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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 48

Question of the future of Western Samoa: report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for Western Samoa and report of the Trusteeship Council thereon:

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/4923)

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

1. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee (translated from French): It is owing to this fortunate event, to the fact that the independence of the Trust Territory of Western Samoa is imminent, that we are submitting so soon the Fourth Committee's report to the General Assembly. Thus, with the advent of the first Polynesian State of the twentieth century, we have passed yet another milestone and helped to achieve the aims of the International Trusteeship System, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. However, as the discussion on the future of Western Samoa and the adoption of the draft resolution thereon have taken up only two meetings of the Fourth Committee, the report [A/4923] is, as you see, very brief. It has, furthermore, been adopted unanimously by the Committee.

3. During the discussion, the Committee was able to benefit from the valuable help given by the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, Mr. Fiame, and by the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner for Western Samoa, Mr. Najmuddin Rifai.

4. Paragraphs 1 to 5 consist of a short chronological account of the question and a review of the documents relating thereto. Paragraphs 6 to 9 show how the question was dealt with in the Committee, and the draft resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Committee is given in paragraph 10.

5. Sixty-four delegations subsequently expressed the wish to co-sponsor the draft resolution. I look upon this as a happy augury for its unanimous adoption in plenary session and for the happy accession of the young nation of Western Samoa to the international community.

6. I now submit this report for the favourable consideration of the Assembly.

7. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Since no one wishes to speak and since the Fourth Committee unanimously adopted the draft resolution contained in the report [A/4923], am I to take it that the General Assembly likewise adopts it unanimously?

The draft resolution was unanimously adopted.

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): On behalf of us all I wish to present our most sincere congratulations to the people of Western Samoa on the advancement in its position which will enable it to accede very soon to full sovereignty and independence. In so doing, it will certainly join the ranks of the free and independent nations and I hope, the nations which, in this Organization, continue to work for international peace, harmony and concord. I must also address my warmest congratulations to the Administering Authority which has successfully led Western Samoa to the full exercise of the rights that are inherent in all free and independent peoples.

9. In a few moments we shall pass on to the second item on our agenda, but before doing so, may I remind you that the Fourth Committee will immediately resume its work.

10. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): I should like to request that the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, a member of the New Zealand delegation, be allowed to speak at this moment.

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I am very happy to call on a member of the delegation of New Zealand.

12. Mr. FIAME (New Zealand) ^{1/} Prime Minister of Western Samoa: I am very happy indeed to have this opportunity to come before this most august body, the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am most grateful to the United Nations and, particularly, to the Trusteeship Council for their extremely valuable work for my country. I am especially grateful to the Fourth Committee and, now, to the General Assembly, for the resolution [1626 (XVI)] on the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. This clears the way for Samoa to become an independent State.

13. The Bible states that hope fulfilled is a tree of life [Proverbs, chapter 13, v. 12]. This is an occasion of momentous importance to and for rejoicing in my

^{1/}Mr. Fiame spoke in Samoan. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

country—the pearl of the Pacific. The Government of my country, if I may say so now, is and shall be founded in God. Let Samoa be founded in God.

14. Strengthened by the encouragement of this body, my country will work to justify the confidence that the Assembly is showing in us. We shall work not only for ourselves but for the well-being of all the people of the South Pacific area. We shall work in friendship with New Zealand, and our friendship with New Zealand is built on strong foundations. The independent State of Western Samoa will not apply for membership of the United Nations immediately but, through membership of some of the United Nations agencies, we hope to stay linked with the Organization. And when our population and our wealth increase, then we may well sit in the Assembly. We stand for the same things as the United Nations—the things set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

15. I return to my country with, if I may use one of our expressions, a shipload of good things. I return with the greatest good a people can have: the promise of independence obtained not in bitterness but in co-operation and friendship. I appreciate the Assembly's generous consideration for my country and its people and the respect that it has shown me personally. I express the thanks and goodwill of my people to all the Members of this body and to the Organization itself.

16. I wish to thank the President for his very kind words.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

17. Mr. COLLIER (Sierra Leone): On this, the first occasion of the participation of my country in the general debate of the Assembly, I hope the President will permit me to express the sincere thanks of the Government and people of Sierra Leone to all those who have so generously congratulated us and expressed very kind sentiments about my country on the occasion of our admission to the United Nations. Both in the various Committees and here in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, it was particularly gratifying to us that, at a time when there has been so much difficulty in reaching general agreement on many issues before the Organization, our admission has been attended by such an atmosphere of general goodwill and unanimity. For all this, we are truly grateful. We therefore consider it our first duty to pledge, once again, our complete support and deep faith in all the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, it was because of our belief in those principles, and our dedication to the grand ideals accepted by the founding nations, that we sought admission to the world Organization immediately after we achieved independence. We here give assurance that we shall endeavour in every way to play our part in upholding those principles and ideals for which the Organization was originally conceived.

18. My delegation has taken its place in the Assembly at a time when the United Nations is undergoing a painful crisis. We have taken our seats at a time when men the world over seem dazzled and bewildered by the problems of our time—grave problems of war and peace touching the survival of man on this planet and the fate of our civilization. Even though the immediate solution of most of these problems has been entrusted to the hands of the great world Powers,

yet, as the ultimate solutions of them touch the destiny of man wherever he may be, whether he belongs to a great or to a small nation, we of the smaller nations cannot afford—indeed, we dare not afford—to remain aloof and indifferent to what is happening all around us.

19. Indeed, to a certain extent, we ought to be more involved as we have a great stake in the peace of the world, without which we cannot develop our communities and improve the circumstances of our people.

20. It is, therefore, from this background that we enter this world forum, fully conscious of the importance of the United Nations as a great force for peace in our times and with the knowledge that it is our duty—and a very solemn one at that—to contribute our utmost towards the achievement of world peace and security.

21. Sierra Leone is first and foremost an African country; and we live in an age when this thought is bound to be uppermost in our minds and to dominate all our policies. It was because of a full realization of this that our Government, led by our Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, participated in the Monrovia Conference^{2/} and fully subscribed to the conclusions reached there. We are most anxious to play a useful role in the councils of African States, because we recognize that we share with all of black Africa a common destiny. In this regard, we wish to identify ourselves with those who have condemned from this rostrum and elsewhere the nefarious and odious practice of race discrimination in South Africa, flagrant and contemptuous defiance of world opinion. We shall do all we can to hasten the day when men of our colour in that troubled land will be accorded the ordinary rights and decencies which are the true entitlement of every human being. It was therefore a great honour to my country to have had the opportunity of voting for the censure motion which the Assembly [1033rd meeting] passed last week. It was an extraordinary occasion calling for the extraordinary treatment which it rightly received.

