will they fight in order to conquer and safeguard their freedom and effectively exercise their sovereignty and in that way to satisfy their needs and ensure their survival and continuing development.

106. Thus the struggle for independence, whatever shape it may assume and whatever channels it may seek out, has never meant, in the eyes of our peoples, anything else than the acquisition of the first and necessary instrument which will enable them to solve their human problems in full awareness of their responsibilities.

107. To believe that everything has been won and that all endeavour ceases with the achievement of independence—which, moreover, has yet to be consolidated in the case of most African countries—is to close one's eyes to human realities, to deny the progress of history and to disregard the true existence of the poorer countries, which, having come to realize the injustices they have suffered, are eager to exploit judiciously whatever resources they possess. It is thus that they will be able to proclaim the historical rights that are theirs and that are due to them in the struggle to achieve progress and to maintain a proper balance in the world—a balance regarded not as the mutual offsetting of antagonistic forces but as the outcome of the necessary harmonization of the levels of development of all peoples throughout the world.

108. In our eyes, the urgency of the needs that must be met takes precedence over gratuitous philosophical reasoning or mere ideologies, for it is these human needs which, together with man's awareness of them and consequently their reality, constitute the main driving force of history, a force which varies in intensity and effect in proportion to the forces that hamper and oppose it.

109. It is therefore vain to hope that Africa will evolve according to a particular pattern imposed on it from outside in disregard of its own conception of things. Africa will evolve in accordance with its own nature, characteristics and personality, in terms of the deepest aspirations of its people, until its economic conditions have reached the level of development of the industrialized countries, that is to say, until they become normal. This transformation is inherent in the historical evolution of society. It is a determining factor in the achievement of the equitable international balance that is indispensable for the establishment and formation of the new universal society on which, in the last analysis, the fate of all mankind depends.

110. It is vain to attempt to place Africa under trusteeship and to dole out alms to it which salve the conscience of some, while temporarily delaying or attenuating the awakening of that of others, and which perpetuate unequal relationships between peoples by operating to preserve the barriers raised by the differences in their material living conditions.

111. It is likewise vain to seek to impose such-and-such a course on Africa. What is required is that, starting from the imperatives of our own destiny and the demands of an emerging "universal society" based on fraternity and solidarity and consistent with the aspirations of mankind, Africa should be granted the right to blaze its own trail, with full regard for its wishes, the means at its disposal, its intrinsic genius, its capacities and its original values.

112. We are resolved to affirm our "Africanism", that is to say our personality, and to promote the harmonious construction, the rapid development and the total fulfilment of a genuinely "African" Africa.

113. Africa has its own requirements, ideas and habits. It certainly does not wish, and still less does it seek, to adorn itself with borrowed raiment which has not been tailored to its measurements.

114. While this implies the total disappearance of colonialism and the establishment of a society where privileges are unknown, at the same time it opens up new and exhilarating prospects based on justice, progress and universal peace. Need I recall that in their desire to safeguard their privileges and their temporary technological superiority, highly developed nations have by the same token deprived themselves of the contribution to be made by the creative genius and productive capacity of the hundreds of millions of persons living in the under-developed nations?

115. The scientific potentialities of the modern world have already surpassed the scale of mere national capacities and resources. The utilization and exploitation of the means made available through the latest scientific discoveries already call for, and will in future increasingly require, the co-operation of many countries, and indeed of all countries.

116. That being so, it is not without bitter irony that we note that progress on which man's future welfare depends, is hampered much less by lack of knowledge than by the kind of hermetic enclosure in which certain selfish peoples secrete their discoveries, the experiments and their scientific achievements. By allowing the desire for power to be substituted for the power of progress, the welfare of mankind and the interests of all peoples have been deliberately and irrevocably sacrificed. By a paradox, it is in the name of safeguarding human welfare and the interests of the people that some have elected to tread the dangerous and perilous path of military power, which might in the end succeed in wiping out humanity, and with it the universe.

117. In the course of a decade, Africa has become clearly aware of its material backwardness and has pledged itself to the task of catching up with the level of development of the highly industrialized countries with the utmost speed.

118. When one analyses the ills from which the Africans have suffered, one must perforce acknowledge that the slave trade, the deportation of our people, racial discrimination and colonization—these last two more recent evils now supplemented by neo-colonial-

ism—have been able to flourish chiefly for economic reasons. Africa has been exploited and oppressed on economic grounds; its legitimate will for resurrection consequently postulates a threefold rehabilitation on the moral, cultural and social plane, which must naturally be achieved through the process of economic evolution.

119. We know, of course, that in the modern world, interdependence has become a rule, and Africa, which cannot exist in a vacuum, does not intend to remain divorced from that world. It also considers that it is entitled to benefit by the experience of other peoples, as well as by the fruits of its own endeavours. In exchange for this, it must actively assist in setting up a universal society wherein each and every people, while preserving its own personality, will have exactly the same rights and duties as all the other peoples and, like them, will assume the responsibilities that are properly incumbent upon it.

120. Africa has been divided and carved up. The evils of colonization have not been confined to exploitation, racial discrimination and cultural oppression; they have also, and above all, resided in the loss of our freedom and the confiscation of our sovereignty. Only when a people proclaims its independence and exercises its sovereignty without let or hindrance can it abolish exploitation in every form, for only then can it erect democratic structures which release the creative initiative of all and promote the liberation of man through social progress, which depends in its turn on scientific and economic progress.

121. The worst of the misdeeds of colonialism may be said to have been the attempt to deprive us of responsibility for the conduct of our own affairs and at the same time to convince us that our civilization was nothing but savagery—the attempt to instill in us an inferiority complex which branded us as irresponsible and stripped us of our self-confidence. It follows that the greatest of our victories will not be that which we shall have won over colonialism through the mere fact of having recovered our national independence: it will be above all the victory that we shall have won over ourselves by finally casting off all the complexes peculiar to colonized peoples and by proudly and loyally proclaiming the authentic values of Africa and identifying ourselves fully with them. The African people, having confidence in themselves, must become increasingly aware of their responsibility, for by so doing they will become aware of their true equality with all other peoples.

122. We are aware that we must rebuild Africa. To conquer and then proclaim the independence of a country while retaining its former colonial structures would be tantamount to ploughing a field and then failing to sow it, while yet expecting a harvest. The political liberation of Africa must be viewed as a means for establishing and developing the new African economy. Our continent has enormous reserves of raw materials which, coupled with its vast energy-producing potential, provide it with highly favourable conditions for industrialization.

123. The prospects for utilizing our economic potential are, however, set at nought by the inability of the under-developed countries to achieve normality in their economic conditions, which continue to deteriorate as a result of the general deterioration of the terms of trade.

124. The non-industrialized countries producing raw materials and primary commodities must struggle valiantly in order to cope with the declining prices for their agricultural and mining products and the rising cost of industrial goods, for this situation limits the expansion of their national economy.

125. It is easy to document this analysis by several examples that will better illustrate our present position on the world market. Let us take some figures covering the period 1957-1961. The exchange value of raw materials and primary commodities in relation to industrial products shows a drop of 34 per cent; yet, between 1955 and 1957, these same terms of trade had already decreased by 50 per cent in comparison with the 1948 level. The extent to which the price relationship in international trade has deteriorated is abundantly clear from various statistics that have been published in international periodicals.

126. The consequences of such a situation make it easier to understand that the object of the economic community of African and of its monetary independence is not, as some have suggested with false naïveté, to enable Guinea to sell its coffee to the Ivory Coast, its palms to Dahomey and its bauxite to Ghana; it consists rather in taking whatever measures are required to project Africa on to the international market as a producing area and thus help to establish on an equitable footing the relationships of strength which govern international trade but which, in the case of the under-developed countries, are at present relationships of economic dependency.

127. Vociferous alarm has been expressed about the increasingly abundant output of coffee, cocoa or peanuts, while nothing has been said about products which are in increasing demand but the prices of which remain stable, such as diamonds, gold, oil, radioactive minerals, zinc, copper and so on. This in itself sufficiently illustrates the mercantile nature of the economic relationships that have been set up between the highly-developed countries and the countries producing raw materials and primary commodities, to which category Africa belongs.

