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(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Dato' ISMAIL (Federation of Malaya): Mr. President, it is my honour and privilege to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of the Federation of Malaya our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Heavy though the burden of your office is, my delegation is happy in the conviction that with your illustrious background as a jurist and diplomat, and your long association with the United Nations, including a successful term of office on the International Court of Justice, you will guide the Assembly towards a sober and fruitful deliberation of the problems that beset our present world.

2. I would like at this juncture to pay my delegation's sincere tribute to Mr. Mongi Slim, our previous President. His was a heavy task. Not only did he take over the leadership of the Assembly at a time when the Organization was still labouring under the shock of the loss of the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, but he also had the unenviable distinction of presiding over the longest session in the history of the United Nations. And in his traditional unselfish spirit, he took the trouble of proposing certain measures aimed at expediting the work of the Assembly. No doubt he had among other things, the interest of future Presidents at heart.

3. The General Assembly is now richer by the admission into its membership of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and the State of Trinidad and Tobago. To the delegations of these new Member States who are with us in the Assembly, my delegation extends a brotherly hand of welcome. We look forward with the keenest anticipation to close and fruitful co-operation with these new delegations, as with all others in the United Nations, in our joint striving for peace, prosperity and justice for mankind.

4. Before the conclusion of this session the General Assembly will have the further honour of welcoming two more States, Uganda and Algeria, into the fold of independent countries in the United Nations. My delegation is looking forward to this happy event.

5. The seventeenth session of the General Assembly will have to grapple with enormous problems of far-reaching consequences for the Organization and its future. The first thing that comes to mind is of course the Congo problem which is still unfinished business for the Organization.

6. The United Nations is still confronted with the problem of the reunification of the Congo. In the introduction [A/5201/Add.1] to his annual report, the Acting Secretary-General aptly states that the core of the Congo problem is the secession of Katanga. The reintegration of Katanga into the Congolese Republic is therefore a task of immediate importance to which the highest priority must be given. Regrettably the progress in this direction has been painfully slow. We are therefore relieved to note in recent weeks the considerable progress that has been achieved in the latest efforts towards reconciliation. Both the Central Government and the authorities of Katanga Province have declared their acceptance of the Acting Secretary-General's plan submitted to them in August. We earnestly hope that in the better interest of the Congo, as well as of the United Nations, all parties concerned will exert every effort to implement the plan faithfully in strict accordance with its provisions.

7. The Federation of Malaya has been a loyal supporter of United Nations operations in the Congo and from the beginning has expressed its support both in words and in deeds by way of contributing men and material to the United Nations Force. In thus appealing for a speedy reconciliation in the Congo, the delegation of the Federation is motivated by the same consideration that prompted our Government in the first place to contribute troops to the United Nations Force. We have no other desire than to see the return of law and order in the Congo and the emergence of the country as a united and prosperous entity.

8. We agree with the Acting Secretary-General that only through reunification can the Congo move forward on the way to recovery and can the United Nations effectively fulfil its mandate to provide effective and massive technical assistance to the Republic. The United Nations has a big stake in this task. The outcome of the Congo operations will have a telling effect on the future of the Organization. It is highly imperative, therefore, for the entire membership of the Organization to fulfil their obligations so as to ensure the success of the Congo operations and the future efficacy of the Organization as a force for peace.

9. My delegation is particularly concerned with the acute financial problem besetting the Organization, arising, first, from the continuing need to incur large expenditures for the Congo operations and, secondly, from the failure and refusal of a number of Member States to pay their assessments for the maintenance

of United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East.

10. However, the favourable response already shown to the United Nations bond scheme encourages us to hope and believe that the target of \$200 million will soon be attained. I am glad to say that the Federation Government has already purchased the bond in the amount of \$US340,000. This is perhaps a small amount in relation to the target, nevertheless it represents 30 per cent more than the Federation's share under the rate of assessment on the regular budget. The least we can say is that this purchase reflects the faith and confidence that the Federation Government places in the United Nations as a force for peace.

11. The United Nations bond scheme is by no means a panacea for the Organization's financial crisis. It is only a palliative. But it is an urgently needed one, and if the target of \$200 million is realized, I have no doubt it will go a long way towards easing the Organization's financial burden.

12. A more important factor relating to the financial problem of the Organization is the question of the obligation of Member States to pay their assessments on the United Nations peace-keeping operations. In this connexion the International Court of Justice has handed down an advisory opinion confirming that the expenditures for maintaining the Congo operations and the Emergency Force in the Middle East constitute expenses of the Organization within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter and therefore represent binding legal obligations on Member States to pay their assessments for these operations.^{1/}

13. My delegation earnestly hopes that Member States will react favourably to the Court's opinion. In this regard I would like to endorse the hope and belief so well expressed by the Secretary-General that:

"... Member Governments, who are all agreed on the indispensable role of the Organization in the world of today, will take appropriate action to solve its financial problems, which may otherwise severely limit its usefulness for the future." [A/5201/Add.1, p. 2.]

14. Against the background of world tension today, replete with the ever-present danger of war, the most urgent issue facing mankind is without question the problem of liquidating the means of war and securing a lasting peace. This is an issue with which the United Nations has been seized ever since its creation. Indeed it is the primary concern of the United Nations as spelled out in the very first words of the Charter—"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

15. But seventeen years after the catastrophe of the Second World War, the repetition of which the peoples of the United Nations are determined to avert, what have we achieved? True there have been a series of negotiations on disarmament. The principle of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and inspection has been accepted by us all. Yet we are not nearer to the realization of that ideal.

16. In the past year alone, despite an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on several principles of disarmament, despite the disarmament talks in Geneva in which some non-aligned countries are for the first time participating; the deadly arms race has continued with increasing ferocity. Between the Soviet Union and the United States, three separate series of nuclear tests were conducted whose effect, quite apart from the releasing of poisonous radio-active fall-out, is to generate further tension in an international climate already surcharged with mutual fear of war. We have now come to a stage where man has so harnessed his resources, and utilized his ingenuity, towards the perfection of his destructive potential that an all-out war in the future would mean suicide for himself. Thus what was once an issue of preventing wars—and the world has survived many wars in the past—has now assumed a far more serious and urgent character. It is now nothing less than an issue involving life and death for mankind.

17. With every passing day in the armaments race, the world is drifting closer and closer to the brink of total annihilation. Not only will nuclear weapons acquire increasing destructive capability, but there is the danger of proliferation of nuclear arms becoming uncontrollable, which could easily spark a nuclear war. Furthermore, the continuation of nuclear tests, even if there is no actual war, would expose generations of mankind to the deadly peril of radio-active poison. Yet this is no time for despair. Although little progress has been registered in the past year in the field of disarmament, it is encouraging nevertheless to note that serious and business-like negotiations have been carried out at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In the vital interest of humanity these talks should continue, and the least the General Assembly can do is to urge the Disarmament Committee to resume its business without much delay.

18. The enormity and complexity of the disarmament problem call for careful, patient and business-like deliberations. It is obvious that the problem cannot be solved with one stroke. In this connexion my delegation wishes to reiterate the view that no efforts should be spared towards the achievement of an agreement on disarmament by stages which should be in keeping with the progress of building up mutual confidence amongst antagonistic nations and also consistent with the national security of all nations. In other words, we believe that disarmament has to proceed step by step, stage by stage, until it is general and complete. The first step is to arrest the arms race, and the cessation of nuclear testing is a vital starting point. We note in this connexion that the Western nuclear Powers in the Disarmament Committee, in an effort to reach a workable compromise and to save mankind from further fall-out, have put forward a realistic and practical proposal for a nuclear test ban in the atmosphere, under the sea, and in outer space without inspections and conditions. In the interest of humanity we urge the Soviet Union to accept this proposal as an important first step. We have no doubt that while it may be far from being the solution to the complex problem of disarmament, the cessation of nuclear tests under a properly concluded treaty would facilitate the reverse trend in the armaments race.

19. The disarmament problem must inevitably be seen through the perspective of national and inter-

^{1/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

national security. General and complete disarmament must in the final analysis be the guarantee of international security, not an opportunity to be exploited by a potential aggressor. This is the basic concept upon which disarmament measures have to be formulated. Consistent with this basic concept, we believe that a disarmament programme must be so planned and phased that at no time will any nation or group of nations gain a military advantage to the detriment of another nation or group of nations. This is highly indispensable if a potential aggressor is to be prevented from violating international security. Flowing from this same consideration, an effective system of international control and verification must be made an integral part of any treaty on any phase of disarmament.

20. The Federation of Malaya hopes and believes that with a business-like order of work and with a serious and responsible approach to the problem the Eighteen-Nation Committee will be able to make some progress and agree on such first steps as are practicable.

21. The emergence of scores of territories from colonial rule to independence in recent years is conclusive evidence of the progress registered in the field of decolonization.

22. Colonialism is an anachronism of this enlightened age. Not only is it contrary to the principle of the equality of peoples and nations and a violation of the inalienable right of peoples to live their own life in freedom and dignity, but its continuation constitutes a major cause of discord and conflict among peoples. Furthermore, the present state of low living standards and general under-development in large areas of the world is in great measure due to the policy and practice of colonialism of the last few centuries—a policy and practice which by the nature of things has been geared to the interests of the metropolitan Powers.

23. Thus, while independence from colonial rule is a desired end in itself, the question of decolonization has to be seen in the larger context of world peace and harmony, within the framework of economic and social advancement and higher living standards for all peoples of the world.

24. The primary objective to strive for is the emergence of colonial territories to the dignity of independence in the most auspicious circumstances possible. In reflecting on this matter, my delegation takes note with considerable satisfaction that a number of once mighty colonial Powers have recognized in time the inevitability of change and have accordingly taken steps to facilitate the emergence of their colonial territories to independence in orderly and peaceful circumstances. It is further gratifying to note in this regard that the colonial ties between the metropolitan Powers and their colonial territories have now been replaced by stronger ties of friendship and mutual co-operation on the basis of sovereign equality.

