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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Ganao (Congo, Brazzaville)</i>	1
<i>Speech by M. Pazhwak (Afghanistan)</i>	4
<i>Speech by Mrs. Meir (Israel)</i>	7
<i>Speech by Mr. Balafrej (Morocco)</i>	11

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GANA0 (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): I am deeply moved and no less proud, to be addressing this august Assembly for the first time on behalf of my country, the Congo (Brazzaville).

2. It is with real pleasure, Mr. President, that I welcome your election as a pledge for the success of our work at the eighteenth session, which each one of us expects to be a turning-point in the untiring struggle of the United Nations to maintain peace throughout the world. Your distinguished reputation within and outside this forum, your sincere devotion to democratic ideals, and your fierce determination to place yourself at the service of man irrespective of his status, colour or philosophical outlook, all lead us to think that under your wise authority the United Nations General Assembly will lead mankind a step nearer the fulfilment of its aspirations to progress.

3. The history and civilization of Africa, which went into eclipse owing to slavery and colonial domination, antedate the Charter of San Francisco, which came into being only in 1945. Freedom regained has enabled the Congo to rediscover its ancestral beliefs and to explore more deeply the Bantu philosophy which is the hallmark of its own genius. May our brothers who are still oppressed and humiliated also regain their independence.

4. However, we cannot overlook the fact that independence is not an end in itself, but rather a means through which to achieve the economic and social development of our countries. In some countries, thanks to wise government, the change is taking place fairly smoothly; in others, where the Government fails to take account of the people's legitimate aspirations, it proceeds by jolts and revolutions. The Congo (Brazzaville) went through one such necessary change on 13, 14 and 15 August 1963.

5. Though the former political leaders of our country had worked valiantly for its independence, that independence had become a cake shared out among the privileged according to their ties of family or ethnic origin. The only signs of freedom were the luxury of

Ministers' residences and the coming and going of outrageously showy official vehicles in the streets of Brazzaville.

6. The decline in morals was most alarming. Values, in every sense of the term, had ceased to exist and had been replaced by corruption and favouritism. Embezzlement, malfeasance and high-handedness had become a commonplace. Impunity was the order of the day. Injustice and persecution had thrown the machinery of administration out of gear. The practice of filling posts of authority and responsibility with subordinate officials who were manifestly incompetent and dishonest, and whose only merit was their absolute, blind devotion to Abbé Fulbert Youlou, had made the Congo a byword for maladministration. As a result all sense of duty and discipline and all professional probity had disappeared.

7. The deterioration in social conditions was becoming more marked every day. The waste of public funds was blatant, and the rift opened by independence between the false "bourgeoisie" it created and the neo-colonial proletariat, and between the rulers and the young people, was widening at an alarming rate. The incompetence openly flaunted by the technical advisers whom the Congolese leaders had gathered round them, the indiscretions of the régime in matters of concerted inter-African policy, and its many acts of interference in the domestic affairs of neighbouring States completed a picture already dark enough, whose background was the economic morass in which the country had been submerged since attaining its sovereignty.

8. The Congolese people, at all levels, had become aware of the danger at the same time as they realized that the leader they had freely chosen a few years earlier had now only one dream: to sit on them. So they acted as one man when Abbé Fulbert Youlou, the dictator, tried to use against them the fatal weapon that was to be his own undoing: the creation of a single party.

9. The Congolese were not, and are not now, opposed to the single-party system. In fact they wanted it in order to end the tribal quarrels which rend the young African States. But they grasped in time the dictatorial Abbé's real intentions, and the peaceful revolution which they carried through on 13, 14, and 15 August 1963 saved the country at the last moment from an absurd neo-colonialism.

10. That revolution produced the Government to which I have the honour to belong and of which every member was appointed by the people, not on the tribalistic lines followed heretofore, but for his competence and devotion to the common cause.

11. Some have said of our revolution that it was not a popular movement, that it was the work of the big towns alone, and that the rural masses remained faithful to the old régime. Others have even alleged that the so-called events of Brazzaville, which properly speaking

were events of the Congo, were instigated from abroad. The Congo has no intention of answering such assertions except by saying: "I have done no more than my duty as a pioneer in the emancipation of Africa."

12. Permit me to utter from the rostrum of the United Nations a ringing tribute to the doughty Congolese people, at whose political maturity the whole world will marvel for a long time to come. To achieve a peaceful revolution in this day and age, when the world seems every day thirstier for human blood, seems a feat of magic even to the most experienced political observers. It is true that three of our compatriots for whom we grieve, have darkened by their death the extraordinary page of history just written in the Congo. But can any citizen meet a nobler end than in falling to save his country?

13. After its installation, the Government of His Excellency Mr. Alphonse Massamba-Debat announced that its only policy would be to work selflessly for conditions in which the Congolese people could attain to a better life.

14. For what have we to gain by becoming involved in the ideological struggles that divide the world? Our aim is not to conquer our neighbours but merely to live fully, utilizing all the means which science and technology now place within the reach of all peoples willing to use them in the higher interests of mankind. In pursuing this aim we count on international co-operation and—why not be frank?—on the help of all the highly industrialized countries, bar none. It would be pointless to divine in our actions the results of hidden influence, or to draw political conclusions from our various leaders' trips to Washington, Paris or Moscow. We hold out our hand to all who will grasp it with respect for our dignity and sovereignty. We are resolved to examine every problem earnestly, mindful of the highest interests of our country and careful to seek in every case a truly African solution.

15. This year our continent has taken a great step towards unity with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity and the Heads of State who met at Addis Ababa^{1/} have served Africa well.

16. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) represents a historic step towards the co-ordinated utilization of our resources and the joint solution of our problems. We are proud to have helped in establishing it, not only because it is the culmination of our people's fight for freedom, but also because our nations, now that they have been liberated, have affirmed in a fraternal charter their determination to live under the laws of a new, united and peaceful world in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We have faith in OAU; we are convinced that it will set itself to serve the peoples and—unlike some regional unions which the events in the Congo (Brazzaville) have enabled us to unmask—will never degenerate into a syndicate designed only to protect the selfish interests of a few powerful individuals.

17. In this connexion, the Congolese people and Government here and now pay a solemn tribute to the Malagasy Government and people who, immediately after the revolution, gave a demonstration of solidarity which has strengthened the already close ties that have always bound Tananarive to Brazzaville. Such a demonstration—which signifies that the friendship that counts in the world at large is friendship between

peoples, not between individuals—is something for which other countries, albeit reputed to be friends of the Congolese peoples have now kept us waiting more than a month and a half.

18. On reading the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5501] I have found only grounds for hope and reassurance. In the course of the past year the cause of peace has in many cases won only half-victories, but it has undoubtedly made progress. In every area threatened with war, the United Nations has shown or maintained a presence which, though not a panacea, has spared the protected peoples some suffering, while the conciliatory role of the Secretary-General has steadily grown in importance and proved itself a necessity.

19. We also appreciate, with ever-renewed gratitude, the United Nations work for refugees, those unfortunate victims that every national or international crisis leaves in its wake as shameful evidence of our world's imperfections.

