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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before we begin the general debate, I should like to make the following statement.
2. I wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the cable dated 8 October 1961 [A/4914] sent to me by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, which has been circulated to the Assembly.
3. In this cable, the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic requests that since Syria has now resumed its former status as an independent State, within the same territorial boundaries as before 1958, the United Nations should take note of the resumed membership in the Organization of the Syrian Arab Republic.
4. The cable also points out that the Syrian Republic was an original Member of the United Nations under Article 3 of the Charter and continued its membership in the form of joint association with Egypt under the name of the United Arab Republic.
5. I have consulted a large number of delegations on this matter, and the general view appears to be that in the particular circumstances of this case Syria, as an original Member of the United Nations, may be authorized to be represented in the General Assembly, as it has expressly requested. Judging from my very extensive consultations there appears to be no objection to that course from any delegation.
6. If, therefore, I receive no objection before the opening of this afternoon's plenary meeting, I shall ask the Secretariat to make the necessary arrangements to allow the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic to take its place in the General Assembly as a Member of the United Nations.
7. Having made this statement, which will take effect, as I have just said, at the opening of this afternoon's meeting, I shall now re-open the general debate.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

8. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): In addressing the General Assembly at this sixteenth regular session, we can allow ourselves only one brief satisfaction—that of congratulating the President on his election to office. Those of us who have seen how rapidly he has adapted himself to the United Nations, who have watched him displaying outstanding political and administrative abilities and distinguishing himself serenely in our Committees and in plenary meetings by the particular authority of his comments in most difficult circumstances, can now express our profound satisfaction at having elected him to preside over our proceedings. We take pleasure, moreover, in witnessing the rapid rise to the summit of international affairs of a country—Tunisia—whose history is illustrious but whose independence and political coming of age are of recent date. We Spaniards, many of us Mediterranean in origin, find in Tunis a kinship of spirit and mutual understanding. Our President is the product of many intermingling cultures; but let me be permitted to see in him, particularly, the compatriot of that great Doctor of the Church St. Augustine.

9. The new President of the General Assembly will have to work hard—as he is well-qualified to do—to fill completely the place of our outgoing President, Mr. Boland, in whom we retain for the future, after his success in the Assembly, a great international magistrate whose services may more than once be needed not only by his country but by the whole world convened in international conclave.

10. And there end whatever thoughts of gladness we can have at this moment. The great shadow cast by the death of our Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, fills all that remains with real sadness. As the days pass, our feelings remain unchanged. He has been taken from us at the peak of his activity; and there are few men as capable of such activity as the eminent personality we have lost in the jungles of Rhodesia. He belonged to that choice and wholesomely aristocratic caste—a blessing of heaven for the peoples—in whose members are united genuine intellectual interest, the qualities of the man of action, and personal courage—a virtue not always found in men of the spirit, in their detachment and isolation from contact with the world. These select few men of action—their supreme example in history is perhaps Julius Caesar—bring a special fire to their actions by the very fact that they know them to be based on the sound analysis which belongs only to great minds. And such a man was Mr. Hammarskjöld, who died at exactly the same age as Julius Caesar. I shall never forget how this Nordic son of other cultures and other ways of life—this son of his great country, Sweden, with its remarkable spiritual strength—had no difficulty at all, on his visit to Spain, in transcending the picturesque and the superficial in his comments and penetrating to the innermost spirit—

uality of things and places. I remember accompanying him in Toledo, which has been the subject of so many brilliant literary descriptions but also of so many platitudes; and I was surprised at the unique understanding of what is pure, elegant and essential in this great historic city of Spain which was displayed throughout by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It was in Spain, again, in a memorable address, that he spoke of St. John of the Cross, and we shall always associate his memory with that invocation of the greatest of our mystics.

11. I shall not say that the end of Mr. Hammarskjöld means the end of the United Nations as an independent organ with its own personality: the United Nations must survive, and it is the task of all of us to see that it does. But it would be naive in the extreme to blind ourselves to the difficulty of replacing the Secretary-General—and this precisely because of the indeterminacy of function to which our Organization in large measure owes its effectiveness. Because of the somewhat shadowy existence it lives, the United Nations needs to be led by men of clarity and dramatic character. The purposes for which the United Nations was founded are beyond dispute: to maintain world peace, to prevent any interference by countries in the affairs of others and to preserve the principle of self-determination among its original Members and those later admitted. But the difficulty of maintaining itself within the bounds of its own structure, in the complex problems which confront it, makes its task, and especially that of its Secretary-General, one of continuous creation.

12. In every conflict, the United Nations has both to abide by precedent and to establish precedent. We can all call examples to mind; there can be few if any judicial and political authorities—and the United Nations has something of both—which combine such indeterminacy with purposes and intentions of such ambition. And the Secretary-General has to overcome this difficulty by dint of intelligence and imagination, together with the personal courage to remain steadfast in the face of powerful forces. That is why he must be an individual, a human being, an indivisible person. The repugnance felt by most delegations at the proposal to reduce the Secretariat to a deliberative organ, to give it over to the clash of opinions expressed in a "troika" or to make of it any other kind of multi-yoked vehicle is due to their understanding—conscious or subconscious, perhaps even intuitive—of how personal the office of Secretary-General must be.

13. We want a responsible Secretary-General, operating as hitherto from New York, the most suitable place for United Nations Headquarters. We see little to be gained by distributing our Organization's essential organs over various parts of the world, and still less by sending them to dubious places which would use the United Nations to win some colour of political standing. The essential work of the United Nations would benefit little by dispersion; the intentions of those who propose it may be sincere, but they are being led astray by side-issues and secondary considerations.

14. It is said that in the face of the Soviet threat the peace of the world depends solely on the United Nations. All of us who have come here believe in the benefits of such international deliberations, in the clash of opinions which so often produces clarity and just decisions. And the more we take part in the proceedings of the United Nations and measure the high

ability of the participants, the more this faith grows. The training and experience of the representatives convened at this General Assembly of the United Nations give ground for comfort and optimism. Moreover they teach us, by example, the unity of the human race—confirming the convictions of those of us who follow theological doctrines—and show us the kinship of feeling and sentiment which exists between representatives coming from countries which were formerly quite strange to one another and even separated by a gulf of sinister legend, who have nevertheless, now that they have met and exchanged opinions, proved most akin in their aspirations and most capable of understanding and, indeed, loving one another.

15. Like others who have spoken here we believe that for the small and middle-sized nations lacking physical power the United Nations is a remarkable safeguard and a strong and universal bulwark. With its ability to understand the evolution of the world and to prevent possible conflicts by forestalling them, the United Nations has through the very process of assembly and deliberation acquired a personality of its own—a personality expressed principally in the office of Secretary-General. If it is to achieve its end, all of its Members, beginning with the most powerful, must renounce many of their passions and much of what have traditionally been regarded as their rights. Despite our faith in the United Nations, however, we consider that it would be going too far to set the Organization up as the sole organ of peace. With all its peculiar virtues and powers, the Organization will always be largely a reflection of its membership, and in particular of its great Members, those having the greatest influence, those who from its foundation have reserved to themselves the leading positions and the power to prevent disorder by exercise of their united will—a fact which we by no means criticize, but indeed approve. This guiding Holy Alliance, as it were, formed after the Second World War to rectify an abnormal state of affairs, had positive advantages and gave strength to an entity which without it might have succumbed to chaos and dispersion of effort.

16. If, then, the countries represented here forget the moderation they should display and stand on rigid positions, the United Nations will be faced with breakdown. It will then no longer be a mirror of universal reality improved by a unity of higher purpose, but reality itself in all its harshness, beyond the control of the new law created by the United Nations and incapable of performing the function of world co-ordination which was the original purpose of its founders. The noble arena of the United Nations will have vanished without any fault on the Organization's part. As the Spanish proverb has it: "The mirror is not to blame for what it reflects". If the mirror of the United Nations reflects only bitterness and division, the Organization will change its character, will follow other roads, will lose its universality and will finally perish having left the lofty ideals of San Francisco far behind. That can happen, and it is our duty to do whatever lies in our power to avoid it.

17. The smaller countries, possessing no decisive armaments, always speak with some timidity and with some fear of interrupting important tasks when they intervene in debates on issues of life and death. Yet our physical presence and our moral effort can fulfil a function too. We can refrain from pressing those we believe to have right on their side. We can avoid words which may embitter or vex Powers which need the utmost patience in their tasks. We can also declare

our support, whatever may be its weight, for those who are preserving a balance in the face of a thousand well-known threats to world order.

18. When the people of Israel were fighting the Amalekites, they observed that whenever Moses raised his hand their armies advanced. "But Moses' hands were heavy"; we read in Exodus, "and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword."

19. We less powerfully armed States, by our words and our conduct, must stay up the hands of the countries on which Providence has imposed the fearful responsibility of maintaining principles and observing right conduct, and must put stones under them for their repose.

20. We beg those great nations—and I shall not hesitate to name them: I refer to the "Western" nations—to shoulder their full responsibilities; we do not believe that they can evade them by taking refuge in any organization. And in the United Nations, as in all acts of international life, we must with our words and our deeds merge our efforts with theirs. And let us declare our intention, as my delegation does sincerely, to remain at their side if the hour of danger strikes. To be specific: so far as my country, Spain, is concerned, the Head of State, speaking on 1 October before the National Council at Burgos, has recently made the following statement:

"I need not repeat to this National Council that our predictions have proved correct and that the principles of our international policy have not needed revision. Suffice it to say that the central line of that policy, the Iberian bloc and the agreements with the United States, are today among the most effective safeguards of Europe's defence, and offer the countries of the West a bastion and a rallying-point."

I stress this statement because some newspapers have published inaccurate reports which misrepresent Spain's clear, straightforward and immutable policy.

21. Since all countries desire peace, the more powerful peace-loving countries have a free hand to seek the necessary means, to negotiate flexibly so as to ensure satisfactory results and prolong, in one form or another, the ordered march of the world. We are confident that they will do so. His Holiness Pope John XXIII has expressed this faith as no one else could have done. We share his goals, without reservations or qualifications, and shall co-operate in carrying them into effect.

22. The conflicts of the present-day world will inevitably, if God withdraws from us the protection of His hand and the hour of darkness strikes, prove fatal to all of us: this is a drama in which the "spectators" may well run the same risks as the protagonists. I might say, comparing it to a Spanish sport doubtless familiar to some representatives and, indeed, practised in their countries—a sport which it is easier to admire than to defend—that it is a bullfight in which the bull may leap into the stands and attack the public—or those who regard themselves as the public. This will not happen; nor do I believe that there is really any bull. However, we must have thought for the untoward and unexpected possibility of such an event—one never dreamed of even by the

illustrious Ernest Hemingway, who devoted a great work to the subject of bullfighting.

23. History offers few examples of angelic countries being ranged against demoniac countries; in the Christian view such a thing, given original sin, is impossible. Nor can we look back on a past of sweetness and light; on the contrary, the past has been full of bitter contradictions, as anyone who has a long life behind him has had many occasions to appreciate.

24. However, there has never been ranged together a group of nations such as that directed by the Moscow Government; nations whose conduct is clearly at variance with the peaceful vocation of the human race and calls for the unqualified resistance, if this should prove necessary, of those who serve that vocation. Moreover, Moscow's offences have been of a most scandalous character. Take, for example, the division of Germany and the problem of access to Berlin. As a great New York newspaper has pointed out, this problem has its location in the most central point of the world, in a region which has been the theatre of many different and illustrious cultures, a region in which events take place in the fullest light of publicity. Germany is manifestly a national unity; no one would dream of disputing the fact that it must be preserved as the national unity which it has freely established over the centuries. If there were any need to put that question to the test, then the principle of self-determination would have to come into play: the Germans would have to be asked whether, after the many complex events that have taken place, they still believe that they should continue as a single people and play their part in international life as such. The reply is not hard to predict. Questions and answers, therefore, are redundant.

25. Spain believes that Germany must be united. A divided Germany is a focus of international tension dangerous, as we well know, to peace. The Germans today have shown that they wish to reunite their country only by peaceful means. Their most responsible leaders have said so, and have asked for the question to be put to the country. All the peace-loving great Powers appear to be one in desiring and promoting this goal. Yet we know the outcome.

26. The public scandal of this patent crime is poisoning international relations and robbing peoples whose co-operation for peace is needed—the Soviet peoples themselves—of any authority. It is not an edifying spectacle to watch them putting on a show of humanitarianism and philanthropy in issues affecting distant continents, to see them up in arms over the violation of some liberty in other parts of the world, while at the same time they practise, in the ancient centre of Europe, the cruellest oppression, in defiance of the will of a people. A scandal is not so notorious in some outlying suburb as it is in the centre of a city. And the scandal of divided Germany is being played out, we might say, in Park Avenue or in Fifth Avenue near Central Park, where it is visible to all.