128. The African nations are becoming daily more aware that if the important and urgent social problems that confront their peoples are to be adequately solved, they must bring about the indispensable transformation of their barter-type economies as soon as possible. It is obvious that although the solution of the economic and social problems of our peoples necessarily depends on the industrialization of our countries, this can hardly be achieved within the limits of the micro-economies of our States.

129. The potential threat that the economic communities, which are daily becoming more powerfully organized, may represent for the development prospects of the non-industrialized or under-industrialized countries is becoming increasingly apparent. However far we may be from condemning out of hand the concept of economic communities—the positive consequences of which include the intensification of trade within a given group, the concentration of productive capacity, and the speedier establishment of conditions conducive to dynamic supranational economic planning—we wish to call attention to certain potential dangers inherent in them which could produce a state of stagnation in the non-industrialized nations. That is why we do not hesitate in the least to state that these communities will be fully acceptable to us

and will receive our full support when, forswearing all selfish aims, they become closely integrated with the requirements of an interdependent, harmonious and equitable economic development of both the highly and the poorly equipped countries.

130. It is not enough in this matter to call for the stabilization of the prices of raw materials and primary commodities. We must concentrate on ensuring that the international prices of raw materials and primary commodities are preserved from speculation of any kind by the establishment of a guaranteed base price which will effectively reflect production costs and will be automatically re-evaluated in conformity with increases in prices of industrial products on the world market.

131. The establishment of a sliding scale to determine minimum international prices for raw materials and primary commodities must be supplemented by the establishment of an international equalization fund which, in the initial stage, would help to take care of the bottle-necks that crop in unpredictable fashion on the various market and are inherent in the anarchy that characterizes the development of the world economy.

132. We would point out that our evaluation of the various forces that dominate the world economy is predicated solely on the real support which they provide and the effective contribution which they make in encouraging the economic growth of the non-industrialized countries. It is because we eschew charity and subjection, and because we claim on behalf of our peoples their due share of responsibility in the conduct of international affairs, that our political preference will go to those Governments which, in their international activities, concentrate on harmonizing the living conditions of all peoples.

133. Charity, the creator of vested interests, is viewed by us, not as an aid, but as a usurious practice which gives more than it has and less than it takes back.

134. Aid which is not conceived and given in a spirit of loyal co-operation and perfect disinterestedness is poisoned aid which we shall consistently reject, and we shall also be careful not to confuse technical assistance with the technique of assistance.

135. Who imagines today that the tremendous backwardness which was the farewell legacy of colonialism to Africa can be made good by a few more or less selfish donations?

136. We are, of course, the first to demand the heaviest burden and the heaviest sacrifices in the task of bringing our living conditions into harmony with those of the highly developed countries; that is a matter of our pride and honour. What we also ask, however, and we do this without the slightest feeling of embarrassment, is that international co-operation and solidarity should lighten a burden which is unjustly grinding us down.

137. On this occasion we should like once more to tender our sincerest and warmest thanks to those Governments which, spontaneously and without imposing any obligations, have given us effective aid and disinterested support. It is not superfluous to add that they have in this way gained the deep friendship of our people and Government, who sincerely desire that the bonds of co-operation with those States should be strengthened and broadened.

138. In this connexion we wish to make it clear that although, in accordance with our principles of free determination and national independence, we do not intend to repudiate bilateral assistance and co-operation, we believe that international aid should be entirely recast so as to be effectively and efficiently integrated into the economic development programmes of the under-developed countries. Although the aid and assistance needed by our countries outstrip the international possibilities of meeting that need, it is none the less true that such aid, which is found to be extremely costly, very often falls short of its objectives and becomes watered down as a result of the great number and variety of requests. We consequently think it essential for priorities to be established in accordance with a balanced view of development and a plan covering all the economically under-developed countries on a continent by continent basis. It would seem to be more rational, for instance, to set up ten to twenty universities throughout Africa and to endow them for five to ten years with an international status and an inter-African administration, than to assign 6,000 to 8,000 scholarships for secondary education to that continent each year. International aid tends to lose much of its value by the fact that it is concerned with the problem of wells rather than with the building of medium-capacity dams or with electrification, and by the fact that it gives more attention to satisfying everybody than to meeting the pressing common needs.

139. In this connexion, however, we are happy, standing at this rostrum, to pay a well-earned tribute to the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, which since its inception has never failed to co-operate with Africa effectively and in a manner increasingly suited to the realities and needs of the continent. We should also like to thank UNICEF and WHO in a special way for the very substantial efforts they have made towards meeting the tremendous needs which confront us in the field of health. Rather than receive lengthy encomiums and expressions of gratitude, I think that these two assistance bodies will be more justifiably proud in knowing that in four years of independence we have increased the number of hospital beds tenfold, thus demonstrating that any assistance which is perfectly attuned to our real needs is fully used and has most beneficial results.

140. But once again, the vastness of our needs should spur us to find new means and original methods capable of giving our economies a real start. Is there any need to cite here figures that are known to all? In ten years, from 1950 to 1959 inclusive, the United Nations sent 4,689 experts to countries in the Far East having a total of 800 million inhabitants, and those countries trained 3,966 people. In 1957-1958, forty-five under-developed countries (among those that do not produce oil) received \$5,000 million in grants, while for the same year their trade deficit amounted to \$6,500 million. Finally, here is one last fact which is connected with that just mentioned: during a five-year plan the steady rise in import prices reduces the value of investments by nearly 25 per cent.

141. Has it been sufficiently realized that initially human energy is essential to secure an increase in production and that in our countries the percentage of wage earners is very low. How can the continual increase in prices do other than discourage effort on the part of our farmers, who are the real productive class and the basis of our agricultural economies,

if their efforts do not make any impression on their standard of living?

142. Finally, we all know that foreign investment, which fights shy of low-yield ventures, concentrates mainly on parasitic sectors the growth of which tends to drain economies that are already on the verge of collapse.

143. To the countries for which it is intended and which judge it on its actual efficiency, international assistance seems dramatically inadequate, frequently ill-suited and endlessly troublesome; to the donor it represents a burden the usefulness or even the necessity of which, often seems doubtful. In the eyes of many, the impatience of the young nations is unbearable, but who can claim the right to question the needs and vital requirements of a people?

144. It is too often forgotten that these young nations, the victims of colonial rapacity, are still paying installation costs long after the industrial revolution: for although colonialism has already taken root at the time of the spice trade, it was the industrial revolution which made it possible for the commercial relationship between Europe and Africa to be converted into a relationship of robbery. Although we do not wish to base our argument on this fact alone, we are entitled to mention it here if only to stir the conscience of mankind to international solidarity, the determining factor in universal and harmonious development.

145. To recast international assistance and co-operation in the mould of universal solidarity is to participate effectively in the evolution of the world and in the improvement of human society.

146. To recast international aid and co-operation is to mobilize to the same end resources and means frequently used for contradictory ends.

147. If, for instance, the scope of the World Bank for granting credit is compared with the amount of capital hoarded throughout the world, one quickly realizes the tremendous disparity between the means available and the means used.

148. To recast international assistance and co-operation is to have an all-encompassing view of history which makes it possible to analyse its phenomena is their causes and to ascertain the means and methods whereby man will be able to control his destiny and better direct the course of his history; it means aiming at restoring to every nation and every human being their place and social function, and giving to human society the virtues and capabilities with which man has enriched it.

149. The will to develop, that unconditional choice for progress which will rid development of all its negative aspects, is produced by human needs and human conscience. The triumph of human reason will be no more than an expression of the uplifting of the conscience of the peoples.

150. If we condemn, without making any distinction, all the retrograde forces, all the retarding systems and all the backward philosophies, it is because they carry within them the viruses of impotence and irresponsibility.

151. One may denounce famine, ignorance and disease just as one may denounce war and regression, but that is only a pious attitude based on negation and a certain fatalism.