22. A great social revolution is now shaking the entire continent of Africa. Wherever men have failed to react to its impetus, there have been convulsions. Angola is now under the sword of the imperialist. Our hearts go out to the suffering Africans in that land, who are fighting so gallantly for their liberation from the shackles of colonialism. Portugal should know that there will be no peace in Angola until the people of Angola completely shake off the last vestiges of the foreign yoke.

23. Events in the Congo continue to worry all those who are anxious for peace in Africa and the preservation of the unity and sovereignty of States which have recently achieved independence. It is an unfortunate fact that there are often forces which are anxious to undermine the territorial integrity of small nations and to weaken their sovereignty. My delegation fully supports the efforts of the United Nations to bring peace to the Congo and establish stability there.

24. My delegation is committed to the principle of unity amongst the States in West Africa along the broad lines laid down at Monrovia. My Government is willing to co-operate with other West African States to achieve this ideal of unity without any interference with the sovereignty of individual States.

^{2/} Conference of Independent African States, held on 4–8 August 1959.

25. My country has a long and, if I may say so, distinguished record of service to neighbouring West African States. For many years, our institutions of learning ministered to the educational needs of the whole of West Africa; our missionaries, educators, administrators and professionals of every walk of life went out to help build the great West African nations, amongst whom we now have the honour of taking our places in the world Organization. It is therefore with a feeling of true brotherliness that we join them in the great African family of nations in the Assembly. And though with them we look forward to vigorous participation in the councils of the larger family of African-Asian nations, yet we reserve the right to speak independently on those occasions when we consider it necessary to do so. It is our firm conviction that the United Nations can best fulfil its avowed task if all nations are free to express their views independently on all occasions, free from any bloc allegiances. This is not, of course, to deny that there are times when the interests of a group of nations lie in the same direction, but we believe that for the maintenance of the dignity and the enhancement of the strength of the Organization, all nations must be guided by objective concepts of freedom and justice, and thus raise the United Nations to the stature of being the conscience of the world.

26. My delegation firmly believes that to enable the Organization to fulfil its role in the affairs of the world as the supreme international body, it should be truly universal. In this connexion, we wish to record our disappointment that the African country of Mauritania has still been denied membership in the Organization. We appeal to all those concerned not to involve the fate of this country in any ideological conflict with which Mauritania may not be directly concerned.

27. These are days of world tension when we are constantly reminded of the dangers of the nuclear age, and we stand shivering and exposed to the rigours of the cold war. It is a matter for dismay that man, who has been able to make such conquests in the universe, should continue to fail to solve the most fundamental of his problems, vital to his continued existence on this planet. We of the smaller nations have been obliged to watch in patience this sad spectacle of nuclear testing, general rearmament, and the large-scale preparation for war by those nations who sit in the Assembly and in the Committees of the Assembly day after day, taking part in the deliberations of an Organization avowedly devoted to peace and the removal of the causes of war. Is this a situation worthy of the dignity of civilized man? Have we learnt nothing from the history books, if not from real experience, of the horrors and humiliations of war? And what problems does war solve anyway? We still have with us the aftermath of the Second World War. In fact, it is in Berlin, where the embers of the last world war are still smouldering that we have the greatest threat of another world war. My delegation, alongside the delegations of many small countries in the Assembly, is most anxious to see the solution of the Berlin question and the ultimate removal of this potential source of war. The great Powers involved with the situation there have spent such a long time talking without apparently reaching any solution—is it not time that the smaller nations not directly involved with the passions and emotions of the political situation in Berlin be brought into their councils to inject sanity into their deliberations

and help achieve a solution? Who knows whether the small nations of Africa and Asia have not been called into the councils of the world for such a time as this, when men of the older nations seem to be at their wits' end and appear determined to destroy themselves and the world around them?

28. And it is in this role that we believe the small countries can best exert a great influence for peace. We live in times when no one nation can withdraw from the fate and fortunes of the others. It is in this context that the great nations can give economic help and technical skill to the under-developed countries of the world. And such help can be most acceptable through international channels and organizations.

29. The specialized agencies of the United Nations Organization have done much in this field but there can be no doubt that they can do much more. The sixteenth session of the General Assembly has been convened at a time when we are beset with grave and serious problems. The long agenda is full of controversial and thorny questions, but with goodwill on all sides and a genuine desire to meet the challenge of our age, my delegation has every confidence that our deliberations will be fruitful and will make a useful contribution towards the solution of the problems of our time.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Inow call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel, who wishes to exercise her right of reply.

31. Mrs. MEIR (Israel): It is with a feeling of abhorrence at the statement made here yesterday by the delegate of Saudi Arabia, and surprise that this vicious speech, with its racial incitement, its direct personal offence, and its outright falsehoods, was allowed to continue unchecked, that I come to this rostrum to make some comments.

32. An attempt was made to equate Israel with Nazism. Such an equation can be made only by someone who is either totally ignorant of what nazism was, or by someone who is indifferent to it. For if there is anything about which nearly all delegations here agree, no matter what their country or political grouping, it is that the Hitler régime was one of the vilest abominations ever witnessed in the history of man. The Jewish people were not the only victims of that régime. Many countries and nations suffered from Nazi occupation and count in hundreds of thousands, and some in millions, their victims of the Nazi machine. But there will not be many who will deny that we Jews were the first and the most tragic victims of the Nazis. We lost one-third of our entire people: six million died—among them over one million children—most of them burnt and gassed in the "Final Solution". When, therefore, someone speaks so glibly of nazism, the reaction is bound to be one of revulsion on the part of all decent human beings.

33. It is well known that the representative of Saudi Arabia was a member of the Arab Higher Committee and a close associate of that Committee's leader—the notorious ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, who spent the war years in Germany and collaborated with the Nazi leaders in connexion with their extermination programme of the Jews. There are photographs showing the Mufti in the company of Hitler and his colleagues—the same Hitler who, our African friends may be interested to know, wrote that negroes were not to be regarded as human beings at all. It would be in-

teresting to hear the representative of Saudi Arabia cite one single quotation of his own, denouncing the Mufti for his collaboration with Hitler. In fact, when did the representative of Saudi Arabia begin to denounce Hitler and Nazism—when they were occupying one European country after another? Or only after Hitler was defeated?

34. Let me revert to some of the questions that I put to the representative of Saudi Arabia when I replied to his tirade last year in the General Assembly: Was the Mufti of Jerusalem accepted as a leader by the representative of Saudi Arabia when he went to Berlin and helped Hitler in the extermination of the Jewish people? Was the Mufti ever denounced for this by the representative of Saudi Arabia?