27. This is not the first such case in the history of the world. How much damage these great violations of law have caused, and how much the peoples themselves have had to pay for them! For a good part of my life, up to the end of the First World War, I was able to witness the tragic consequences of the partition of Poland perpetrated in the eighteenth century; of the violation of the rights of that noble and enslaved people by the Tsar of Russia, the King of Prussia and the Empress of Austria. Let me say in parenthesis

that we of Spain were alone, I believe, in protesting as a nation, in 1772, against this act of violence. Our King Charles III voiced his indignation at that time. In chapter 66 of his book *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*, an English historian, William Coxe—I quote him because he is English—wrote as follows:

"The King of Spain expressed his dissatisfaction at this injurious act of encroachment with more energy than appeared to accord with his sedate and reserved temper. 'Ambition and usurpation', he said, 'do not surprise me in the King of Prussia and the Tsarina; but from the Empress Queen I did not expect such perfidy.' Had the other Powers participated in these sentiments"—concludes Coxe—"Spain would doubtless have warmly espoused the cause of the Poles."*

28. Berlin represents another iniquity, another partition of Poland at which, like Charles III, we protest. Heaven grant that it may not survive as long! But it will bring just as little good fortune—we may say without superstition—to those responsible for it. Similar and just as important in our eyes are those other injustices which, though less conspicuous, are of equal moral and juridical concern to us: I refer to the cases of Viet-Nam and Laos, countries at present being made the victims of sinister manoeuvres.

29. Is this the consequence of Moscow's doctrinal crusade of Marxism? To a large extent it is. Countries dominated by doctrinal ideas and emotions, countries lacking the balance to appreciate the limitations of international life, have always tended to embrace these fanatical forms of coercion, which end by rousing general resistance, this in its turn culminating almost always in the victory of liberty and moderation. The impetus to these movements is the Marxist ideology peculiar to Bolshevism. But this is not the sole motive force of international events. Imperialism, the desire to impose the domination of one's own country in the concert of nations, and to impose it by force, also play a decisive part in the dangers at present created by the Russian empire. As history shows, it has sometimes been necessary to bridle the ambitions of the Tsars, to form coalitions for that purpose and even to fight wars—the Crimean War is a case in point. The present communist empire has inherited the same drive to unlimited expansion, with no exaggerated respect for frontiers. We should not be so blinded by doctrine as to forget this typically nationalist neo-Tsarism. I know not why, but these doctrinal conquerors never transfer any of their power to other politically and militarily weaker countries, even when these fanatically profess the same principles. There they stand, ever in the vanguard of policy and of the power-apparatus serving that policy; never do they surrender leadership to their ideological brothers, who must remain their respectful assistants.

30. It would thus be incorrect, despite all appearances to the contrary, to regard the nations as divided into two bands or parties deployed for battle. The problem is more varied and less ideological than that. Purely doctrinal alignments, calling upon the world to resist aggressive neo-Tsarism by some sort of pacific, political and diplomatic Sebastopol, are not lacking. Bolshevism, of course, exploits its revolutionary doctrinal position to cause unrest in the internal life

of other countries. Eminent speakers have described to us here—the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala did so with praiseworthy courage and precision—how communism has gone about its work in their countries, exploiting factors of internal agitation for the subversion of law and order. The Spanish delegation could say a great deal about the skilful and tenacious accumulation of powerful foreign communist forces on its territory in the past. But that is an old story, and I doubt whether I need enlarge on it. We should remember from the *Philippics*, however, that even in the absence of pure doctrinal passion there are means of undermining the free politics of other countries for the benefit of foreign tyrants. The Macedonians represented no doctrine. We should not, therefore, allow ourselves to be carried away by exclusively doctrinal opposition to the communist appetites, however great we know them to be; we should resort to the old political methods of balance and defence.

31. The peaceful coexistence advocated here by the Soviet delegation, if it were advocated for sincere motives and if it were practised honestly, would be entitled to our sympathetic consideration, and even to our approval. Every one of the countries here represented—and this is an essential principle of the Charter and one of the foundation-stones of our existence as the United Nations—maintains its right to decide its own domestic policies. The right to independent State organization is one of the most sacred and cherished rights protected and preserved by the nations. The internal institutions of the Bolshevik empire are of no concern to the United Nations or to us—and God knows how absolutely we oppose the doctrine and practice of communism. Because we are faithful to the ideas of Christianity, of the Western world, we are grieved at the slavery endured by so many oppressed peoples behind the iron curtain; they will never lack the sympathy of Spain, nor will their servitude ever be sealed with our moral approval. But it would never have occurred to us to criticize these institutions in organizations based on international coexistence, or to denounce their activities, were it not for the aggressive external attitude of the Government concerned. Unlike other delegations, perhaps, we for our part believe in the possibility of a policy of peaceful coexistence between peoples having different systems. It is the Soviet Union which violates this policy of coexistence and compels us to resist. If the remedy lies in the conversion of the communists to other principles—as the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom has argued here, whether in jest or with noble idealism I do not know—I tremble at the thought of the disasters which may come to pass before this transformation, one so difficult and so unlikely in the light of past experience, can take place. The baptism of Clovis is not an everyday event, and I find it hard to imagine the eminent gentlemen who direct Moscow's policy receiving the baptismal waters of liberty, despite their recent verbal endorsement of the opinions of His Holiness Pope John XXIII. Let us be satisfied with sincere provisional policies such as might encourage the hopes of the world for their better conduct. Our safeguards are to be sought, to use the far-sighted words of the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, in upholding the efforts of other peoples of the world; and the defensive armour we need in present international conditions will be created by building up our own strength, each country to the extent of its capacities. These principles have not lost their validity, nor will they do so until the peoples unani-

*Published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815.

mously accept the limitations of disarmament under full safeguards and subject to comprehensive supervision.

32. We have every respect for the intentions of those nations which are seeking the road to peace. We declare this respect—and I say this on behalf of my delegation—in all sincerity. We know the caution with which they are proceeding and we know how complex are the problems they all have to face. Nevertheless, we find it hard to understand how many of them, important States, can believe it possible to maintain an attitude of neutrality and share their censures between the two alleged parties to the dispute. There is no dispute here, nor any parties; there is an imminent danger of aggression, and there is the duty to help those who are best able to resist that aggression by giving them our moral support and, if it should unfortunately become necessary, our material aid. Who can have any illusions about Bolshevik violence? Never have I had so much in mind the text from St. Matthew which I quoted last year:

"He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

And he who makes no distinction between organized revolutionary fury, with States in its service, and those who denounce and restrain that fury, is willy-nilly against the cause of peace.

33. Those who cherish the legitimate temptation to play a political role by following this policy of non-involvement will meet with no small disappointments, despite the interested praises of those who wish to create this state of indecision and convert it into a political system—and that at a time hardly propitious to the lukewarm, to those who, in the words of the Apocalypse, are neither hot nor cold.

34. Only from positions of strength and of understanding of the peril confronting us, moreover, will it be possible to reach agreements, and indeed even peaceful settlements. It is hard to believe that anyone in his heart of hearts desires the frightful test of war. We should survive it; and submission to tyranny is a worse evil than war. The next war has always been thought of as the last and final one. But we have already experienced a number of "last" wars, and mankind survives. That, nevertheless, is no good reason for not exerting ourselves to the utmost to avert catastrophe.

35. Disarmament and the suspension of nuclear testing are subjects which have been treated here with particular authority by the supreme representative of the United States. My country's Press has warmly welcomed the proposals, which we applauded when we heard them, made before this Assembly by President Kennedy [1013th meeting].

36. What point is there in repeating and pressing our arguments? What boots it to comment on the activities of the atomic Powers and the lesser activities of the many Powers which possess no atomic weapons? Certain principles of agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States have met with universal approval.

37. The representatives of Moscow, who are undoubtedly well enough informed about the strength of the Western Powers—strength sufficient to discourage from dangerous ventures anyone who has not lost his reason—will surely find in their human feelings and their political self-interest stimuli to rational re-

flexion. And in the background there remains the world of countries having no excessive ideological demands but firmly attached to their pragmatic desire for the maintenance of peace, and convinced that that goal can be achieved only with due regard for principles of absolute justice.

38. Much has been said in the general debate on the subject of colonialism. My country's position on this question has always been very clear. It is a position deriving from Spain's history and from the political doctrine laid down by its great philosophers and theologians at the very outset of its colonial vocation. After Rome, England and Spain were for many centuries the great colonizing—colonizing, not colonial—peoples. At the same time, let me point out once again that most peoples have been colonies of others. Spain received its present shape, transmitted across many centuries, from the Roman Empire; and we still retain memories of freedom and independence side by side with memories of resistance to Rome. There are still teachers who tremble with legitimate emotion, and make their pupils tremble with them, when they describe Numantia's heroic resistance to the Roman legions. I myself, I confess, hated the Roman Tyranny when I was a youth at school, and I still feel understandable pride at the stout defence opposed to it by those original Spaniards, the Iberians. I will add, moreover, that as a Spanish Basque I have also felt some pride in reading in the works of the Roman historians of the revolts of the Ancient Vascones, taking them to have been actually Basques, and in reading of our resistance to the Visigoths after that.

39. Need we be surprised, then, when we see the fire of independence winning the hearts of the new nations? But at the same time—and here I am speaking from within the Spanish experience—how can we Spaniards forget the creative role for our country of Rome, to which we owe our original cultural existence and so many of the preconditions for nationhood?

40. When I think of this problem I think as a Spaniard of something for which Spain bears a fundamental responsibility to God and man: the creation of a good part of America, which Spain discovered, not to speak of the Philippine Islands.

41. In his fine address to this Assembly, the representative of Uruguay described the sense of mission which informed the original Spanish enterprise in America. There is a much-quoted passage in which the great Spanish polygraph Menéndez Pelayo tells of the lofty intentions and absence of materialist motives of the Spaniards who transplanted themselves to America, and who later, in the persons of their descendants, became the leaders of the new peoples of Spanish origin and tongue on that continent. And, without forgetting the essential originality of these peoples and their importance in contemporary international life, we feel a sense of fraternal gladness at finding ourselves in their company, and at finding also that they are today almost without exception in the vanguard of the cause of peaceful civilization, and are working for that goal side by side with the most powerful Western Powers.

42. We are sometimes saddened, may I say in parenthesis, at the fact that Spain, having completed the great work recorded in the annals of modern history, should now be forgotten. A few days ago one of the great New York newspapers published in a supplement a study of the way of life of the former imperial

nations which have now been reduced to more human dimensions. The most important nations of Europe were dealt with in turn, and comforted with some shrewd observations about the fruitfulness of their present state of resignation; but there was no mention of Spain. I felt as though we were being denied even the melancholy sweetness of decadence. Apart from the problem of communism, I remembered that certain doctrinal divisions dating back to the beginning of the modern era still colour the judgement of some excellent spirits when they deal with matters of Spanish political history. And it also occurred to me—all this in parenthesis and outside the context of our debate—how little recognition is given to the role of that other great branch of Spain which still remains Iberian in its sensibility and culture—Central and South America; an absence of recognition reflected in the fact that in discussion of the election of a new Secretary-General no mention at all is made of the eminent representatives of that region, among whom there are men of unique distinction.

43. A particular feature of Spain's overseas territorial expansion was the fraternity established with the indigenous inhabitants of the newly-discovered countries and the fact that they were at once treated according to the principles of humanity, which means racial fusion. Let me spare myself a great many words by citing a passage from a historian of Spanish and Colombian blood, Ballesteros de Gaibrois, the son of a great Spanish historian and a Colombian lady who was also an excellent historian, both of them now deceased. I quote:

"Mixed marriages brought about a decline in the birth-rate of pure Indians: the more mestizos, the fewer Indians. These mestizos were the founders of the Antilles, for example; they belonged to the first and best families, and their culminating expression was achieved in Peru in the person of the Inca Garcilaso, whose works on the things of his native land of Peru are classics and are written in the purest literary style of Castile. The attitude of the Spanish conquistador to the Indian before the promulgation of laws and ordinances was Christian and generous, and based on an intuitive recognition of what was the only possible road to peaceful human relations, devoid of all racial prejudice and discrimination."

How, then, can we fail to welcome with enthusiasm the birth of new peoples, welcome their advent to full political life and their seating themselves here among us? How can we retain any discriminatory reserve as regards other races, when we ourselves have mixed with peoples of many races in the lands on which we have set foot, and have communicated our blood and our spirit to them?

44. With the nineteenth century, the colonizing task of Spain came almost to a full stop. Our participation in the African enterprise of the nineteenth century—that now being debated here—was very small. But we are not so blinded by envy of other more fortunate peoples of that epoch as to be unable to judge their labour of civilization with objectivity and to see in the advent to full statehood of the nations of Africa the harvest of the progressive seeds they sowed.

45. These new nations are entitled to feel every satisfaction. All we ask of them is serenity, calm, and some concessions to time and the exigencies of evolution in judging other countries. Let them, if their goal is dignity and fraternity, apply their in-

telligence to understand the various forms of State organizations; let them not mingle lofty aspirations with unjust reactions—reactions sometimes inflamed by those who desire and promote universal disorder—against the nations which guided their first steps along the path of progress.