152. As far as we are concerned, our choice has been made. It is for progress in all its forms, for justice, for peace and for the happiness and solidarity of all people. This choice is a positive one, and we are proud to be numbered among the committed peoples, among the forces of progress.

153. It is in this spirit that we regard the struggle to bring together the conditions for the development of the peoples as essential to the harmonious and interdependent evolution of mankind. We accordingly rejoice that a proposal has been made to hold a world trade conference, and we hope that it will bring about fair solutions for the economic problems which beset our peoples.

154. The people of Guinea, who, for the past four years, have been engaged in a democratic and popular revolution, have always shown their readiness for friendship with all the peoples of the world, their sincere desire for co-operation with all States, and their fierce determination to work for peace, justice and progress. The ideal embodied in our national revolution extends infinitely beyond the destiny of Guinea; that is to say, ever since gaining their independence, our people have made themselves part of world society and they can conceive of no other form of human happiness than that dispensed freely to all men and to all peoples without any limitation.

155. The path to which we are committed brooks no compromise; it leads to a world forever freed of selfishness and of the shameful practices of oppression, exploitation and social injustice.

156. Our confidence in the future is equal to our determination, and we are profoundly convinced that the conscience of man will be able to transcend the contradictions of an age which is coming to a close; that it will be able with determination, realism and clear-sightedness, to enter upon a new age in world history.

157. Rather than ask ourselves whether we should die for such and such a cause, we know with certainty that our duty is to live and create. Long live the United Nations. Long live international solidarity. Long live peace.

158. The PRESIDENT: I thank his Excellency the President of Guinea for his address. I am sure that the Members of the Assembly listened to that address with great attention and that they will keep in mind, when considering the questions which will come up for discussion during our session, the principles and ideals on which he laid stress.

159. I shall now, with the Acting Secretary-General, accompany the President of Guinea from the Hall. When I return, the Assembly will resume the general debate.

The meeting was suspended at 4.55 p.m. and resumed at 5.5 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

160. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): Mr. President, like those who have preceded me on this rostrum, may I congratulate you on your election to this high office.

161. I think those of us who have heard the statement of the distinguished President of Guinea can never say again that they have not had the very acute problems

that are facing the new world placed before them. Whether we agree with all that has been said or not, I believe all of us will agree that for the good of the entire world, many of these problems that are becoming more acute should be dealt with as rapidly and as constructively as possible.

162. Again disarmament is the keynote of this general debate; and so it must be until we see at least a beginning. Mankind can know no peace as long as it is compelled to watch nations feverishly accumulate more and more arms, capable of destroying the human race more and more efficiently, while at the same time speeches are made expressing the need for disarmament.

163. It is the tragedy of our generation that after two world wars the long drawn-out discussions on disarmament are held as though we had a choice between war and peace. Naturally, everybody is agreed that peace is better than war, but the assumption is that the choice is there.

164. If only the negotiators in Geneva were to decide unanimously that there was no such choice, it would be a real breakthrough towards disarmament. Once each of us convinces himself that war simply cannot exist as a means of solving international problems, there would be only one path for us to follow: to destroy all the means of war.

165. Since Isaiah spoke of the day when swords would be beaten into ploughshares, mankind has made revolutionary strides in all domains of endeavour—but the sword is still in use and many fields are still untilled for lack of the plough. As long as we choose to live with the illusion that war too is part of international relations, there remains, of course, only one hope for life, namely that a balance should be preserved, so that no one be strong enough to launch an attack.

166. Disarmament would indeed be a double achievement, for not only would it reduce and eventually remove a terrible menace for us all, but it would enable vast resources to be diverted from military purposes toward peaceful ends. We are greatly encouraged by the Acting Secretary-General's report of the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament,^{4/} based on the findings of the Consultative Group which was established on the initiative of this Assembly under resolution 1516 (XV). The unanimous conclusion of the group that disarmament would be an unqualified blessing to mankind has our whole-hearted support.

167. We, the small and new countries, emerging into a world of armed camps, suffer twofold. Our immediate aim is rapid development, but since the danger of war still looms over every dispute, we are constantly burdened with defence expenditures to the detriment of our development needs. We too quickly learn the bitter lesson that those who threaten others must be deterred by some equilibrium. And let not those whose declared policy is to attack their neighbour cry out in mock indignation when the latter seeks some means of defence.

168. My Government rejects war as a means of settling disputes. From the day that the State of Israel was established, my Government has called for settling all outstanding differences by direct negotiations. We do not rest content with calling upon

the great Powers to find a way to disarmament, and to settle outstanding problems by negotiations and conciliation between them; we are prepared to put this into practice in the dispute in which we are involved with our neighbours. As we have done in the past, we call again upon the Arab States to agree to complete disarmament with mutual inspection, covering all types of weapons, and to accept the method of direct negotiations as the only means for solving all differences between them and Israel.

169. I am fully convinced that none of the big Powers wants war, and that the disarmament talks show evidence of their desire to establish an international system which would make war impossible. We all fervently hope and pray for the success of these talks.

170. We realize that there is an organic connexion between existing political disputes and the prospect of disarmament. Each influences the other. It is incumbent upon each Government involved in a current conflict to exercise the maximum of restraint, and to avoid inflaming that conflict by word or deed, and to resort voluntarily to peaceful means of settling the conflict. This would help create that climate of greater mutual trust, which is essential to progress in disarmament. In this way, whether we are directly participating in disarmament negotiations or not, we can make an important contribution towards the success of those negotiations. Would it not be appropriate to consider a temporary "freezing" or standstill of those explosive international issues which might erupt into war, so that all efforts can be directed towards achieving the most vital and most cherished goal of disarmament? For when that goal is reached, and disarmament will have become the foundation of international relations, all other problems will be approached with the clear consciousness that only peaceful methods can be employed, and the threat of war will cease to play the role which, unfortunately, it all too frequently assumes today.

171. We were most interested to find in the speeches of many distinguished representatives the call for direct negotiations as the only means for the solution of disputes between nations. We fully subscribe to the appeal made from this rostrum by Lord Home [1134th meeting], when he suggested the abandonment of unilateral action and called on us to bury emotions and passions and to carry through the process of negotiation and conciliation, no matter how long it takes. We support the call for the solution of international disputes, in all circumstances, through negotiations and other pacific means, made by the Foreign Minister of Japan [1126th meeting]. The references made by the Foreign Ministers of Austria [1131st meeting] and Italy [1136th meeting], when they described the important progress made in the settlement of the long-standing dispute between them through peaceful, direct negotiations, were both instructive and encouraging. We agree entirely with the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia [1129th meeting], who noted the progress that had been made during the last year, in regard to various disputes and ascribed it to the policy of negotiation between the parties concerned.

172. The representatives of many other nations, large and small, spoke in a similar vein, and we must all derive hope and encouragement from their statements.

173. I feel duty bound to call attention to another sad phenomenon on the international scene. I refer to the

exploitation by some countries of the cold war between the great Powers, stretching out for momentary cold-war profits to strengthen their belligerent intentions against other countries. It hot as well as in cold wars, the war profiteer is most objectionable; and I earnestly appeal to all the nations engaged in this practice not to persist in this type of short-term gain. This policy is as unworthy as it is short-sighted.

174. On the question of nuclear tests, I should like to repeat what I said in the Israel Parliament three months ago:

"Israel watches with special concern the growing nuclear arming, and it is our declared policy to support every effort made to remove the awful dangers to humanity arising out of the continuation of this process. Israel, therefore, supports every means that may limit and decrease nuclear weapons in the world."

175. We share the general hope and expectation that the discussions on this subject at the present session will promote agreement on the early cessation of all nuclear tests.

176. It is most gratifying that on the important question of decolonization the words spoken from this rostrum find a concrete expression. This Assembly has again had the privilege of welcoming new Member States. This, I believe is not a routine matter to any of us. As we stand in awe and wonder before each new-born child, so do our hearts beat faster when we face peoples who have just made their first steps as free and independent nations. The dignity that they have achieved adds to the dignity of all of us. The world cannot be free as long as one nation is dominated by a foreign Power.