35. I should like to bring to the attention of the Assembly some Arab newspaper comments on Eichmann and the Nazi atrocities. I quote from an editorial in the Jerusalem Times, a Jordan daily, 24 April 1961. It is called an "Open Letter to Eichmann". I quote:

"What a pity, Eichmann, that you allowed those swine to arrest you and stage their drama. But don't worry, Eichmann, it will in the end fall on their heads. Listen Eichmann, you are accused of declaiming six million of this breed... But be brave, Eichmann, [and] find solace in the fact that this trial will one day culminate in the liquidation of the remaining six million to avenge your blood..."

36. In Al-Akhbar, the Damascus daily, on 8 March 1961, a line from an Arab poet, Nasib-ar-Rifai, is quoted: "If Hitler failed to wipe you out—God has kept us", and the paper goes on to explain: "—and what this means is that Allah has kept us alive in order to wipe out the Jews and the Zionists. We shall purge the Holy Land of the most despicable of peoples".

37. And here is a further example of Arab humour on those same atrocities. In the newspaper Al-Anwar, a Beirut daily, of 9 June 1960, there appeared a cartoon depicting an imaginary conversation between Mr. Ben-Gurion and Eichmann. That conversation runs as follows:

"Mr. Ben Gurion: 'You deserve the death penalty, because you killed six million Jews'.

"Eichmann: 'There are many who say I deserve the death penalty because I didn't manage to kill the rest'."

38. The Arab leaders, in their blind hatred towards Israel and the entire Jewish people, do not stop feeding this poison to their own people, including even the youngest.

39. What is the truth about the Palestine question and this talk of us being aliens in another people's homeland? The land that was called Palestine has since time immemorial been associated with our national history. It was the birthplace of the Jewish people. In it our spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. There we first achieved statehood and created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the Bible. The representative of Saudi Arabia seems to have forgotten that the Jewish Prophets, to whom he referred yesterday, raised their voices 2,500 years ago in the Land of Israel. Conquered by the Babylonians, our people went into exile, and returned to establish their independence once more. Our independence was destroyed for the second time by the Roman conquerors; but our people kept faith with the land

throughout their history and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom. Moreover, throughout the centuries Jewish settlement in the land of Israel continued uninterrupted until in recent decades Jews returned in large numbers; pioneers brought life to the barren soil, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community aspiring towards independent nationhood.

40. The right of the Jewish people to national rebirth in its ancient homeland was recognized by the forerunner of this Organization, the League of Nations, and reaffirmed in the Mandate of the League, which gave international sanction to the historic connexion between the Jewish people and the land of Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its national home.

41. Throughout the centuries, many other tribes and peoples lived in Palestine, yet none except the Jews ever achieved independence in it; nor, historically, was it ever the national home of any other nation. Throughout the large expanses of the Middle East, where no sovereign entity had existed, the Arab nations have achieved their independence and freedom and are organized in a number of independent States, seven of which are in the Middle East area, and are Member States of the United Nations. Side by side with them there has arisen one small Jewish State in part of the area, which, since time immemorial, was our national homeland.

42. After the Second World War the struggle for national independence in Palestine caused the matter to come before the United Nations. Here once again our historic rights in the country were confirmed. In November 1947, the General Assembly decided by more than a two-thirds majority to partition Palestine and to establish in the country a Jewish State and an Arab State, linked by an economic union. Notwithstanding the fact that the area which had earlier been set aside for the Jewish people was whittled down, we publicly and formally accepted this first United Nations resolution [181 (II)] on this matter. We did so on the assumption that the Arab States would accept the resolution too and that it would be implemented in peace and in co-operation. But only a few moments after the General Assembly vote the representatives of the Arab States came to this rostrum one after the other declaring that they would not accept the verdict of the world community.

43. Everything that has happened since between Israel and the Arab States is the direct result of the refusal of the Arab States—including, of course, Saudi Arabia—to honour the first and major United Nations resolution on the subject of Palestine. This refusal is conveniently overlooked by the representative of Saudi Arabia and other Arab representatives.

44. The two States could have been established in peace; there need not have been a single Arab refugee. There could by now have been in peaceful existence yet one more Arab State, as provided for in that resolution, side by side with the State of Israel. But it was not to be. The United Nations Palestine Commission, in its first report to the Security Council, dated 16 February 1948, wrote:

"Powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General

Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein."^{3/}

In its report to the General Assembly of April 1948, the Commission wrote:

"Arab opposition to the plan of the Assembly [of 29 November 1947] has taken the form of organized efforts by strong Arab elements, both inside and outside Palestine, to prevent its implementation and to thwart its objectives by threats and acts of violence, including repeated armed incursions into Palestine territory.

"The Commission had had to report to the Security Council that powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein."^{4/}

45. On 14 May 1948, the Mandatory Power withdrew and we declared the establishment of Israel, as called upon to do by the above-mentioned United Nations resolution. On that day, the Arab States made good their earlier promise and sent their armies into Palestine: the Lebanese from the north, the Syrians from the northeast, the Jordanians from the east, the Iraqis from the east through Jordan, the Egyptians from the south, and the Saudi Arabians sent their forces with the Egyptian Army. The declared purpose of this military operation was to prevent, by force, the implementation of the United Nations resolution of November 1947.

46. Mr. Shukairy, then representing the Arab Higher Committee, said at the third session of the General Assembly in 1948: "...the war aims of the Arabs were the elimination of the Jewish State..."^{5/}

47. When, therefore, the representative of Saudi Arabia now says that Israel emerged in aggression, that is correct: it emerged in the aggression of seven invading Arab armies.

48. Azzam Pasha, the then Secretary of the Arab League, speaking for the seven Arab States, said, as reported in a BBC news broadcast of 15 May 1948:

"This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the crusades."

49. It was a bitter military struggle. We stood with our backs to the sea realizing that, if we lost the battle, this would spell the end of our endeavours to recreate our independence.

50. This is what Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, had to say about Arab preparations for the invasion in 1948:

"From the first week of December 1947, disorder in Palestine had begun to mount. The Arabs repeatedly had asserted that they would resist partition by force. They seemed to be determined to drive that point home by assaults upon the Jewish community in Palestine."^{6/}

^{3/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Special Supplement No. 2, document S/676.

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Special Session, Supplement No. 1.

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part I, First Committee, 201st meeting.

^{6/} Trygve Lie, In the Cause of Peace, (New York, Macmillan, 1954), p. 163.