46. I have several times quoted here in the United Nations, in connexion with the right of self-determination of the new peoples, the very wise words spoken in December 1957 in the First Committee by Mr. Drago, the representative of Argentina. I had the good fortune to hear him on that occasion. Our sister-nation of Argentina is distinguished by the exceptional ability of the representatives it sends among us—as we may well see at this present session—and by its choice and astringent tradition of public law. Mr. Drago, the son of an eminent international jurist, was typical in that respect of his country. He defined with wisdom and precision the meaning of the right of self-determination according to the spirit and the letter of the Charter. As this is a subject much discussed here, I should like once again to remind you of the doctrine laid down by Mr. Drago. I quote the most important passage in his statement:

"Therefore, the 'self-determination of peoples' mentioned in Article 1 (2) of the Charter means the freedom of sovereign peoples to choose their own Government. There would be no sense in this provision of the Charter if it made the development of friendly relations among nations dependent on the right to self-determination, in the abstract, of communities or peoples which had not signed the Charter. In their commentary on Article 1 (2), Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro wrote that the delegations gathered at San Francisco did not apparently intend the words 'the self-determination of peoples' to encourage demands for immediate independence or movements for secession; that seemed to be clear from the terms of Article 2 (7) and of Chapters XI, XII and XIII relating to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

"The false interpretation of Article 1 (2)", Mr. Drago continued, "has given birth to the slogan of 'the self-determination of peoples' which has been so frequently repeated in this debate. There is no such thing. Neither Article 1 (2) nor any other precept of the Charter calls upon the non-self-governing peoples—those which, to use the words of the Charter, 'have not yet attained a full measure of self-government'—to rebel. Clearly, the idea of the self-determination of peoples set forth in Article 1 (2) of the Charter has a meaning very different from that usually attached to it."^{1/}

Our former colleague was right. To accept any other interpretation would mean encouraging the disintegration of nations and playing the Bolshevik game. A great politician of the beginning of the nineteenth century is reported to have said that given no more than a tree, a river and a clever lawyer with means of propaganda available to him, he would undertake to create a nationality. That is a dangerous and poisonous caricature of self-determination. The true historic self-determination may be seen in action here in the arrival of the African nations, which we old countries—former colonizers, I repeat, but well content with work—welcome with open arms and over-

^{1/} Statement made at the 921st meeting of the First Committee, whose records are published only in summary form.

flowing hearts. I bid a special welcome to the latest arrival, Sierra Leone.

47. There have been many occasions on which the world has seen itself, or has thought it has seen itself, threatened with destruction. Providentially, it has survived, and God has made life beautiful and worthy of being lived. I say with sincere conviction, after having lived for many years upon this earth, that the same thing will happen again. Let us have faith in universal good sense. Let us have faith in human nature and let us hope that the world will move forward, free from threats of final destruction, towards a future worthy of the divine spark which we all bear within us, a divine spark which commands us to oppose even that form of evasion of life which is represented by birth control—a subject on which we shall raise our voice at the proper time. The very eminent representative of Costa Rica has already said in most courteous terms but with all necessary firmness [1034th meeting] that in view of the serious implications it would have for the social and political organization of his country, not to speak of its religious organization, he was obliged to oppose the proposed study. I associate myself with his words.

48. I need not say how greatly my country, Spain, shares in the universal dream. We are a peaceful people who have suffered many trials. We owe much to United States assistance—which, I should like to say with all the clarity at my command, has brought us great benefits—and our doors are open to the life of the world, as has been evidenced this year in the figure of eight million tourists who visited our shores.

49. It is in the interest of the peoples to help one another; those which are most advanced should lend a helping hand to those who lag some way behind. But let us also bear in mind what we were told only a few days ago by the head of an important international economic institution: that the peoples themselves must strive industriously to exploit their own sources of wealth and must intensify their efforts to catch up with the most advanced peoples. As the old proverb says: "Trust in God and keep your powder dry". First let us trust in God; then let us call frankly upon the powerful nations to help other nations. But "keep our powder dry": that is to say, let us all stand firm in our peaceful resolve, in our activity and in our labour—for the reward of labour is nearly always prompt and comforting.

50. Mr. ZABARAH (Yemen): The peoples of the world are grieved by the untimely death of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We cherish remembrance of Hammarskjöld as a rare spirit among men and a symbol of human striving towards world peace, law and justice. His selfless devotion, his fearless dedication and his endless sacrifices in life cause us to realize that the world has lost a great man, a man of integrity and ability, a staunch guardian of world peace, a devout defender of human rights and a man who sought world peace with indefatigable energy, unswerving courage and wise statesmanship. We hope that Hammarskjöld did not die in vain, for we know that he died for peace so that millions of us could live.

51. The Yemen people and Government express their heartfelt condolence to the families of Mr. Hammarskjöld and his associates. To his native Sweden and to the world at large, we express our deep sympathy.

52. Permit me to congratulate Mr. Slim, his country, and the whole Arab people for the honour bestowed

on them by his election as President of this historic session of the Assembly, at this critical time when the United Nations is at a turning point. We consider his unanimous election to the Presidency as a token of the respect and esteem in which we all hold him and his country.

53. We pray that the struggle of the Tunisian people will not be in vain and will culminate in the evacuation of French troops from Tunisian territories and the return of peace to the area. The Tunisian struggle is justified, and receives the full support of all nations who believe in justice and respect for sovereign rights.

54. We hope that the French decision to end the occupation of the city of Bizerta will be followed by complete and unconditional withdrawal of French troops from Tunisian soil.

55. My Government and people fully support the people and Government of Morocco in their struggle to regain the occupied territories of Morocco and prevent imperialist intrigue from severing an important segment of Moroccan territories on the pretext of encouraging independence.

56. We cannot tolerate having our Arab brothers of Palestine deprived of their inherent and natural right to live in the land of their ancestors, and their right to enjoy independence and freedom, and to demand the end of the occupation of their territories by foreign elements, against their will and without their consent. We request that elementary principles of law be upheld, that the illegal seizure of the properties of the Arab refugees be corrected, and that adequate, fair and prompt compensation be approved for those who request it. The right of the refugees to return to their homes must be recognized.

57. No power exerted by the Zionist conspiracy will blind honest people to the truth. No distortion, misrepresentation or falsification will change our belief in the justice of the Arab cause in Palestine. Those who are talking peace and waging war cannot fool the people all the time. Ignoring the rights of the Arab refugees and defying the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Palestine is a continuing act against peace and international morality. Vicious propaganda against the Arabs everywhere will not help anyone, even its instigators.

58. We were hopeful that at this session the Algerian question would be behind us, solved on the basis of the legitimate aspirations of the brave Algerian people. We were hopeful that there would be an independent, united Algeria, recognized by France and having a seat in the Assembly. But unfortunately negotiations are still lagging and dragging, and old ideas which have been forced on us in the past, ideas about amputating parts of the body of a nation, are being tried again in the Algerian Sahara. We are now wiser, more mature and more experienced. It will be impossible to tie the solution of the Algerian question to blackmail in the Sahara. Sooner or later, France will come to its senses and will come to terms with the legitimate Government of Algeria, and thus the curtain will fall on the last scene of the struggle of a great nation that made many sacrifices for independence. The Algerian war of independence is second to none among the battles for freedom, and it will always be commemorated in the annals of honour, dignity and courage.

59. My Government fully supports the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference,^{2/} part III, paragraph 3 of which stated:

"The participating countries consider the struggle of the people of Algeria for freedom, self-determination and independence, and for the integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary and are therefore, determined to extend to the people of Algeria all the possible support and aid. The Heads of State or Government are particularly gratified that Algeria is represented at this Conference by its rightful representative, the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria."^{3/}

60. The question of Oman comes before the General Assembly again after being postponed from the fifteenth session. The negotiations in Lebanon between the Sultan of Muscat and the Imam of Oman in 1960 and 1961, in which the United Kingdom participated, were broken off when Oman's right to independence was not recognized and when the British refused to withdraw their troops from Oman and pay reparation for war losses.

61. This reluctance to recognize the sovereignty of the Imam and the right of Oman to self-determination and independence is another example of imperialism and domination. The presence of British troops in any part of the Arabian Peninsula is an act of subjugation and an affront to the Arab people. The security of the Arab world did not devolve by default on the British, so that they might claim that their unwelcome presence is essential for the security and welfare of the Arabs. The sooner the British leave the Arabian Peninsula, the better it will be for all concerned. Their mere occupation of Arab territories is a threat to the peace and security of the world.

62. We hope that the General Assembly will take a decision at this session to give Oman its legitimate independence and to order the evacuation of foreign troops. This action would result in the return of peace and security to the area in the place of terrorism and attacks on civilians, which have caused many casualties among men, women and children.

63. The Yemen delegation joins the majority of Member States of the Organization in asserting the importance of combating imperialism and preventing its existence in any country or on any continent. Imperialism is contrary to the spirit of the twentieth century, which is an era of liberation from injustice and slavery, an era of science, civilization and progress. We deplore imperialism in any place because we are experiencing this dreadful form of domination, for a part of our country is still under the yoke of colonialism and has been for a hundred years. That part of our sacred territory is occupied illegally by the imperialists. This has resulted in incidents and in fighting, with considerable loss of life, destruction of property and disruption of the population. Consequently, the harmonious and peaceful atmosphere of this area has been disturbed.

64. The Yemen Government hopes that a satisfactory accord with the Government of the United Kingdom may be reached to solve this controversy on the basis of returning the part to the whole and fulfilling Yemen's rights.

^{2/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held 16 September 1961.

^{3/} *Belgrade Conference 1961* (published by the *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade) No. 5, p. 21.

65. We deeply regret that some territories are still under colonial rule, and we urge those who are holding back to yield to the tide of world public opinion before it is too late. We advise the colonialists to free the remaining colonies and to give up their ambitions to regain control over those territories that have gained self-government and independence. We deplore the use of brutal force in Angola, and we fully support the people of Angola in their heroic struggle for freedom and independence. We are confident that Angola will soon join the community of nations as a sovereign State and that Portugal will soon realize that the cruel methods it uses in its attempt to suppress a rising nation will not succeed, because Angola is not alone in its fight but has the support of the smaller nations of Asia and Africa, which exert great moral power.

66. My country has been watching very closely the events in the Congo and the achievement of the United Nations in its efforts to bring about peace and security and prevent the imperialists from putting obstacles in the path of independence and progress. We cannot but register with great admiration the efforts of the late Secretary-General and the United Nations personnel in the Congo in their efforts to achieve conciliation between Mr. Tshombé and the Central Government and also the setting up of that Government with the participation of all political segments in the Congo. We also welcome the cease-fire in Katanga.

67. We wish that others shared our views that the excellent administration of the late Secretary-General should continue, for now more than ever we are in urgent need of a strong executive whose work is unhampered by the political considerations that prevail elsewhere in other principal organs of the United Nations.

68. My delegation takes note with alarm of the rising world anxiety over a new spurt in the arms race, the resumption of nuclear testing, the collapse of the Geneva talks on a nuclear test ban^{4/} and the collapse of general disarmament talks. We feel that the People's Republic of China should not be ruled out in any disarmament negotiations, and that some neutrals will participate in these negotiations.

69. We deplore the failure of France to stop testing in the Sahara, against the will of the African people and the General Assembly resolution [1379 (XIV)].

70. We aspire to have an interim Secretary-General, and eventually a Secretary-General, who has the late Mr. Hammarskjöld's personal attributes, which were his greatest legacy to us. We want a Secretary-General who will set us a magnificent example of fortitude in meeting crises. We want a man of calm determination and dedication and willingness to work unceasingly in the cause of peace no matter how great the difficulties might be. If we give way to despair, to gloom or to doubt because a great man is gone, this will be an expression of our failure to believe sincerely in the mission entrusted to us by the Charter.

71. Let us continue to work confidently and with fearless determination for the cause of peace. This can be accomplished by electing a head of the Secretariat to lead, to control and to guide, not a man controlled by Power blocs, or whose hands are tied and whose voice is muted. In selecting the Secretary-General, whether on an interim or permanent basis,

^{4/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, opened at Geneva on 31 October 1958.

we must take into consideration the desire of the largest group in the United Nations, namely the Asian-African States, which represent half the membership of the United Nations.

72. The Yemen Government is pleased to co-operate with all nations to safeguard international peace and security, to preserve the Charter of the Organization and to establish tranquillity and calm in the hearts of the people of the world in place of fear, alarm and anxiety.

73. The world is passing through terrible and fearful times due to the international crises which are choking the world, and which arose originally from the difference of the views between East and West, where each side is endeavouring to mobilize and concentrate against the other, ignoring that the effect of this on the world is increasing tension and that civilization and humanity may be disintegrated and destroyed as a result of this dreadful struggle.

74. In these hectic days the world is in need of quiet and a flag of justice and love to flutter over it, and it is regrettable that we do not see any sign of hope that love and peace will replace hate and disagreement, and that welfare and prosperity on earth will replace poverty and misery.

75. Mr. PLIMSOLL (Australia): I should like to begin by congratulating Mr. Mongi Slim and Tunisia on his election as President of the General Assembly. Mr. Slim has had a distinguished record in the Organization. He has served on many committees and bodies of the Organization and I remember, in particular, the distinguished part he played when Tunisia was a member of the Security Council. He carried out a constructive and conciliatory role in connexion with a number of very difficult items of the agenda in periods of some tenseness. His election at this session is a recognition of his own personal contribution to the United Nations, to his standing and that of his country, in the Organization.

76. This session of the General Assembly convenes at a time of more than usual tenseness. Many of us may feel that the world today is subjected to strains and pressures and risks, even of war, that are greater than at any time since the Organization came into existence. Many of us are perhaps conscious of certain parallels with the nineteen-thirties, when mankind felt itself rather impotently edging towards a catastrophe. And we all know that today the results of a catastrophe, the results of a world war, would be so much more terrible than they were in the late nineteen-thirties. It is a crisis that centres particularly over Berlin and, to some extent, over Germany as a whole. The outstanding thing about this crisis is that it is largely a manufactured crisis. The problems of Berlin and of Germany are fundamental problems, they are persisting problems, and they are not problems that are going to be solved overnight. But the fact that these problems have been pushed to a point where today serious people are thinking that perhaps the world may be facing a war is the result of an attempt by the Soviet Union to force a settlement, the result of actions by the Soviet Union to create an atmosphere of crisis. Does anyone here today seriously think that if the Soviet Union had not been waving threats, forcing questions forward, demanding decisions, demanding action that is not acceptable to key parties, this session of the General Assembly would have met in an atmosphere of possible war?