20. The United Nations Operation in the Congo (Leopoldville), which has caused such sharp dissension among Member States and which still divides them deeply because of its financial implications, is now drawing to a close. We hope that in this matter the United Nations will have faith in the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) and that the withdrawal of United Nations troops will be carried out according to the wishes of the local authorities, as stipulated in the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 14 July 1960.^{2/} After so much money has been spent and so many human lives sacrificed, it would be a pity to leave the job unfinished. To disregard the opinion of the Congolese Government on this point would be construed as a lack of confidence in that Government. The feelings of brotherly solidarity which link the peoples on both sides of the Congo river bar us from supporting any action contrary to the interest of our sister Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

21. Despite the harmful distortions of facts by major organs of the Press, the United Nations Operation in the Congo will have had the merit, among others, of giving the most advanced nations a clearer idea of African problems. Without boasting, we were able to say with pride that this year's session of the General Assembly, the eighteenth, was to be Africa's session. It is the first time our thirty-two countries, whose number is destined to increase still further, have formed such a coherent body here, fully conscious of constituting a third of the total membership. It is true that they are far from possessing a comparable proportion of the world's economic and military power; but our Organization must recognize their moral importance if it wishes to achieve the hoped-for triumph of right over might and to ensure that human rights finally defeat the old concepts of nationalism and imperialism. To grant Africa its rightful place in the world is to accept the just law of democracy on the world scale; to give the poor man the same vote as the rich; and to confer on man an intrinsic value independent of material considerations.

22. The Charter of the United Nations was drawn up in 1945 thanks to an admirable display of good will on the part of the Allies who then held the fate of mankind in their hands. But eighteen years have passed since

^{1/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4387.

then, and revision of the Charter is more than ever necessary to adapt it to present-day realities.

23. The Security Council has become too narrow an executive organ, and its composition should no longer recall an era when the greater part of the African continent was under colonial rule. We hope that the permanent members of that organ will have the wisdom to draw the logical conclusions from the prodigious evolution which has taken place, owing in part to the generosity and breadth of vision they themselves have shown.

24. You will be aware that the great countries of the world have their own problems; it is indeed astonishing to find that, the more powerful the nation, the greater is its fear of being subjugated, as though the apprehension aroused by the scientific and military progress of a potential adversary inexorably stifled common sense and the voice of reason. But this year we have been able to see that the cycle of terror was not irreversible, and the Moscow Treaty^{3/} on a partial cessation of nuclear tests has applied a salutary brake on the dangerous slope down which the great nations were speeding.

25. If the permanent members of the Security Council advance more resolutely towards relaxation and disarmament, perhaps we may hope that they will approach the problems of decolonization in a completely new spirit. For we have reached the point where all forms of moral pressure have been applied without success in the effort to eradicate through negotiation the last vestiges of colonialism on our continent. Such help as the Africans can give their brothers still in subjection, such political and economic sanctions as they can apply, the wars of liberation which they are in duty bound to support—all these come up against the direct or indirect assistance which the great Powers are giving to the racist minorities in control of central and southern Africa.

26. Mr. Salazar's theories no longer find any champions in this Assembly except Mr. Salazar's own representatives. No one dares to uphold the policy of apartheid except the white settlers who invented it for their own gain. Nevertheless, the Portuguese and South African Governments, as well as the Southern Rhodesian authorities, draw support from powerful friends who are moved by political, economic or other considerations. On the chess-board of the cold war, every country is a pawn which, at whatever cost, must be kept from falling to the other side. Everyone is prepared to make a pact with the Devil if God once lets him down.

27. We hope that, in the years to come, the great Powers will stop thinking of Africa in terms of military bases, strategic minerals or private financial interests, and will accept it as a self-evident fact that the total liberation of the continent will benefit all races alike, in a world whose economy and trade must continually develop and diversify. We accordingly look forward to the cessation of assistance that enables Portugal—a small nation, and itself not fully developed—to wage colonial wars at a cost clearly beyond its unaided resources. We hope the United Kingdom will take quick action in Southern Rhodesia, so that self-government granted during the colonial period may not be used as a pretext for withholding their rights from 90 per cent of the country's population.

28. Under various labels, privileged castes are still trying to keep part of our continent in servitude. Complicated electoral systems are used to keep the people from voting where the authorities have not had the audacity, as in South Africa, to pass laws that openly and completely deprive the people of their rights. Artificial limitations on the suffrage existed in Europe in the past but have now completely disappeared, and the Charter of the United Nations, with which we have resolved to comply, has set the elementary principles of democracy as the foundation on which to erect a whole edifice.

29. If government of the people by the people has no other foundation than the "one man, one vote" rule, how can the right to vote be made subject to conditions such as payment of a certain amount of tax, knowledge of a foreign language, or even membership of a particular race? Such forms of discrimination are dying out all over the world; they would be unjust even if they were used only to oppress a minority. But what if they result in a country's being governed against the will of the majority of its inhabitants? It may seem idle to repeat what are now widely accepted truths. Yet the great Powers accept them only theoretically; they have still to acknowledge their practical consequences and to realize that the total liberation of Africa is in the best interest of all nations because negotiation with free men is always the most fruitful.

30. The vestiges of colonialism are in fact an obstacle to the great enterprise of international co-operation which will become the most important part of the activities of the United Nations on the day when the preservation of peace becomes, as we hope it will, an easier task. It is disturbing to find that, for all the efforts already made, the industrialized states, irrespective of economic structure, have steadily progressed and raised their peoples' levels of living, whereas most of the developing nations have been unable to win the tragic race between economic expansion and population growth. The system of trade relations based on the exchange of manufactured goods for raw materials, if perpetuated in its present form, would eventually bring the world to an impasse. In a word, Africa denounces the colonial arrangement. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which is to be held in 1964 must put an end to the profiteering which characterizes international dealings in raw materials and finished goods.

31. The establishment of compensatory financing machinery on a world-wide scale should be our first objective with a view to stabilizing and maintaining raw material prices. Just as each nation has, generally speaking, striven to protect its farmers from the upheavals attendant on rapid industrialization, so must the world at large come, as one body, to the aid of the agricultural and ore-producing countries against the ill effects of an economic evolution which in other respects is rich in promise for mankind.

32. It is a matter of bringing the benefits of modern civilization to a world most of whose inhabitants do not get enough to eat. The fight against under-development is warranted not only on moral grounds but also by a clear and realistic assessment of future economic prospects. Any widening of the existing gap between the world's two component groups of nations would lead only to strangulation in the long run. Western Europe and the developed countries with planned economies are on the way to attaining the level of industrialization already reached by the United States

^{3/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

of America. At the end of this evolutionary process, the logical expectation is that needs will be to some extent saturated and expansion will have lost its momentum. It would be deplorable if these rich countries were then to retire into strict protectionism at a time when the capital development of the underdeveloped nations offered them vast opportunities for investments beneficial to all. We all look forward to the day when all Member States will accept an international solidarity tax so as to make systematic provision for the aid which some countries need in order to take their place in a balanced world economy.

33. In this connexion, we welcome the work many Governments have done through their bilateral co-operation programmes. We are glad to observe what the Organization is doing under the arrangements for the United Nations Development Decade. We hope that the United Nations capital development fund will soon come into being and serve as the starting point for an effective contribution to the development of Asia, Latin America and Africa. We are eager to see the methods of economic science and planning placed at the service of the youth and vigour which, in our countries, seek only to be put to use.

34. The economy is the beginning of all policy, but its end is always man, his dignity and his intrinsic worth, which we have undertaken to protect. With that in mind, I should not like to conclude without also commending the efforts of the United Nations in the realm of human rights. In the quest for peace, decolonization, and economic and social development, respect for the human person remains the supreme purpose of our Charter and the underlying motive of our efforts.