51. This is what the representative of the Soviet Union had to say about the invasion of the Arab armies, speaking before the Security Council on 21 May 1948:

"It is very difficult not to agree that the military operation in Palestine, in which eight States, the majority of which are Members of the United Nations, are more or less involved, constitutes a threat to peace.

"The USSR delegation cannot but express surprise at the position adopted by the Arab States in the Palestine question, and particularly at the fact that those States—or some of them, at least—have resorted to such action as sending their troops into Palestine and carrying out military operations aimed at the suppression of the national liberation movement in Palestine."^{7/}

52. This is what the representative of the United States of America had to say on the same subject speaking before the Security Council on 22 May 1948:

"Probably the most important evidence we have on that subject is contained in the admission of the countries whose five armies invaded Palestine that they are carrying on a war.

"Their statements are the evidence we have of the international character of this aggression."^{8/}

53. As for the responsibility for the creation of the Arab refugee problem, it must be recalled that, in the first few weeks after the General Assembly resolution was adopted, the Arab Higher Committee, with which Mr. Shukairy was associated, took the fateful decision to call upon the Arab population living within our area to quit their homes and move out. The Arab leaders called upon the Arab population to quit, and explained that this was necessary in order to make the task of the Arab armies easier when they came to conquer the Jewish population. They promised the Arab population that it would be enabled to return within a very few weeks, after total victory had been achieved.

54. Contemporary statements by Arab leaders fully confirm this fact. On 15 September 1948, Mr. Emil Ghoury, who had been the Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee at the time of the Arab invasion of Israel, declared:

"The fact that there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the action of the Arab States in opposing partition and the Jewish State. The Arab States agreed upon this policy unanimously and they must share in the solution of the problem."

55. Arab victory was not achieved, but by the time the fighting ended and the State of Israel had held its own, the majority of the Arab population found themselves outside Israel as a result of having followed the call of their leaders. Thus those who unleashed the war of May 1948, those who tried through military action to undo the United Nations resolution, and those who called upon the Arab population to leave their homes—they, and they alone, are responsible for the creation of the Arab refugee problem, and amongst them the representative from Saudi Arabia occupies a conspicuous place.

56. Not the entire Arab population in our area followed the call of the Arab leaders. When the Armistice

^{7/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 71, p. 7.

^{8/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, No. 72, p. 41.

Agreements came into force in 1949, the number of Arabs in Israel was 120,000. Since then another 40,000 have been re-admitted into Israel, under a scheme for the reunion of families. With the natural increase, the present number of Arab citizens in Israel is about 235,000.

57. While the great majority of the Arab population in Israel are peaceful and law-abiding citizens and desire to carry on their normal lives and daily occupations, there are elements—such as those quoted by the representative of Saudi Arabia who have from within attempted to assist the political campaign carried on from outside by the Arab States against Israel. For this purpose they exploit the complete freedom of expression which is part and parcel of Israel's democracy and is the right of all her citizens. There have been cases—again I speak of a small minority—where attempts were made from within to help the border warfare which has been carried on by the Arab States against Israel over these years. For vital security reasons, therefore, as I stated here on 9 October [1030th meeting], we had to take certain measures in the border areas in order to prevent such hostile elements from within from undermining the safety of the country as a whole. This situation is but one of the consequences of the fact that ever since the end of the war in 1948 the Arab States have refused to accept the principle of co-existence with Israel and have continued, as you heard here yesterday, to preach hatred and war and to prepare for the next onslaught on our country. The moment peace is established between Israel and its Arab neighbours, any special security regulations will cease to exist.

58. At the same time I wish to state categorically, and with full responsibility on behalf of the Israel Government, that any allegations to the effect that the Arab population in Israel is being persecuted, discriminated against, or dealt with as second-class citizens, or that land is being taken from them, are entirely without foundation and are merely a part of the political warfare of the Arab States against my country. The accusation that identity cards of Arab citizens are marked with a symbol showing the holder to be a Class B citizen is nothing but slander.

59. The truth is—and I stated this in my speech in the general debate—that the Arab population of Israel has, since the establishment of Israel, enjoyed an unprecedented progress in the social, economic and cultural fields. The standards of living and wages, of welfare and health, of national insurance and the education of the Arab population in Israel increase constantly. Particular progress has been made in regard to the Bedouin population in the southern part of the country, where the introduction of agricultural machinery, of water installations and the like, have brought about an unprecedented improvement in social and economic conditions.

60. Whether the representative of Saudi Arabia likes it or not, I repeat the challenge which I made a week ago, for any Arab State to match this progress. As to the suggestion for a commission of investigation into the situation of the Arab population of Israel, I believe that a rather more urgent investigation would be appropriate in regard to the question of slavery in Saudi Arabia. In 1953 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Protocol under which the functions exercised by the League of Nations under the Slavery Convention of 1926 were transferred to

the United Nations. Saudi Arabia has not to this day signed this Protocol. In 1956, a Conference convened by the Economic and Social Council in Geneva adopted a Supplementary Convention on Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. This Convention has been in force since 30 April 1957. Saudi Arabia has not to this day signed the Convention. A law regulating slavery was promulgated in Saudi Arabia in 1936 and continues in force to this day. Of its sixteen articles, I quote article 12:

"It is not permitted to engage in the traffic of slaves as an agent or broker except in accordance with an official licence issued by the competent authority."

61. Equally baseless are the charges to the effect that Israel's policy is one of expansion. It is quite evident that the representative of Saudi Arabia cannot imagine that a Prime Minister could possibly be interested in the prosaic development of a desert. He therefore interprets my Prime Minister's call to expand to the south as a call for expansion beyond our borders. In fact, it means only one thing: to bring development and civilization to the Negev, which is the arid southern part of Israel. His quotations about the establishment of an Israel empire are complete fabrications. Mr. Ben-Gurion has never in his life spoken about an empire from the Nile to the Euphrates. We do not desire one inch of territory from any of the Arab States, nor do we owe them one inch of our territory.

62. The representative of Saudi Arabia, in rejecting once more our call for negotiations for peace, brought up the question of Jerusalem and of Israel's territory. In this connexion he gave belated support to the General Assembly resolution of November 1947 on the partition of Palestine, which I had occasion to mention earlier. As I have proven from Arab sources, it is this very resolution which the Arab States attempted to overthrow by force in 1948. But even yesterday the representative from Saudi Arabia maintained that Israel had no right to exist. Is it not rather absurd for him to argue about the frontiers and territory of a State that, in his view, must go out of existence in any case? Negotiations are, of course, only possible on the basis of the recognition of the existence of Israel.