77. We have attempts from the Soviet Union to create the impression that we are dealing with an irrational man, a man whom we must rush to pacify because his actions will otherwise be unpredictable. We hear from Moscow talk about patience being exhausted, we have threats to destroy other countries, threats to wipe a country off the face of the earth if it gives trouble. This is a series of acts of terrorism, and they are having exactly the opposite effect of what they might have been intended to create. Instead of frightening people and driving them into concessions, they are driving us together. I remind Members that the Charter of the United Nations refers not merely to the obligation on all of us to refrain from the use of force, it calls on us to refrain from the threat of force. I endorse the remarks in the Assembly by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, earlier in this session when he said: "Let us call a truce to terror" [1013th meeting, para. 41].

78. I have said that the problems of Berlin and of Germany are persisting problems. Some of the elements in them are essential elements. One of them is the principle that international agreements must be observed. There are certain international agreements on Berlin. They provide, among other things, for access rights, and these must be observed. Another principle is that West Berlin cannot be allowed to go under. It is a city of over 2 million people, people who are going about their lives day by day in a normal manner like any other people in a free and independent country, and these people are entitled to continue to lead the sort of lives that they have chosen to lead.

79. We have been told a lot in recent years about competitive coexistence. We have heard the doctrine that communism and capitalism can live side by side—let them work together, compete together and see who comes out in front in the end. Now Germany and Berlin is surely a case where we have had some competitive coexistence. In Germany and in Berlin more than anywhere else in the world, we have had a certain degree of movement, backwards and forwards between the East and the West. Here we did have some competition, we did have the two régimes working side by side in peaceful conditions, competitive coexistence, if you like. And what has happened? There has of course been a steady stream of refugees, millions, moving from East Germany and East Berlin over to West Germany and West Berlin. This peaceful coexistence, this competitive coexistence, has reached such a stage that those in the East have felt themselves at such a disadvantage in comparison that they have had to call a stop to it, and a wall has been built dividing East Berlin from West Berlin. In past times cities have built walls in order to keep enemies out. East Berlin has built a wall in order to keep its own people in, and that wall is rather symbolic of the situation that exists in Berlin and in Germany today.

80. This is something that we need to bear in mind when we are told that the real objective is simply competitive coexistence so that we can see which side gets ahead in peaceful competition. So I would say that we must certainly seek a solution; we must cease threats from either side and the principle of self-determination must not be forgotten, as it has to lie at the basis of any lasting outcome in that region.

81. We must recognize that all parties have legitimate interests to be preserved. We do not want, in the

centre of Germany or in the centre of Europe, a situation to arise that threatens anybody. I am quite sure that on the side of the West—the United States, the United Kingdom and France—there is no intention to use Germany as a spearhead that will threaten the security of any of the countries of Europe.

82. I referred at the beginning of my speech to the deteriorating international situation and I mentioned Berlin and Germany as a major factor in this. There is another development that has threatened the peace of the world and international confidence. This new element is the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union. We had hoped that there would be a permanent cessation of these tests. The United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union had all stated that none of them would be the first to resume nuclear tests. The General Assembly of the United Nations had adopted resolutions [1577 (XV) and 1578 (XV)] on the subject. A permanent cessation of tests would have done a number of things. It would have prevented the continuance of fall-out from nuclear tests in various parts of the world. It would have helped to limit the spread of weapons to other countries and the emergence of new nuclear Powers. It would have imposed some limitation on the development and growth of new and terrible weapons. It could have been a sort of pilot project which would have lessons for wider disarmament arrangements. And so we had hoped, nevertheless knowing all the difficulties, knowing all the disadvantages and weaknesses of a voluntary arrangement, that the arrangement we had could persist, and that it would lead us into a situation that would give permanent assurance of an end to nuclear explosions. However, the tests have been resumed.

83. It has been said that a reason for the resumption of tests is the fact that France conducted tests. I do not regard that as an excuse nor, I am sure, does anyone else in this hall regard that as the real reason why the Soviet Union resumed tests. And on this I can speak on behalf of Australia, which has a good record, because Australia has always taken the view that no nuclear Power should emerge beyond the three that already existed. In fact, I said in the First Committee of the General Assembly on 12 November 1959:

"But we cannot think it right that a fourth country should be free to conduct a test while the nuclear Powers are under constraint".^{5/}

In saying that, I was merely repeating things that had been said by the Prime Minister and by the Minister of External Affairs of Australia earlier. Australia has voted for resolutions calling on other countries not to resume tests while the three nuclear Powers were not testing; so that on this Australia can speak with a record of having protested in the past.

84. But let us look at the French tests with a proper sense of proportion. Our French colleagues, I am sure, will not take offence if I say that their four tests were of a very primitive nature. These were not tests by countries which over a period of years had built up large armories and large experience; these were tests by a country that was just starting out. The total fall-out produced by all four of the French nuclear tests was very much less than the fall-out produced by any one of the nine announced megaton nuclear tests in the current Soviet series.

In the current series of tests being conducted by the Soviet Union there have been no fewer than nine megaton tests, every one of which had greater fall-out than all the French tests put together. We have had explosion after explosion in the Arctic and in Asia let off by the Soviet Union. There was another one last night. More than twenty tests have so far been identified, and the world is being showered by the Soviet Union, and by the Soviet Union alone, with nuclear fall-out.

85. We know that, with the present state of scientific knowledge and experience, it is possible to have an individual test, and so to control it that nuclear fall-out is predictable and can be managed. Even so, a long series of tests in a very short space of time, conducted by one country and leading inevitably to the feeling in other countries that in order to preserve their own security they also may have to consider such tests, is not something that we can view with pleasure. We know that, justified or unjustified, there is in mankind a great disquiet at this continued showering of the world with nuclear fall-out. Remember that if the Soviet Union had not resumed tests there would be no nuclear tests being conducted in the atmosphere today; there would be no nuclear fall-out from tests falling on any country in the world today.

86. It might be said: "Why do you raise this now? This has happened, but we must look to the future." I agree, and I am going to say something about that in a few minutes. But it is important to record our condemnation of it, because there is a world-wide condemnation, not only in countries that like mine are associated with the United States and the United Kingdom, but all over the world in countries that are unaligned. It is important that we should declare that we do not like what has happened and it is important that the people of the Soviet Union and the rulers of the Soviet Union know that the whole world disapproves of what they have done. I am quite sure that the mass of the people in the Soviet Union do not approve of what their Government is doing, and I am sure there must be large numbers in the Soviet Communist Party itself who do not approve. If every morning in Moscow the citizens opened their newspapers and saw that the Soviet Government had let off one more explosion—perhaps a minor one somewhere in the Arctic or Asia, perhaps a megaton explosion—I am sure that when they saw what was going on there would be great disquiet there. One of the difficulties in operating a world organization is that there is a vast area of the world that is shut off from knowledge not only of opinion in the Assembly but of what its own Government is doing. There has of course been an announcement that tests will be resumed, but the details, that one can read in newspapers in other countries, have not so far been given on a regular basis.

87. There are lessons for the future in this. One lesson is that the tests have demonstrated the limitations on the effectiveness of a voluntary moratorium without adequate provision for enforcement and inspection. We have had a voluntary moratorium. It was brought into existence partly by the statements made of their own accord, by the three nuclear Powers, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. However, the United Nations General Assembly also gave some warrant to this moratorium. There is, for example, resolution 1577 (XV) of 20 December 1960, in paragraph 2 of which the Assembly urged the States concerned in the Geneva negotiations

^{5/} This statement was made at the 1053rd meeting of the First Committee, the official records of which were published only in summary form.

"to continue their present voluntary suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons".

There was another one, resolution 1578 (XV), which went further: it repeated that injunction and also in paragraph 2, requested other States to refrain from undertaking such tests.

88. Now we have had a voluntary moratorium, and what has happened? We know that it has been broken. It came to an end, and over twenty nuclear tests have been held since 1 September 1961, at least nine of them in the megaton range. What will be the fate of any other moratorium if we do not have provision for it to be enforced and inspected, if we do not have some assurance that one of the parties to it is not preparing for another series of tests and going to break the moratorium? We had a long series of tests by the Soviet Union; we had a moratorium; we have had another series of tests by the Soviet Union, which is still continuing. Are we to have another moratorium now, which will stop the other two nuclear Powers, while perhaps the Soviet Union merely gets its second wind and digests the results of its present tests and then, when the time is ripe, lets off another series of tests? We cannot face a situation where a moratorium is merely an arrangement whereby the Soviet Union periodically carries out tests whenever it wishes to do so and the other Powers are stopped from doing so.

89. Australia finds itself in agreement with what President Kennedy said: "We must now take those steps which prudent men find essential." The United States has been forced to resume tests. The comparatively low-yield nature of those tests is a demonstration of the extent to which the United States trusted in the fact that it was discussing with another great Power in good faith. The fact that it is taking it so long to mount a series of tests is some demonstration of the fact that it was showing good faith itself. The United States has been forced to act, and not the United States alone. This is not simply a question of our saying, "We understand the position of the United States; in order to look after its interests it has to resume tests." We all have an interest in it. In taking a decision which will keep itself strong in relation to the other great Power, the United States is taking a decision not only in its own interests but in the interests of all of us; and when I say "all of us" I do not mean only those of us who are associated in defence and other arrangements with the United States; I mean the whole world.

90. A further lesson from the resumption of these tests relates to disarmament generally. A lot of the essential requirements of a treaty for a definite arrangement on nuclear tests are also applicable to disarmament generally. Nuclear tests are a rather easier field in which to reach agreement, particularly nuclear tests in the atmosphere, because it is easier to detect nuclear explosions. Provided one can have sufficient observation sites, it is possible to tell whether an explosion in the atmosphere has taken place. Therefore, all the elaborate, detailed machinery that is necessary for general disarmament can be modified to some extent when we are attempting to inspect nuclear explosions in the atmosphere—provided, as I say, there are adequate facilities for making the observations.

91. But the provisions for inspection and control which are essential for nuclear tests are equally essential for disarmament generally, and they are

more difficult to apply. We have been given a lesson on that. By insisting on inspection and control we are not raising quibbles designed to prevent the conclusion of an agreement; they lie at the very heart of disarmament and are essential to it.

92. We have had put before us by the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union a joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations [A/4879]. Nobody would say that it was not a good thing to have as wide an area of agreement as possible between the great Powers on disarmament, but we must not exaggerate the extent of that agreement or think that we have done any more than take the first step. Many elements in that agreement need to be worked out in practice before we can say that there has been a real meeting of minds. I am thinking, for example, of the provision for control. What is the control machinery? It takes us straight into all the problems that have been associated, for example, with some of the discussions on the "troika".

93. In the discussions, of course, there was a very important element on which the two great Powers did not reach agreement and which is set out in a later statement by the permanent representative of the United States and circulated in the Assembly; and that goes into the question of controlling armaments that are retained by the great Powers. We want to be able to check and to control arms that are destroyed in the course of disarmament, but it is equally essential to know how many arms a country is retaining, to be able to verify and to keep a watch on the arms that are retained. That very important element has not been agreed between the great Powers in that statement of principles that has been circulated. The United Nations has the responsibility under the Charter not merely for disarmament but for the regulation of armaments. It is laid down in Article 11 of the Charter—and I am indebted to the Secretary of State of Liberia, who drew our attention to this point in his statement in the general debate [1017th meeting]. Article 11 says that the General Assembly may consider the general principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. That aspect is not adequately covered in the joint statement of agreed principles of the United States and the Soviet Union. In saying this, I am not criticizing those Powers for reaching agreement; I am only pointing out that agreement does not solve everything and is no more than a first step.

94. May I turn now to the question of the Secretariat and the Secretary-General. This is a matter which we all expected to have to discuss at this session and, in fact, to be a major element in the work of this session. It has been given a new form now by the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld. Discussions are going on among various delegations on what is to emerge to fill the vacuum that has been left by Mr. Hammarskjöld's death, and it would not serve a useful purpose in the general debate to discuss the various details that are under negotiation now among delegations. I do not want to discuss the day-by-day negotiations, but rather to take up one or two important points of a fundamental nature.

95. I would say first that no step which we take now to meet the vacancy in the office must prejudice the principles laid down by the Charter for the future. We know that one of the great Powers is opposed to the very principles laid down by the Charter on the appointment and conduct of the office of Secretary-

General. I do not say that to the Soviet Union in an unfriendly spirit; the Soviet Union itself takes that position; it is its stated position that it believes that the arrangements laid down in the Charter should now be amended. But I think it is most important that, in trying to reach a settlement now under pressure of time—because we have to make some arrangements to carry on the work of the Secretariat—we must not prejudice the principles laid down by the Charter for the future. If the Charter is to be amended, then let it be amended in the proper way. The office of Secretary-General has very great importance, not only in the conduct of the Organization as it now is, but also in its implications for decisions on the future of the United Nations, on the execution of programmes of disarmament, and in the conduct of international relations generally.