35. As His Excellency Mr. Massamba-Debat, the Head of our Government, recently remarked in a public statement, there is a Congolese proverb which says "Always beware of the poor man's fist"; for the poor man has nothing to lose by hitting out, whereas the rich man's efforts at self-defence are hampered by the weight of his interests. Let the nations ponder this Bantu saying; for when man is homeless and hungry, he is deaf to the voice of reason. Let us give thought to his lot; let us end his poverty by using the resources his own genius have given him. For in the last analysis there is but one race in the world: the human race; and that is the race we must save.

36. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): Mr. President, having known you for the years you have been representing your country in the United Nations and having known your objective way of thinking and your eagerness to co-operate, I am not simply following a traditional custom by congratulating you. I extend to you the most sincere felicitations of the Afghan delegation and wish to express my personal pleasure at your unanimous election to the presidency of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. This tribute goes not only to your person and the people of Venezuela but also to all peoples of Latin America, whose great contributions to the cause of humanity are appreciated all over the world and upon whom we from the heart of Asia look with great respect and great esteem. I hope that under your leadership this session of the Assembly will answer the expectations of all those who consider it to be one of overriding significance.

37. During the period between the last session and this session of the General Assembly, there was a change of government in my country. Therefore, at the outset

of my participation in the general debate, I think I should say a word about this change.

38. First of all, I would like to state that our traditional policy of non-alignment remains unchanged. This policy is firmly based on friendship with all, non-alignment with any of the military blocs and peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all nations of the world, regardless of any differences in political, economic or social systems. This policy of non-alignment, because of its traditional form, has enabled us to exercise our keen interest in all international situations with impartiality towards all peoples and nations and with bias against none. We believe that in a world where any event in one part affects all parts of the globe, such a realization is most essential and significant, at least for a country like mine.

39. The historical nature of our non-alignment, pre-dating the divisions and differences prevailing in the world today, has justified us in believing that any doubt as to our sincerity on the part of anyone in the sphere of our international life should be completely unexpected. Our judgement of all international situations remains absolutely independent, based entirely on the principle of impartial analysis of all situations on their merits.

40. The full understanding of our policy and appreciation of our sincerity by all friendly countries is a great source of satisfaction to us, and the co-operation and assistance received by us from them is gratifying indeed.

41. In the course of the last year, we have not only continued to maintain our relations of amity and co-operation with the countries of our continent, of Europe, of the Americas and Africa, but I am pleased to state that we have established diplomatic relations and ties of friendship with more countries of Latin America and the newly independent countries of Africa, with whom we share so many common aspirations. In this connexion, the maintenance of good relations with our neighbours has been our foremost, earnest and natural desire, and it has thus been fulfilled.

42. The Assembly may recall that the Foreign Minister of Iran, in his statement on 23 September 1963 in the general debate [1211th meeting], expressed his happiness that after a year and a half of negotiations, the personal efforts and good offices of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran were instrumental in restoring normal diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and he expressed the hope that the future association between Afghanistan and Pakistan would serve as a factor of great value in preserving the stability and peace of the region. This was an expected friendly statement coming from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran, with whom we share the highest sentiments of friendship and neighbourly relations. I would like to give expression to the appreciation of my country for the friendly personal efforts of His Imperial Majesty in this respect, and to state that we are happy indeed that these diplomatic relations are restored, and that as a consequence Afghanistan once again enjoys diplomatic relations with that country in its geographical vicinity.

43. While I share the hope of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran that the restoration of diplomatic relations will serve as a factor of great value in preserving the stability and peace of our region, I also hope that it may result in the elimination of the basic political

differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan by peaceful means and by mutual understanding between these two countries.

44. The change of government in Afghanistan, in connexion with our internal administrative, political, economic and social conditions, has its significance only for our own people by being constructive and progressive. I shall not therefore take the time of the Assembly on this matter, but I should mention one point which bears upon the connexion between our political and social reforms for the welfare of our own people and the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations. This deals with the drafting of a new constitution based on principles of true democracy in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Afghan traditional way of life, derived from the spirit of our people and their deep conviction concerning the spiritually worshipped principles of equality, dignity, freedom of the individual and social justice.

45. All the speakers who have preceded me in this general debate have referred to the new developments which distinguish the favourable atmosphere inaugurating this session. The Afghan delegation welcomes these developments most heartily. In a world and in circumstances in which no nation, large and powerful or weak and small, can expect to fulfil its national aims except in conditions of peace and co-operation among nations and in which there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence for anyone, a country like Afghanistan is second to none in expressing its hope that this unfavourable atmosphere will be preserved in the interest of mankind as a whole.

46. As a starting point in the direction of mutual confidence and understanding and the relaxation of international tensions, the realization of the world situation by the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, which resulted in their agreement on a partial test ban, has rightly proved to be a source of relief for all mankind. The mere fact that so many countries of the world rushed to sign this treaty, without hesitation and with such great enthusiasm, demonstrates how great the need is felt in the world for even the smallest steps in the direction of international understanding, peace and security. One should pause and think of the moment when the responsible Powers would succeed in answering the legitimate expectations of mankind for the elimination of the sources of the fear of destruction by terminating the nuclear arms race in all environments and by the agreement of all nuclear or potential nuclear Powers.

47. The Secretary-General has stated in his introduction to the annual report, that "the achievement of disarmament continues to be the most important problem of our time" [A/5501/Add.1, sect. II]. With this we fully agree, and we should like to say that while the goal of general and complete disarmament remains as remote as ever, we venture to express the hope that further essential, immediate steps will follow and that the practical political meaning of this favourable start will help in bringing about more favourable and effective measures.

48. We wish the negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom every success. At the same time, we would like to express our deep concern about the circumstances which have made it impossible for certain other Powers, equally responsible for peaceful arrangements to avert the danger of nuclear war and for

bringing reliable success to complete, general and universal disarmament in the world, to participate in the negotiations. In this connexion we wish to stress that no effort should be spared by the United Nations, and especially the big Powers, to seek such solutions as would result in universal support for peace by all countries of the world, including France and China. We believe that the existing differences can be overcome by the wisdom and leadership of which all these countries are capable, and particularly by a realistic approach to them by the United Nations. The attention of the General Assembly, therefore, should be directed to a serious consideration of the French point of view in the nuclear field, and the participation of the People's Republic of China in disarmament arrangements and its rightful representation in the United Nations.

49. Since these negotiations primarily involve the big Powers, we strongly urge the Secretary-General of the United Nations to do his best, at the request and on the basis of the feeling of the General Assembly, to impress on them the concern of the smaller countries, Members of the United Nations, with which he is fully acquainted through his constant contact with them. It is hoped that the representatives of the big Powers, realizing the importance of the views of all countries in matters of war and peace, will see to it that the constructive views of other Members of the United Nations—in other words, the will and desire of the majority of the people of the world—have an expressive, effective and strong voice in all negotiations and talks which would affect the future of mankind. We hope that the Secretary-General will present the views of the Members of the United Nations in any negotiations where they are not directly participating.

50. We are fully aware that this suggestion involves at least two important points.

51. In the first place, the United Nations should not be considered as only a convenient meeting place, as suggested in some quarters, but should play its role as the most effective force in world affairs and, in the opinion of the Afghan delegation, the only one.

52. Secondly, the Secretary-General, to fulfil his duties, should expand his constant contact with the Members of the United Nations and never allow himself to be confined only to the views of certain Members.

53. The statements made by the President of the United States [1209th meeting] and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting], in connexion with the desire of these two great nuclear Powers to search for further agreement, are a great source of encouragement in themselves. Yesterday, similar encouraging statements were added by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom [1222nd meeting].