25. My delegation regrets, therefore, that in a number of territories, particularly in Africa, the colonial authority has refused to heed the wind of change and is putting up a vain fight. Portugal is an example. In its stubborn determination to retain its colonies the Portuguese Government maintains that its overseas territories are an integral part of Portugal. This is an assertion supported neither

by facts nor by logic. Nor can armed action and repressive measures such as those employed by Portugal in Angola defeat the legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples for independence. Portugal will be well advised to admit this reality and adopt an enlightened policy towards its colonies. This is the only way open to the Portuguese to retrieve whatever opportunity may be left for future co-operation with the African peoples on a footing of sovereign equality.

26. Portugal should take a lesson from Algeria. France, with far superior economic resources and with a far greater ability to mount a prolonged colonial war against the Algerian people, saw in the end the futility of its cause and recognized the inevitable. After a long period of senseless war in which hundreds of thousands of Algerian and French lives were sacrificed, France had to abandon its assertion that Algeria was part of France and finally recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, thus paving the way for the independence of Algeria.

Sir Patrick Dean (United Kingdom), Vice-President, took the Chair.

27. In congratulating the Algerian people on the successful outcome of their heroic struggle for independence, my delegation cannot let this occasion pass without paying our sincere tribute to the Government of France under the leadership of President de Gaulle for the far-sighted and realistic policy on Algeria which led to the ending of the Algerian war through negotiations.

28. The peaceful granting of independence to colonial territories and peoples works in the best interest of all concerned. We feel it has been a workable policy in meeting our need in the present process of decolonization. For this policy, in the light of our own experience, has brought about the great degree of mutual respect and understanding that, happily, exists between us and the United Kingdom.

29. My Government and the Government of the United Kingdom will soon arrive at a formal agreement whereby our three million brothers and relatives, kith and kin in the present United Kingdom territories of Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, will join us as free, independent peoples. Under the projected agreement, the four territories will join the eleven States of the Federation of Malaya in a Federation of Malaysia. All of the fifteen States in the Federation of Malaysia will be equal partners.

30. Needless to say, the proposed greater Malaysia—or, as my Prime Minister has termed it, "Happy Malaysia"—is the result of an enthusiastic desire of the peoples of these territories to be with us once again. This is because the peoples of Singapore and the three Borneo territories are linked with the people of the Federation of Malaya by a common cultural heritage and historical background. We have the same system of administration and law, we use the same currency, and, what is more, we share inherent qualities of tolerance. Although we are a mixture of many races, nowhere in the world does the saying "Unity in diversity" ring truer than in the countries of the proposed Malaysia. Therefore, it is only natural and logical that the peoples of Singapore and the Borneo territories should want to share their political destiny with their brothers in the Federation of Malaya.

31. The Federation of Malaya is a cosmopolitan country, where people of so many racial origins are living together in peace, harmony and goodwill. Just as the Federation of Malaya guarantees complete religious and cultural freedom, so will the new Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia guarantee the human, religious and cultural rights of the peoples in each of the fifteen States which will comprise the Federation of Malaysia. It is proposed that the projected agreement should include detailed constitutional arrangements and safeguards for the special interests of the Borneo territories in such matters as religious freedom, education, representation in the Federation Parliament, the position of the indigenous population, control over immigration, citizenship, the State Constitution, and so on, which would be drawn up in consultation with all concerned.

32. Political freedom is empty and meaningless unless the happiness and economic well-being of the peoples are secured. Therefore, one of the principal objectives in forming Malaysia is to further the economic development of the Borneo territories in particular and Malaysia in general. The new nation will cover an area of 130,000 square miles, with a population of ten million. It would become a viable economic and political unit and, with its varied resources and hard-working population, it would be only a matter of time before a higher and more prosperous standard of living of the people of Malaysia would be achieved through appropriate measures of economic development.

33. The progress being achieved in the sphere of decolonization has brought us nearer to our objective—a happy world society in which there is full respect for fundamental human rights, for the dignity and worth of the human person, for the equal rights of men and women and of nations. But there are other forms of human oppression, beside colonialism, to which the United Nations should give its serious attention.

34. Let me turn in this connexion to the Government of South Africa, whose name has been blemished by, and in fact has become synonymous with, its apartheid policy—a policy aimed at the suppression of its Non-White population in contravention of its profession of acceptance of the United Nations Charter. This policy may serve the arrogance of the governing few in South Africa, but by no stretch of the imagination can it be translated into the happiness of the majority of the population. The South African Government has continued with this policy, thereby not only persisting in its crime against human dignity but also defying the repeated appeals of mankind, which have found expression in successive resolutions of the General Assembly.

35. The racist policy of South Africa is not a question outside the competence of the General Assembly to discuss and seek redress. It is a question of human injustice perpetrated by the Government of South Africa in direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations. As upholders of the Charter, we cannot allow this flagrant flouting of its most sacred tenets. We should therefore, as Members of the United Nations, either collectively or individually take such appropriate action as is necessary to bring about a searching of mind and a change of heart among the moulders of policy in South Africa. Consistent with the resolutions of the General Assembly in this regard, my Govern-

ment, for its part, has severed all trade relations with South Africa, and this severance of trade will continue as long as apartheid remains the policy of the South African Government.

36. Fundamental human rights are cherished by all peoples, of whatever colour or creed. And it is the concern of the United Nations, as the upholder of these rights, to ensure that in all parts of the world they are strictly respected, if they are not already violated, and restored where they are already suppressed. In thus considering the problem in its entirety, my delegation would once again call to the attention of the General Assembly the desperate plight of the Tibetan people, who continue to labour under the yoke of cruel domination by the People's Republic of China. The people of the Federation of Malaya, for whom tolerance and respect for each other's way of life is the essence of their happy and harmonious multiracial society, have great respect for the people of Tibet and deep admiration for the serene life the people of that country lead. The Tibetans are not people who are likely to harm anyone. Their religion preaches friendship with all. Yet it is these very people who have been made the victims of callous conquest by the Chinese People's Republic. Not only have they been deprived of their right to pursue their traditional way of life, but even their basic fundamental human rights are forcibly denied to them, and their identity as a distinctive Buddhist race is in danger of extinction because of the policy of genocide pursued by their oppressors.

37. Tibet is but one example of a new form of imperialism which is endangering the existence and integrity of small countries. This same danger is now evident in South Viet-Nam, where outside forces are conducting subversive activities, and, in some provinces of the country, even open aggression. This is part of a world-wide campaign of subversion, particularly evident in South-East Asia, the objective of which is to overrun, dominate and ultimately bring the small countries under the subjugation of a new form of imperialism. This new type of imperialism, because of its negation of the fundamental principles of personal freedom and liberty and of all the sacred tenets of democracy, is more demoralizing and more damaging than the old. It is extremely subtle in its forms and of a ghastly viciousness in its execution.

38. The people of the Federation of Malaya are fully aware of this danger, because they have lived with it. Even now, after failure to gain control by armed means, the anti-national elements, working in the interests of the chauvinistic and expansionist ambitions of outside forces, are continuing their campaign of subversion in various forms and by various means, seeking to destroy our democratic processes and our system of parliamentary government, to disrupt the harmony that exists in our happy multiracial society, all with the ultimate objective of bringing our country under the yoke of a new form of foreign imperialism.

39. We feel it our duty to alert the United Nations to this fact, so that, in its dealing with colonialism and other forms of human oppression, it may not concern itself exclusively with the traditional and more easily recognizable form of colonialism, but should also be aware of the dangers of a new and more subtle form of imperialism.

40. The Federation delegation would again reiterate its position, which it has stated on several occasions in the past, namely, that liberty and freedom are the birthright of all peoples. The violation of this right, wherever it occurs and by whomsoever it is perpetrated—be it in South Africa, or in Tibet, or in Hungary, where, despite successive United Nations resolutions, thousands of Hungarian patriots are still incarcerated—must, in our view, be deplored without distinction. Only by taking a consistent stand can the United Nations rise to the expectations of the peoples of the world, who have placed their faith in the Organization, and thus become truly the powerful defender of freedom and justice that it should be. Only in this way can the United Nations become the pricking conscience of the bedevilled few and a deterrent factor thwarting their iniquitous ambitions.

41. It is not only the small countries which are in danger of falling victims to the expansionist drive of outside forces. The encroachment by the Chinese People's Republic upon the territory of India is indicative of the fact that the communist Chinese régime, in its drive to satisfy its expansionist ambitions, has no qualms about provoking a big and well-established country, such as India. The Government of the Federation of Malaya deeply regrets this aggressive conduct of the Peking régime. The fact that it constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security makes this act of aggression all the more deplorable.

42. The compelling urge to improve living standards and to secure a better way of life was never more evident throughout the world than it is at this time. This is especially true in the newly independent countries. The force of nationalism which had won for the people their freedom from colonial bondage is now finding expression in the drive to develop their economic and social potential, as a basis for better standards of life and for satisfying their emergent aspirations for self-respect and dignity.

43. The drive for economic and social progress is very much a universal concern which calls for concerted international co-operation on a global scale. It is therefore appropriate that the accent on economic and social development is being reflected more and more in the increasing attention paid by the United Nations to the over-all task of helping to raise living standards and to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing countries. The launching of the United Nations Development Decade, for instance, is a timely and imaginative effort in that direction. To make the Development Decade a success, and not a mere slogan, is a great challenge to the United Nations—a challenge which calls for extraordinary vision and imagination, as well as co-operation from all quarters, both in terms of money and material, as also of human resources and technical know-how.

44. It is obvious, however, that the success of any national economic development programme, and the stability of each country's economy, must necessarily depend to a large degree, and in the ultimate analysis, on each country's own efforts and resources. International assistance, both bilateral or through the United Nations system, important as it is, can only supplement but not be a substitute for national efforts. Conscious of this, the Federation of Malaya, while recognizing the role of foreign aid in helping

the developing countries, has always put the accent on trade rather than on aid.