96. There are two principles to which we attach great importance. One is that there shall be one man at the head of the Secretariat—not a "troika", but one man—and also that there be no veto built into the operations of the Secretariat. Above all, what we must have is a genuinely international civil service. One of the great developments of this century has been the emergence and gradual bringing to fruition of the ideal of genuinely independent international civil service. Great progress on this was made in the League of Nations, and in the first fifteen years of the life of this Organization further progress was made. All of us who have had dealings with the United Nations Secretariat over the years have observed how often we could talk to an individual member of the Secretariat and find that the view which he was expressing, the outlook which he was reflecting, was not that of the Government of the country from which he came; it was that of the wider international community. It will be tragic if that is destroyed.

97. There are Articles of the Charter—Article 100 and Article 101—which speak of the genuinely international character of the civil service in its outlook and its conduct. They speak also of a proper geographical distribution, which is essential, not in order that members of the Secretariat can reflect policies of governments, but so that they can reflect the general outlook of the regions from which they come and can have some general understanding of the problems of the regions from which they come. In that sense, all countries should be represented in the Secretariat. But in the sense of having men in the Secretariat who will take orders from their own governments, who will see that the policies of their own governments are executed by the Secretariat, the proposals of the Soviet Union cut straight across the whole conception of the United Nations. If the Secretary-General wants to know what the position and the policy of an individual Member is on any question he can ask the Permanent Representative or otherwise approach the Government. It is the genuine impartial, international character of the civil service that is under strain at present and under attack.

98. I should like also to say a word about the importance of upholding the United Nations Charter—upholding it unless and until it is amended by correct processes. Of course, interpretation is inevitable, but fundamental Articles and Chapters cannot be amended by neglect or gloss. The United Nations came together in the form of a contract among the individual Members. Together we contracted to give up certain of our attributes of sovereignty, but it was all done as

part of one great conception, as part of one total document, and it all has equal validity.

99. It is important in this connexion for the General Assembly to be mindful of the responsible exercise of its functions. We know that the powers of the General Assembly laid down in the Charter are relatively limited. Its capacity for authorizing action is quite strictly limited by the Charter, but there is great moral weight attaching to recommendations of the General Assembly. Governments have sought to obey the behests of the Assembly, even if sometimes they have not been in agreement with its policies. They have felt that here was an opinion of the nations of the world gathered together in a responsible body. It is important to maintain that respect for the decisions of the Assembly, and it can be maintained only by the responsible exercise by the Assembly of its recommending power.

100. I should like to turn now to one of the questions that has occupied a great deal of our time during the past twelve months. It may occupy some of our time in future, but I hope in a less difficult and less tense way. I am referring to the Congo. We had great hopes until just before the session began that the problems of the Congo, which had so long preoccupied us in recent months, would cease to be at the centre of our attention. Our hopes have been clouded, first by the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld, and also by the fact that the situation in Katanga is still not settled.

Mr. Schurmann (Netherlands) Vice-President, took the Chair.

101. Since the General Assembly last met at its resumed fifteenth session earlier this year, there have been many hopeful developments. The Adoula Government was formed, which gave us for the first time a government in the centre of the Congo that had a wide degree of acceptance not only internally but also internationally. There has been a steady extension of the administration of the Central Government and the effectiveness of that administration, and this has served to provide a basis for international and other aid programmes. So these are hopeful elements, I think that it would be worth while not merely to record our thanks to the Governments that have contributed in various ways to the successful outcome of the operation so far, including those Governments that provided troops, but also to make special mention of those that responded with further troops at a most difficult time earlier this year. I am thinking particularly of the Governments of India and Malaya which, at some sacrifice and at the cost of exposure to some difficulties of their own, made forces available and have played a very important part in the outcome.

102. Our aim in the Congo remains what it was. It has largely been achieved, but so long as Katanga remains separate it has not been achieved. The General Assembly has more than once declared that the unity of the Congo is the aim of the Organization. Any solution of the Congo crisis, of course, must be one mutually agreed among the Congolese themselves. It should not be imposed upon them from outside, and preferably not even imposed upon any substantial element by the remainder. The United Nations has been able to play a part, and it can continue to play a part, in bringing the various forces together.

103. There are in Katanga still certain foreign elements that are there contrary to resolutions of the

General Assembly—mercenaries, soldiers of fortune, persons who have played, and in some cases are continuing to play, a mischievous part, men who are there contrary to the express wishes of their own Governments, men who, in some cases, could almost be described as rebels against their own Governments. The activities of these persons can only be deplored by all of us.

104. The aim of the United Nations in the Congo, the aim to which the Australian Government subscribes, is a united and unaligned Congo, secure in its independence and stability.

105. So, despite the continuing problems in the Congo—and some of them, from time to time, give us increasing worry, and sometimes they seem to ebb—the total situation in that country nevertheless is, over recent months, one of progress. And there are other positive elements in the world situation. There is the continued economic co-operation, partly inside the United Nations, partly outside. The United Nations is gaining more and more experience in economic co-operation, technical assistance and economic aid to Member countries, and this becomes of increasing importance as new countries become independent and are on their own.

106. In the field of colonialism there have been advances. A new country has joined us within the last few weeks—Sierra Leone. Tanganyika will be independent early in December, and in many other parts of the world there are advances. In some parts perhaps, there is, unfortunately, stagnation or dispute.

107. In our Australian Territories, New Guinea and Papua, the Australian Government is continuing actively and as rapidly as possible to pursue the task of bringing them to self-government and self-determination. New Guinea, as I have said on another occasion in the Assembly [933rd meeting], is different from most other colonies in the world. As far as Australia is concerned, it is a Territory that is next door to us. It is not some far, remote country in whose welfare we have no interest other than the one of economic exploitation. So far from economic exploitation, our aim is to assist the country so that it can take its place as an independent nation next door to us, in partnership with us and in partnership with the other countries of which it is a neighbour. It is a country which has long been remote from contact with other peoples. It is a country which, in terrain and in other ways, is difficult to penetrate.

108. The basic objectives of Australia in its Territories are those set forth in the Charter. Our objectives in both Territories are identical—self-determination and a recognition of the right of the people to choose their own form of government and their own associations. I shall not go into detail on the steps that we have taken over the past twelve months in pursuance of this obligation. They have been explained in detail in the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth Committee. Ever since the Organization began, Australia has been discharging its function under the United Nations, reporting to the Trusteeship Agreement or its obligations under the Charter because it believes genuinely in the principle of self-determination. It was Australia and New Zealand that more than any other countries put these provisions into the Charter of the United Nations. This is not an obligation forced on us; it is an obli-

gation which we ourselves took a lead in getting into the Charter.

109. There has been during the past twelve months important progress and participation by the indigenous inhabitants in government at all levels. There has been a steady expansion of education and of economic development. The expenditure by the Australian Government on the development and advancement of the Territory has risen to \$39 million a year. We have this feeling of partnership, the feeling that we are neighbours, but a recognition at the same time that the people, by virtue of their past history and not because of their innate qualities, are not yet in a position to form a modern unified State. This will come. It will come as rapidly as we can bring it about. But it cannot come now and I am sure that nobody who has been in New Guinea would say that the Territory is now ready for independence, and there have been large numbers of people from various delegations in the General Assembly who have been in New Guinea.

110. While I am on the subject of New Guinea, I should also mention Netherlands New Guinea on the other side of the island. This has been the subject of an important statement by the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands during the general debate [1016th meeting]. I shall not comment in detail on that statement, because it will come before us later on when we consider the item on our agenda. But I would welcome the fact that the Netherlands Government, in discharge of its obligations under the Charter, is seeking to give effect to the principle of self-determination. The proposals which it has put forward are now no doubt being carefully studied by all delegations and they deserve careful study as an imaginative attempt to give effect to self-determination in this Territory.

111. I might also mention, because this is a subject in which the Australian Government has taken a great interest over a period of years, the consideration by the General Assembly in the past years of various aspects of international co-operation and activity in the field of science. Many Members here may remember the speeches that were made on this matter at the thirteenth session in the General Assembly [759th meeting] and in the Third Committee^{5/} in 1958 by the then Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Casey. Australia is perhaps peculiarly conscious of the role that scientific development and the application that science can play in economic development generally, because our whole history in Australia has been one of battling against alien and hostile elements, wind, rain, drought and flood. We have been forced to try and transplant to Australia cattle and sheep and forms of vegetation, from Europe and other countries, that had to be introduced into our country. It has taken a long while. Sheep, which are the backbone of our economy, are an importation from other countries and had to be developed. We believe that in the continued and intensive application of science there is a great deal that all countries of the world can benefit from, either through direct contacts between scientists or through the activities of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies.

112. The Economic and Social Council gave some consideration to this during the year, not perhaps as vigorous as Australia would have liked. There are pro-

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Third Committee, 838th and 845th meetings.

posals for a scientific conference^{7/} which Australia would welcome, though we hope that the terms of reference of the conference will be such that its attention will be concentrated, with the hope of getting a practical outcome, rather than diffused so that there will be nothing but discussion. I might mention also that we have had in Canberra in recent months a Conference^{8/} under the Antarctic Treaty, in which progress was made by a large number of Governments in solving problems of co-operation there and building up bases for future co-operation in the Antarctic.

113. It is not possible in a speech in the general debate to cover all questions before the General Assembly or to cover all regions of the world or all elements of policy that are important to one's country. I have not, for example, referred to South East Asia, though that is pivotal in Australia's foreign policy and Australia's international relations. I shall say simply that the situation in Laos is one in which Australia takes great interest. We want Laos to be independent, genuinely neutral, and with its independence assured for the future. We also are concerned at developments in Viet-Nam. In Viet-Nam there are increasing internal disturbances fomented from outside, with foreign physical penetration from outside. Developments of that nature cannot but give concern to all countries in South East Asia and make us look to see what it holds for the future. I shall say no more on either of those situations or on South East Asia generally. But the briefness of my comment is not to be held to imply that we do not attach the greatest of importance to what is going on there.

114. That is the situation in the world as we see it today. Some elements are good; some of them are full of possibilities of disaster. I think at the moment of the situation that confronted us all when the United Nations was being born and brought into existence. And I say this to the Soviet Union, because I do not want them to think that we are unmindful of what we have all gone through together in the past. The United Nations was born out of the Second World War, when the Soviet Union and the United States and the United Kingdom and France and the rest of us were fighting for our existence and fighting side by side in support of one another. We had units of the Royal Australian Air Force up in Murmansk helping to get convoys through to the Soviet Union. We had ships of the Royal Australian Navy conveying supplies to the Soviet Union. And there were ships and men and aircraft from all the other countries in the great alliance that were also helping. The Soviet Union for its part was also fighting and it suffered tremendous losses, civilian as well as military. We are not unmindful of that.

115. It was out of that common struggle that the United Nations was born. It was born out of the consciousness of the fact that we were all bound together. The things that united us were greater than the things that divided us. Surely that is true today. It is even more true today, when man has this tremendous nuclear potential that could destroy everything. The things that bind mankind, the things that bind the Soviet Union, and the United States, and the rest of us—the developed and the under-developed countries—are much greater than the things that divide us, if only we can remember our common humanity, our

common stake in seeing that we survive and make the utmost use of the potentialities of the human race. We are not going to do that if we are subjected to threats. We are not going to be able to do that if countries fear that they may be the victims of sudden attack.

116. There are differences; there are persisting and lasting differences of an international nature and we have to recognize that the United Nations is not going to solve everything overnight. Many problems are going to persist, but we must not make them a cause of war. We must not threaten war over them. And if we remember that we are bound together by common interests, we are brought back to the Charter of the United Nations, which was the product of our last struggle together side by side.

117. Mr. BOMBOKO (Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): Today there falls to me the great honour of taking part in the general debate at our Assembly. May I take this opportunity to extend my warm congratulations to Mr. Mongi Slim, a great friend of the Congo, on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.

118. His election is eloquent testimony to the great esteem in which the Members of our Organization hold not only Mr. Slim himself but also Tunisia, the stalwart and courageous nation which he represents with distinction.

119. The eyes of the entire world are fixed on the highly important deliberations taking place at this session, both because of the urgent nature of most of the problems on its agenda and because of the recent and most tragic loss of Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom I wish to pay a sincere tribute.

120. For us, Mr. Hammarskjöld is a symbol of Congolese national unity, a cause in which he gave his life. He is also the symbol for us of total dedication to the United Nations, and of the need for the Organization's survival. The Government and people of the Congo bow their heads in tribute to this soldier of peace whom we have just lost. The Congolese Government has paid tribute to the man who gave his all to restore peace and freedom to the Congo by declaring 19 September 1961 a day of national mourning.

121. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Congo, I wish to tender my sincere thanks to all delegations which are giving their support to the Central Government headed by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, with a view to the realization of the national unity which has now become part of Mr. Hammarskjöld's legacy.

122. For more than a year now, the Congo has been passing through a time of terrible trials. Political passions have been unleashed, and in many places Congolese have fought and slaughtered one another. The unity of the heritage of 30 June 1960 has been gravely jeopardized by centrifugal forces. Certain outside influences have deliberately inflamed dissension in order to use our country as an ideal theatre of the cold war.

123. This terrible political crisis has endangered the safety of persons and property. It has shaken the economic structure and the finances of the Congo and has led to unemployment of critical proportions.

124. This unhappy period has been marked throughout its duration by incidents which are the more tragic

^{7/} See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-Second Session, Supplement No. 1*, resolution 834 (XXXII).

^{8/} Held from 10-24 July 1961.

and deplorable in that they have claimed as their victims the flower of our educated youth. Let the names of those who have died so that free and independent Congo may live be engraved for ever in the memory of future generations and of all peoples who have fought side by side for that same freedom.