54. While all of us realize that, with so many problems confronting the world, an effort to reach the moon may seem to be far removed from realism, one cannot ignore the importance of the spirit of a search for peace in any form or by any measures. Here we share the opinion so wisely expressed by James E. Webb in a statement made a few days ago, that "in itself co-operation in a space activity between the great antagonists of the cold war is a thrilling prospect. It is one more step towards co-operation on earth, towards the banishment of the fear of the annihilation of life as we know it."

55. By realizing the importance of a step by step approach, therefore, we hope for an atmosphere in which the solution of all central problems will become possible later. Although not a nuclear Power, even potentially, it was with this understanding that Afghanistan signed the test ban treaty, despite the fact that the treaty has no practical effect so far as my country is concerned. However, it was felt that certain universal consequences of the treaty justified our adherence to it. First, the treaty, at least partially, covers the field of nuclear weapons which are destructive even when tested under controlled conditions. Secondly, because of their destructive nature, nuclear weapons cannot remain the concern only of the Powers possessing them, but of all humanity which would suffer equally, and perhaps more, from their effects. Thirdly, we believe that the treaty is a constructive step towards a thaw in the cold war and the lessening of international tension.

56. The same meaning can be attached to the establishment of the direct line of communication between Moscow and Washington, and we hope that such measures of security will eventually connect all responsible centres on matters of war and peace.

57. We hope that the climate of agreement will be extended to other practical measures for increasing international security, and that the intention that has been heralded in the preamble to the limited test ban treaty for reaching agreement on a comprehensive treaty covering underground tests will be implemented on a priority basis.

58. The next important step should be in the direction of the destruction of nuclear weapons. This is the real goal which, if not guaranteed immediately and then achieved speedily, may even increase the sense of insecurity and undermine the partial and step by step measures already taken.

59. The other thing which is of great importance to the Afghan delegation is the significance of the role which the United Nations can and should play at this stage in major problems of war and peace, instead of devoting itself to minor problems. If the time is really auspicious for joint efforts on all levels, the majority of the Members of the United Nations, composed of smaller countries, should be conscious of their responsibility to devote their efforts and co-operate towards the achievement of these goals. In this connexion, I pledge my delegation to join in all sincere efforts to fulfil the promise inherent in the present situation.

60. We agree with the Secretary-General, who, in his introduction to the annual report, notes that the "crisis of confidence" faced by the United Nations last year has largely disappeared [A/5501/Add.1, sect. XII]. We admire the spirit of optimism which pervades his report, and we wish also to pay him a warm tribute on his admirable achievements since he has been burdened with the great responsibilities of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

61. The strengthening of the United Nations, at the present stage in international affairs, is of more significance than it has ever been. The achievements of this Organization, and its acceptance of increasing responsibilities, make it more urgent than ever before that no nation should hesitate in giving the Organization its full moral and material support. Afghanistan, within the limits of its ability, will maintain its position of not hesitating to fulfil its obligations. It is our earnest hope that an adequate solution will be found for

the financial difficulties with which the organization is confronted, and that full consideration will also be given by the General Assembly to making the Organization more effective by providing for adequate representation of all its Members on its various organs.

62. The role that the United Nations has played in contributing to the recent relaxation of international tension cannot be denied. The contribution made by the non-aligned countries, as a consequence of the decision of the United Nations as a whole in the most crucial problem, that is to say, general and complete disarmament, should receive the tribute it deserves. The test ban treaty is certainly an outgrowth of the disarmament negotiations carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, and this Assembly should not fail to continue its full support of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and to urge more co-operation in this field.

63. The Foreign Minister of Brazil touched upon this important point in his speech [1208th meeting]. He regretted that the Moscow meeting was held outside the province of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and we fully agree with him that the question was, as demonstrated later by so many countries, a matter of common interest to all Members of the United Nations, particularly the members of the Disarmament Committee as a representative body of the United Nations.

64. The proposal made by the Soviet Union [1208th meeting] to convene in the first quarter or the first half of 1964 a conference of the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, with the participation of leading statesmen at the highest level, based on the purpose of reinforcing the success resulting from the signing of the test ban treaty and bringing about a radical shift in the disarmament talks, outpacing the arms race with a view to putting an end to it eventually, is therefore not only a useful and effective proposal, but also a desirable one, within the framework of the United Nations. Afghanistan hopes that this proposal will meet with the agreement of all parties concerned, through the support of the General Assembly. In this connexion we repeat our hope that France will also find it possible to participate, and will add its contribution to the work of the Committee.

65. Afghanistan similarly welcomes the desire expressed by the United States and the Soviet Union for an arrangement to keep weapons of mass destruction out of outer space, and the proposal made by the United States [1209th meeting] for joint efforts in the regulation and exploration of space, including possibilities of a joint expedition to the moon, as already mentioned.

66. As representative of a developing country, I should emphasize the importance of the consideration of economic and social questions by the General Assembly. I hope we are not wrong in expecting that the desire for international co-operation and relaxation of tension will extend its practical effects to these fields. We welcome the recent development and progress encouraged by the United Nations Development Decade and hope that, by the end of this decade, the removal of major obstacles in the way of free trade, normalization of commodity prices and increased investment in the developing countries by the developed countries will be accomplished.

67. Afghanistan has always supported and will continue to support the economic, social and cultural

activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Afghanistan was, among other countries, a strong supporter of the idea of convening a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and a party to the decisions to this effect taken in Cairo and Belgrade. We are happy that arrangements for this conference are now being completed. We hope that the conference will solve the trade problems and abolish the barriers of discrimination between nations, and will deal with all the vital questions of trade between the developed and under-developed countries. Such co-operation will not remain confined to its specific field, but will in turn extend its practical effects in the expansion of international co-operation in all other fields and contribute further to the relaxation of international tension. This co-operation is of particular importance between countries living in the same region and, more particularly, neighbouring countries.

68. We would welcome the favourable consideration of the creation of a universal international trade organization which might seek solutions for the urgent problems of world trade, and for the supervision of the implementation of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Afghanistan will also consider with interest the idea of working out the fundamental principles of economic and trade agreements and the effectiveness of long-term trade agreements for the stability and development of international exchanges. We shall welcome any declaration of principles of international co-operation whenever such a proposal is submitted for the consideration of the United Nations.

69. It was encouraging when the President of the United States emphasized that the provision of development assistance by individual nations must go on, but that the United Nations must also play a larger role in helping bring to all men the fruits of modern science and industry in various fields that the President enumerated. Among the many different areas mentioned in his statement, we would welcome most heartily the attention of the General Assembly to a world centre for health communications under the World Health Organization, regional research centres for advancement of medical knowledge and training of scientists and doctors for the developing nations, and particularly a world-wide programme of farm productivity and food distribution.

70. Before touching on a subject which is of special importance to my country, I would like to express my gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Paraguay, who in his statement [1212th meeting] acquainted us with his views on the same point. I join him in the appeal he made for the good will of the General Assembly, so that it may in due course consider the possibility of adopting a unanimous recommendation which would include the solution of problems of international trade of States which do not enjoy the privilege of having sea coasts. At this session once again, I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to a number of United Nations resolutions, which, with the purpose of promoting world trade and international co-operation, supported free access of land-locked countries to the sea.

71. At its eleventh session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1028 (XI), which affirmed that the need of land-locked States, and States having no access to the sea for adequate transit facilities, should be recognized for promoting international trade. This

resolution further invites all Members of the United Nations:

"... to give full recognition to the needs of land-locked Member States in the matter of transit trade and, therefore, to accord them adequate facilities in terms of international law and practice in this regard ..."