45. As in most countries which have recently emerged from colonial rule, the economy of the Federation of Malaya is heavily dependent on the export earnings of its primary commodities. Although a concerted effort is currently under way—and with considerable success—to broaden the base of our economy, we shall continue for a long time to be dependent on these commodities. Fair and stable prices for them are therefore a matter of extreme importance to us if we are to implement successfully the many large-scale development projects designed to improve the lot of our people.

46. The extreme urgency to secure fair and stable prices for primary products, which is a problem commonly shared by most developing countries, has been given further emphasis by recent studies in this field. These studies, including those carried out by the Commission on International Commodity Trade of the United Nations, have revealed the alarming trend in the post-war years of growing disparity in the terms of trade between the industrialized countries and the developing countries arising from the failure of the prices of primary products to keep pace with the increase in the prices of manufactured goods. The persistence of this trend will undoubtedly jeopardize the efforts of the developing countries to realize their aspirations for higher living standards and a better way of life for their peoples.

47. It is thus our hope that in the over-all consideration of the economic development of developing countries more attention should be given to the commodity problem. Not only should studies be made to find out ways and means of securing fair and stable prices, but the countries consuming primary products should alert themselves to the fact that their co-operation in this respect is as much in their own interest as it is in the interest of the producing countries. For even in purely economic terms the extent of the sale of manufactured goods which form the earnings of the industrialized countries must depend in the long run on the capacity of the primary-producing countries to import them, which in turn depends on the prices they are able to fetch for their commodities in the world market.

48. But more important than those purely commercial considerations is the moral obligation of all countries to contribute in every way they can towards the general welfare of mankind, as a basis for a just and enduring peace. For poverty is a prime cause of discord and conflict, and in this shrinking world of ours its evils cannot be for long confined to one particular country or territory. They will be felt throughout the world. As is made so amply clear by the Secretary-General in his annual report [A/5201], the evils of poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy, which are the lot of more than two-thirds of the world's population, are not only affronts to human dignity; each intensifying the other, they menace the stability of Governments, aggravate tensions, threaten international peace.

49. In concluding my remarks on this particular subject I should like to make a brief but highly important reference, from our point of view, to our own special problem. As the world's largest producer of tin, the Federation of Malaya attaches great importance to the effectiveness of the International

Tin Agreement. I cannot emphasize too strongly the anxiety of my Government to obtain the co-operation of all tin consumers and producers to ensure a fair and stable price for this important commodity. For only through a fair and stable return for tin and for our other major primary product, rubber, can we successfully implement our social and economic development projects which mean so much to the welfare of our people and to the stability of our country.

50. While the world is still beset by many long standing international issues, it must be noted with satisfaction that the past year has witnessed the settlement of some major problems. With regard to Laos, for instance, my Government feels relieved at the agreement arrived at recently by all the Powers concerned to make the country neutral. This, together with the Netherlands-Indonesia agreement on the future of West Irian, is ample proof of the efficacy of the principle of a peaceful and friendly approach by all nations towards all international issues. My Government feels that there is no international issue that cannot be solved by peaceful means.

51. Thus it is to be hoped and prayed that such outstanding problems as the Berlin question may be resolved by peaceful means consistent with the obligations of all concerned. However, until there is a permanent and peaceful solution, the human problem deserves priority in our consideration. It is painfully evident that restrictions on visits between East and West Berlin are a violation of elementary human rights—rights which all ideologies recognize or profess to recognize. The tragic consequence of the Berlin wall has been the separation of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, physician and patient. The sanctity of these fundamental rights transcends the political issues between forces from either side of the Berlin wall and the merits of their respective positions.

52. The violation of these rights is present and continuing and the need to put an end to the violation is immediate and urgent. The protection of such rights is fundamental to the Charter and the responsibility of all. It is therefore incumbent upon us to take cognizance of the denial of fundamental human rights inherent in the Berlin situation. The General Assembly must bring its influence to bear on the opposing forces in Berlin and marshal world opinion to demand at least the restoration of those fundamental rights until a comprehensive settlement is reached.

53. The Government of the Federation of Malaya is of the firm belief that co-operation among nations can be obtained from even a small beginning. Our association with the Commonwealth of Nations is an example of close co-operation on an international plane for the benefit of all. Our participation in the Colombo Plan is another example. But in recent times the Association of Southeast Asia, a partnership of a few countries in our region, namely Thailand, the Philippines and the Federation of Malaya, is another effort at close co-operation among free, independent nations. The aim of this Association is the solution of our economic problems and the harmonizing of our own economic and trading activities. Its further aim is a cultural and educational exchange amongst us so that our own people may lead in the future a fuller and richer life.

Towards this objective the Association has already agreed, as a first step, on arrangements designed to facilitate a freer movement of people among the three countries.

54. Such small beginnings in international co-operation will lead in time to wider fields of co-operation. All national and international problems that appear insurmountable at present will be easy of solution as international co-operation expands. My delegation therefore believes that co-operation among nations towards the solution of international questions, such as disarmament and a nuclear test ban, all types of colonialism, the economic imbalance among nations and poverty and illiteracy, should be started forthwith, however modest the beginning. On behalf of my delegation and the Government of the Federation of Malaya, I wish to urge all nations to come to grips with these urgent problems which threaten our very existence and, in a spirit of sincere co-operation, try collectively to solve them for our own present benefit thus earning the everlasting gratitude of generations to come.

55. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to place on record its sincerest appreciation of the sense of dedication with which Acting Secretary-General U Thant has carried out his heavy responsibilities as Chief Executive of this Organization. His willingness to shoulder those responsibilities at a time when the Organization was experiencing an acute crisis was in itself an eloquent testimony of his dedication to the ideals of the United Nations. Owing in a large measure to his leadership, integrity and, above all, his dedication to the cause of humanity, the United Nations has been able to engage itself, without interruption, in the many-sided task of bringing peace and prosperity to the world. The peaceful settlement of the West Irian question and the promising developments in the Congo are only some of the outstanding achievements made possible by the initiative and vision of the Acting Secretary-General. The post which he is occupying is vital to the Organization. May we entertain the hope that we shall continue to benefit from his leadership in the Secretariat and his wise counsel in making this Organization a dynamic force for peace.

56. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) (translated from French): Mr. President, the happy choice which has fallen on you to direct the work of this session and the high confidence placed in you by the representatives of the international community are the expression of a well-deserved tribute to your eminent qualities as statesman, distinguished diplomat and respected jurist and an eloquent token of appreciation of your devotion to the cause of the United Nations and of your personal qualities, your propriety, your kindness and your courtesy. It is therefore a great honour and an infinite pleasure for me to extend to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Libyan delegation, warmest and sincerest congratulations on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

57. It is also a most opportune moment to extend greetings to your great country, Pakistan, with which Libya has so many fraternal, spiritual and other ties, and to express to it, through you, our respect and appreciation.

58. The Libyan delegation is convinced that you will carry out felicitously, wisely and successfully the high international functions which you have just assumed.

59. I should also like to take this opportunity to express to Mr. Mongi Slim, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia, our most sincere appreciation of the distinguished manner in which he performed his duties as President at the last session, to the success of which he contributed by his talent, his diligence and his authority.

60. Since the closure of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly the international situation, unfortunately, has continued to be dominated by hazards and uncertainties. Relations between the two opposing blocs, and especially between the two principal Powers which dominate them, are still passing through the phase of complications, disputes and serious threats to international peace and security. The grave frictions over Berlin and Cuba are daily aggravating a situation which even without them is sufficiently alarming. The varied manifestations of the "cold war" continue to weigh heavily upon world peace which is becoming increasingly precarious and unstable. We therefore consider, at the beginning of this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, that the United Nations, whose existence and survival are at stake in this situation created by the antagonisms between the great Powers of the world, should take every opportunity that offers and devise solutions which will lead to the peaceful settlement of disputes and help to remove the grave difficulties we now face.

61. In the interests of safeguarding humanity and strengthening peace, all sacrifices should be made, whatever considerations of private interest, grandeur or prestige may be involved.

62. At a time when it regrets most sincerely that relations between East and West should have reached such a critical stage, Libya does not despair of seeing the imperatives of order, reason and peace prevail over the forces of disorder, discord and misunderstanding. By combining the aspirations, determination and efforts of its Members, the United Nations will succeed, despite difficulties, obstacles and even occasional disappointments, in strengthening the hopes of all peoples so that the spectre of war may disappear forever and that conditions conducive to lasting peace may be established for all time.

63. The tireless efforts of the United Nations to find just and peaceful solutions for the conflicts which threaten world peace and free and fruitful international co-operation have been crowned with success in the months just past, with the settlement of acute problems that had engaged the General Assembly's attention at many past sessions.

64. Thus, the bloody conflict in which France and the Algerian nationalist revolution were the antagonists has ended after the long and painful ordeals which we all know. The heroic struggle which the Algerian people carried on throughout some eight years of heavy sacrifice finally ended with the achievement of their legitimate aspirations for dignity and freedom in agreement with France. The Libyan people, which from the outset gave its full support to the people of Algeria, welcomes this happy solution that reason and enlightened interest recommended on what seemed to us manifest and rational grounds and that was delayed by passions, complications and the blindness of an outmoded way of thought, with a grievous toll in losses and sacrifices.

65. At a time when we rejoice that good sense has finally won the day, we are happy to reiterate from this rostrum, from which we had the honour and the duty to defend the cause of the Algerian people, our warmest and most sincere congratulations to the people of Algeria on the achievement of their national aspirations, and to extend to them our best wishes for their prosperity, stability and concord. Our expression of appreciation goes also to the French people who gave their President and national leader, General de Gaulle, the necessary massive support to carry through successfully a resolute policy of decolonization and peace. With the final liquidation of the Franco-Algerian conflict, the way is now open for frank and loyal reconciliation and for sincere and fruitful co-operation. The United Nations, which devoted sustained attention to the Algerian problem and showed praiseworthy understanding on that issue, has every right to be proud and greatly so, of having contributed to the just settlement of one of the most acute conflicts of our day.