177. It is in this spirit that Israel expresses its most cordial welcome to our new Members—Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and now Algeria—and wishes them well. Many representatives have expressed from this rostrum their welcome to Algeria. In a statement in the Israel Parliament on 24 June 1962, I said:

"As we participate in the joy of the nations now reaching their national and spiritual independence, we cannot but touch upon the agreement reached at the beginning of the year between representatives of France and Algeria. When the Evian Agreements were signed, the Prime Minister of Israel sent his congratulations to the President of France, who through his steadfastness and understanding, became the chief architect of this great achievement. Our feeling of appreciation for both sides who conducted the negotiations found their expression in various documents and declarations of the Government of Israel. . . I can only say. . . that we shall be glad to establish with independent Algeria the same beneficial relationship as exists between us and other new States."

178. As we meet here today, a new nation is joyfully celebrating its first hours of independence. Our congratulations and best wishes go from here to the people and Government of Uganda. May they quickly reach the goals they have set for themselves.

179. May the process of decolonization lead quickly to the sovereignty of all the peoples of the world; and let us strive that this should take place peacefully. It would be both immoral and unrealistic to oppose this historic trend.

180. Events in the Congo seem to be moving rapidly towards a decisive stage. As in the past, we will support wholeheartedly the efforts made by the Central Government in Leopoldville and the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring about the unification of the Congo. It is our fervent hope that these endeavours will soon enable the Republic of the Congo to play its vast potential role in the political, economic and social development of the African Continent. We call upon the forces in Katanga to cease their obstruction so that the unity of the country can peacefully and rapidly be achieved. My Government has been able, in co-operation with the United Nations, to extend training facilities and to contribute technical assistance in various fields to the Congo Government. We trust this aid will in a modest way further the general good.

181. To the many voices that have already been heard from this rostrum during this debate, Israel wishes to add its own in appreciation of the leadership of the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant. He is carrying the responsibility placed upon his shoulders at one of the most critical times in the life of our Organization, with wisdom, patience and outstanding ability. Afflicted with troubles and crises as it is, our Organization could not possibly wish for a better helmsman than U Thant, and we shall unreservedly support his re-election for the full normal term.

182. One of the essentials is to preserve the independence and the integrity of the office of a single Secretary-General and the international character of the Secretariat. On this matter the views of my Government have already been placed on record at the last session [1030th meeting], and need not be repeated here at length.

183. Another issue which is crucial to the future of our Organization is the financial problem. My Government has always met its obligations not only towards the regular budget but also in respect of the peace-keeping operations, and we have also subscribed to the United Nations bond issue. We sincerely trust that all Member States will find themselves in a position to bear their share of all the expenses of the Organization, the financial solvency of which should be regarded as the common interest of all its Member States, regardless of any political differences between them.

184. Our Organization had, today more than twice the number of Members than when it was founded seventeen years ago. It is unjustified that the number of members in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, or other organs of the United Nations, should remain as it was then. It is only fair that the new Member States be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in these bodies. I am afraid that if this does not happen soon, elections to these bodies may be marked by increased tension and competition between various geographic regions.

185. Doubts have been expressed regarding the constructive value of the General Debate in its present form. We are certainly required to give careful thought to the debating procedures and working methods by which the General Assembly conducts its business, in the light of the great expansion both of the membership and of the number of agenda items. Since an item [agenda item 86] has very properly been inscribed on this problem, I would refrain from referring any further to it at the present stage, except for one general comment regarding the tone of the debate. It is distress-

ing that some participants do not always advance their viewpoints with necessary restraint. No matter how serious the differences between us may be, I think we are justified in asking of ourselves and of one another mutual respect and consideration, in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Charter.

186. My delegation was happy to vote for the resolution [1710 (XVI)] by which the General Assembly last year designated the sixties as the Development Decade. We feel that in so doing we have given recognition to two important factors:

187. First, decolonization and political independence, whether achieved with difficulties or by a peaceful transfer of authority, are merely a first step, opening before the emerging States the opportunity to shape their lives according to their needs as they understand them. Before them now is the task of raising the standard of living of all their inhabitants through many-faceted economic and social development. On the economic front this includes harnessing natural resources, modernizing agriculture, establishing industries and proving the necessary network of transport and communication. And in the social field it means creating for a society in rapid transition, facilities for education at all levels, medical aid, and social welfare services.

188. Secondly, the very fact that we now speak of a decade of development, of a short ten years, expresses our unanimous conviction that we do not and should not, ask the newly emergent States to be patient, and to accept that their development must be as slow as that of the highly developed countries at their beginning. The gigantic progress of science and technology can, and must, serve us in our concerted effort for the rapid development of the new nations. Two years ago a Conference on the Role of Science in the Advancement of New States was held at Rehovoth, Israel, with the participation of forty-nine countries. Some of Israel's scientists are now actively taking part in the preparatory work for the United Nations conference on the same theme, which is to be held in Geneva next year. Israel strongly welcomes the holding of the conference. We hope to make some contribution to its proceedings in the light of our experience in using scientific techniques in the development of our country, as well as in our co-operation in this field with many other new States.

189. What are the basic needs of the young countries? I should like to single out three of them: capital, skills and a pioneering spirit.

190. I have already spoken of our hope that capital will be released through disarmament. But, while doing all we can to bring about quick and effective disarmament, we must also here and now find the material means necessary for economic and social development. Such capital must be provided on reasonable terms and without undue delays caused by cumbersome procedures or administrative red-tape.

191. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has succeeded in recruiting large amounts of capital for investment in developing countries, but its lending terms are of necessity too strict for most of these countries. It is for this reason that its affiliate, the International Development Association, has been created to provide capital on exceptionally easy terms for basic development projects. However, its funds are far from adequate for the urgent needs of the developing countries.

192. In this connexion I should like to draw attention to a proposal made by the Governor of the Bank of Israel, Mr. David Horowitz, at the recent annual meeting (17 to 21 September 1962) of the Board of Governors of IBRD. This proposal would enable IBRD to use its own funds for long-term low-interest credits to developing countries, through using the resources of the International Development Association as a guarantee and subsidy fund. My delegation will go into this matter in greater detail in the appropriate Committee.

193. Now I come to the second basic need: skills. Teaching and training are necessary in order to develop those human faculties which alone can transform nature to satisfy the needs of man. Once largely confined to local or, at most, national boundaries, the dissemination of knowledge and know-how has expanded in range, covering the whole wide world. Simultaneously, it has telescoped the process of development from one of centuries into one in which miracles are performed in less than a generation. There is still another significant change. Only a short while ago it was mostly a one-way traffic from the highly developed countries. Today it is increasingly becoming a two-way traffic, in which the developing to the very under-developed countries themselves play a more and more active rôle.

194. One need only look at the implementation of the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in order to find proof of this development. These programmes, which only a decade ago channeled the transfer of know-how almost exclusively from Europe and North America to the rest of the world, now recruit over 25 per cent of their experts in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, and the use of training facilities in the developing countries themselves is also on the increase.

195. At the same time, direct mutual aid and technical co-operation between developing countries themselves is playing an important part in their progress. This welcome development is often a direct outcome of the earlier phase: people who received their own training through technical assistance, whether multilateral or bilateral, are now in turn serving in technical assistance programmes for the benefit of other developing countries. Thus, many countries which still receive technical assistance are now also dispensing it.

196. May I illustrate this by a few facts from our own endeavours in this field. At this time over 600 experts from Israel are serving in African, Asian and Latin American countries, and over 1,600 students and trainees from more than fifty countries are undergoing individual or group training in Israel in the current year.

197. But learning and training are not mechanical processes. It is essential that the pioneering spirit inherent in all youth should be furthered, that pioneering spirit from which springs the will to acquire knowledge and skills and to apply them in order to create a progressive society. We have found in our own experience that those who have come to Israel in quest of training and information have come with enthusiasm, with a feeling that they have a mission to fulfil for their own people in their own country, and their achievement has been outstanding.

198. As to the concern expressed here by some Arab spokesmen regarding Israel's relations with the African countries, I think it proper that they should

speak for themselves in this regard. Let me but say that I do not think that these countries have gained their independence in order to be told by a self-appointed guardian what is beneficial and what is detrimental to their welfare. Israel is proud of its bonds of friendship with them.