72. The first four articles of the 1958 Convention on the High Seas,^{4/} which is now in force, recognize this right of free access to the sea, and we hope that the Conference on Trade and Development next year, with regard to solutions for the purpose of free trade among nations, will take into account the right of one sixth of the nations of the world, which happen to be land-locked.

73. There are many items on our agenda which require the urgent attention of the General Assembly. Most of them are chronic problems before the United Nations, some of which, if unchecked, could destroy the pervading optimism.

74. The items related to colonialism, the deprivation of peoples and nations of their right to equality, independence and self-determination, or any other form of violation of human rights, deserve the most serious consideration of the General Assembly. I have not touched upon these individual points because the views of the Afghan delegation on these problems have been repeatedly stated and remain unchanged. They will be further detailed as such items come up for discussion before the General Assembly.

75. However, I do wish to add at this point that most of these problems directly affect the peoples of Africa and of Asia, and it is the awakening of these peoples themselves which is the most and perhaps the only important factor in the solution of these problems. This awakening has started in a great way, and therefore our hopes are very strong that the aspirations of these people will soon be fulfilled. Their co-operation among themselves, and with other Members of the United Nations, their solidarity and unity for the achievement of their goals, is of the greatest importance indeed.

76. The first step taken at Bandung for the achievement of these goals has been followed in a most significant manner by another step recently taken in Addis Ababa. The Summit Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa is no less a source of joy for us than the Conference of Bandung,^{5/} and it should be hailed not only by the Asian and African countries, but also by all Members of the United Nations, as another force for solidarity among the Members of the United Nations, which is so important for the achievement of the goals of this Organization. Therefore, we wish to congratulate the nations of Africa and all the Members of the United Nations on this historic achievement..

77. To conclude, it is our earnest hope that the signs of improvement in the international situation will urge us on to ever greater efforts to achieve lasting peace and security.

78. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): Mr. President, allow me to offer our congratulations to you upon your election. We are very fortunate in having chosen a colleague of such notable experience in United Nations affairs to guide us in our deliberations. In addition to your per-

^{4/} United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, Official Records, Volume II: Plenary Meetings (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.V.4, Vol.II), annexes, document A/CONF.13/L.53.

^{5/} Asian-African Conference, 1955.

sonal qualifications and the importance of your country, you, Mr. President, represent a group of Member States which have from the very beginning of this Organization been one of its main pillars. The loyalty of the Latin American group to the Organization, and the principles which it has promoted in international affairs, have made fundamental contributions to the work and progress of the United Nations.

79. We all recall the atmosphere in which we have met in recent years. It seemed at times not only that the existence of the Organization was threatened, but that the human race itself was on the verge of disaster.

80. Over and over again have disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests been the subject of the most heated debates in our Assembly. It often seemed that the more we talked about peace, the nearer we approached war. How different the world situation seems as we meet now. The difference between making speeches at each other and talking with one another is what has made this eighteenth session of the Assembly different from those in the past.

81. In the Moscow Agreement, a most important step has been taken on one aspect of a problem vital to the peace of the world, and a new hope has been raised for other steps to follow. We say this in full realization of the serious obstacles that still have to be overcome before the objectives of total disarmament and guaranteed world peace are realized. But we face these problems now with less fear and greater expectations.

82. We have heard spokesmen for major Powers express here the promise of further negotiation, and it is reassuring to know that contact is being maintained in what has been described as a "continuation of the friendly and constructive spirit on disarmament matters". Encouraged by what has already taken place, we dare to expect, even to demand, of the great Powers that they should continue their talks until the world is freed from the fear of possible destruction.

83. We agree completely with the statement of the President of the United States that:

"If the Soviet Union and the United States, with all their global interests and clashing commitments of ideology, and with nuclear weapons still aimed at each other today, can find areas of common interest and agreement, then surely other nations can do the same—nations caught in regional conflicts, in racial issues, or in the death throes of old colonialism. Chronic disputes which divert precious resources from the needs of the people or drain the energies of both sides serve the interests of no one—and the badge of responsibility in the modern world is a willingness to seek peaceful solutions.

"It is never too early to try; it is never too late to talk; and it is high time that many disputes on the agenda of this Assembly were taken off the debating schedule and placed on the negotiating table." [1209th meeting, paras. 41 and 42.]

We also agree with the appeal by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, who said:

"Let us develop the relations between States so that international disputes shall be settled at the conference table and not on the field of battle, and no State shall be able to use force against another whose internal structure it does not like." [1208th meeting, para. 124.]

84. As President Kennedy, Foreign Minister Gromyko and other distinguished speakers have suggested, what

happened in Moscow on the question of nuclear tests can and should happen in various parts of the world where local tension threatens the peace.

85. We too believe that long and bitter debates from this rostrum and in the Assembly Committees, repeated year after year, are not conducive to the solution of problems. The United Nations certainly has a vital part to play in helping to resolve conflict. But if peace is to be assured, it still remains an inescapable necessity that the parties should meet around the conference table.

86. No Member State's expression of satisfaction with the negotiated agreement in Moscow can be taken seriously unless that Member State is prepared to apply the same approach to problems in which it is itself involved. The task of promoting peaceful solutions is the duty of each and all of us, and is the heart of the obligation we undertook on entering this Organization.

87. We speak as a country for which the implementation of these principles is vital. Throughout the years, the region of which Israel is a part has been ridden by tension due not only to the Arab-Israel conflict, but to problems existing among the Arab States themselves. In fact, during the last year the tension has risen in our region mainly through inter-Arab conflicts and struggles.

88. Unfortunately, the basic principles upon which the United Nations exists—the political independence and territorial integrity of every Member State; non-intervention in the internal affairs of any Member State; a ban on the threat or use of force against any State—do not yet guide the normal behaviour of all the States in our area.

89. And whereas, as I have said, this is a situation which affects various Arab States, Israel has been and is the primary target of belligerency. A number of distinguished representatives have spoken from this rostrum of the dangers of the arms race in the Middle East and the necessity for a negotiated solution. We welcome this international awareness of the problem. The Armistice Agreements of 1949 signed between Israel and the four neighbouring Arab States purported to put a final end to hostilities, and to serve as a transition stage to an early peace. Yet, fourteen years later, our Arab neighbours still openly declare themselves to be in a state of war with Israel, and are constantly threatening to attack it. What is more, hostility is becoming heavily armed. A constant stream of weapons, of a more and more modern and lethal character, is being unloaded in the ports of Arab countries at the very moment when their representatives plead from this rostrum for peace and disarmament. Mercenary German scientists and technicians are hired by Egypt to develop non-conventional weapons of mass destruction, and rockets are paraded in the streets of Cairo with public boasts by its President that they can strike at any point in Israel. Simultaneously, a massive military build-up of conventional arms is proceeding. The distinguished Foreign Minister of Uganda very rightly stressed [1216th meeting] the ominous fact that, even while we hail the signature of a partial nuclear test ban, the dangers of a conventional military build-up are evident, especially in a situation of local tension.

90. If Israel were to be attacked, it would know how to defend itself effectively, as it has done in the past. But Israel is not seeking a military victory. Our objective is the prevention of war and the preservation of peace.