125. Throughout this period, many *de facto* authorities have contended for power over the various regions of the Congo. The authority of the Head of State alone has been recognized as legal by the United Nations. Thus, it has been thanks to the will of the Head of State to restore the unity of State power and to maintain the territorial integrity of the Congo—an endeavour in which he has been backed by Congolese patriots from all regions of the country and assisted by the various conciliation missions appointed by the Secretary-General's representatives—that the reason and the patriotism of the Congolese people have prevailed on nearly all fronts.

126. After a long year of crisis which has left deep marks in our consciousness, it has proved possible to bring about the conditions of understanding and reconciliation necessary to permit the reconvening of Parliament and the formation of a broadly-based Government of national unity.

127. The Government, which has been approved almost unanimously by the Chambers, is composed of men from all regions of the country, of all the main parties and of all political tendencies—if we except the great absentee, South Katanga. It was selected on the basis of the very principle which inspired our decision to form, at this critical moment in our history, a Government of national unity; for the future of the Congo depends on mutual trust, unity and combined effort.

128. The very nature of our country decrees the solidarity of all its provinces: our water and railway transport system, the distribution of our natural resources and of our various ethnic groups all go to demonstrate that we are members of one another.

129. Eighty years of common history and the mingling of all our peoples have also had the effect of tightening the bonds between us and making us a nation one and indivisible.

130. Recent trends in our road and civil aviation networks and in our system of research establishments and other service, which were set up to meet the needs of the Congo as a complete whole, leave us no alternative, if we are not to reduce the priceless heritage of the Congo to ruins, but to remain one people and one nation.

131. It would be difficult for me to stress the principle of national unity to you any further without referring to the problem which lies at the very root of the Congolese Government's thoughts and concerns—the problem of the great absentee—South Katanga.

132. For more than a year now the Congo has had this thorn deeply embedded in its flesh.

133. For more than a year now, the secession of Katanga has been delaying and indeed rendering impossible any complete and final solution of the Congolese problem.

134. The importance, past and present, of this problem is so great that I should like to dwell on it for a few moments.

135. On behalf of my Government, I wish to deal with this matter with the greatest possible impartiality and in a constructive spirit. Too much passion has already been inflamed, and I should be sorry to add to it by making demagogic, or indeed even merely inaccurate, statements. While it could hardly be asserted that the Katangese secession is the sole cause of the Congolese crisis, it is quite indisputably the cause which has made any solution of this crisis virtually impossible, and still does so. So long as it lasts, the Katangese secession will continue to maintain in the heart of Africa a hotbed of unrest and perpetual cold war.

136. Provincial President Tshombé's decision on 11 July 1960 to proclaim the independence of Katanga has had the gravest consequences for the future of the Congo, for Africa's struggle against imperialist domination and for world peace and security.

137. In this connexion, it will never be possible to exaggerate the responsibility of those Belgians who took part in the Elisabethville coup and protected it. The Congolese Government was compelled after that event to call for the military assistance of the United Nations—which was very promptly to be blocked in its efforts by the obstinacy and ill will of provincial President Tshombé.

138. This unwise attitude nearly brought about a grave split, a year ago, in the United Nations. When one asks oneself what justification provincial President Tshombé could have thought he had for pursuing a policy so dangerous for world peace, one finds no reasonable reply.

139. I am very well aware that it is President Tshombé's claim that he wishes to create in the heart of Africa a free State to be as it were a bastion of anti-communism on the African continent. I have no desire to comment here on the wisdom of such a policy, but I wish to emphasize that in justifying his position by his desire to resist communism President Tshombé is not speaking the truth, and that he is using anti-communism as a cloak for his true intentions. Proof of this may be found in the fact that before the slightest danger of any communist encroachment had appeared in the Congo, President Tshombé's party, CONAKAT, had already made the secession of Katanga one of the planks in its platform. And it may be found above all in the fact that today, now that a Government of national reconciliation has been set up at Leopoldville, now that that Government has proclaimed its intention to oppose the policy of "blocs" and has adopted the principle of non-alignment as the basis of its foreign policy, now that that Government has already given practical proof of its intention to abide by a position of positive neutralism, today, despite all that, President Tshombé persists in his contumacy, persists in his illegality and refuses to acknowledge the authority of the sole legal Government of the Congo.

140. Mr. Tshombé has also pleaded the cause of provincial autonomy. That, again, is a pretext which does not hold water, seeing that such autonomy is recognized by the Fundamental Law which at present represents the provisional constitution of the Republic of the Congo.

141. The opportunism of Mr. Tshombé's claims was clearly demonstrated by Mr. Munongo's appeal to the communist countries to help Katanga in its anti-communist struggle. Can anyone still doubt that these

claims have been simply fabricated from start to finish to serve as a justification for secession and conceal its real motives?

142. That is proof enough that when President Tshombé defends his policy on the grounds of anti-communism and provincial autonomy he is acting in bad faith. It is also proof enough that the reasons for the Katangese rebellion are in reality to be found not in the pretexts put forward by President Tshombé but in the very powerful and highly sinister foreign influences which are constantly being brought to bear on him.

143. These are the influences which the Congolese Government has constantly denounced. These are the influences which have repeatedly been condemned by the Security Council and which the United Nations has been trying to combat and eliminate throughout the fourteen months of its presence in Africa. These are the influences which, whatever he may say, determine President Tshombé's rebellious attitude; which impel him, moreover, to defy the United Nations and prevent it from carrying into full effect the Security Council's resolutions, particularly that relating to the withdrawal of military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers.^{9/}

144. In the name of my country, and before all present at this Assembly, I call upon all the Powers which are giving direct or indirect aid to the Katangese secession to put an end at once to this criminal adventure. For the situation in Katanga is today more serious and more dangerous than ever. We all know the events of the last few days: the blood of our Katangese brothers has been shed and the entire Congolese nation is mourning the loss of those who have died so that vile profiteers may live longer.

145. At a time when all peoples of the earth are tending to draw closer to one another with a view to finding a lasting balance, we believe that to make anti-communism the keystone of a political doctrine is to say the least an aberration. The same applies to that doctrine which seeks to impose itself by subversion and corruption, and by those means to annex to itself satellite countries. In our opinion, subversive cells are far more dangerous than military bases; I shall return to this theme when I speak of technical assistance in Africa. There is no reason why Africa should proclaim itself either communist or anti-communist. Africa must not be a theatre of discord but the continent of world reconciliation.

146. We can bear our Katangese brothers no ill will for their errors, for we know well that they are not responsible for them. I wish to make it clear to this Assembly, however, that the Congolese Government has decided to use force to put an end to the Katangese secession only after having exhausted all means of settling the problem by peaceful means.

147. For more than a year, the Leopoldville authorities have spared no effort to bring the Katangese back to the great Congolese family by means of talks or negotiations.

148. At the end of August, after having endured President Tshombé's tergiversations for several weeks, the Government requested the United Nations^{10/}

to expel from Congolese territory the foreign officers and mercenaries recruited by the self-styled Katangese Government to sustain the secession of the province. For it is a matter of common knowledge that the Katangese gendarmerie is officered not only by undesirable Belgian reactionaries but also by a rabble of soldiers of all kinds who have already been indulging in murder and robbery in Algeria for eight years, by Rhodesians, by South Africans—by those very men whose hatred of the man of colour is well known to the whole world. Is there not a patent contradiction between the attitude of these men elsewhere and the eagerness they display to serve the black man in Katanga? No, for where there are interests involved no contradictions can arise. What they want is not to support the people of the Congo or their cause, but to seize their ore and keep their copper.

149. Knowing how much the industrious people of Katanga had suffered for several months at the hands of a conscienceless and greedy minority; knowing how the naïveté of the gendarmerie is being exploited by the mercenaries, the Government decided that the time for vacillation was past; what was needed was specific action. As is known, many mercenaries left the Congo towards the end of August and early in September; however, there were still several hundred left at Elisabethville and in other parts of Katanga. As these refused to leave of their own accord, the United Nations, as a last resort and with the full agreement of the Congolese Government, decided to use force to remove them.

150. The United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the mercenaries and for control also solemnly called upon Member States to prevent the return of the mercenaries to the localities from which they had been expelled.

151. There has been a deliberate attempt to make a farce of these resolutions. Dozens of mercenaries expelled from Katanga have come back and resumed their vile work of hatred and destruction. My Government cannot tolerate this situation. If the United Nations is unable to authorize its representatives in the Congo to detain the arrested persons, then nothing can prevent the Congolese Government from acting on its own initiative to detain, try and sentence to severe penalties any foreigners who, in defiance of the Congo's laws, are organizing an irregular army in our territory and taking part in subversive and terrorist movements.

152. The situation is serious. Either we solve these problems once and for all or we allow this farce to continue and as a result wilfully expose the lives of United Nations soldiers and civilian officials to grave danger. My Government cannot accept responsibility for such a policy.

153. Certain countries have not only tolerated and facilitated the recruitment of mercenaries by allowing recruitment offices to be opened in their territory, but have extended their collaboration so far as to supply Katanga with heavy armaments and fighter aircraft.

154. It is normally difficult even for a sovereign State to obtain fighter aircraft, since the producer countries place severe restrictions on their export. Cannot the United Nations tell the world which countries are involved in the sale of Fouga aircraft to Katanga—countries which may be held responsible for the damage caused in the Congo and for the tragic death of the Secretary-General?

^{9/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1961, document S/4741.

^{10/} Ibid., Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4448.

155. There have been reports in the world Press of other aircraft and armaments delivered in the last few days to Katanga through Rhodesia, a United Kingdom territory. Is that not a flagrant violation of the Security Council's resolutions?

156. The stubborn resistance of the Katangese gendarmerie, still officered by a mercenary soldiery of the most vile and criminal character, has resulted in the dramatic stalemate which we all know.

157. In order to put an end to fighting encouraged by certain financial powers—fighting which was claiming as its victims both our Katangese brothers and the soldiers of the United Nations—Mr. Hammarskjöld decided to authorize a cease-fire. And that is where matters still stand.

158. The situation, as you see, is worse and more dangerous than ever. None of the parties involved is fully satisfied, and the position remains explosive, endangering the future of Central Africa and the peace of the world.

159. That being so, the Congolese Government wishes to reaffirm, clearly and solemnly, the principles of its policy with regard to Katanga. The Congolese Government is determined to put an end to the secession of Katanga at the earliest possible date. The Congolese Government is founded on the will of the people and on respect for law. In no circumstances can it tolerate the presence in the territory of the Republic of a rebel and illegally constituted Government; to do so would be to disavow itself. On this point, the will of the Government is and will remain unshakable.

160. But, as a Congolese proverb has it, "Anger is a stranger which cannot be entirely trusted". The Congolese Government well understands how difficult it may be for the Katangese leaders to repudiate certain positions they have adopted. It knows and understands the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Katanga province to enjoy some measure of decentralization. The peoples of Katanga, incidentally, are by no means the only ones to have expressed this desire; the Congolese Government is bound to pay attention to these aspirations, and it will pay attention to them, provided of course that they are expressed with due respect for order and by legal means.

161. It is for that reason that we repeat to our brothers of Katanga that while we maintain the greatest firmness in upholding the principle of Congolese unity, we are also ready to give understanding and sympathetic consideration to any sincere effort which they may make to draw closer to us.

162. We are prepared to work out a system for the distribution of revenue which will give every province its rightful due in the resources of the various regions of the country. But it is in Parliament, and in Parliament alone, that the delegates of the various regions of Katanga will be able to discuss these problems with us.

163. We repeat: the Congolese Government is ready to enter into such discussions in a spirit of broader understanding. It will be unable to do so, however, unless President Tshombé makes a solemn and public statement declaring his recognition of President Kasa-Vubu as Head of the Republic of the Congo, of which the province of Katanga is an integral part.

164. I repeat once again: however great the Congolese Government's desire for conciliation, it can in no circumstances give way on this question of principle.

165. Accordingly, the Congolese Government is making a last appeal to provincial President Tshombé. The hour is grave. Katanga's stubbornness in turning its back on the rest of the Congo can only result in its ruin. No State in the world has recognized, nor can it recognize, the self-styled State of Katanga. Sooner or later the Katangese adventure, if it continues, will end in the isolation of Katanga's leaders and the inevitable ruin of the province.

166. I am convinced that Katanga's present leaders do not wish to reduce their province to those straits, and that they love it too much to allow it to be plunged into chaos and war.

167. Only too much blood has been shed. The Secretary-General himself has perished in this tragic adventure. The Congolese Government does not wish to state its views on the circumstances of his death until the results of the investigation are known. It hopes, however, that the investigation will not bring to light some new intrigue engineered by unscrupulous imperialists. We venture to hope that the Secretary-General did not sacrifice his life in vain, and that Mr. Tshombé now understands the true reasons for the United Nations intervention in the Congo.

168. Over the past year, United Nations activities in the Congo have met with much criticism. There can be no doubt that the Congolese affairs has marked a new stage in the evolution of the world Organization. I have no wish to expatiate at length on these activities, or to analyse them in detail. Generally speaking, my Government endorses the Secretary-General's annual report [A/4800] in so far as it concerns "The situation in the Republic of the Congo". Though there have been some mistakes, what the United Nations has done in the Congo has been salutary; and if some have on occasion spoken of the failure of the Organization, if the most serious criticisms have been levelled against the Secretary-General or his representatives, the reason has not been any weakness in the Organization or in the principles laid down in the Charter. No; on the contrary, the real underlying cause of the difficulties the United Nations has encountered in the Congo are to be found in the failure of Member States to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly—indeed, by the principles of the Charter.