63. As to the Arab refugee problem, I have already shown the responsibility of the Arab leaders for its creation. No doubt we shall argue the matter in detail in the appropriate Committee. Here I would just say this: If the representative from Saudi Arabia represents accurately the sentiments of the Arab refugees with regard to our country, then perhaps the representatives here will not be surprised at Israel's extreme reluctance to admit any of them into our country. If the Arab States were interested in solving the refugee problem, instead of in using the refugees in their attempt to dissolve Israel, the problem would by now have found its solution.

64. I should like to state that the story which the representative from Saudi Arabia quoted in connexion with an alleged attempt to assassinate Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld during a visit to Jerusalem is as baseless and unfounded as all his other allegations. I am happy to state here that United Nations spokesmen, both here at Headquarters and in Jerusalem, have officially stated that nobody at Headquarters had any knowledge of such an incident.

65. And, finally, I should like to say that, even in this world replete with hostility and conflicts, yesterday's speech of the representative of Saudi Arabia stood out in its degree of venom and hatred. Yet even this speech will not deflect us from our course. We shall continue to call for peace between Israel and its neighbours, even if this causes annoyance to certain Arab leaders. We shall do so because we profoundly believe that in the heart of people everywhere the response to the call to live and to build is stronger than the response to the call to fight, to destroy and to die.

66. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Uruguay, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

67. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): A few days ago, in the course of this general debate [1033rd meeting], the Minister of External Affairs of South Africa made a statement which was later the subject of a vote of censure by the Assembly. On that occasion I mounted this platform to express, on behalf of my delegation, our opposition to the expunction of the South African representative's statement from the record and work of the Assembly. We did so in compliance with the principles which govern our procedure and in defence even of the right to state what may be incorrect, because, as a matter of principle, everything that is said and expressed on behalf of the Governments represented here should appear in the records of our Organization.

68. On the same occasion I took the liberty of consulting the President and I told him that I had taken the floor also in exercise of my right of reply to which every representative is entitled under our rules of procedure. I asked him when I should make this reply and, bowing to his wish, I postponed it until I should be given the opportunity to make it. This opportunity has now been given to me and I thank the President for it. I shall accordingly express very briefly a view which constitutes a full reply to a statement made by the South African representative.

69. That representative said that the Committee on South West Africa had attempted illegally to enter the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. He also made some other remarks, but I shall limit myself to the one I mentioned specifically. I shall do so very briefly, by reading out something which was said by a much higher authority than my own; something that was expressed and decided by the General Assembly whose decisions have been defied and challenged by the Government which the Minister of External Affairs of South Africa represents here.

70. The General Assembly adopted, on 7 April 1961, resolution 1596 (XV), paragraph 4 of which reads as follows:

"Considers that the full and effective discharge of the tasks assigned to the Committee on South West Africa in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 1568 (XV) is essential to the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants of South West Africa, to the amelioration of the prevailing conditions in South West Africa, the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security, and to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South West Africa in complete freedom and of their right of accession to national sovereignty and independence with the least delay".

In paragraph 5 of the same resolution, the General Assembly:

"Requests the Committee on South West Africa, therefore, immediately to proceed to discharge the special and urgent tasks entrusted to it in resolution 1568 (XV) as fully and expeditiously as possible with the co-operation of the Government of the Union of South Africa if such co-operation is available, and without it if necessary".

Why did the Assembly use such peremptory language, and why did it reiterate this mandate to the Committee on South West Africa over which I have had the signal honour to preside up to the present? Because resolution 1568 (XV), which is quoted in the text I just read out [1596 (XV)], expressly mentions what the representative I referred to considers to be an illegality. Paragraph 4 of resolution 1568 (XV), adopted on 18 December 1960, i.e., at the same session at which the provision was to be reiterated three months later, reads as follows:

"Invites the Committee on South West Africa, in addition to its normal tasks, to go to South West Africa immediately to investigate the situation prevailing in the Territory and to ascertain and make proposals to the General Assembly on:

"(a) The conditions for restoring a climate of peace and security;

"(b) The steps which would enable the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa to achieve a wide measure of internal self-government designed to lead them to complete independence as soon as possible."

Mr. Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

71. There is something more. In resolution 1596 (XV), whereby the General Assembly orders the Committee on South West Africa to carry out its investigation in the actual Mandated Territory of South West Africa with or without the co-operation of the Government of the Mandatory Power, the General Assembly decides, in paragraph 7:

"...to call the attention of the Security Council to the situation in respect of South West Africa which, if allowed to continue, will in the General Assembly's view endanger international peace and security, and to the present resolution, the full implementation of which is necessary to bring that situation to a speedy end".

These are the basic elements of the last two General Assembly resolutions, in pursuance of which the Committee on South West Africa had to proceed to the Mandated Territory of South West Africa to carry out there the investigation ordered by the Assembly by virtue of the principles quoted above: because of a situation which, in the General Assembly's view, may endanger international peace and security, and by virtue of those elementary human rights which entitle the people of any territory to decide of their own accord the direction and pattern which their destiny is to follow.

72. The Committee on South West Africa, whose report will be placed before this Assembly in the next few days, based its action and work on these legal provisions. I wanted to place on the record of this meeting the legal elements constituting the justification for action considered illegal by the repre-

representative of the Government of South Africa, that is, the Government of the Mandatory Power of the Territory under international jurisdiction. In view of that statement, I merely wished to draw attention to the legal provisions in the General Assembly resolutions on this matter. I shall not reply to any of the other extravagances in the statement by the representative of the Government of South Africa because that will be done in the Fourth Committee's debates, or at the plenary meeting where the question is discussed as a whole.

73. I have stated here the exact truth of the matter in connexion with this problem which I mentioned earlier.

74. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): This is the second general debate in which my delegation has participated, and our statement of policy cannot be unrelated to the line which we have followed since Cyprus first joined the United Nations.

75. In our statement on that occasion, we declared that Cyprus would not align itself, as a matter of routine, with any Power blocs and that it would follow an independent line based on respect for principle and the Charter of the United Nations.^{2/}

76. The policy of Cyprus in the United Nations has been consistent with that line, and our stand on various issues has been guided by a spirit of objectivity. We have actively supported all causes of freedom and human rights under the Charter. On the question of Algeria, Bizerta, Angola, the Congo and others, we firmly stood by the United Nations and its Charter, upholding the human rights and freedoms of the people concerned. Our wholehearted support of these worthy causes will be no less active at this session.

77. It is most regrettable that there has been such a heavy and unnecessary loss of life in those countries resulting from a futile effort to stem the tide of freedom and prolong colonialism in one form or another.