More than ever, as the international community seeks desperately to promote peaceful accommodation between the nations, it cannot remain indifferent to the continuing incitement to and preparation for war against a Member State. The rapidly escalating arms race in the Middle East gravely endangers the peace and stability of the area. At the same time, it consumes the precious and limited resources so urgently needed to lift large parts of its inhabitants from the depths of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

91. The basic theme of this Assembly is that the real alternative to war is peace, and the only road to peace is negotiation. In the Middle East as well, no other view would be compatible with the Charter, with the relevant United Nations resolutions, with the sovereignty of the States concerned, or with present-day realities. The application of United Nations principles must be universal. Israel, whose right to peace and security is not less than that of any other Member State, has repeatedly stressed, and continues to believe, that there are no outstanding differences between it and its Arab neighbours, including the refugee problem, that cannot be solved through direct negotiations.

92. We have been heartened by the growing volume of opinion expressed in the present and past debates, and in United Nations resolutions, that Israel and the Arab States should reconcile their differences at the conference table. The annual repetition of violent public polemics has become a sorry and sterile routine.

93. To lessen existing tensions and to allay the fears of armed conflict, the Government of Israel proposes to all the countries of the Middle East to pledge themselves:

- (1) To respect the political independence and territorial integrity of all the States of the region;
- (2) Not to interfere in the internal affairs of any other State;
- (3) To renounce the threat or use of force;
- (4) To abandon policies and practices of belligerency, including boycott and blockade;
- (5) To settle all disputes by peaceful means;
- (6) To enter into negotiations with the object of achieving complete disarmament with mutual inspection, covering all types of weapons.

94. The Government of Israel reaffirms its adherence to these principles. If they were to be agreed upon by all the countries of the Middle East, not as a proclamation for others, but as policies practised by each and every one of us, my Government is confident that they would serve as a sound foundation for peace, co-operation and prosperity in the Middle East, and would constitute a major contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

95. The concept of such a regional code of conduct has recently received fresh strength and impetus through the signature on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa of an historic Charter by the Heads of African States. Article III of that Charter proclaims:

"... the sovereign equality of all Member States; non-interference in the internal affairs of States; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence; peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration"

The Addis Ababa Conference represents a historic achievement in the effort of the African States to advance the unity, peace and development of that continent. Its influence must increasingly be felt beyond the boundaries of Africa itself.

96. It is with sorrow and deep concern that we must refer to certain territories in Africa which have not yet been allowed to gain their natural right of independence. I speak in particular of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Southern Rhodesia. There can be no doubt as to the outcome of this struggle. We are fortunate to live in an age whose outstanding achievement is its refusal to tolerate the domination of one people by another. This achievement is evident in the very composition of our Organization today.

97. We appeal to Portugal to consider whether bloodshed is necessary to pave the way for the inevitable independence of the African people under its administration. It is high time that the last remnants of colonial rule in Africa should be eliminated.

98. As for Southern Rhodesia, we are in whole-hearted agreement with the view of our African friends that independence cannot be bestowed upon that territory under circumstances which do not guarantee equal rights to all its inhabitants.

99. We note with great satisfaction the degree of internal order, stability and cohesion which has been attained in the Congo, after a long period of travail. All those countries which voluntarily contributed to this progress, through the United Nations and directly, deserve the gratitude of the international community. Special recognition must be accorded to the wisdom and realism with which our Secretary-General, U Thant, has dealt with the complex and burdensome responsibility thrust upon his shoulders. We also express our appreciation to the United Nations personnel and to the United Nations forces in the Congo for their devoted service in the cause of peace. Israel salutes the Government of the united Congo, and we look forward to cementing still further the present ties of friendship and co-operation between our two countries.

100. I would express the hope that certain problems which arise at present in Central and South America, and which have their roots in the colonial era, should find peaceful and agreed solutions, with full respect for the above principles.

101. Another extremely serious and tragic question which has not yet been solved, despite the fact that this Assembly has dealt with it for many years, is the problem of the apartheid policy practised by the South African Government. The philosophy that the colour of a person's skin places upon him the stamp of inferiority is opposed to the basic truth that "all men are created equal". It is therefore not to be wondered at that the policy of apartheid evokes universal condemnation.

102. The people of Israel feel deep abhorrence for all forms of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion. This stems from our age-old spiritual values, and from our long and tragic historical experience as a victim of man's inhumanity to man. We therefore naturally oppose policies of apartheid, colonialism and racial or religious discrimination, wherever they exist.

103. There is one large Jewish community today that is not permitted freely to practise its religion, to attend to its spiritual needs, or to develop its cultural

life—whose observance of traditions carries with it punishment and suffering—and that must witness our Holy Scriptures and the language in which they were handed on through the generations, abused and suppressed.

104. All of us will shortly be celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. May we all pledge ourselves anew to the ideals of this Declaration. Let us at this time pay homage to a great human being, the late Eleanor Roosevelt, who was rightly called the First Lady of the World, and who was so instrumental in the formulation of this most important Declaration. This historic document was not intended to be filed away in the archives of the United Nations, but to serve as a guide to all of us in our attitude to each other. May we not only make speeches about it, but live by it.

105. My delegation believes that this anniversary should express itself in some concrete fashion. We suggest that UNESCO be requested to urge upon all Member States to make obligatory the teaching in elementary and secondary schools of the principles of this Declaration, so as to impress upon our children the evils of discrimination of any kind, and inspire them with the ideal of brotherhood of all men.

106. Freedom, justice and peace are indivisible. The world cannot be free as long as any one nation is dominated by a foreign Power; it cannot be right as long as one group oppresses, persecutes and discriminates against another; and it cannot be secure as long as the existence of one nation is threatened by another.

107. Although much is being said about the need to promote the progress of less developed countries, and much has been done by the United Nations agencies as well as individual Member States, the gap still remains tragically and disastrously wide between the many millions who go without food, schools and medical care, and those who have the best of advantages in all these fields.

108. This, next to the preservation of peace and indeed co-ordinate with it, is the greatest challenge of our time. It admits of no single answer but has to be tackled on a very broad front: capital, export trade, manpower training, agricultural reform, industrial development and improved social services, particularly education and health. The attention of international agencies is more and more being focused on these multiple needs.

109. Let us hope that the men now assembled in Washington at the annual meeting of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund will devise fresh means for making urgently needed capital available to developing countries, on terms which are feasible for them.

110. The conventional trade patterns have proved themselves to be ill suited to the needs of less developed countries, since they tend to hold their economies in thrall, to inhibit diversification, and expose them without effective defence to the uncertainties and fluctuations of world prices for their primary products by the production of which they live.

111. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will have to face up to this problem, and should initiate a new and imaginative policy, aimed at promoting the exports from new countries, assuring them stable prices, and giving them a chance to develop local industry.

112. Whatever funds may be accessible to these countries, their progress will depend on the technical skills and scientific techniques that can be harnessed to their development. In 1960 a large international conference on science and technology in new countries was held in Israel at the Weizmann Institute at Rehoboth. This was the forerunner for the United Nations conference in Geneva,^{6/} on the same theme. These gatherings served to bring about a truer understanding of the problems. It became clear, however, that a more detailed examination was needed at meetings concentrating on specific fields.

113. A few weeks ago, another conference took place at Rehoboth on the special topic of agricultural planning. It was attended by eighty delegates, some of them of Cabinet rank, drawn from twenty-nine countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Europe. The Conference brought together economic planners, political leaders, sociologists and agricultural experts from both advanced and less developed countries, as well as representatives of international organizations. Detailed discussions took place on the practical problems of agrarian reform and methods for increasing the production of food for the world's hungry millions.