66. We ardently hope that in the near future independent Algeria, which has just established its organs of national sovereignty and its democratic institutions, will take its place here among the independent and sovereign nations and help in the achievement of the Purposes and Principles of our Charter.

67. We are confident that having at last been delivered from the scourge of war which has raged in the heart of North Africa, the Arab Maghreb will devote all its energies to the creation of conditions more conducive to the prosperity of its inhabitants in order, progress, democracy and closer and more fruitful co-operation.

68. The Libyan delegation has also shared the satisfaction felt by the great majority of Member States at the peaceful settlement of the dispute which has long set Indonesia against the Netherlands—the question of West Irian. This dispute was especially painful for us as it set up in opposition to each other two countries with which Libya is bound by relations of friendship and mutual respect. It was with particular attention, therefore, that we followed the negotiations conducted by the representatives of those two countries under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The success of those negotiations and the fact that they led to a satisfactory solution were for us a source of great satisfaction. In welcoming this peaceful settlement of the dispute—a settlement which has eliminated a serious source of friction and of threats to peace in the South Pacific—the Libyan delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation for the realism and political wisdom displayed by the two parties concerned. It would also like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Acting Secretary-General and his representatives for the efforts which they made and which were crowned by the almost unanimous approval recently given by the General Assembly [1127th meeting] to the Agreement concluded between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian) [A/5170, annex]. For the first time in its history, the United Nations is called upon to assume temporary administrative responsibilities in a territory. We are convinced that, thanks to the devotion and desinterestedness of its staff, who have given repeated proof of their competence and integrity, the United Nations will fulfil its temporary administrative responsibilities satisfactorily. These

new responsibilities assumed by the United Nations pave the way for the possibility of using the Organization to help in stabilizing the international order.

69. In the last few months also, an international solution has been found to the Laotian crisis which for several years constituted a serious threat to peace in South-East Asia. We hope that that solution will enable the Kingdom of Laos to consolidate the bases of its independence and its neutrality in the interests of ensuring the prosperity of its sorely-tried people and the preservation of international peace and security in that part of the world. Here, too, the United Nations can take comfort from the fact that a hotbed of disorder has been eliminated through the understanding and co-operation displayed by all the Powers concerned.

70. While the settlement of the various problems to which I have referred constitutes an encouraging element in the development of international affairs, it is nevertheless obvious that in different parts of the world international peace and security are daily exposed to serious and alarming threats.

71. The Congolese crisis continues to be a cause of concern to the United Nations, both politically and financially. The Katangese secession continues to pose a serious threat to the national unity and territorial integrity of the young African Republic. The Acting Secretary-General is continuing, in circumstances that are often difficult, the efforts of his lamented predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, who paid with his life for the Organization's peace-keeping activities in the Congo.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

72. At this moment when we are expressing our support for the Acting Secretary-General in his attempts to secure national reconciliation in the Congo, I should like once again to assure the Central Congolese Government of our solidarity in the task of national construction and unity which it has resolutely undertaken.

73. In the southern Arabian peninsula generally, and in Oman in particular, the legitimate aspirations of the peoples are meeting with lack of understanding and sometimes even armed force is being used against the peoples concerned. We hope that at this session the General Assembly will continue its efforts to help in finding desirable solutions for the problems existing in this part of the world—solutions achieved by peaceful means, that will respect the peoples' right of self-determination and take their real aspirations into account.

74. In Europe, the German question in general and the question of Berlin in particular threaten to involve the Allies of the Second World War in a catastrophe whose consequences for the survival of our planet are plain to all. In view of the extreme gravity of this situation, the United Nations should use all possible means and, if necessary, offer direct assistance in an attempt to reconcile the views of the parties to this European crisis which, if it becomes even more complicated, may precipitate a world-wide catastrophe. We hope that the dialogue will continue with a view to finding a solution capable of meeting the interests of all the parties concerned and we ardently hope that the door to realistic solutions and reason will always

remain open. At the last session, commenting on this question, I said:

"However, there is one position of principle which we have constantly defended: the challenge to the free will and self-determination of peoples, solutions based on ignorance about the unity of peoples and contesting their territorial integrity, the use of force and recognition of the fait accompli have from time immemorial been the causes of human tragedies and continuous threats to international peace and security." [1024th meeting, para. 36.]

75. That is still our deep conviction, a conviction that defines our position on another question which continues to be a source of instability and a threat to peace in the Near East.

76. As a result of the partition of Palestine against the will of the Arabs who constituted the immense majority of its population, more than a million Christian and Moslem Palestine Arabs, subjected to extreme hardship and the crimes of the Zionist hands, were forced to leave their homes, their fields, their ancestral lands and their holy places and found themselves, overnight, exposed to the bitterest poverty, the severest privation and the harshest inclemency.

77. Rarely, in the history of mankind, have we been confronted with a situation as tragic and as contrary to the law of nature as that in which an entire nation of more than one million people have been faced with the terrible necessity of fleeing their native land as the result of the colonialist aggression to which their unhappy homeland fell victim.

78. The Palestine question is not a refugee problem in the strict sense of the term, but it is truly a national cause carried to a critical stage by the special character of the oppressive colonialism which afflicted it. It is thus a matter which falls within a natural framework, namely, the question of the final liquidation of colonialism as it stands at present on the agenda of this international body. In this specific context, the Palestine question should be made the subject of a special study in which due account would be taken of its origins, its development and its paradoxes, the most significant of which perhaps is that whereby, starting with a minority of 50,000 Jews in Palestine at the beginning of this century, world Zionism has carried out its colonialist conspiracy the result of which has been to replace the indigenous Arab population of Palestine by an incongruous mixture of persons from various countries of Europe and elsewhere, at present numbering more than two million.

79. With regard to the question of the Palestine refugees, the General Assembly, realizing the gravity of its historic responsibilities in the tragic consequences of the partition of Palestine, adopted at its third session resolution 194 (II) of 11 December 1948, which remains the basis of the Palestine refugee question. Since that time the United Nations has laid down, and most clearly reaffirmed, in an imposing series of resolutions adopted at successive sessions of the General Assembly, a number of firmly established principles which time has not altered in any way and which continue, so far as the Organization is concerned, to regulate this aspect of the Palestine question.

80. First of all, the General Assembly forthrightly established the right of the Palestine refugees to

return to their homes. This principle is now established in the current terminology of the United Nations as "the right to repatriation".

81. Secondly, the General Assembly recognized that those Palestine refugees who did not wish to return to their homes had the right to fair indemnification of compensation for their property.

82. From these two principles it follows that the determination of these two categories of refugees must be made on the basis of a choice with all necessary safeguards being provided for its free expression, without coercion or manoeuvres of any kind whatsoever.

83. Lastly, the General Assembly recognized that it was the responsibility of the United Nations to give the Palestine refugees aid and assistance until an equitable solution was found to that grievous problem.

84. United Nations assistance to the Palestine refugees is based at present on the voluntary contributions of Member States. Essentially, however, it is an obligation for which the Organization must assume responsibility as part of the painful consequences of this serious problem.

85. It is useful to note, however, that the Palestine refugees are citizens of a country in which, before the aggression to which it fell victim, they enjoyed a standard of living and a national income that were particularly high for the region as a whole. According to the most moderate estimates, the income from Arab property in occupied Palestine amounts to more than £47,500,000 a year, or several times the amount of the annual budget of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The total income from the property, for the period 1948-1961, amounts to some £750 million, not counting a 35 per cent increase that has taken place since 1948.

86. In order to finance most reliably any programme of assistance to the refugees, pending an equitable solution to the problem as a whole, it is therefore the duty of the United Nations to set up appropriate machinery for safeguarding and protecting the private property of the Palestine refugees and collecting the very large income from it.

87. Since the right of the Palestine refugees to return to their homes has been recognized by the United Nations, we consider that, as an immediate practical measure, the refugees from the regions assigned to the Arabs under the Palestine partition decision should be repatriated immediately and unconditionally and that the refugees who were driven from their land after the signing of the armistice agreements should be given the opportunity to return to their homes as soon as possible.

88. The same applies to the Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem. Furthermore, the refugees whose lands are situated on the other side of the armistice line should be given the opportunity to till their fields and thus be self-supporting.

89. On another aspect of the matter, the Arab minority in occupied Palestine is constantly subjected to exactions and discriminatory legislation of the most arbitrary nature. It is the duty of the United Nations to take appropriate steps as soon as possible to put an end to this grave situation which is contrary to human rights.

90. The Palestine refugees have been exposed to the greatest hardships. All peoples who love peace and justice will be able to appreciate the resentment and bitterness which these refugees feel at the injustices that have been committed against them. All will understand why they deplore the inaction and passivity of the United Nations in the face of the persistent defiance of those who have invaded their country and driven them from their homes. Despite the difficulties and unhappiness of exile, the Palestine refugees will never resign themselves to renouncing their sacred rights or to forgetting their age-old homeland.

91. In order to safeguard peace and stability which are gravely threatened by the persistence of this unjust situation in the Near East, it is imperative that the United Nations should rise to its responsibilities by replying to the call for equity and justice in accordance with its own resolutions.

92. Before concluding this portion of my statement, I should like to say that the recent announcement of the intention to deliver United States missiles to the unrepentant authors of the aggression in the Middle East was an extremely painful surprise to us. At a time when we cannot but protest most strenuously against these acts that have grave implications for peace and stability in the area, we consider it the duty of the United States Government to reconsider that decision in which electoral considerations seem to have prevailed over its consciousness of the grave responsibilities of a great world Power.

93. In Africa, the valiant efforts of the peoples to secure their political liberation from the yoke of foreign domination and the struggle of those subjected to the unjust laws of racial discrimination continue to hold Libya's attention and to have the active sympathy of the Libyan Government and people.