199. The inner theme of the Development Decade is the growing consciousness of the unity of mankind, of the interlocked human destiny, of the new epoch of international co-operation which is now unfolding. I would suggest that the Organization consider possibilities for instituting a universal programme of education designed to impart to children and youth the significance of the Development Decade, the importance of the pioneering spirit, the need for preparation for the historic task of sustaining and deepening co-operation between developed and less developed countries, the sense of common destiny. We must lay foundations in the spirit and mind of the young for lasting dedication to the challenge of the new age and new world. My delegation may return to this question on an appropriate occasion.

200. It is now my sad duty to touch on a subject with which, when this Organization was founded, it was thought inconceivable that we should have to deal again. The United Nations came into existence amidst the ruin and destruction of the Second World War. Every objective historian, analysing what brought about this disaster, must conclude that one of its primary causes, if not the most important one, was the Nazi racist doctrine. It was this poison, poured into the souls and minds of millions of young people, that made possible the worst horrors in the history of mankind. It was this doctrine that made any individual who was different on grounds of creed, race or colour, an object of humiliation, tyranny and finally of annihilation. I belong to a people that has been ravished by this madness more than any other, and is now deeply disturbed by symptoms of a revival of anti-Semitic acts. We recognize, though, that however terrible our past order, whatever our present anxieties, this is part of a world problem which concerns many groups and peoples. The United Nations is seized of this problem as a result of what took place in the winter of 1959-1960 when, in various parts of the world, the horrible swastika appeared again on Jewish and Christian houses of worship, on public institutions and private homes of individuals of different faiths. I would here stress my firm conviction that the reappearance of the swastika is not only a matter of concern to my people but a challenge to us all, because under its sign the most unspeakable crimes were committed against the entire human race.

201. There is another aspect of discrimination. It is that of a minority that is not allowed to give expression to its religious and cultural needs and aspirations. This, too, we believe, is not in accordance with the vision which the founders of this Organization had after the Second World War.

202. My delegation will have more to say on all aspects of discrimination when it is debated in the appropriate Committees. Racism, and discrimination in all its forms, is indivisible, and no one group can be its victims without other groups being affected. It is discrimination itself which must be attacked and eradicated wherever it occurs, against whomever it is directed and in whatever form, and whether it is based on differences of creed, race or colour.

203. I now turn to the region of which Israel is a part. There are many that are misled by two fallacies regarding the Middle East. The first is that it is an Arab region. In fact, there are more non-Arabs than Arabs—Moslems, Christians and Jews. This composite pattern of peoples of various faiths and cultures has always been the pattern of the Middle East—each people with its historic continuity, past, present and future. The second fallacy is that all would be well in that region if it were not for the tension between the Arab States and Israel. I would be the last to underrate the difficulties and dangers which arise from that conflict. But this is only one source of tension in a part of the world which is unhappily the scene of much political instability, economic and social backwardness, rivalry and friction between different countries and régime, and the pressures of the cold war. Anyone who follows the affairs of the Middle East knows that during this last year the focus of trouble in the area has been the bitter struggle within the Arab world, which has made of the Arab League no longer even a façade of unity.

204. Israel longs for the day when the political independence and territorial integrity of every single State in the area—Arab or non-Arab—will be assured, and when we can all concentrate on the welfare of our peoples. When I refer to the turmoil in the Arab world, it is because we are a Middle Eastern country, and therefore affected by all that affects the peace of our area and retards its peaceful progress.

Mr. Zea (Colombia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

205. As far as the Israel-Arab dispute itself is concerned, it is as well to see clearly what is the basic problem. It is the denial by the Arab States of Israel's right to exist. If this attitude were to change, and if the Arab States and Israel were to discuss their differences at the conference table in a frank and open manner, I am positive that solutions could be found on all the specific issues. Year after year, Israel has come to this rostrum with one demand—peace between it and its Arab neighbours. May I say here that we were grateful to the Deputy Foreign Minister of Ghana [1143rd meeting] when he drew our attention again to the important statement of President Nkrumah during the fifteenth session [869th meeting] of the General Assembly in which he called for recognition of the political realities in the Middle East and for insurance against aggression. We are entirely in agreement with that view now, as we were then.

206. The Arab denial of Israel's right of existence has a direct bearing on the distressing refugee problem. We are willing, and always have been willing, to discuss with the Arab Governments what can best be done to secure the future of the refugees in the light of the political and economic realities in the region.

207. But a natural solution to the problem is frustrated by the Arab dream of destroying Israel and the openly proclaimed Arab intention of using the refugees for this purpose. This design has been openly propagated even from the rostrum of this Assembly: this small spot of land, in which the Jewish people have revived their ancient home and nationhood, must again be wrested from them, and they again be scattered to the four corners of the earth. Our neighbours have tried to achieve this by various means—open or guerrilla warfare, economic boycott, propaganda and threats. Negotiation and conciliation are proclaimed from this

rostrum by them as the road to solve all other problems in the world except this one, which must, according to these spokesmen, be resolved by force. For every other nation, they claim coexistence practiced in peace; for Israel, non-existence to be achieved by war.

208. This doctrine not only runs counter to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Its acceptance strikes at the roots of our Organization. The world of today is overwhelmed by ideological disputes, international conflicts and economic controversies.

209. In face of this situation, the basic concepts of the Charter—on the eschewing of force, on the unremitting search for peace, on international co-operation, on negotiation as the means to solve problems—have gained a new depth and significance. As long as negotiation is sought, there is hope. Those who rule out negotiation in the Middle East, those who year after year engage in sterile and stereotyped speeches of hostility, should know that their attitude is irrelevant to the basic theme of the international community and can have no echo in an Organization which has proclaimed peace to be synonymous with human survival; they should know that they are assaulting the foundations of human progress.

210. The policy of the Israel Government has been and continues to be peace. It is peace not only for the world, but also between us and our neighbours. We believe in coexistence and co-operation everywhere, and we shall do everything in our power to achieve that end.

211. However, as long as Arab belligerency continues, Israel will take all necessary measures to be capable of protecting itself. Thus it is ironic that, when Egypt amasses a fleet of heavy bombers, and when President Nasser proclaims that his rockets will be able "to hit any place south of Beirut"—that is Israel, of course—an Egyptian spokesman should complain loudly from this rostrum when Israel is acquiring missiles which can be used solely for protection against attack from the air.

212. I do not wish to create the impression that Israel subjected as it is to hostility is preoccupied only with this sombre aspect of its existence. Some of you have been to Israel, and I venture to believe that you have found a people which is developing with enthusiasm the long neglected deserts and rocky hills. There is a steady progress in all phases of our economy, in the development of our educational and scientific institutions. People who came to our shores, driven either by the need for refuge or by the desire to participate in a great endeavour, are not only reclaiming a country but also regaining their human dignity. Those who have come to us from scores of countries, speaking many tongues, share the great revival of our Biblical language and our ancient culture. We have received these newcomers with love and devotion, and they have ceased to be destitute refugees and have become a constructive, vital element in our life. Had the Arab nations put their minds and energies into developing their lands, the refugees who dwell in their midst could have been drawn into productive life and become a real asset for the development of their countries. That is what happened in Israel with the more than one million refugees, of whom over 600,000 came from Arab lands.

213. We are happy to note that, despite frustrations and setbacks, there is a growing consciousness in

some of the Arab countries that the direction of their energies and talents towards constructive endeavour is more vital to the welfare of their peoples than the perpetuation of sterile rancour. These tendencies should be encouraged by the international community.

214. Despite all the speeches which we have heard from the Arab representatives, we are convinced that for us and for our neighbours the day must come when we shall live in amity and co-operation. Then will the entire Middle East become a region where tens of millions of people will dwell in peace, and only then will its economic potentialities and rich cultural heritage achieve fulfilment. This Israel believes, and towards this end we shall devote all our efforts.

215. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Jordan has the floor to exercise the right of reply.