114. Israel, a small and semi-arid country, lacking in natural wealth, has absorbed over a million refugee immigrants in the last fifteen years. We have had to develop our own techniques and skills, as well as co-operative methods for the solution of our problems. It is a source of great satisfaction to us that our own experience in development and in nation-building can be of some service to other countries. Within our modest capacity we have been able in recent years to provide large numbers of experts for these countries and to receive thousands of students and trainees from them, as well as to promote joint economic enterprises in such fields as construction, shipping, and land and water development. This is one of the examples of how small and developing countries can themselves usefully assist each other, and pool their experience and know-how, even though the more advanced industrial nations must at the same time continue to be the major suppliers of capital and skills. We are firm believers in the value of such fruitful and friendly co-operation, in a spirit of complete equality, of respect for the sovereignty of each country over its own natural resources, and of non-intervention in each other's political affairs.

115. With the rapid increase of the membership of this Organization, it becomes imperative that the various bodies of the United Nations, such as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, be enlarged so that the new Member States may be adequately represented. Israel has always supported the need for their proper representation and my delegation believes that action in this direction is overdue. We shall give our earnest and sympathetic consideration to any proposals which may be put forward to serve this purpose.

116. In conclusion, nobody in this Assembly would underrate the deep-rooted feelings and fears which might make progress slow and difficult on many of the world's problems. The very existence of the United Nations symbolizes a faith in human reason and

^{6/} United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, held from 4 to 20 February 1963.

sanity, and in the capacity and willingness of nations, large and small, to coexist peacefully. We stand at a moment in history when this faith is being renewed and when the threat of war has somewhat receded. Let us at this moment embark again on a genuine search for agreed solutions to the differences which still beset and divide us. We should like to think that the first step in the direction of peace has been made. May the world, and every part of it, now proceed unhaltingly on this path.

117. Mr. BALAFREJ (Morocco): Mr. President, may I first of all extend to you the congratulations of the Moroccan delegation and my own congratulations upon your election to the Presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your election to this important office is a just tribute to you and to your country.

118. For many years the sessions of the General Assembly have been held in an atmosphere of tension and cold war fraught with great danger to mankind. This year the keynote of the eighteenth session so far has been relaxation and hope. My Government is happy to note this improvement in the international atmosphere. It sees in it the culmination of the untiring efforts of all peoples and of all men of good will. The debates of the present session will be characterized by this new spirit.

119. The Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests will be important not only by virtue of the subject with which it deals, but also, and above all, because of the new prospects that it opens up. That is why my delegation wishes to express its deep satisfaction that the treaty has been concluded.

120. The nuclear test ban, even if it is still limited, is particularly welcomed by my delegation, which as soon as Morocco became independent came to this very rostrum to protest against the nuclear explosions in the Sahara. His Majesty King Hassan II, too, declared in unequivocal terms, at the Belgrade Conference,^{2/} that Morocco was opposed to such tests.

121. The establishment of denuclearized geographical zones might in turn constitute a new stage on the way to disarmament. Ever since 1960 we have been calling for the denuclearization of Africa.^{3/} In so doing we hoped to limit geographically the stockpiling and dissemination of nuclear weapons and to reduce the harmful effects of the pollution of the atmosphere and nuclear fall-out. Today it is the denuclearization of Latin America that is on our agenda and the Moroccan delegation will give its full support to that proposal.

122. We must acknowledge that one of the regions where international tension is still as acute as ever is the Middle East, for the problem of Palestine continues to have the dramatic aspect which has characterized it from the outset. My country is deeply concerned about the alarming situation of the Arab people who have been expelled from Palestine. Israel, together with the Powers responsible for this situation, continues to disregard the state of destitution and poverty in which hundreds of thousands of Arabs live as stateless persons a few miles away from their native land. We deplore the fact that resolutions of the United Nations have remained a dead letter and that our Organization has done nothing to ensure their

implementation. The countries which are leading the fight for justice and freedom can no longer remain indifferent to this tragic problem and we must endeavour here to find the means to restore the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

123. With regard to the question of Oman, we are glad that the General Committee of the General Assembly [154th meeting] recognized its colonial character by including it in the agenda of the Fourth Committee.

124. The colonial problem is still liable to imperil the relaxation of tension which we have noted in international relations. Colonialism is in fact a permanent source of crisis between a few colonial Powers and the rest of mankind. One has only to analyse the positions of the States represented here in order to realize that the colonial problem gives rise to a confrontation between opposing sides which is no longer simply a matter of statements of position. Indeed, how can we remain indifferent when colonialism is still openly practised in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and other countries? Each day claims more victims in Africa and elsewhere. We cannot really envisage the establishment of a lasting peace without the total elimination of colonialism. We must therefore continue our efforts to ensure that the provisions of the Charter and in particular the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the elimination of colonialism are respected.

125. Ever since it attained independence the Moroccan Government, faithful to the principles which guided it in its own struggle, has steadfastly supported the people who still live under foreign domination. Morocco is still giving its whole-hearted support both directly to the various national liberation movements and in the various organs of the United Nations, and recently in the important debates in the Security Council.

126. Another cause of tension which we must endeavour to eradicate is the odious practice of racial discrimination. South Africa defies the international community by raising its racist doctrine to the level of a political dogma. The United Nations should spare no efforts to induce the South African Government to show greater respect for international moral values. The present session of the General Assembly will, we hope, adopt a declaration on racial discrimination on the lines of the declaration it adopted with regard to colonialism at its fifteenth session. My delegation will take part in the drafting of such a declaration and will support its adoption.

127. The most important political event of our time will prove to be the accession of numerous countries to international sovereignty. But this political independence will remain fragile and precarious if it is not accompanied by economic liberation.

128. In fact, in the countries which have recently attained independence, the economy, trade, infrastructure and even the administrative machinery were, with rare exceptions, in the hands of the colonizing Power and its nationals. As a result the newly independent countries are today called upon to make a long and difficult change, a laborious transformation of the structures left behind by the former administering Powers. They have to revise, reorganize and adapt everything to the needs of the people of the country. Since in the majority of cases there is a serious lack of cadres and of means, it has unfortunately been impossible to carry out those operations, with all the requisite urgency and efficiency.

^{2/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 67, 86, 69 and 73, document A/4680, para. 17.

129. Aid from the developed countries can prove extremely useful, whether given direct or through international organs. We cannot but note, however, that in several cases the countries which are in a position to provide such aids try, by the expedient of investments and loans made on certain conditions, to limit in one way or another the independence of the young nations, in an effort to ensure the maintenance of their privileges.

130. The structure of present-day international society reminds us of the national structure of certain European countries at the beginning of their own industrialization. While the privileged classes lived in opulence, the rest of the population lived in miserable and precarious conditions. The lack of understanding between the two classes resulted in a struggle which was often reflected in profound imbalance and violent conflict.

131. The national realities of that time have now been transposed to the international plane. Indeed, it is the opposition between the "have" nations and the "have nots" which is likely to produce tension and conflict. Will the highly developed countries show more understanding in this respect than did the privileged classes of former days? The balance and stability in the developing world should inspire in them a conception of assistance which would eliminate mistrust and suspicion and make good will reign among States. In that way fruitful co-operation and feelings of solidarity which would guarantee peace and economy could be established between the members of the family of nations.

132. In referring to the nuclear test ban and disarmament, we had in mind also the many and beneficial repercussions which they may have on the economic and social situation of the under-developed countries. It is generally agreed that military expenditure amounts to hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars every year. The great Powers have frequently affirmed that the savings effected by disarmament would be applied to peaceful undertakings and could, to a great extent, help to improve the living conditions of mankind as a whole.