94. The heroic struggle of the Angolan people to free themselves from colonial domination and to achieve their national aspirations forms a natural part of the determination of the whole African continent to rid itself once and for all of the vestiges of subjection and dependence. Libya is giving the valiant people of Angola its active and fraternal support. We hope that before it is too late Portugal will heed the voice of reason and realize that the Angolan nationalist revolution is the normal consequence of the oppression and exploitation which the Angolan people have suffered. The era of colonization and exploitation is definitely over and fruitful relations between peoples can henceforward be based only on the sovereign equality of nations and on co-operation freely agreed to. It is the duty of the United Nations to continue giving its support to the people of Angola and helping them to attain dignity, freedom and independence.

95. The systematic policy of racial segregation and discrimination pursued in South Africa is a source of grave concern to us. This policy, which is contrary to the elementary rules of respect for the human person, is creating in South Africa a situation fraught with danger for the peaceful development of that part of the Africa continent and for the harmonious coexistence of its inhabitants. The attitude of the South African Government with regard to its racial policy and its position on the problem of South West Africa must be the object of the most severe sanctions.

96. Since the adoption of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples praiseworthy efforts have been made within the United Nations to ensure that the hopes of the dependent peoples for the triumph of their just causes are realized. Thus, at the beginning of this session [1122nd meeting], we were able to welcome four new Member States to our ranks. May I extend once again, on behalf of the King of Libya and the Government and people of Libya, the warmest congratulations to the delegations of Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, together with our best wishes for the success of their Governments and the prosperity of their peoples.

97. The Libyan delegation will continue to make its contribution to the discussion of questions concerning the territories that are not yet self-governing. We are sure that the United Nations, encouraged by the heartening results already achieved in this sphere, will continue tirelessly to seek the necessary solutions to these questions in accordance with the legitimacy of the right of peoples freely to determine their own destiny.

98. May I be permitted to congratulate the United Nations organs which have been entrusted with various tasks in this important field and to mention in particular the praiseworthy efforts of the Special Committee of Seventeen.^{2/}

99. The United Kingdom of Libya has followed with particular attention the efforts that have been made under the auspices of the United Nations to find avenues that may lead to general and complete disarmament. The General Assembly has undoubtedly made considerable progress in discussing and ratifying, at the last session, the agreed principles for disarmament negotiations on which the two principal Powers reached agreement in this vital field.^{3/} While the laborious negotiations at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have not yet produced concrete results, it is encouraging to note that draft treaties have been submitted and discussed, that undeniable progress has been made on the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests and, lastly, that the participation of the non-aligned Powers has played an important role in bringing the opposing points of view closer together. The Libyan delegation considers that these efforts should be continued with even greater determination at the present session and that priority should be given to the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests. The Libyan delegation also considers that the efforts that have been made under United Nations auspices to ensure the peaceful use of outer space should be continued so that man's magnificent conquests in this new domain may be exploited for the benefit of all mankind. We realize that the problem of general and complete disarmament is one of the most complex of our times but we are no less certain that the arms race has expanded to an extent that is not only disturbing to international peace and security but also poses a very grave threat to the very existence of mankind.

100. The enormous sums expended on armaments should, more advantageously for the cause of peace,

^{2/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

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

be used to achieve the noble purposes of the Charter, by helping to improve the lot of the two-thirds of the human race that still suffers from the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance. The Soviet delegation was certainly happily inspired—and we are grateful to it for this—in proposing for consideration at this session an economic programme of disarmament [A/5233].

101. In the past few years the United Nations has resolutely continued its efforts to alleviate the difficulties which afflict a large proportion of mankind. United Nations activities in the field of technical assistance in all its forms have been steadfastly carried on with the object of enabling the peoples of countries having scanty resources to create the conditions for a suitable and decent life. The devotion, technical ability and sense of responsibility that the United Nations has demonstrated in this important sphere are a guarantee of success in this task in which the international community has set an example and furnished a symbol by launching the "United Nations Development Decade". The colossal task of bridging the gulf that separates the haves of mankind from the have-nots must be carried out with determination in the interests of international stability and peace. The rich nations should give the economically poor nations their assistance, so as to help them expand the resources that must be invested for their development. We are convinced that this assistance would serve the interests of international solidarity more rationally and effectively if it were furnished through the United Nations and as part of its planning programme.

102. The problems raised by relations between the highly industrialized countries and the raw-materials producing countries must be solved in an enlightened manner that will make it possible to avoid friction and collision. Regional economic integration, international trade and payments and the present world economic situation raise questions that should be the subject of international consultations. In this regard, the Economic and Social Council has undoubtedly taken the right decision in recommending the convening of a United Nations conference on trade and development.

103. Realizing the importance of these international economic developments, the developing countries held an important economic conference at Cairo, from 9 to 18 July 1962. The Declaration which was adopted by the participating countries, of which Libya was one, represents a major contribution to United Nations efforts in the field of development [A/5162]. The problems of the developing countries were studied from the national and the international standpoints, within the framework of the United Nations Charter and in the context of international co-operation and assistance. The Libyan delegation is gratified to see that the "Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries" is one of the items included in the agenda of this session.

104. We are confident that it will be given the attentive consideration it deserves at this session which seems resolved to make an increased contribution to the important problem of international co-operation in the field of development and to take the necessary steps to harmonize the various economic trends that divide the world. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude and appreciation of Libya for the attention it is receiving in the matter of United Nations technical assistance.

105. The Libyan Government and people are sparing no efforts to accelerate their country's advance along the path of progress, well-being and prosperity.

106. At this time when we are pondering deeply the best orientation to give our Organization so that it should serve, dynamically and creatively, the true interests of the international community, we have said and we reiterate that it is difficult for us to accept a collegial direction of the Secretariat based on the division of the world into political or ideological groupings. The imperatives of effectiveness and smooth functioning demand rather that the Secretariat should have a single head. We hope that the United Nations will not be thrust into a new crisis at a time when the international situation calls for the continuation of the efforts that are being made by our present Secretary-General, who has performed his duties with a perseverance, a devotion and an application worthy of admiration and encouragement.

107. We also hope that all Member States will make the necessary efforts to enable our Organization to overcome its present financial difficulties. I am happy to state that Libya, for its part, has made the necessary effort to meet its regular and extraordinary financial responsibilities, and to be able to announce that the Libyan Government has decided to purchase United Nations bonds, in the firm belief that everything must be done to help the Organization out of its present financial straits. We hope that when we come to consider the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161]^{4/} and in deference to the point of law it contains, satisfactory means will be found of meeting the obligations deriving from situations which require special financial contributions to be made.

108. With the constant expansion of the membership of the United Nations and its accelerated approach to universality, it is becoming increasingly imperative to reform its organs so as to ensure a representation that is more consistent with present geographical realities, and to revise its procedures in order to avoid the undue delays which have resulted in resumed sessions. We consider, therefore, that the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council should be expanded and that the necessary procedural reforms should be carried out. On the latter point, Mr. Mongi Slim, the President of the sixteenth session, has put forward some useful suggestions [A/5123] and his effort deserves our appreciation.

109. Libya, which was born as an independent and sovereign State under the auspices of the United Nations, is firmly attached to the ideals and principles of the Charter and pursues an independent and objective foreign policy, with its national sovereignty its prime concern and within the framework of its spiritual values and of an enlightened concept of its own interests. In this way Libya has succeeded in maintaining with the Powers of both East and West cordial relations based on co-operation, friendship and mutual respect.

110. Libya is also continuing its efforts within the African-Asian community in an atmosphere of the most complete harmony and solidarity.

111. Being, by reason of its geographical situation, the bridge that links the Maghreb with the eastern part of the Arab world, Libya devotes its greatest efforts to cultivating the closest and friendliest relations with all its sister Arab countries and, on the regional plane, co-operates sincerely with the other members of the League of Arab States.

112. In proclaiming Libya's unswerving devotion to the United Nations, its noble ideals and lofty principles, I should like to conclude by extending a very warm greeting to the delegations of Member States and by expressing most sincerely the hope that this seventeenth session of the General Assembly will help to buttress the hopes of all peoples for a better future, a future filled with promise for the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of co-operation among nations in sovereign equality and mutual respect.

113. Mr. BETAYENE (Cameroon) (translated from French): Mr. President, before presenting to this Assembly the views of the Federal Republic of Cameroon on the principal items on the agenda of the seventeenth session, permit me to extend to you, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, our sincere congratulations on your election to the office you now hold. By your rare personal qualities and the experience you have acquired in the course of your long career as diplomat and statesman, you were eminently worthy of election to your office. Cameroon, which maintains excellent relations with your country, rejoices at the honour which has thus been done, through you, to Pakistan.

114. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Mongi Slim, whose authority, dignity and masterly conduct of affairs commanded our respect.

115. We wish also to express to the Acting Secretary-General our admiration and our confidence which he has won by the wisdom with which he has discharged his very heavy responsibilities since his appointment.

116. Lastly, my Government and delegation are happy to extend their warm congratulations to the new States which have been admitted to membership to the United Nations' at the present session [1122nd meeting]. To these sister countries, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, I should like to convey a fraternal greeting from the Cameroonians.

117. At this moment when the Members of the great international family have met together once again to debate the important matters at issue between them, my delegation wishes solemnly to reaffirm its unswerving attachment to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and its unshakable faith in the future of our Organization. The United Nations represents mankind's most solid opportunity.

118. There is a danger that our planet might be plunged into dreadful chaos which we could not survive if by an unfortunate combination of circumstances our Organization should fail to attain the noble ideals it has set itself. This prospect of ultimate doom and the responsibility we each of us bear in the necessary task of building a humane and better world make it incumbent upon us to carry out the essential reforms of which the United Nations stands in need.