169. Let me therefore cite, in this connexion, a passage from the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General [A/4800/Add.1], completed not later than 17 August 1961 and written in the light of the unfolding of the Congolese crisis—a passage which contains ideas fully endorsed by my Government.

170. This introduction, as a distinguished speaker has said in this Assembly, has become a veritable political testament. We read in it the following passage:

"Different interests and Powers outside Africa have seen in the Congo situation a possibility of developments with strong impact on their international position. They have therefore, naturally, held strong views on the direction in which they would like to see developments in the Congo turn and—with the lack of political traditions in the country and without the stability which political institutions can get only by being tested through experience—the doors have been opened for efforts to influence developments by supporting this or that faction or this or that personality. True to its prin-

ciples, the United Nations has had to be guided in its operation solely by the interest of the Congolese people and by their right to decide freely for themselves, without any outside influences and with full knowledge of facts. Therefore, the Organization, throughout the first year of its work in the Congo, up to the point when Parliament reassembled and invested a new national Government, has refused—what many may have wished—to permit the weight of its resources to be used in support of any faction so as thereby to prejudge in any way the outcome of a choice which belonged solely to the Congolese people. It has also had to pursue a line which, by safeguarding the free choice of the people, implied resistance against all efforts from outside to influence the outcome. In doing so, the Organization has been put in a position in which those within the country who felt disappointed in not getting the support of the Organization were led to suspect that others were in a more favoured position and, therefore, accused the Organization of partiality, and in which, further, such outside elements as tried to get or protect a foothold within the country, when meeting an obstacle in the United Nations, made similar accusations. If, as it is sincerely to be hoped, the recent national reconciliation, achieved by Parliament and its elected representatives of the people, provides a stable basis for a peaceful future in a fully independent and unified Congo, this would definitely confirm the correctness of the line pursued by the United Nations in the Congo. In fact, what was achieved by Parliament early in August may be said to have done so with sufficient clarity. It is a thankless and easily misunderstood role for the Organization to remain neutral in relation to a situation of domestic conflict and to provide active assistance only by protecting the rights and possibilities of the people to find their own way, but it remains the only manner in which the Organization can serve its proclaimed purpose of furthering the full independence of the people in the true and unqualified sense of the word.

"The United Nations may be called upon again to assist in similar ways. Whatever mistakes in detail and on specific points critics may ascribe to the Organization in the highly complicated situation in the Congo, it is to be hoped that they do not lead Members to revise the basic rules which guide the United Nations activities in such situations, as laid down in the first report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the Congo question, which the Council, a year ago, found reason, unanimously, to commend." [A/4800/Add.1, pp. 7 and 8.]

171. When it acquired its independence, the Congo found itself faced with almost insuperable difficulties. Very few Congolese had received the training and education necessary for the smooth running of the public services and technical facilities of a modern State. The collapse of law and order resulting from the Belgian aggression, the sudden departure of thousands of Belgians who had till then enjoyed a virtual monopoly of all posts requiring administrative and technical knowledge and, finally, the secession of the province of Katanga heralded a steady deterioration of economic and social life—rendered precarious already by the recession.

172. Thanks to the United Nations intervention, however, the Congo survived. The Congolese Government can only express once again its deep gratitude to the world Organization and to the Member States which

hastened to its aid, either by sending troops to the Congo, by making technical personnel available to the Government or by contributing financially to United Nations operations. Never before, perhaps, have international solidarity and co-operation been so spontaneously and so massively manifested.

173. The technical assistance we have been given up to now has been very much in the nature of an emergency relief operation; when a patient's life is hanging in the balance, there is little point in debating his future activities. Such assistance as we have been receiving over the past year may perhaps have been somewhat make-shift, hasty or unadaptable; it has nevertheless had the great virtue of being there, of having retrieved the Congo from the chaos into which it was sinking; and for that reason it has fully justified the hopes universally placed in it.

174. What has to be done now is to see that technical assistance is more carefully planned and co-ordinated. For the country now has a legal Government; all its institutions have again been given the power to play their part in political, administrative and economic life. The time has therefore come to take stock, to consider the length of its convalescence and to decide what remedies to administer to it in the months and years to come. And it is to the study of these remedies, to the formulation of a plan of economic, financial, social and administrative national health, that my Government would like the United Nations to give priority.

175. Once such a plan has been worked out and approved, once it has been decided to put it into effect, over the next five, seven or ten years, it will be easier to tell how much assistance will be needed, from year to year, to restore the Congo's economy and help it to overcome the tremendous difficulties still confronting it. Moreover, private capitalists, knowing our targets and our programmes, will find in such a plan the security they require to invest their capital and thus make a significant contribution to economic recovery and the reduction of unemployment. Lastly, we shall then be able to integrate bilateral assistance into the multilateral assistance contributed by the United Nations on the basis of balanced and coherent projections.

176. Until a general plan has been drawn up and put into effect, the time will be usefully spent in improving the operation of the public services, in restoring the Congo's infrastructure and in creating the atmosphere of work and discipline which are essential if the vital forces of the nation are to be mobilized, at last, for the successful achievement of the plan.

177. However that may be, my Government intends to see that technical assistance becomes a factor for reconciliation in the Congo, and not for subversion, as some States would desire. Africa's lack of political and technological background must not be exploited to enslave it, or in particular the Congo, by the malicious imposition of an ideology, whatever it may be.

178. After this analysis of a number of questions of specifically Congolese interest, I should now like to take up some other problems of a general nature—which my delegation considers just as important.

179. First let me say that in the Congo's view the main obstacle to the solution of international problems and to the achievement of a real world peace is the continuance of the cold war, the main feature of which is the division of the world into two hostile ideological

blocs, each suspicious and fearful of the other and each vying in the recruitment of new adherents. The small countries of Africa are often quite pressingly invited by various means to embrace one or another ideology. The Congo believes that to espouse either ideology would be to render ill service to the cause of peace.

180. It was for that reason that my Government felt it necessary to proclaim solemnly, in its declaration of 2 August 1961, its intention to defend the Congo's independence vigorously, by a policy of non-alignment, against any outside interference. Its foremost concern will be to contribute by all possible means to the maintenance of world peace. My Government will defend all international organizations which have set themselves peaceful goals. Our sole desire is to ensure that all mankind, irrespective of race, sex or ideology, should enjoy greater social justice and achieve political and moral progress.

181. On the other hand, my country is convinced that peace cannot be achieved as the product of a passive neutralism; that would be equivalent to the abandonment of the struggle for peace. That is why the Congo is continuing to follow a policy of strict, but at the same time active neutralism. That is why we took part in the proceedings of the Belgrade Conference^{11/} and endorsed the recommendations it adopted.

182. In the eyes of the Congolese Government, non-alignment is a political attitude which guarantees the freedom of all countries to approach international problems as sovereign States and solve them by means freely discussed in an atmosphere devoid of any political coercion.

183. The Congolese Government will adhere to that line of policy in relation to the two blocs as to all countries of the world. In endorsing the Belgrade principles, our intention was not to create a new bloc of neutral or uncommitted States, for that would inevitably amount to playing a game of bloc politics which could only add to the division of an already divided world.

184. The principles adopted by the Belgrade Conference are eminently praiseworthy ones, and enjoy our full and absolute support. The same applies to the guiding principles followed by the Conferences of Independent African States held successively at Accra,^{12/} Monrovia,^{13/} Addis Ababa^{14/} and Leopoldville.^{15/}

185. Such meetings enable those participating to find common ground on problems of world concern, and do a great deal to strengthen a most natural and useful solidarity. We are determined to spare no effort to put an end to the mutual fears of the rival blocs and to restore trust between the great antagonists.

186. The international Organization must act as guarantor of this trust, by virtue of the force of public opinion it wields in its task of preventing armed conflicts. The current session of the Assembly is not just one session among many. Seldom if ever has the Assembly been confronted with so many problems of

such importance and consequence. It is meeting in an atmosphere of increased tension. We are faced with a general deterioration of international relations, and particularly of relations between the great Powers; and the protracted negotiations on disarmament have borne little fruit. The recent resumption of nuclear testing bears sufficient witness to the dangers threatening all mankind.

187. In the light of the Congolese Government's policy of non-alignment and of what may be called political realism, my delegation cannot accept the division of the world into hostile camps and coalitions of interests as final and inevitable. The United Nations, in our view, is not a piece of static conference machinery whose function is to resolve differences of interest or ideology. Consequently, the composition of its various organs cannot be decided on the basis of any apportionment of interests or ideologies.

188. In the spirit of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter, we regard the United Nations as a dynamic instrument, as an Organization in which the Member States are united to maintain international peace and security, which they use not only to seek the conciliation necessary to that end but also to devise forms of practical action aimed at averting conflicts or settling them once they have arisen.

189. Any division of the United Nations into ideological groups would be tantamount to a negation of the principles laid down in the Charter. For the purpose of the United Nations is to serve as a centre in which all our efforts should be focused on promoting more harmonious international relations, on the basis of the principle of the equality of all Member States, large, medium-sized or small; weak or powerful.

190. My delegation is therefore opposed to the division of the United Nations into three blocs. It is still more opposed to dividing up the executive organ of the United Nations on the basis of the idea of a triumvirate.

191. For the Congolese experience has given us a conclusive argument against the proposals to transform the office of Secretary-General into an organ having power to exercise some sort of veto over the execution of the Organization's decisions. Such a veto would have made any practical decision in the Congo impossible and would have reduced the Organization's executive to unprecedented impotence. The Congolese crisis would still be in existence.

192. We hope, moreover, that the Committee set up in connexion with the review of the Charter^{16/} will be able to suggest any adjustments which the United Nations may need to adapt its organs to the new situation created by its increasing membership and the greater diversity of the problems it has to deal with.

193. Such changes, however, can in no way call in question the United Nations itself. The experience of the Congo has demonstrated that the existence of an integrated, strong and, above all, effective international Organization is a matter of necessity and interest to the small and medium-sized States. But there are also other problems on the agenda: the Algerian question, the situation in Angola, the economic development of the newly-independent countries or in

^{11/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 1 to 6 September 1961.

^{12/} Conference held from 15 to 22 April 1958.

^{13/} Conference held from 4 to 8 August 1959.

^{14/} Conference held from 14 to 26 June 1960.

^{15/} Conference held from 25 to 30 August 1960.

^{16/} Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter.

general of all countries struggling for their independence—all these problems require us to dedicate ourselves more fully than ever to the United Nations and try to endow it, whatever its imperfections, with universally recognized and unchallenged authority and prestige, so that the world may be saved from the disastrous consequences which would result from its weakness, ineffectiveness or disappearance.

194. Little progress has been made in the field of disarmament. On the contrary, quite apart from the resumption of nuclear testing, the adversaries have announced their intention to increase their respective military potentials. East and West have failed to reconcile their positions on the cardinal questions connected with the machinery of control and inspection. To fear espionage is to show a lack of trust and sincerity and to hasten the destruction of mankind.

195. In our eyes, disarmament is a means to an end—the avoidance of war. What we desire is not only disarmament, that is the limitation of armaments or of a certain category of armaments, but a world without war, a world from which war has been banished once and for all as the sole means of resolving differences. It is our profound conviction that all the nuclear Powers have contracted, as it were, a moral obligation to the world and to mankind to arrive at an agreement on the reduction of armaments. It is a fact that the problem of disarmament changes from year to year. Hitherto, the task has in essence been to induce the nuclear Powers to give up their weapons. Today, the problem is also to prevent prospective nuclear Powers from manufacturing or acquiring such weapons.

196. We are convinced that a practical programme of armaments reduction can be achieved, provided that it lays down measures to be taken by all interested States simultaneously, and that it ensures the security of each. It is the duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to promote the cause of disarmament and thereby to reduce the dangers of the annihilation of mankind. Its first step should be to bring about the prohibition of nuclear weapons testing and of the manufacture of nuclear armaments, and to ensure the destruction of all existing stocks.

197. The destruction of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of their manufacture should not wait upon the other stages of general disarmament. This first step should be taken even if the time-limits for putting an end to the use of other modern weapons have not yet been fixed. The urgent need for a treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons, subject to effective international control, is obvious. And such a prohibition should also extend to the manufacture of these armaments.

198. The United Nations should no longer regard this problem as the private preserve of the great Powers. On the contrary, our Organization—in practice, the General Assembly—should take the initiative of going beyond a treaty to be signed by the great Powers alone and should resolve on the conclusion of an international disarmament convention. In view of the importance of this question, and of the desire of the United Nations to protect the world from the danger created by the accumulation of nuclear weapons, such a convention would as it were be a second United Nations Charter, signed by all the States of the world. It would be drafted in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and would set up a new specialized agency to provide the machinery of control and inspection.

The peoples represented at San Francisco were resolved to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It was not until after they had met that the first atomic bomb was to be exploded. Today it is our duty, it is the duty of all Member States, to find the means most suited in present conditions to protect mankind from fear and to save it from the destruction which threatens it. The only possible effective guarantee is the participation in such a convention of all States of the world, whether or not they manufacture or possess nuclear weapons, or produce or transport nuclear raw materials.

199. Until such time as the procedure I have suggested comes to a successful conclusion, the Assembly should take a decision providing for the suspension of nuclear weapons testing and the prevention of their wider dissemination.