78. The constructive progress achieved with the assistance of the United Nations in the Congo, where agreement was reached and a Central Government established, ensuring the independence, unity and integrity of that country, is a significant and encouraging step forward for Africa and for the whole world. My delegation is happy to have fully supported that policy and the United Nations in the Congo. We confidently trust that it will be carried to a successful conclusion, in spite of all adversity, for the consolidation of peace in the Congo and we shall continue our full support to that policy.

79. Having ourselves emerged from a status of colonial dependence, it is but natural that our hearts beat as one with all peoples struggling for their liberty, but it is also our firm belief that there can be no stability and peace in the world without justice and freedom.

80. In this sense, the resolution on colonialism and for the independence of all peoples [1514 (XV)], adopted by the General Assembly last year, which we had the honour to sponsor, is of historic significance. It is a dynamic symbol for the abandonment of the concept of domination and the liberation of all peoples. It opens up a new chapter in human relations and lays a solid foundation for peace—for, indeed, the greater the area of freedom, the broader the basis of peace.

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 906th meeting, para. 20.

81. We would wish to see the processes for the termination of colonialism accelerated and progress towards universal freedom advanced. We would thus support all appropriate measures for the implementation of that resolution.

82. The time has come for a complete reappraisal of colonial policies, in whatever form and by whatever methods they may be pursued. The age of domination by one people of another by force belongs to the past. The relation of dominant and subject peoples should give its place to that of friendly co-operation in equality and freedom. The sooner this is realized, the better for all concerned and for the world at large. Indeed, persistence in outdated colonialism by some Powers has caused a setback to the United Nations, and has wide and adverse repercussions on the effective vindication of human rights wherever such rights are denied. The geographic situation of my country between three continents, and its history of long association with the peoples of these continents, gives us a sense of responsibility to serve as a bridge of understanding, conciliation and unity in our area and in the world at large.

83. Our over-all purpose is to work towards co-operation and peace, for the common good and in the interests of humanity as one whole, of which we form a small part. In our endeavours at conciliation and compromise, however, we do not overlook the merits of each problem in its relation to cardinal principles under the Charter of the United Nations, for we firmly believe that no solution which is not broadly based on justice, freedom and democracy can ever be a sound or an enduring solution. In this sense do we conceive our humble contribution to the United Nations and to the world community at large.

84. As the President of our Republic, Archbishop Makarios, declared at the Belgrade Conference:

"Our non-alignment is the source of our freedom of judgement and independence of approach to world problems, allowing our stand to be determined by what is right and just in each case. Our non-commitment to any bloc becomes our commitment, and a strong commitment, to moral principle".

85. The general terms of the external policy of Cyprus have also been outlined in the address of President Makarios to the House of Representatives on 21 August 1961, where it was given as follows:

"Although Cyprus is a small country, we firmly believe that it can promote the spirit of friendship and co-operation amongst nations, thus making a decisive contribution towards the establishment of international peace and stability. In this spirit, our Government is determined to follow a policy of equal friendship with all nations."

86. In the same address, a five-year programme for the economic development of Cyprus was announced by the President. In the preparation and execution of this programme, the United Nations has rendered, and is rendering, valuable technical assistance.

87. We have before us, on our agenda, a long and heavy list of items. Many, indeed, are the problems besetting mankind today, but the problem which overshadows all else and dominates the anxious thought of humanity is the problem of war and peace; the overhanging danger of nuclear conflagration.

88. Directly connected with this problem is the question of nuclear testing, which calls for our urgent

attention. The abrupt suspension of negotiations for banning nuclear tests, at a time when a draft treaty, the subject of laborious negotiations since 1958 was, or should have been, nearing completion, brought deep disappointment to the world.

89. But what has been the most serious cause for anxiety and deep concern is the sudden resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere by the Soviet Union, followed by underground testing by the United States, with all that it implies of increased danger and harm of human life and health.

90. Such resumed testing is an ominous sign of regression in the endeavours towards disarmament and peace. Three years ago, a positive step forward was taken by agreeing on a moratorium on nuclear tests. In the time that has since elapsed, instead of further progress towards disarmament, we have reached the point when even that initial step has been abandoned, and nuclear tests are resumed with particular energy and increased frequency of explosions. Nuclear testing is the gravest manifestation of war preparation, for it is directed to the perfecting of the destructive potential of nuclear weapons by their increase in intensity and radius of destruction—as if we had not had enough of that destruction from the weapons that already existed. But worse still, the evil involved in nuclear tests extends beyond the aggravation of the dangers of war. It causes actual harm to life and health through radio-active fall-out. This fall-out, particularly of strontium-90 and carbon-14, is cumulative over a long period of years. It is reckoned that it will take no less than twenty-eight years for only 50 per cent of the fall-out to disappear. Consequently, every new test adds to the existing radio-activity by increasing its volume and its harmful potential.

91. Concern over this danger is general among the peoples of all countries. The 1958 moratorium was the result of the pressure of public opinion aroused by increasing awareness of the dangers of nuclear testing. In January 1958, a petition signed by over 9,000 scientists from forty-four countries, and addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, asserted that:

"... each test of a nuclear bomb increases the quantity of radio-active fall-out, thereby causing harm to the health of people throughout the entire world and threatening the normal development of coming generations."

The situation since then has further deteriorated as a result of the present series of explosions since the breaking of the moratorium on 1 September 1961.

92. One of the most harmful effects of radio-activity is that it causes cancer of the bone, and leukaemia. We all know that cancer is the greatest enemy of mankind, and that the continual increase of its incidence is a matter of world-wide concern. While human effort in scientific research is directed towards checking or reducing this scourge to human life, a counter human activity is engaged in increasing the spread and deadliness of cancer by the effects of its nuclear tests. This is the stark reality; it brings into sharp focus the enormous gap between scientific progress and moral retardment, and the utter confusion to which it leads.

93. The immediate cessation of nuclear testing is imperative; for it is impossible to allow the health of the people to be irreparably harmed. The United

Nations has a paramount responsibility to act in unanimity upon this issue, and ensure the permanent discontinuance of nuclear tests. We cannot see why a permanent agreement cannot be made and made soon, effectively banning for ever all nuclear testing. But no time can be lost while tests continue. A moratorium, therefore, is now immediately necessary. At the same time, negotiations should be resumed with earnestness and determination for the earliest possible conclusion of a ban treaty.

94. The question of nuclear tests, though urgent in its nature, is only a part of the problem of war and disarmament. Our consideration should be turned, therefore, with no less concern and sense of urgency to the growing danger of a destructive cataclysm from a nuclear war that may mean the end of our organized human society, if not of all life on this globe. War will have to be abolished. This requires, however, that the concepts from which it stems should be abandoned. Is this possible? The spirit of contest and war has accompanied man in his evolution through the ages and has been a determining factor in national and international development. It could not be suddenly eradicated and supplanted by that of placid co-operation and peace.