133. This year has been marked by an event of considerable importance—the creation of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa. The birth of this organization is the culmination of many years of constant striving by all Africans to pool their potential in every sphere and to harmonize their political, economic and social action so that Africa may not remain in a position of inferiority.

134. The unity of Africa is an objective the attainment of which will perhaps be preceded and prepared by regional groupings designed to provide solid foundations for it. For example, the countries of the Maghreb, which are united by ties that are as numerous as they are real, intend to harmonize, co-ordinate and even unify their capital equipment and industrialization plans. We realize that the unification of the Maghreb will undoubtedly give rise to great difficulties, but the will to succeed shown by the countries concerned is a guarantee of success.

135. Our action for African unity and for the constitution of the Maghreb is not in any way at variance with our traditional diplomacy, which seeks co-operation with all States, to whatever group they may belong.

136. As His Majesty King Hassan II has said:

"This co-operation is not conceived as an attitude of systematic opposition to the ideas either of the East or of the West. There are certain valid and just positions on both sides and intellectual honesty and objectivity require us to accept such positions. This policy does not imply isolation or indifference to any section of mankind; rather it is a quest for and acceptance of all that is true and right in the sum total of human thought."

Within the framework of this policy, my country is continuing its efforts to promote economic and social progress within its frontiers. It has set as its essential goal the achievement of social justice by a better distribution of the national income among the different strata of the population.

137. In a recent address to the nation, His Majesty the King of Morocco declared:

"We intend that Morocco's economy shall become above all a Moroccan economy and that our nationals shall be in a position to control it."

To this end the Moroccan Government has this year resumed direct control of electric power and railways, in order to be better able to guide economic expansion along the right lines. Thus the Moroccan State is gradually taking into its hands the key sectors of our economy, while encouraging the private sector to devote itself to other activities within the framework of flexible planning.

138. Morocco is at present engaged in a very important operation: it has just embarked upon the first stage of agrarian reform, which is mainly concerned with what are known as land settlement schemes.

"This agrarian reform," said His Majesty King Hassan II, "must from now onwards be carried out vigorously. It will result in a complete reshaping of the present agrarian structure by restrictions on the size of holdings, redistribution of the land for the benefit of the rural population, and economic growth in accordance with the provisions for our Constitution."

139. This Constitution, which was approved by the Moroccan people on 7 December 1962, makes Morocco a constitutional, democratic and social monarchy. At the international level, the Constitution sets the achievement of the Greater Maghreb and of African unity as Morocco's objective, while at the national level it guarantees to all our citizens freedom of opinion, freedom of religion, freedom of expression in all its forms, freedom of assembly and association, and freedom to join any trade union or political organization of their choice. The reshaping of the country's political and social structure, in particular through the establishment of a Parliament, may raise some problems of adaptation, but Morocco is embarking upon this stage of democratizing its institutions with calm and resolution.

140. The efforts made by individual States with international assistance must not blind us to the beneficent action in the development field carried out by international bodies, in particular the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

141. In this connexion, we must pay a tribute to the work these organizations have accomplished in Morocco. I should like to express my Government's satisfaction to the personnel in charge of these organi-

zations and to the experts, whose competence is matched only by their devotion to duty.

142. I shall venture to quote a few examples of projects that have been carried out or are being carried out by the different international organizations: a training centre for civil aviation and meteorological staff in Morocco; an engineering school at Rabat; an agricultural research institute; a national institute for higher technical training at Casablanca, established with the combined assistance of the Special Fund and the International Labour Office; and an Institute of African Studies which will be opened at Tangier at the end of this year, thanks to the assistance of UNESCO.

143. I should not like to end this short speech without referring to a project which is dear to my country—the Rif region development project. The aim of this project is to develop the whole basin and watersheds of the river Sebou, in particular by the construction of a series of dams designed both to control the flow of the river and its tributaries in order to avoid a recurrence of flooding and to make large-scale farming possible in the Gharbe region, the Ouergha Valley and the Fez-Meknes Plains. The Governing Council of the Special Fund, FAO and the Moroccan Government will finance the project, for which preliminary studies have been put in hand. The agricultural development expected from this project will undoubtedly have decisive effects on the agricultural and industrial development of the whole region and consequently on the country's economic expansion.

144. Those, briefly, are some aspects of the work being done by Morocco with the help and the effective support of international organizations. Those organizations are certainly accomplishing a great deal in the developing countries, but we hope that the means at their disposal will be increased in order to enable them to meet the justifiable requests addressed to them by the various countries.

145. We think, too, that some United Nations initiatives are major contributions to the development of the under-developed countries. This is true of the United Nations Development Decade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which is to be held in 1964.

146. Nevertheless, in order that the developing countries may be able to play their proper part in the United Nations and make their voices heard, the necessary changes will have to be made in the United Nations Charter.

147. Today the United Nations has over 110 Members. This considerable increase in membership has not, unfortunately, been accompanied by a parallel growth of its structures. The Organization has remained just as it was conceived by its founders. Now, however, we are confronted with new demands and new interests.

148. The African States, which for the most part have only recently attained independence, think it necessary that a structural revision should be undertaken quickly and that they should be given a more equitable position in the various international organizations. Morocco, for its part, will continue to make a resolute effort in that direction.

149. How can Africa participate effectively in the work of the United Nations for peace and progress and play the dynamic role to which it aspires in the international community if it is not given fair and equitable representation in the various organizations through a broadening of African representation, mainly in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council? I should like to join my voice to all those which have already been heard here in support of the African demand that all the Powers concerned should understand this legitimate aspiration, which, after all, simply seeks to give our Organization a more realistic structure and to make our work more effective.

150. The United Nations will thus have greater authority and more means whereby to accomplish its mission in the interest of peace and international co-operation.

151. Morocco still has unsolved problems with other countries, particularly territorial and frontier problems. Ever since my country recovered its sovereignty and responsibility for its foreign affairs in 1956, it has not failed to bring up these problems. We have expressed formal reservations on these matters both to the countries concerned and within international organizations. We continue to believe that justice and wisdom will finally prevail. In our view, there is no problem for which a solution cannot be found by negotiation. As you know, Morocco has made this peaceful procedure a principle of its diplomacy to which it is sincerely attached.

152. As regards the problem of the Moroccan territories which are still under Spanish administration, it is our firm hope that it will be resolved in the spirit of co-operation and good neighbourliness which characterizes our relations with our Spanish friends. In that connexion, we hope that the negotiations announced at Barajas at the time of the meeting between His Majesty King Hassan II and His Excellency Generalissimo Franco will open shortly and will lead to a happy solution of this problem. We hope that, thanks to the good intentions shown on both sides, it will be possible to overcome all the difficulties. Thus both sides will have made a contribution to the easing of international tension and helped to strengthen peace and understanding between nations.

153. At the beginning of my speech I pointed out that the present session had opened in an atmosphere of relaxed tension in international relations. It is our hope that this new atmosphere will make itself felt more every day and that the great Powers which are engaged in an armaments race will now turn their gaze towards new horizons—those of peaceful co-operation.

154. Of course, there will still be antagonisms between nations: differences of ideology, of systems of government, of economic and social conceptions. But these differences stimulate peaceful competition among different countries in the exclusive pursuit of their national interests and will undoubtedly lead to a constant improvement in the living conditions of the human race, and that, above all the divergencies, is the goal which all of us here are seeking.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.