^{4/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

119. In order to restore to the Organization the effectiveness and the moral authority of which there is a tendency in some quarters to deprive it, a twofold reform—both structural and functional—must be carried out. There can be no doubt that the world of the '60's is very different from the world of 1945. What was good at that time is not necessarily good today. The facts of the situation have changed completely. The forces confronting each other in the various parts of the world are substantially different. Certain lines of cleavage have brought about various regroupings of countries on the basis of common anxieties and interests. For this reason the balance which was sought after in the principal organs of the United Nations seventeen years ago must now be conceived anew, in the light of the new facts. We must therefore undertake a task of far-reaching structural reform adapted to the present international situation.

120. The Security Council must be reorganized to reflect the accession to international responsibility of many countries which were formerly dependent and which are now Members of the United Nations. The number of non-permanent members must therefore be increased and the seats judiciously distributed in such a way as to give all States the possibility of being elected to one of them. It is illogical to maintain the present geographical distribution which is no longer equitable and which is often based on fiction and not on the realities of international life.

121. The special position of the under-developed countries also makes it desirable to reform the Economic and Social Council. The Council should be enlarged, in order to associate the new States more closely in the effort to find solutions which can help to promote higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development. There can be no doubt that the attainment of these goals will help to achieve the conditions of well-being necessary to ensure peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

122. The foregoing remarks concern structural changes only; to survive, however, the United Nations is in need of functional reform also. We must make it possible for the Organization to attain the objectives it has chosen and to carry out successfully the ever-increasing number of tasks it is assuming. This depends first and foremost on each one of us. No text will be sufficient by itself for the purpose. There must be a collective will to co-operate applied in the principal organs of the United Nations, which must henceforward be given rational means of functioning.

123. Working methods and procedures within the Organization should be recast with a view to greater efficiency. At the time of the signing of the Charter, the United Nations had fifty-one Members; today there are 108 and it can be anticipated that with the acceleration of the process of decolonization new Members will be admitted.

124. It has become a matter of urgency to adapt the general debate in the plenary meetings to the number of delegations if the length of our sessions is to be kept within reasonable limits, though without detriment to the work of the Committees; for neither the finances nor the public services of States are served by the frequent journeys of their leaders and officials obliged to spend long periods abroad. It

may well be, moreover, that the financial authorities of the United Nations share this concern.

125. The Charter defines the functions of the Secretary-General in precise terms. However great the esteem in which we may hold a man and whatever merit we may find in him, we must refer to the stipulations of the Charter. While, admittedly, it is desirable that the Secretary-General should be given wider powers for the conduct of certain operations, he cannot personify the whole Organization and substitute himself for it, as he has been seen to do in certain cases. It is abnormal, too, that action should sometimes be taken without prior consultation with the General Assembly.

126. The recruitment of staff must be in accordance with the provisions of Article 101 of the Charter and carried out "on as wide a geographical basis as possible". Henceforward, the smaller countries will have competent men, and it is time that these men should be given opportunities at all levels of the Secretariat.

127. Of all the problems confronting the Organization, its present financial crisis is undoubtedly the most serious. There are various reasons for this crisis, most prominent among which is the expenditure incurred in connexion with the United Nations Emergency Force in the Congo. Although certain States have shown little eagerness to discharge their additional financial obligations, the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161] should induce them to reconsider their position on a matter of such cardinal importance, on which the survival of our Organization may perhaps depend. We are not at all certain, moreover, that a refusal to abide by the Court's opinions will be likely to enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

128. Cameroon, for its part, despite the modesty of its means, has paid its assessments in full and earnestly hopes that all Members will follow its example. Moreover, my country has decided to subscribe to the bond issue launched by the Secretary-General with a view to restoring the Organization's finances.

129. In connexion with the United Nations emergency forces, we must not forget the difficult problems that they present per se. Should the United Nations have its own army, or should it not? Opinions are divided on the matter. Recent experience has shown that the contingents furnished by certain Powers were seldom completely free from the influence of the General Staffs or the political authorities of their respective countries.

130. Was not this circumstance the source of certain difficulties which we all recall, both in the conduct of operations and in regard to the internal affairs of the countries receiving assistance? What is certain is that it did anything but facilitate the Secretary-General's task.

131. However, these disadvantages cannot diminish the obligation of the United Nations to safeguard peace and especially to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of Member States exposed to greed and aggression. This logically leads us to advocate the constitution of an independent emergency force, though from our experience of the present crisis we should display the greatest caution in our approach to the financial implications of this proposal.

132. Since I am speaking of peace, I cannot fail to mention the dramatic question of disarmament. It is platitudinous to state that the arms race is the greatest conceivable threat to mankind. Why should the great nuclear Powers not follow the well-known formula of replacing the arms race with a race for peace? The money spent on a single nuclear test would clearly be amply sufficient to finance the budget of more than one small State. We remain firmly convinced that mankind would benefit if scientific and technical advances were used for peaceful purposes. The peoples of the world generally, and the Cameroonian people in particular, have confidence in the great Powers. They expect that, conscious of their great responsibilities in international affairs, those Powers will shortly reach an agreement on general, complete and controlled disarmament, to be preceded by the suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

133. That is why my country welcomes the patient efforts which have kept the talks going between the nuclear Powers, just as it is happy to see that the world has understood that the solution of a problem of such gravity, on which the survival of the human race depends, can no longer be the monopoly of a small number of States, even if they are demographically, economically or militarily the strongest. It is gratifying therefore that the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament which met this year at Geneva on the initiative of this august Assembly included nations which are not at all likely in the future to manufacture weapons of mass destruction and which, moreover, do not endorse the argument that international peace and security must be attained by stockpiling bombs.

134. It would be infinitely more encouraging for mankind if it could detect increasing evidence of goodwill on the part of the great Powers which would lead us to hope that this most terrible nightmare of our existence will soon be ended.

135. The possibilities of man's creative genius are unimaginable. May his conquests ever be turned away from the temptation to bring mankind's adventure on this earth to a premature end, and may they rather help to bring all men closer together by making broad co-operation possible in all fields.

136. Realism therefore demands that the principal nuclear Powers, with the effective co-operation of all Members of the United Nations, great and small, which love peace and freedom, should reach agreements designed:

137. First, to put an immediate end to nuclear tests underground, in the air and in outer space;

138. Secondly, to achieve general, complete and controlled disarmament, capable of guaranteeing to all men the peace and security they require.

139. Concerned by this situation, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, during his recent visit to the United States, addressed the Overseas Press Club in New York on 15 March 1962 in the following terms:

"We are living in a world which is hard yet full of hope, a world which is making constant, breathtaking progress, in which, defying all rational expectations, the human mind is daily pushing back the frontiers of knowledge. But it is also a world beset by acute anxiety, a world of incomprehension

where ambition is the only consideration. Already the spectre of war, which must inevitably be nuclear war, looms on the horizon, presaging the end of civilization. In these circumstances, any contribution, however small, to the settlement of international problems, represents a useful step towards the strengthening of peace. Great and small Powers alike have a historic role to play in preserving mankind from catastrophe. The peoples yearning for peace still hope that those who possess means of mass destruction will be able by means of negotiation to achieve general and controlled disarmament. This we shall never cease to repeat: the balance of terror which has existed for fifteen years and which each day threatens to be destroyed, can last no longer."^{5/}

140. May these words of a great champion of peace be heeded!

141. Nevertheless, the peace of the world would still continue to be disturbed even if man were to succeed in avoiding destruction by nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Many evils still stain our history and we must be bold and persistent in denouncing them. It is comforting, however, to note that they are diminishing, slowly perhaps but irreversibly.

142. The problems of decolonization and racial discrimination, for example, confront us at each session, for of all the calamities which afflict mankind the domination of man by man remains the greatest. The domination of one race by another is the most ignoble, the most irrational, the most shameful. That is why the Federal Republic of Cameroon will never consider any sacrifice too great or too costly if its result will be to rescue a people from foreign domination. Unfortunately, this conviction is not shared by all. Voices still are heard, even among the Members of our Organization, venturing to endorse practices which are a disgrace to mankind.

143. It is a matter of great satisfaction to the freedom-loving peoples whenever a nation attains independence and international sovereignty. It is also an opportunity to pay a glowing tribute to the United Nations which has enshrined among its fundamental principles the right of self-determination of peoples and the natural, inalienable and indefeasible right of self-determination and independence. These are indeed essential principles, for more than any others they help to place the seal of nobility on the work of our Organization.

144. How can we agree that the United Nations should continue to include among its Members countries which trample upon its most sacred principles? How long will it be willing to tolerate in its ranks States which persistently mock its authority by refusing to apply its noblest resolutions? The time has come to state without equivocation that there is no room for either Portugal or South Africa in this Assembly.

145. Africa has shouldered its responsibilities in the struggle for the liberation of peoples. The Africans will never stop fighting until the last vestige of colonialism has disappeared completely from their continent. This warning is addressed to those colonial Powers which are desperately striving to hold on to privileges belonging to a bygone era and are thwarting the aspirations of the African for freedom by con-

^{5/} See The New York Times of 16 March 1962.

tinuing to impose backward régimes on a part of our continent. Their leaders pay heed neither to the exhortations of men of good will, nor to the repeated appeals of the United Nations, nor to the turning wheel of history. It must be stated vehemently that colonialism is dead. Those who do not understand this will learn it to their cost. It is not possible for the African countries, any more than the United Nations itself, to acquiesce in vast African territories like Angola, Mozambique, Gambia or the Spanish possessions being declared, in the name of a doubtful legality, an integral part of Portugal or Spain. If the facts corresponded to such legalistic quibbles, why should thousands of Angolan patriots sacrifice their lives each day in order to win the right to be free?

146. From this rostrum my delegation again expresses its full and active sympathy to its Angolan brothers fighting for their independence. The independent States of Africa are resolved to give these patriots all the moral and material support they need to free themselves from colonialist oppression.

147. South Africa, too, would do well to reconsider its position. Nothing can justify the policy of apartheid which is practised in that country by a white minority against an immense majority of non-Whites and which is an affront to the noble ideals of our Organization. It is not possible to invoke the Charter which regulates our conduct and at the same time to put into practice this famous theory of separate development of which we have heard. Nowhere in the Charter does it say that men, if they are of different race, must be separated in order to live in peace in the same country.