200. One cannot speak of the problems of disarmament and of colonialism without thinking at once of the question of Berlin and of the reunification of Germany. The dangers of war seem to be intensifying, and the difficult problem of Berlin is becoming one of the causes of the aggravation of international tension. In demonstrating its firmness, each antagonistic bloc may well drag the world, by some hasty action, into an atomic conflict.

201. On behalf of the Congolese nation, my Government fervently appeals to the Heads of Government of the two blocs to desist from the arms race. There is no problem, however difficult, which cannot be settled by means of a negotiated solution, and threats and war preparations will certainly not bring such a solution nearer. On the contrary, the problem can be solved only by rational and dispassionate study, provided that each side is prepared to place the interests of the world as a whole above the ephemeral satisfactions of ill-placed national pride.

202. Since it was found possible in the past to conclude international agreements on the subject of Berlin, there is no reason why it should not be possible to revise them by mutual consent, if new circumstances make such a revision necessary. Pending that time, any mobilization of nuclear arsenals should be prohibited, for the threat it raises far transcends the sphere of the relations between the hostile blocs: it also affects other countries, which while they have no desire to be parties to the conflict, will undoubtedly be the victims of any conflagration it may cause. And if, thanks to the principle of self-determination, it has proved possible to bring independence to nations which have till now been the victims of colonialism, then the same principle should also apply to all the peoples of the earth, who have the right to choose their own form of government. My Government, appreciating as it does the value of these principles, believes that they should be the key to the Berlin problem, as to all problems threatening the peace of the world. It trusts that its appeal will be heard by all those who today in point of fact hold the destinies of the world in their hands.

203. The problem of disarmament, with all its implications for the Berlin crisis, is closely bound up with the problem of another scourge which still afflicts mankind: colonialism.

204. At its fifteenth session, the Assembly saw fit to devote a considerable part of its proceedings to this problem, and adopted by a large majority a resolution [1514 (XV)] calling for decolonization and the libera-

tion of the peoples under foreign domination. Since then, Sierra Leone has acquired its independence as planned, and in 1961, again as planned, Tanganyika will become a sovereign State. Marked progress has been achieved in other parts of the African continent, progress which we note with satisfaction.

205. But no progress has been made, in particular, in Angola and Algeria, and the Assembly is again being obliged at this session to take up these problems and adopt appropriate measures for their solution.

206. Neither France nor Portugal appears to realize or to accept the undeniable evolution which is taking place in Africa. The history of Angola and Algeria is no different from that of the rest of the continent. We have suffered deportation, slavery and economic spoliation together. But the peoples of Africa, peoples which less than a century ago had been reduced to slavery, have become free and independent States and members of the community of nations. The wind of African nationalism has enveloped the entire continent, Angola and Algeria not excepted. Nothing can now stop the march of history, just as nothing can stop the determination of our brothers in Angola and Algeria to win the right of self-determination. There have been many experiences of this kind in Africa.

207. Despite the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, to which the question has had to be referred, mass murder and repression are continuing in Angola. Since April 1961, refugees have been arriving in our country every day. On 1 September the number of such refugees was 131,000; today we have more than 150,000. These figures cover only registered refugees in receipt of relief from one of the appropriate organizations. The Portuguese representative, of course, minimizes the size of the Angolan exodus to the Congo—while nevertheless admitting a figure of 100,000 refugees—in order to conceal the seriousness of the general situation. It remains true none the less that oppression and repression of varying degrees of brutality have assumed a scale which is a disgrace to human dignity. The Portuguese Government denies this, but is very careful to see that no one can go to determine the facts on the spot. It has refused to permit the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola to enter Angola. The Sub-Committee has nevertheless been able to carry out a direct and impartial inquiry among the refugees who have been given asylum in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

208. Portugal has delayed taking any measures designed to make significant changes in its colonial policy. It merely invokes its alleged rights over what it calls its overseas provinces, and makes charges of foreign interference in Angola. In this connexion, it constantly accuses my country of having supplied arms to the Angolan fighters.

209. But even supposing that we had in fact intervened, which of us, the Congo or Portugal, is the foreigner in Africa? Is it not in fact Portugal which is the foreigner, in Angola in particular and in Africa in general? Is not Angola the home of the Angolans, and is it not Portugal which is seeking to perpetuate its domination, and which, unfortunately, imagines that it will maintain that domination for long years to come without any real reform in its policy?

210. On 28 September 1961 the Portuguese Government, through its Colonial Minister Mr. Adriano Moreira, declared that all natives of Portuguese colonies were to become fully-fledged Portuguese citi-

zens and to enjoy the same political rights as the Portuguese; that at the forthcoming elections Angolans and Mozambicans would vote on equal terms with the whites to elect Angolan and Mozambican deputies to the Portuguese National Assembly.

211. But these measures are in flagrant contradiction with the true facts of the situation—in the first place, in the sense that the Portuguese Government, in refusing as it always has done to furnish information on the political and social advancement of the peoples under its domination, has done so on the pretext that they were independent and enjoyed Portuguese citizenship rights, whereas they were actually subject to a different statute, called the "Acto colonial", which governed the status of the indigenous inhabitants. We know that the Portuguese took these measures, on the very eve of the re-convening of the United Nations General Assembly, only to deceive world opinion once again. By these hasty reforms in its colonial laws, and in particular by its promulgation of the legislative decree conferring Portuguese citizenship on Angolans, the Portuguese Government has *ipso facto* recognized the justice of our claims, and has itself destroyed the lie that Angolans were fully-fledged Portuguese citizens before September 1961.

212. Yet while the Portuguese are publishing these reforms to the world they are continuing to bomb and destroy indigenous villages and massacre the population. The provisional count of all these massacres, since these events began, amounts to more than 50,000 men, women and children killed.

213. As may be seen, the Portuguese are granting the Angolans citizenship by massacring them.

214. Again, at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Portugal voted against resolution 1598 (XV) condemning South Africa's policy of apartheid. It is hard to believe that a State which professes and supports a policy of racial discrimination does not itself practise such a policy.

215. How can we Congolese remain indifferent to the fate of our brothers and neighbours? They are waging a war of liberation in which all the free peoples of our continent, without any ulterior motives of domination or political influence, stand at their side.

216. My delegation considers that the Angolan peoples are entitled to such support, just as they are entitled to recognition of their right to self-determination and independence.

217. My delegation regrets the bloody incidents that have taken place, and hopes that this part of Africa will recover the peace and stability it needs for its development. It trusts that the General Assembly will take the appropriate decisions to answer the call of the Angolans, who ask only to live in peace and freedom!

218. In turning to the subject of Rwanda and Burundi I can be brief, for the various problems which were disturbing those countries, and the threats which automatically resulted to the security of neighbouring countries, have just been settled, and settled in the only way satisfactory to the people of the countries concerned and to all African countries which desire peace on their continent. The elections which have taken place in these two territories have resulted in the formation of large majorities which have permitted the constitution of democratic Governments whose investiture we greet with joy and enthusiasm. Of course,

they will in the near future have some very difficult problems to solve—the most difficult of which may be the presence of large ethnic minorities which will have to be given their place in the nation. I believe we can trust the new leaders of these countries, thanks to whose political good sense and patriotism these problems will be solved in a harmonious and peaceful way which will ensure a great future for both countries.

219. They will very soon have to negotiate on the ending of the Trusteeship over their countries, and we hope that when that moment comes, the Trusteeship Council will be particularly careful to meet the wishes of the two Governments and not to impose on them any form of association which they reject.

220. The time is past and gone when the wishes of the indigenous peoples of Rwanda and Burundi were a matter for outside interpretation. Free elections held under the supervision of United Nations observers have brought to power Governments with which rests the sole authority to decide on the internal institutions of their respective countries and on such forms of external association as they may see fit to adopt.

221. My Government will be the first to respect the will of Rwanda and Burundi, and it hopes that on this basis the close bonds of friendship and fraternal co-operation which already exist between us will be consolidated and established within the new context of the two countries' imminent accession to independence.

222. Hostilities are continuing in Algeria also. Every year the Algerian question comes before the Assembly. Every year a large number of delegations deplore the slaughter taking place in Algeria, and France's attitude in general; but the situation remains unchanged. The hypocritical myth of pacification no longer deceives anyone. Whether it pleads the cause of negotiation, self-determination, or "an Algerian Algeria"; whatever terms it uses, France seems to be delaying the solution of the problem rather than solving it; its desire seems to be to secure its interests rather than to decolonize this part of Africa.

223. At the fifteenth session, many delegations were hesitant to vote for the draft resolution calling for a referendum under United Nations supervision.^{17/} The Congolese delegation hopes that in the light of the experience of the past year, a year which has once again brought no significant progress, Member States will be influenced in favour of that solution by the facts and will vote for concrete measures designed to put an end to the colonialist war in Algeria, to bring about a referendum under United Nations supervision and to set down a time-table for these operations. The peace and freedom-loving peoples must impose a cease-fire without delay.

224. The Government of the Congo, convened in Council of Ministers under its head Mr. Cyrille Adoula, has decided to recognize *de jure* the Government of the Algerian Republic headed by Ben Khedda.

225. Another problem which has been much debated is that of apartheid in South Africa. The racial discrimination practised in that country is a disgraceful blot on our continent, a scandal which is linked with the war in Angola and Algeria by the very fact that the various South African Governments, which have

always been racist, continue to defy the sentiments of the free and civilized peoples.

226. The myrmidons of apartheid even go so far as to enlist in foreign armed forces—I am here referring expressly to the South African mercenaries hired by the financiers of our province of Katanga—in order to oppress Africans and perpetuate foreign domination. The Assembly should study the facts and consider practical and above all effective means to enable the Africans of South Africa to raise themselves to the level of human beings and enjoy the elementary rights of any member of the universal community.

227. It can come as no surprise that the alleged representative of the people of South Africa should have felt obliged two days ago to attack the Congo and the assistance which the United Nations is giving to the Central Government in its efforts to crush the Katangese secession.

228. The Government of South Africa, which represents the most hateful gift that Africa has ever received, in some of its regions, from Europe, is not content to trample human rights under foot and to keep most of the African population in bondage; it is extending its appetites as far as the Congo by supporting the sinister activities of the traitor Tshombé.

229. The presence of South African mercenaries in the province of Katanga represents a bastion of apartheid pushed into the very centre of the continent. Only a genuinely free and strong Congo will be able to arrest the advance of apartheid. It is the duty of our dear African brothers, therefore, to support the efforts of the Congolese Government, if they wish to ensure the survival of their own freedom.

230. The Congolese Government stands wholeheartedly at the side of the Africans of Northern Rhodesia who are fighting for the dignity of the black man. It trusts that the future constitution of that country will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the majority of the African population in its struggle against imperialism.

231. We shall joyfully salute, in the near future, the independence of Tanganyika, whose Government is headed by Mr. Nyerere. We hope that that great friend of the Congo and defender of our national unity will lead his country towards a destiny of peace.

232. We welcome, today, the admission of the hundredth Member of the United Nations, Sierra Leone, a country we wish every success and all prosperity.

233. One of today's great problems, and one which goes to the very root of the cold war, is that of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The delegation I have the honour to head is glad that this important question has been placed on the agenda of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. Its inclusion under two different items of the agenda will make possible a frank discussion on the destinies of several hundred millions of human beings in that region of the globe.

234. I shall not try the patience of the Assembly any longer. Let me say in conclusion, however, that in this most fateful hour for the future of the human race and the destiny of the world, the Congo will spare no effort to preserve the sacred principles of justice, peace and morality which are the very foundations of the United Nations.

235. The Congo has been a matter of only too much concern in the world. It has, too long been a factor

^{17/} See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 71, document A/4660, para. 4.

for unrest and disorder. We can rehabilitate ourselves only by constant efforts to preserve peace.

236. Henceforth the Congo is resolved to be itself a factor for world order, peace and progress with justice.

237. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom has asked to exercise his right of reply.

238. Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): I know the hour is very late and I shall indeed be very brief. I wish just to make a short comment on one point in the statement just made by the Foreign Minister of the Congo (Leopoldville).

239. That statement contained certain allegations about the passage of arms and aircraft across Rhodesian territory and was by implication directed at the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. My delegation rejects these in their entirety.

240. I particularly regret that the Foreign Minister of the Congo (Leopoldville) should have sought to cast doubt on the propriety with which the United Kingdom Government has behaved in the course of the troubled events in the Congo during the past fifteen months. Throughout the whole of this period the United Kingdom Government has given whole-hearted support, politically, financially and materially, to the United Nations operation in that country. We are in fact the second largest contributor, financially, to that operation. Before making these allegations, it would,

I think, have been more fitting if the representative of the Congo had gathered some evidence to substantiate them. That he did not do so is perhaps hardly surprising, since such evidence does not in fact exist.

241. The policies of the Federal Government have been clear, straightforward and wholly correct throughout. Let me refer to what Sir Roy Welensky, the Federation Prime Minister, said in a statement on 7 October 1961 about similar allegations which had been appearing in the Press and elsewhere. In referring to stories that the Katanga government had been, or is being, supplied with arms and military equipment through Rhodesian territory, Sir Roy said:

"Not only have we been at considerable pains to see that arms or military equipment from the Federation did not go across our border, but we have refused to allow the passage of such equipment from elsewhere through our territory. We have taken this stand from the beginning because we have never believed that a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Congo would be reached by military measures."

242. My delegation is confident—and I would wish to assure the Foreign Minister of the Congo (Leopoldville)—that the Federation authorities in Rhodesia and Nyasaland are doing everything possible within their power to prevent abuse of their frontiers or their territory contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 2.30 p.m.