216. Mr. NUSSIBEH (Jordan): I would not have requested the right of instant reply in connexion with the statement of the Israel representative if my intention was to make a mere reaffirmation of my country's position on the tragedy of Palestine, for those views have been unmistakably set out in my statement before this Assembly and in the statements of all my Arab colleagues over the past fourteen years. I feel duty bound, however, to comment on that statement by the Israel representative if only to set the record straight on what are, in the view of my delegation, wilful misrepresentations of fact.

217. Representatives have listened to a long statement but is there anything in that statement, apart from the use of beautiful language to conceal the aim, which in any way shows repentance for the act of butchery which has been wrought upon the people of Palestine, and less still any readiness on the part of the Israelis to restore the fundamental and inalienable rights which have been wrested by achieved violence and influence from the lawful inhabitants of Palestine?

218. This Assembly, representing as it does the highest qualities of statesmanship and wisdom in the world, should not find it difficult to discern what is sincere and what is false. Any spokesman can make the loudest protestations on behalf of peace if the cost is merely the composition of platitudinous words and phrases to score ill-deserved gains. But the most peaceful peace, *per se*, is the peace of the grave, the peace of abject dishonour, the peace of acquiescence in tyranny and injustice, in succumbing to the dictates of the aggressor, in forgoing one's right and duty to uphold what is right, what is moral and what is just. Any other course would be the course of disreputable appeasement of aggression, and that is not what the United Nations was founded to uphold.

219. The Israel representatives have all along maintained, in discussing the refugee problem and in discussing the Palestine problem, that it was the Arabs who opposed the United Nations partition plan of 1948. I do not dispute that contention. But I would ask representatives is there any country in the world which voluntarily applauds its own dismemberment and its own vivisection? That was the choice which faced the Arabs of Palestine in those dark days when they, a small and helpless people, found themselves beleaguered, politically and militarily, by overwhelming forces which converged upon them from different parts of the world.

220. But if many Members of the United Nations in those days acted concertedly against the Arabs of Palestine, is it not the moral and solemn duty of the United Nations as at present constituted, fourteen years after its inception, to act equally in concert to rectify the wrong, to restore the substantial territories which the Israelis at present occupy in defiance of the United Nations resolutions themselves, and without which the Palestine refugees will continue in their present dispersal under every sky and in conditions of misery and suffering of which this Assembly is quite fully aware?

221. The Israel representative has referred to resettlement of the Palestine refugees in Arab lands, and along with that there has always been the suggestion that the Palestine refugees left their homes at the instigation of the Arab States. I believe that that is one of the biggest distortions in the post-war period. I happened to be a witness—and indeed a participant—in those sorrowful events, and I assure representatives that no Palestinian left his home of his own free will or at anyone's instigation. The truth of the matter is that the people of Palestine, who had been completely disarmed during thirty years of the Mandate, found themselves in 1948 face to face with 70,000 to 80,000 heavily armed troops of their adversaries, with no government to cater to their security. Each family, each village, each part of every city had at some point to take a fateful decision.

222. They all fought with the meagre weapons which they could muster on the spur of the moment, and not until they were overwhelmed or faced with the certainty of having their children buried in the debris of their homes did they begin the fateful trek into the exile which is now their fate. This is the refugee problem.

223. I remember vividly the 200 women and children of Deir Yassin, remnants of a once happy and friendly village west of Jerusalem, who came to the National Committee in Arab Jerusalem to ask for relief. They had fought all night until they were overwhelmed, their homes bombed and shelled, and the bodies of the victims thrown into a deep well, which for generations, they had used for drinking and for irrigating their lands. Those hapless children had been paraded by the Israelis in celebration of a glorious victory.

224. I remember the quarter of a million refugees from the Arab cities of Lydda and Ramleh who, at the point of a gun, were forced to abandon their homes, men, women and children, young and old—I saw them with my own eyes—and to walk scores of miles across hills and valleys by day and night until they could find sanctuary. They arrived with swollen feet, with empty stomachs and with bitter hearts. The bitterness is still in their hearts, and it is a standing challenge to everything that the civilized world believes in, to all that the United Nations cherishes.

225. Let us, then, not add insult to injury by suggesting that those people left their homes on a weekend picnic, and that, therefore, it is the responsibility of the Arab States to resettle them.

226. The United Nations has had its achievements and its failures since its inception. In its annals the plight of the Palestine Arabs is one of the saddest chapters.

227. We do not intend to accept that brutal act of injustice. We are confident that the United Nations,

which represents the hopes, the aspirations and the just causes of peoples everywhere, will refuse to accept this injustice indefinitely.

228. The representative of Israel has referred to the question of disarmament. I was one of the Arab spokesmen who strongly advocated disarmament because I think that it is the only solution to the menace which faces us all.

229. But how can we attain disarmament if the threat of extirpation, which we experienced only a decade ago, continues to hover over our heads? How can we rest at peace in our homes when we know that the Israelis have been amassing through the years the most destructive weapons and have been working systematically for twelve years, with vast assistance from outside, for the development of the abhorrent atomic weapon? We would have wished to devote all our resources—and our resources are scarce—to economic and social development. This is really what Governments are for. But we can ill afford to do otherwise than to have the minimum of armaments because we have seen our work, our toil, our sweat, our earnings lost over night when the Israelis took over our country. What use would economic and social development be if one were faced with the danger of physical perdition? And this is really the situation which faces us.

230. I need scarcely state that the prerequisite to disarmament is for the United Nations to try to construct a framework based on fairness, justice and equity for all. Short of that, disarmament, which the Israeli representative suggested, would be nothing less than an act of suicide.

231. The Israeli representative has referred to the claim that the Middle East is an Arab homeland. I would like to assure the Assembly that we Arabs have never spoken of the Middle East as being Arab. This was a word coined during the Second World War by the Allied Forces for military convenience. When we talk about our nation we speak of our Arab world. When we talk about the Middle East we speak of sister nations as old as our own. Therefore, I hope that representatives will not pay too much heed to that statement, which is clearly designed to sow discord among us, the family of the Middle East.

232. The final point in this brief reply concerns the statement of the representative of Israel that the Arab world is plagued by inter-Arab conflicts. We do not deny this. All we claim is that we, the Arab nations, have no monopoly on such discords. As a matter of fact, within nations there are parties and groups who embrace different ideologies, different methods and different techniques; and we are no exception to the rule. These are problems which in many ways represent the surging forward of our nation in its modern renaissance and its revival and the reconstruction of the foundations of our life. Indeed, if there were no differences, I would begin to feel worried about our vitality.

233. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Saudi Arabia has asked to speak in order to exercise his right of reply. I would respectfully remind him that there are still other speakers on the list for the general debate and I therefore request him to be as brief as possible.

234. Mr. SHUKAIRY (Saudi Arabia): I shall do my best to accede to your request, Mr. President, and

I hesitated to come to the rostrum to exercise my right of reply at this very late hour. I did not wish to tax the patience of the representatives after this long and weary day, but let us remember that there are 1 million refugees, a whole nation, uprooted from their homeland who have been patiently residing and dwelling in tents and camps for fourteen years. Therefore, if I tax your patience for a few minutes, it will only be in justice and in equity to the cause of those who are at this very moment watching your deliberations in their tents and in their camps.

235. The lady from Israel has put before the Assembly very serious, although very preposterous, contentions regarding the affairs of the Middle East and relations between Israel and the Arab States. Year in and year out, the lady from Israel comes to this rostrum with all courage, with all honesty, and without any wavering and without any hesitation to conduct an orchestra on negotiations, but perhaps I should say a recorded orchestra on negotiations.

236. While it is very inducing to appeal for negotiations as a practice of the international community, as one of the ways and means provided in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, I should like to remind this Assembly that negotiations are not intended to destroy the fundamental principles of the United Nations. They should be in the service of the fundamental principles of the United Nations. Negotiations are never sought in order to destroy justice, and the liberty of man and the value of man. Negotiations are only a means to an end, but our end should remain intact.