95. But war, conditioned by technological advance, is now a totally different reality from what it has ever been. To earlier generations, war could be made acceptable as a national policy for achieving a purpose. Now, nuclear weapons have made this impossible. There can no longer be victory or success or valour, and there can be no purpose in war. Its outcome is all-engulfing destruction. War has thus become obsolete, overpowered by the destructiveness of its own weapons. Yet, as an instrument of policy, it still outlives itself. Preparations for war and armaments go on with increased intensity and zeal, as though blindly motivated by deep-rooted attitudes of an era already belonging to the past.

96. Although rapid transition from antagonism and war to co-operation and peace may not seem possible, the transition from war on the level of physical violence to war on the level of intellect should be possible. The spirit of contest can find scope in an ideological competition for the minds of free men, and not for their domination by force. This is the field for endeavour and achievement now open to a progressive world, determined by the progress of science. Material power, turned to peaceful uses for the benefit of mankind and not for its destruction, could by example and human excellence form part of an ideological contest.

97. Transition from the physical to the mental has marked the historical progress of human civilization. It applied to religious wars in the past; it could apply to war for political ideologies now.

98. The first reasonable step in that transition would be finally to agree to lay down arms. If, however, we take a look at the rate of progress of disarmament after sixteen years of lengthy negotiations, we shall indeed be disheartened. The main cause for this failure is ascribed to lack of any degree of trust in each other's sincerity of purpose for disarmament. Bearing in mind, however, that both sides are fully aware of the implications of thermo-nuclear war, and have repeatedly declared their abhorrence of it, one may well wonder why there should exist over the years such mutual distrust in the sincerity of their intentions. The cause may be traced to the fact that, in

spite of the deterrent nature of present-day war, the deep-rooted concept of domination by force of arms has not left us. It is still there; it still influences and conditions political attitudes; it is still always present in the conference room. It thus pre-determines the failure of all disarmament negotiations.

99. The concept of force and domination cannot co-exist with the spirit of disarmament and peace. The former invariably displaces the latter, unavoidably bringing in its wake mistrust and suspicion, and stalling all progress towards disarmament and peace.

100. Each failure in the disarmament negotiations is promptly followed by recriminations in the pursuit of propaganda tactics. Thus the international dialogue about disarmament, instead of achieving a constructive purpose, invariably becomes an accentuated phase in the cold war, defeating the very purpose of negotiations. The result is no disarmament and more cold war.

101. Although the attainment of agreement on disarmament depends primarily on the great Powers, which possess the largest armed forces and have atomic and hydrogen weapons at their disposal, the solution of the disarmament problem is of equal interest to all nations of the world, both large and small. The cause of disarmament is the cause of humanity. It is a deeply human question and not one of political tactics.

102. In the light of past experience, my delegation suggests that it would be useful and constructive if an international committee were appointed, comprising non-aligned and smaller nations, to which reference would be made, in cases of deadlocked negotiations, for assistance in dealing with unresolved differences and breaking the deadlock. In this way, the further progress of the negotiations would be facilitated, while accentuation of the cold war would be avoided.

103. Negotiations should be started in a new spirit—a spirit of sincere co-operation and trust, in a joint effort to put an end to armaments and defeat the common enemy: war and nuclear destruction. The first aim of any disarmament discussions should be to eliminate the causes of mistrust, which have been the reason for frustration of all disarmament negotiations until now. Each side should see with understanding the fears and suspicions of the other side and be ready to accept measures to alleviate them. Secretiveness by its nature engenders suspicion, while openness creates confidence. In this sense, international inspection and control in the process of disarmament would be necessary both from the psychological and from the practical aspect—psychologically, because readiness for such inspection and control indicates frankness, and frankness creates trust; practically, because it ensures that no disadvantage results to either side at any stage of the disarmament procedure. There should also, however, be adequate ways of allaying fears regarding any danger resulting to either side from the process of inspection. No doubt such arrangements could be devised, given understanding and goodwill.

104. The agreement for the first time between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the principles for disarmament negotiations [see A/4879] is a hopeful and an encouraging sign, but it would have to be followed by corresponding agreement on the procedures for the practical application of those principles. The presentation by the

United States of a detailed plan for general and complete disarmament [A/4891] is a positive step in that direction.

105. Our reserved optimism at these signs is dimmed, however, by the prevailing spirit of disagreement and antagonism in general developments. Tensions everywhere are mounting and the international atmosphere is laden with a sense of gloom and uneasiness.

106. In these times of apprehension and alarm the minds of all men turn to the United Nations as the collective reason of nations and the only hope of mankind.

107. The United Nations itself, however, is found to be in a state of crisis. The applications of its Charter provisions based on principles, or the mode of such application, is occasionally seen as a hindrance to the pursuit of narrowly-conceived national or sectional policies. In consequence, different reactions have appeared tending to undermine the prestige and curtail the effectiveness of the United Nations. In addition, and at the very time of the opening of this session, the executive head of the United Nations, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, met with a tragic death while in the performance of his duties in connexion with the maintenance of peace in the Congo. His death is certainly an immense loss for the United Nations, but this sacrifice of his life in the cause of peace becomes a symbol and a rallying-call to the support of the world Organization as the only means of international understanding and co-operation at a time when survival is at stake.

108. Dag Hammarskjöld's message is contained in the introduction (A/4800/Add.1) to his last annual report to the Assembly on the work of the Organization. In an imaginative outline of the future of the United Nations, he poses the problem whether the United Nations would be allowed to evolve as a dynamic instrument of Governments, with effective executive authority for forestalling conflicts and maintaining peace in the world, or whether it would be forced to stagnate as a static conference machinery without effect, and wither away—a landmark in human decline and fall.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

109. Dag Hammarskjöld's call for the peaceful progress of humanity through a dynamic United Nations is a call from beyond to all nations and peoples, to join efforts for strengthening and revitalizing the United Nations, so that it may grow and fulfil its great destiny. The United Nations would be strengthened morally by the demonstration of greater objectivity in the approach to world problems in the Assembly and in all its Committees, materially by rendering it more effective in the implementation of its resolutions. Efforts should be directed towards evolving procedures of executive action so that the United Nations may become an effective instrument of peace and security in the world. As pointed out by the late Secretary-General in the said introduction, the Charter contains clear indication that executive action, though not specifically provided for, was expected to develop in practice.