148. With regard to the policy practised in South West Africa, my delegation is surprised that the Government of Pretoria should state that it holds a League of Nations Mandate for the administration of South West Africa and should argue that it is not accountable to the United Nations, when everyone agrees that the latter took over the rights and duties of the former League of Nations. My delegation calls on the United Nations to proclaim without further ado the determination of the mandate exercised over South West Africa by a Government which daily makes a mockery of the rights of the human person and of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Yet we know that there will be some who will be unable to resist the temptation to try to justify what cannot be justified.

149. South Africa should know that henceforth Africans will not be able to remain mere spectators of a drama in which it is the tragic heroine. We call on all Members of the United Nations to give our South African brothers the moral and material support they need in their unequal struggle to regain their human dignity.

150. No legal stratagems can relieve a metropolitan country of the compelling obligation to free its colonies. Although we acknowledge the merits of the decolonization policy practised by the United Kingdom, we cannot accept the argument that in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, where white minorities have been able to set up certain forms of government on a racial basis and with the help of constitutions conferred upon them, there is no further call for the Africans to demand their independence. Our ties of friendship with the United Kingdom Government permit us to

hope that it will find a solution for this problem consistent with its humanistic and liberal traditions.

151. Turning now to a different subject, we continue to favour negotiations looking to the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. My delegation therefore is most happy at the ending of the crisis between Indonesia and the Netherlands. It has taken note, with feelings that can well be imagined, of the agreement concluded between the two parties and of the Secretary-General's proposals for its ratification [see A/5170, annex]. It ventures, however, to express its regret that the party principally concerned could not have been associated with the agreement. There can be no question that it would have accorded better with the provisions of the Charter if the peoples of West Irian had been consulted, before the transitional period, on the tie to Indonesia. Admittedly, a plebiscite is to be held later on. But can we be certain now that the principle of self-determination which is being applied in this case to the Papuan people will not by then have been rendered completely meaningless? I think that what I have said will explain the reasons for our abstention. It remains only for my delegation to express the hope that the outcome of the procedure now set in motion will be a successful one.

152. My Government has recognized the independent State of Algeria. It is most happy that the two parties have been able, after protracted negotiations, to proclaim the independence and sovereignty of the Algerian people, thus ringing down the curtain on a tragedy that had become the tragedy of all Africa. We greet once again our Algerian brothers and their Government and hope that the new, independent and sovereign Algeria will soon be able to take its rightful place in our Organization.

153. Another question that has been mentioned among those so called threats to the peace is that of the People's Republic of China. But is this in fact really a problem?

154. The admission of the People's Republic of China has often been requested and the matter has been presented in a great variety of forms. All independent States should, of course, be admitted to membership in the United Nations and presumably a solution to this problem will one day be found, for after all it is difficult to ignore the 650 million human beings who inhabit that country and stubbornly to deny them the right to take part in the life of a world Organization such as ours. But it is also difficult to agree to the admission of a State which does not seem willing to conform to the principles of the Charter. That is why we claim that the case of China is not really a problem, for China's admission to this Organization rests entirely in its own hands. To be a Member of the United Nations a State must fulfil certain conditions, the chief of which is that it must be a peaceful State practising a policy of peace towards the other Members of the United Nations and towards the rest of the world. As everyone knows, however, the régime in power in mainland China has persistently engaged in subversive activities not only in Asia but in Africa also. It has defied the United Nations, made war upon it and been condemned by it as an aggressor in Korea.

155. Against my own country, the People's Republic of China has long pursued a policy of aggression. We know and have proof that its Government has openly trained and armed in its territory Cameroonian

terrorists who sought to overthrow the democratically established régime. Although it recognizes the need to enlist the efforts of all men in the search for solutions to the gravest problems of our day, my delegation cannot fail to voice its condemnation of such a wholly unjustifiable attitude. It hopes that the Peking Government will one day present a case to the United Nations that will justify its admission to membership, and will thus help the Organization rapidly to achieve universality. It rests with the People's Republic of China to demonstrate international good will and co-operation on the basis of respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter and so earn the right to belong to our Organization.

156. My delegation therefore declares its opposition to the admission of the People's Republic of China and to any proposal for the exclusion from the United Nations of the delegation now representing the Republic of China, a country which was a signatory of the Charter and which has been recognized by the great majority of the Members of this Assembly.

157. Another problem represents a threat to world peace—the problem of Berlin. There is general agreement that the Germany of today is not the Germany of pre-war days and that it cannot be made to bear for ever the burden of the victory over Hitlerian madness. My country, which long suffered from the division of its territory and the arbitrary separation of its peoples, earnestly hopes that through peaceful negotiations the Powers concerned will find common ground leading to the reunification of the two Germanies. Berlin and its now famous wall cannot constitute the crux of the German problem. The Powers concerned must acknowledge the German people's inalienable right of self-determination; Germany must be given the opportunity freely to decide its own destiny. We should, however, be failing in our duty if we did not make our approach in our debates an essentially human one. For what is it, in the final analysis, that we are trying to do?

158. We are trying to ensure man's development, freedom, tranquillity and survival. We are trying to harmonize, so far as possible, the levels of living of the peoples of the five continents. We are trying, in short, to create an era of prosperity, of physical and spiritual well-being, when man will no longer prey on man. Two-thirds of mankind, however, are living in deprivation, hunger, poverty and illiteracy. They must be helped to free themselves from this situation and to bring their living conditions more closely into line with those in the industrialized countries. The vast gulf existing between the various levels of living is a threat to international peace and security. Until such time as the economic and social disparities have been eliminated, the attempt to bring the different families of the human race closer together will remain but a dream.

159. No one, of course, can take the place of the non-aligned countries in their fight against poverty. They know this and, above all, they know that Heaven will help them only if they help themselves. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that, however great their desire to put poverty behind them and the means they themselves mobilize for the purpose, their efforts will be successful only in so far as they receive substantial and disinterested foreign aid. The best framework for international technical co-operation is the United Nations itself and it is ap-

propriate here to pay a sincere tribute to the Organization's unceasing efforts in this field.

160. The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for economic development and, more recently, the decision to establish the United Nations Development Decade are all activities worthy of consideration.

161. It should be added, however, that despite all this good will and despite the increasingly marked desire for the international technical co-operation that is essential, a long and rocky road still lies ahead. The obstacles can be surmounted only to the extent that all of us here in this Assembly sincerely wish to achieve positive results and refrain from loud declarations made only for propaganda purposes. For we agree with the Secretary-General that:

"... the present division of the world into rich and poor countries is, in my opinion, much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds" [A/5201/Add.1, page 3].

162. Those who have agreed to help us should know this: we shall never espouse ideological divisions which have nothing to do with us. Ideological quarrels are a luxury that my country cannot afford.

163. This is especially important as the multilateral assistance afforded to the newly independent countries through the United Nations is far from sufficient. It needs to be backed up by bilateral and regional technical co-operation. The Federal Republic of Cameroon, for its part, seeks all forms of co-operation which respect its sovereignty and are likely to help it in its struggle against under-development. Its foreign policy is based on mutual respect and the sovereign equality of States.

164. With the same faith that it reposes in the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Cameroon is a member of the Economic Commission for Africa. It is also a member of the Association of African and Malagasy Economic Co-operation and Development, which represents an unprecedented experiment on the African continent.

165. Our desire to organize a vast market in which our various economies can be integrated harmoniously is not confined to the shores of Africa. We have, for example, accepted other forms of economic association and integration which embrace countries outside our continent. We have done so advisedly, for it is our firm belief that world economic integration, on which all Members of the United Nations are agreed, cannot be achieved overnight and must in any circumstances be preceded by integration on a regional basis.

166. In pursuing all these efforts we are convinced that we are acting not only consistently with the fundamental principles of the Charter but also on the right lines to bring the peoples of the world closer together—an objective which will be no more than a mirage and a demagogic phrase so long as the vast gulf of which we are all aware continues to exist between abundance and poverty.

167. I should not like to conclude my consideration of this important matter without saying one thing more. The economy of most of the under-developed countries is based on the production of a number

of raw materials from the sale of which they obtain the capital and the capital goods that they need. The industrialized nations are their chief customers. These nations could help them effectively by trying to stabilize the prices of the principal raw materials. It is not right that these prices should continue to be subject to such fluctuations which make any economic programming and any serious development planning impossible.

168. On the human side, it is not right either that millions of people in the non-aligned countries should continue to work harder for a smaller return because of the sharp drop in the prices of the raw materials which their countries produce.

169. In this necessarily brief statement I have not been able to say everything that has to be said on this important problem of the economic and social development of the newly independent countries. My delegation, however, hopes to be able to do so at the appropriate time. It will study closely all proposals that are made at this session with regard to international economic co-operation.

170. I have now given the General Assembly the views of the delegation of Cameroon on the main items on the agenda.

171. Before concluding, I should like to digress very briefly on a problem which I may be forgiven for considering important—the problem of African unity. It is impossible for anyone thinking about the future of Africa and Madagascar not to regard their unity as a fundamental need. Moreover, we believe that no one on our continent will venture to assert the contrary. However, while there is agreement on the goal to be attained, there is none with regard to the means to be employed or to the timetable which is to lead to African-Malagasy union.

172. Some have dreamed and continue to dream of unity around a particular man or country. We think that those who do are not truly working in the interests of Africa and Madagascar. In any case, this view does not have the support of the Federal Republic of Cameroon which continues to believe that the unity of our continent must reflect the freely determined will of all. Cameroon advocates unity by association, by successive mergings of groups—unity by concentric circles of solidarity, as opposed to unity by absorption. We are happy to see that history seems to be proving us right. Africa is still divided into two groups which are now agreed on the need to unite. The contacts that are being made at this very moment between the Heads of Government of the Monrovia and Casablanca groups permit us to hope that there will be a meeting of all the leaders of independent Africa in the near future. Even before these spectacular policy decisions, however, Cameroon had already begun to move towards unity by establishing, together with eleven other sister States, the African and Malagasy Union, the serious intentions and solid structure of which have been recognized by all observers.