237. The Charter of the United Nations provided for negotiations and for conciliation, but negotiations and conciliation should not destroy the very roots of this Organization or the very high principles enshrined in the Charter. There are many things that are not negotiable in this world of ours, and you cannot negotiate democracy, freedom, the liberty of man, his value, his dignity, his homeland and his very existence in his homeland. You cannot negotiate the defence of the homeland. You cannot accept conciliation when the matter goes down to the root of national existence, national sovereignty, independence and human rights. You can negotiate questions of boundaries, but the dispute between us and Israel is not a dispute about boundaries; it is a dispute which belongs to the very existence of a homeland, to a question of whether the homeland should or should not be.

238. That is the crux of the whole question. It is not a dispute between neighbours, it is a dispute which goes to the very root of human decency, of justice and equity, and of the rights of a whole nation which has been uprooted and driven out by the force of terror and horror unleashed by Israel in 1947. This is the whole case that now is before the General Assembly. It is not a question of negotiation, nor is it a question of conciliation. You cannot compromise your freedom. You cannot compromise your liberties, and you cannot compromise the very fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, because if you did so then conciliation and negotiation would be the weapon which would kill this Organization and bring it to its grave and make it the cemetery of our international concepts.

239. But let me come down to realities. Why should negotiations be sought here in this Assembly? What is the object behind it, when Israel denies the repatriation of the refugees which has been ordered by

the General Assembly for fourteen years? This august body has issued fifteen resolutions in which, year in and year out, it has decided in favour of the repatriation of the refugees, yet the lady from Israel comes to this rostrum with courage and bravery to appeal for negotiations. Instead of appealing for negotiations, she would do better to abide by those resolutions, to accept the will of the United Nations, to accept human decency and the values of the human being. That is the acid test, not a recorded orchestra about conciliation and negotiations. That is the real test of the fitness and purpose of anyone who comes to this rostrum to make a policy statement or a speech with eloquence and with appealing phraseology. The United Nations, I submit, is very much higher in its level of thinking and its level of intelligence to be appealed to in this manner, when the whole facts of the case are well known, when the records of the United Nations contain the facts of this tragedy of a whole nation being deported from its homeland by the terror of Israel.

240. With eloquence, the lady from Israel tried to bypass the whole tragedy and to speak in terms of negotiation. What a holy ghost is the lady from Israel.

241. The lady from Israel has spoken of disarmament in the Middle East. Who is speaking of disarmament? Israel speaks of disarmament and preaches aggression and expansion, and still they find it convenient and expedient to speak from the rostrum of the United Nations on disarmament and an agreement with control and inspection. But let me remind those who do not know, let me remind the newcomers and the ladies and gentlemen in the galleries that there were general Armistice Agreements concluded between four Arab States and Israel under the auspices of the United Nations,^{5/} with control and inspection by an armistice commission. There you have an agreement, there you have control, there you have inspection, but in spite of the agreement, in spite of the control, and in spite of the inspection under the auspices of the United Nations, you find that Israel has violated the armistice agreement many hundreds of times and that Israel has been condemned, as no other Member of this Organization has been condemned, six times by the Security Council and by the General Assembly, and condemned in the most cruel terms. The condemnation has been passed by the General Assembly for armed attacks, and for most inhuman attacks against people who were defenceless in their camps, against refugees in their tents who were subjected to Israeli horror and terror.

242. Yet here we have Israel appealing for a disarmament agreement with control and inspection. Yet there is an agreement that is ten years old, with inspection and control, but it has been violated hundreds and hundreds of times by the Government of the lady of Israel, by their people and by their military forces. How can it be consistent for the lady from Israel to seek an agreement when Israel has violated an agreement, to seek control and inspection when Israel has trodden on control and inspection. This is nothing but blasphemy, and I would call it political blasphemy which we cannot tolerate in the United Nations.

243. Lastly, as though we were at the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem, I have seen the lady from Israel weeping over the disunity of the Arab Government. It seemed

to me that I was back again in the days of my childhood when I saw the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem with crowds of people weeping there. I have seen the lady from Israel weeping over the disunity of the Arab world, but this is not the affair of Israel; it is the affair of the Arab world. We know how to deal with our own affairs, but Israel is physically disuniting the Arab world. Israel is driven as a wedge between the Arab world in Africa and the Arab world in Asia.

244. If Israel is really keen about the unity of the Arab world, it should not have wedged itself in between the Arab world in Africa and the Arab world in Asia. Can they have any sympathy at all with regard to the unity of the Arab world? I doubt it. With regard to the unity of the Arab world, the best thing they can do is to quit the Middle East and then the unity of the Arab world will be restored. That is my answer.

245. The lady from Israel has spoken in great detail and with a great deal of eloquence on the evils of the Nazis and the evils of racial discrimination. I stand here to condemn the Nazi acts, and I do not accept any justification whatsoever for any persecution wherever it may be. We do not practice here in our feelings and sympathies any discrimination, and I condemn discrimination in all its manifestations. But think for yourselves—in the last ten years Israel has admitted into Palestine 1,750,000 human beings, Jews—the exclusion is for non-Jews. They have not admitted one single refugee during the course of fourteen years. Is this not racial discrimination and the worst practice of nazism? This is exactly what Israel is condemning—Israel is condemning her own practices, her own conduct, her own policy. In the course of the last fourteen years Israel has doubled its population, allowing the doors of Palestine to be opened only to the Jews.

246. While the million refugees on the other side of the Demarcation Line from their tents are witnessing their homes, their farms and their shops, the lady from Israel is speaking of the deserts they have cultivated and of the improvements they have made. But let me remind you that Israel owns only 6 per cent of the land under the occupation of Israel. These lands are the property of the Arabs—the shops, the houses, the towns, the villages, the farms, the orange groves, the vines—all this wealth is Arab property and Arab soil and Arab toil, and it is through generations of Arab labour that this wealth has been brought about. Every year Israel is taking £57 million sterling from the income and revenue of the Arab property. And here Israel speaks of the evils of nazism and the evils of racial discrimination. They are in the dock. Here in the United Nations they are in the dock and their defence is defenceless—it collapses to the ground. They cannot defend themselves. Nazism has been exported from Europe into Palestine and nazism is now planted in the shape and in the image of Israel in the Middle East. This is a charge for which there is ample evidence. We do not throw it in the air just to make a mere statement here, before this honourable august body.

247. I should like to end my statement with this. The solution of the Palestine question can only be sought in the very pattern in which all colonial problems have been solved. Zionism, with Israel as its spearhead, is a colonial manifestation. It is the embodiment of imperialism and the manifestation of racialism in its

^{5/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplements Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

ugliest forms. As the problem of Algeria has been solved, as the problem of Angola is going to be solved, and the question of South Africa is bound to be solved and as all libertarian causes in Africa are bound to be solved, this question of Palestine will only be solved in the same pattern. There is only one solution—it is the solution of the principle of self-determination, which has been the banner of liberty for the people of Africa and Asia. No less than seventy nations from Asia and Africa have come to the United Nations through the implementation of self-determination. Palestine belongs to its people, to the Arab people. It is part and parcel of the Arab homeland. No negotiation and no conciliation will ever arouse the Arab world to surrender its rights in Palestine. You should seek the solution of this question through the very fundamentals of the United Nations Charter as you have sought the solution of all issues of imperialism and colonialism. The Palestine question must be solved now. If it is not solved within the United Nations, then the people of Palestine will seek the solution outside the United Nations. It is your duty here in the United Nations to see to it that the Palestine question is solved within the United Nations. I do not preach war, nor are we warmongers; we are for peace. And let us remember, after all, that Palestine is the land of peace. It belongs to the messenger of peace and the apostle of love.

248. Mr. KAKA (Niger) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, to join, together with all my delegation, in the many congratulations that have been offered to you on the occasion of your splendid election. In elevating you to this high office, the General Assembly is fully aware of the responsibilities it is entrusting to you. Your distinguished qualities, which are universally known, have certainly guided this choice. May God give you the strength and will necessary to accomplish your onerous and delicate mission.