110. Within the context of such executive action falls the question of the creation of a United Nations permanent force enrolled by, and for, the United Nations, with a United Nations allegiance, to ensure peace with justice in the world. Loaned forces, owing allegiance to the States from which they come, cannot be fully

relied upon for United Nations action. They may, for one thing, be withdrawn at any time—as was the case in the Congo. The establishment and phased growth of the United Nations force would also prove of valuable assistance to a phased disarmament process. Before a State is completely disarmed, it would have to rely on some international system for its national security. That system would be supplied by a United Nations military force for constabulary duties in the service of mankind.

111. For those Members who desire to strengthen the United Nations and to see it develop in the way outlined above—and I feel confident these are not few—it would be inconceivable to have the office of Secretary-General weakened in its decision or hampered in its action by the introduction of the divisions of politics into the Secretariat. Instead of progress, that would mean regression. Any suggestion of political representation in the office of the Secretary-General is unacceptable to my delegation. It would in effect destroy the international character and authority of the Secretary-General. It would also violate the Charter, which in Article 100 expressly provides that "the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any other authority external to the Organization," and that Member States undertake "to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities".

112. Geographical representation in a number of Under-Secretaries would be desirable in the sense of the universality of the United Nations being reflected in the Secretariat, but not in any sense of political representation. To whichever geographical units the Under-Secretaries may belong, they should be strictly international civil servants in the performance of their duties. Divorced from politics and dedicated to the United Nations and the Charter, they should develop a United Nations conscience, so that in effect they would all in their actions be guided by a United Nations spirit.

113. We believe that small nations have a distinct and constructive role to play in the development of the United Nations. Small countries depend for their freedom and security on the world Organization, which is their only safeguard. Growing technical and economic assistance by the United Nations to smaller and less developed countries is rendering important aid to these countries. Their vital interests, therefore, coincide with their duties as Members of the United Nations.

114. More significantly, the newly independent countries, having emerged from a state of dependence and after a struggle for liberation, naturally have a special dedication to the principles of justice and freedom, for which they have long fought in their own cause, and would act in accordance with that dedication. This awareness gives them a heightened sense of responsibility to stand up for those principles and for the vital interests of mankind. In addition, small nations having no commitments and no entanglements arising from power or vested interests can have a freer mind and clearer vision in the approach to world problems. By their faith in the cause of the United Nations, unaligned and smaller countries can create a consistent core of world public opinion which can exercise a restraining and constructive influence

on international relations, particularly in times of stress. We would wish to see the small uncommitted countries from all continents actively contributing to the support of the United Nations and to positive progress in world affairs. Cyprus as adjoining and partaking of three continents, can well serve as a link in the promotion of understanding and unity in this respect.

115. The Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Belgrade,^{10/} at which Cyprus was represented by its Head of State, Archbishop Makarios, was a historic event and an inspiring move forward towards the building up of a world moral power as the expression of the conscience of humanity. The impact of such moral power can be of immense importance in international affairs and it could be an underlying source of strength to the United Nations. We would wish to see it grow in stature and authority. The weight and extent of its influence will rest on the degree of world confidence in its objectivity and its independence of approach to international problems.

116. The situation in Berlin is one directly connected with the present crisis. We do not propose to discuss it at any length at this stage for two valid reasons: First, negotiations though not actually in progress, are in prospect. Second, there is no relevant item on our agenda.

117. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our profound regret and disappointment at witnessing barbed wire placed and high walls erected in Berlin in order to render more effective and more pronounced the breaking up and division of a great city. Instead of progress in the direction of understanding and unity, we have regression in that of division and strife. This is particularly regrettable, in that the division came not from within but from without, as the result of a war, and quite irrespective of the wishes of the people concerned. Any solution of the problem of Berlin and Germany could not disregard the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the right of all peoples to determine freely their status and their future. The concept of peace cannot be divorced from the concept of freedom.

118. We do not overlook, however, the complexities of an abnormal situation, a legacy of past errors, so closely related to larger issues in the cold war. Nor do we ignore the exigencies of existing realities and the need for agreement on some workable arrangement under present circumstances. But we firmly believe that fundamental human rights and freedoms cannot be disregarded in dealing with any human problem. We therefore express the hope that a broader view and a deeper vision on the part of the Powers directly involved with this problem may lead to a mutual understanding and a peaceful and just settlement.

119. We may be labouring, in the United Nations and outside, with many problems and many crises as they appear, but their cause and origin is the same. The problem indeed is one, and it is basically a moral one. The interdependence of the moral and the material in international affairs has been so emphatically brought out by the progress of science that primary consideration of the moral aspect is now a practical and compelling necessity in any effective policy.

120. Whether on disarmament or nuclear tests and whether in Berlin or elsewhere, the crisis is essen-

^{10/} Held 1-6 September 1961.

tially that of humanity and its approach to life in a radically changed world. The challenge is the challenge of adaptation and adjustment. Adaptation is inherent in human nature, as the history of man shows. The grave difficulty, however, of the present problem stems from the rapidity of mental adaptation to new conditions suddenly demanded now from humanity by the revolutionary achievements of science. Mankind's failure so far to adapt its thinking and action to the reality of an increasingly fast-moving world is the cause of a dangerous imbalance that threatens the very existence of mankind.

121. The recent gigantic strides of technology have made it possible for man to encompass this planet in a matter of minutes and, what is more, have placed in his hands the power to destroy all life on this globe, a power of unfathomed potentialities extending beyond the bounds of controllability. If we have the power of astronauts to see this earth from the distance of outer space, we should have also the moral power of approaching its problems in the spirit which will arise from a perspective analogous to that of the view of the astronaut.

122. The unprecedented magnitude of this technological revolution makes a parallel revolution in our thinking and action imperative, if the balance necessary for the preservation of life on this globe is to be retained.

123. It is no longer possible to continue acting on the concepts of the past with impunity. Commensurate with man's rise in material power should be his spiritual rise and the broadening of his outlook on life. Global power calls for a global consciousness and a global sense of responsibility. This sense of responsibility, translated into a United Nations consciousness, will have to appear in the discussions in the Assembly and outside it, in order to meet the great challenges of our time in a spirit of hope and survival—for survival there must and will be. We reject the prospect of total catastrophe. The governing human instinct is not for the extinction but for the preservation of life. The forces of nature and the cosmic powers are not negative but positive. They are not for anarchy and chaos, but for balance and order. These will eventually prevail. Whether they will prevail in the great crisis of the present generation of mankind will depend upon our actions as determined by our capability for intellectual and moral adjustment.

124. We can only hope that a new and adjusted statesmanship may emerge out of these critical times to save humanity by lifting it to new levels of moral achievement.

125. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We have now concluded the list of speakers in the general debate. I therefore declare the general debate closed.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.