249. It is a pleasure for me to state here how happy my delegation and I are to receive into the great international family the brother States of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Algeria. We respectfully salute the birth of each new State. Our joy on the occasion of this exceptionally important event is intensified by the knowledge that the number of colonies is becoming ever smaller. The representatives of these States will assuredly be determined to work not only for the well-being of their people but also for the whole of mankind.

250. I should also like to take this opportunity to hail the end of the hostilities in Algeria. It is here more than anywhere else that a tribute should be paid to the Algerian people, whose peerless courage has enabled them to attain today the goal of seven years of harsh and difficult struggle. The happy outcome of the Evian talks strengthens us in our conviction that, whatever the differences between nations or individuals, free and direct negotiations can and even must make it possible to arrive at a compromise reconciling apparently incompatible views.

251. It is a pleasure for me, on behalf of my delegation, to salute the first Government of free and independent Algeria, and it is our sincerest desire that this dazzling victory should be the prelude to other, no less important victories in every field.

252. I cannot leave this topic without warmly congratulating the French Head of State, General de Gaulle, who, in spite of all opposition, was able, with the agreement of the Algerian leaders, to put a

halt to this unjust war while there was still time and to salvage the friendship and co-operation of the two countries.

253. I am in duty bound to reaffirm openly my country's unshakable attachment to the ideal and the principles of the United Nations Charter. Respect for that Charter, which we consider to be a sacred duty of all Members, cannot but be the best moral support for the prestige of the Organization, which seems like providence itself to the newly liberated countries and the tens of millions of men who are impatiently awaiting their liberation. This explains our profound indignation every time some Power deliberately violates one of these sacred principles to which we cling as to the apple of our eye. For us, the United Nations is a great moral force in which nations great and small have freely placed their trust. It goes without saying that we are entirely in favour of strengthening the powers of the United Nations, and that is why we have been and will always be against the "troika", which in our view would impede the smooth working of the Secretariat.

254. Since his appointment last year, the Acting Secretary-General has expended great efforts in the search for appropriate solutions to distressing problems like those of Laos and the Congo, where, thanks to a compromise solution, the test of strength has been halted and hundreds of thousands of lives have in consequence been spared.

255. Faithful to the principle of self-determination and in accordance with the spirit of the Charter, we would have like the Papuan people to be consulted beforehand on their future in the West Irian question. In the Congo, the acceptance of the U Thant plan by the Central Government at Leopoldville and the Elisabethville Government allows us to hope for a return to normal life in a unified Congo. That is why the Government and the people of the Niger reservedly support this happy initiative.

256. In order to achieve success in the exceedingly delicate task which he has undertaken, the Acting Secretary-General must have the unanimous support of the United Nations. That is why the Niger, for its part, wants to reiterate its confidence in U Thant.

257. I should like now to say a few words on what have come to be called the uncommitted nations. We of the uncommitted nations are aware of our weaknesses and our under-development. But these weaknesses added together would amount to a great force which would give others cause to reflect and make its weight felt in the world balance, so true is it that unity is strength. The survival of mankind depends partly on the cohesion of the uncommitted nations, which will stay more than one criminal hand. It is our right and our duty to say no to collective murder.

258. This brings me quite naturally to speak of general and complete disarmament. For some years, we have been powerless onlookers in a frenzied arms race. Man's ingenuity is being taxed to find the most inhuman means of mass destruction, and every year certain Powers spend hundreds of millions of dollars for the eventuality of war, scorning the problems of under-development and human misery. No longer trusting one another, these Powers attribute aggressive intentions to each other. This situation, which to say the least is alarming, is daily aggravated by a fear psychosis skilfully orchestrated and sustained by criminal propaganda.

259. It was therefore out of its concern to reduce international tension that my delegation was led to vote against the inclusion in the agenda of that bone of contention between East and West, the question of Hungary.

260. This, of course, also leads us to condemn nuclear tests in any shape or form. In the absence of trust between the great Powers, any disarmament, to be effective, must be accompanied by international control.

261. Another problem which threatens peace in Africa and in the world is the senseless policy of some nations. Decolonization, although only initiated a few years ago, is proceeding faster than has been realized, but it is a surprise only to those who have dreamt of keeping others under their domination indefinitely. The mighty wind of freedom blowing over Africa will overcome all obstacles deliberately set up in its path. In Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Portuguese Government is launching its troops against peaceful populations which have committed no other crime than that of wanting a little more freedom and a slightly better life. By doing this, Portugal is dangerously compromising any possibility of fruitful co-operation between it and the future States of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. It is therefore in Portugal's interest to enter into talks with the nationalists of these countries so that together they may, while there is still time, seek a just solution to the problems which set them apart.

262. The Government and people of the Niger express their sympathy for the valiant peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, who are fighting for liberation from the Portuguese colonial yoke, and they bow respectfully before the victims who have fallen on the field of honour.

263. May I now touch on the agonizing problem of apartheid, practised in South Africa and South West Africa. My Government's position has been defined many times in numerous discussions on this problem. The Government and people of the Niger are prepared, as always, to join in any initiative to root out this cancer from the flesh of Africa. It is truly revolting, for countries like my own, to find that South Africa, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, deliberately continues to violate the sacred principles of the Charter, to which it freely acceded.

264. Another hotbed of disturbances, Southern Rhodesia, where a minority clings to its power by the use of force and terror, urgently awaits a just solution. The latest development in the situation in that country has aroused general indignation. My delegation will therefore support with all its strength any effort that is designed to reduce tension in that corner of Africa.

265. I now come to the complex problem of the economic development of the uncommitted nations, which is one of the most urgent problems facing our Organization at the present time. Most of these countries are producers of raw materials, the prices of which, fixed outside their borders, are often subject to world-wide fluctuations. This dramatic situation has not escaped our Acting Secretary-General, who has given the following warning: "The present division of the world into rich and poor countries is much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds." [A/5201/Add.1, p. 3.]

266. The gravity of this situation does not escape any leader who has the higher interests of his country in mind. That is the reason which led my Government, together with eleven other African and Malagasy partners, to form the Association of African and Malagasy Economic Co-operation and Development, since we are convinced that in this divided and torn world only large economic groupings are viable and effective in striving for a constant improvement in the level of living of our people.

267. Our free association with the Common Market has no other purpose.

268. In my Government's view, honest economic co-operation must be the mainspring of African unity. We have, all of us, been colonized for more than half a century; we suffer from a lack of trained personnel and from under-development; and, finally, we share a common culture. All these common links cannot fail to overcome our selfishness and pride. We have quickly felt and understood the overriding need to pool our efforts so as to present a united front to our many and important problems, which are similar in every way. This common heritage has contributed greatly to creating a situation more favourable than ever for bringing us together again after the fever of the first days. We are convinced, moreover, that African unity will be built upon a programme of economic co-operation and not around one man or State.

269. This idea is illustrated by the following passage from the joint Niger-Guinea communiqué signed at Conakry on 7 June 1962 by the President of the Republic of Guinea, Mr. Sékou Touré, and the President of the Republic of the Niger, Mr. Hamani Diori:

"They (the two Presidents) also expressed the view that the achievement of African unity should begin with a minimum common programme and with close co-operation between the various African States in all fields. With this end in view, they have decided to increase exchanges between the two countries; exchanges between national organizations, youth and women's movements, and government and trade-union personnel.

"The two Presidents were agreed on the need for a common front among African States in order to support their export products."

Is that not a striking example of the will to achieve fruitful co-operation and human solidarity?

270. I could not end this statement without making special mention of the international solidarity which must be developed for the greater good of all mankind. I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of the Niger, to thank the Governments and peoples of France, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia and Israel for their kindness in providing us with material and technical aid during the latest epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis, which plunged my country into grievous mourning.

271. I remain convinced that despite the grave conflicts of interest which stand between the Powers, human reason will finally triumph over selfishness and pride and that peace will be safeguarded in the world.

272. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Argentina, who is the next speaker on the list, has agreed to postpone his statement until first thing tomorrow morning.

273. I would remind the Members of the Assembly that the General Committee will meet at 2.30 p. m. tomorrow in the Trusteeship Council Chamber. The

next meeting of the Assembly will be held at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.