173. The African and Malagasy Union is beginning to play a prominent role in Africa and in the world at large. It has been constantly developing. The General Secretariat of the African and Malagasy Union, the African and Malagasy Economic Co-operation Organization, the African and Malagasy Postal and Telecommunications Union, the Transport Committee, Air Africa and the African and Malagasy

Defence Union represent so many irreversible steps forward taken by an organization whose ambition it is to give Africa and Madagascar effective instruments of co-operation essential to achieve future progress. Here, too, the African and Malagasy Union has just established a group which meets automatically whenever an important problem arises. By its homogeneity the group is beginning to give striking proof of the will to co-operate of its various members. The setting up of a permanent secretariat of the African and Malagasy Union in the United Nations is a further proof of the Union's importance. The Union, however, considers itself an integral part of the larger Monrovia group of twenty-one African and Malagasy States, of which the Charter was adopted in principle at Lagos in January 1962. I am happy to be able to announce that a Monrovia group has been established in the United Nations. I hasten to add that it will remain an integral part of the African-Asian group, thus confirming our theory of unity through concentric circles of solidarity.

174. All who believe in the unity of peoples will certainly rejoice to see Africa uniting at last, for, by reason of its population, the vastness of its territory and its almost unimaginable resources, our continent, back on the right road and united, must play its proper part in world affairs and so fulfil the hopes it has aroused.

175. We are living in a world of terror, a world where the sciences have made tremendous progress, a world where the fate of mankind hangs by a thread. It is also a world of promise, where these same scientific advances can make man happy by raising his level of living, by increasing his life expectancy, by abolishing want—in other words, by enabling the developing countries to come closer to the advanced countries.

176. Mankind faces too many threats in the world today for these matters not to weigh on us. The secrets that man has wrested from nature by his genius, instead of helping to promote his well-being and full development, threaten to destroy civilization and mankind as a whole.

177. We Africans want peace in order to develop; our continent must be a peaceful continent and must not be turned into a cold-war proving ground. We want, in tranquillity and freedom, to evaluate the practical achievements of the two opposing systems and to draw our own conclusions from their effectiveness and moral value.

178. To achieve a better functioning of the United Nations, to rationalize its machinery, to distribute more fairly the responsibilities of its Members, who must all be regarded as equal partners, to restore authority to the decisions of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, to disarm, to decolonize, to co-operate, to seek all possible forms of negotiation for the peaceful settlement of international disputes—these are exalting tasks worthy of our Organization.

179. Mr. BALAFREJ (Morocco) (translated from French): The Moroccan delegation wishes first of all to express its great satisfaction at the fact that the General Assembly has entrusted the conduct of its proceedings to a man whose distinguished efforts in the international arena on behalf of peace and justice have been made unremittingly for many years. The cause of freedom in general and of the enslaved peoples in particular has always found in

him its finest champion. I should like from this rostrum to express to Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, both on my own behalf and on behalf of my country, my gratitude and recognition for the special sympathy and ever valuable support he has given unreservedly to the Moroccan cause and to the men who have striven to bring about its triumph.

180. It is from the bottom of my heart, therefore, that I extend to the President my warmest congratulations on his election, which crowns a career filled with devotion and sacrifice and is a source of pride both for him and for the people of Pakistan.

181. At this seventeenth session of the General Assembly we have seen the United Nations family increased by the admission of four new Members which have recently attained international sovereignty. We greet the entry of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago into the United Nations with special pleasure as their presence among us confirms the irresistible advance of the movement of all peoples towards liberation and heralds the day when, in the very near future, we hope, the universality of our Organization will be complete.

182. However, the ban which continues to be placed on certain countries constitutes a serious obstacle to the attainment of that universality. In this connexion, the absence of the People's Republic of China is a fact that we continue to deplore. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people, which has won the admiration of the whole world, has had the happy outcome that we all know. While we wait to welcome the representatives of the new Algeria to this Assembly in the immediate future, Morocco wishes to greet with pride, and with all the solemnity which this rostrum confers, the independence of that country, whose struggle it has always considered as its own and whose anxieties and hopes it has shared for many years.

183. On 2 July 1962, in an address to the people, His Majesty, the King of Morocco declared:

"In congratulating the sister people of Algeria, we are congratulating ourselves for, without the independence and liberation of Algeria, with which we share the same language, the same religion, the same history and the same struggle, our own independence and territorial unity would not have been complete."

184. Later, the Sovereign added:

"If we have been united in the days of the struggle for the freedom and independence of Algeria, that independence now achieved demands more than ever before that we remain united so that we may build and consolidate it."

185. Morocco will therefore continue to work side by side with Algeria in the phase of construction as it did in the phase of combat.

186. The Algerian people and their leaders have demonstrated a great awareness of their responsibilities and a maturity equal to all trials. That is why we remain firmly convinced that together they will win further victories on their march towards the building of a free and prosperous Algerian State.

187. We take particular pleasure on this occasion not only in expressing our delight at the happy results obtained by the peaceful method of negotiation, to

which we are firmly attached, but also in extending our warmest congratulations to the French leaders whose praiseworthy efforts made it possible to remove the serious difficulties that were preventing the courageous solution hoped for by all the peoples of the world.

188. However, those happy results must not make us forget that today there are still countries struggling for independence, sovereignty and unity and that others are waging the same struggle to prevent foreign intervention in their affairs.

189. Since 1956, the date of the proclamation of its independence, my country has not ceased calling on the Powers concerned to restore its territorial integrity and to give back all the parts of its national territory which remain under various statutes outside its sovereignty.

190. Nevertheless, we do not despair of Morocco, which has justice and right on its side, ultimately obtaining a rapid solution of the problems still outstanding, thanks to mutual understanding.

191. Our country is firmly attached to the principle of peaceful settlement of all disputes through negotiation, to the right of self-determination of peoples and to all the principles of the United Nations Charter.

192. Furthermore, Morocco has adopted the policy of non-alignment which requires it to remain vigilant and particularly active with regard to reducing international tension and eliminating all the causes of anxiety and centres of disturbance which continue to imperil the peace and security of the world.

193. Those are the guiding principles which will inspire my delegation when in due course we come to speak in the appropriate Committees of the United Nations on the various problems which preoccupy the international community at the present time. Among these I shall mention in particular the questions of Angola, South West Africa, the Congo, Oman, apartheid, the end of colonialism, and, on another plane, the problems of Cuba and Berlin and that of the cessation of nuclear tests.

194. I should like, however, to refer particularly to a problem which concerns my country very deeply—the problem of the distress of the Arab peoples of Palestine unjustly driven from their homes. This is a tragic problem to which the international conscience cannot remain insensitive. The United Nations should delay no longer in carrying out the decisions already taken in this matter.

195. I must express my country's satisfaction at seeing prevail in Laos and West Irian a principle which, as I have already said, is dear to us, namely the principle of solving problems by the peaceful method of negotiation.

196. These extremely heartening results indicate to us beyond dispute the spirit and the method which we consider should prevail in international relations in order to lead mankind rapidly towards the achievement of the fruitful peace and co-operation to which it aspires.

197. This spirit and this method have not always triumphed in the consideration of certain other difficult questions which are tending, unfortunately, to become chronic. The acute crises which these questions periodically provoke inevitably become enmeshed in the controversies already raging on

fundamental problems, such as the problem of disarmament.

198. We have repeatedly stated here and elsewhere that although our country is not directly concerned in this controversy, it nevertheless considers disarmament as a vital condition for the broad international co-operation which we all wish to establish.

199. In the United Nations and at international conferences, Morocco has maintained an unwavering attitude on this question. It has taken an active part in all efforts and has joined in all appeals which would call on the great Powers to embark on a loyal and realistic attempt to reach agreement on this matter.

200. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [886th meeting, paras. 144 to 149], His Majesty the King of Morocco, then Prince Moulay Hassan, supported the proposals of the five neutral countries that the Disarmament Commission should be enlarged and assigned a role of arbitration and good offices which would permit more effective discussion. That procedure was adopted and has been followed in the Commission's debates in Geneva.

201. The ideas which were worked out at Belgrade last year^{6/} and which were defended at Geneva by several delegations, including those of Brazil, India and Ethiopia, helped in the formulation of juridical and technical formulas which, objectively, could bring the positions of the great Powers considerably closer together and facilitate a resumption of negotiations between them.

202. We have followed all these efforts with particular attention and the peace-loving peoples have considered them to be encouraging. We propose, in the debates in the First Committee on this problem, to work towards the consolidation of these hopes and the prospects for the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

203. Whatever the opposing arguments, there is unanimity with regard to the prospects that the solution of the problem of disarmament offers in relation to the exalting task of achieving economic and social advances for the benefit of the entire international community and especially for the developing countries.

204. If the great Powers proclaim in all their declarations that the ending of the arms race would allow them to devote immense sums to the economic development of the under-developed regions of the world, the countries directly concerned in the reallocation of these vast resources undoubtedly hope to see the advent of this long-awaited era of broad economic co-operation and also, and above all, a return of confidence and peace.

205. At Belgrade, His Majesty the King of Morocco said:

"We are concerned, as are all other peoples, for the peace of the world. The fate of humanity ought not to depend exclusively upon the great Powers. The international tension disturbs us to the highest degree ... What our own peoples and world public opinion expect from us is that we should lay the foundations and outline partial

solutions on which a peaceful and serene world may be rebuilt." 7/

206. For many countries, the attainment of independence and sovereignty proved insufficient to enable them to achieve a better future, for they immediately encountered difficulties out of all proportion to their existing possibilities and the modesty of their means. In order to integrate themselves harmoniously into the international community and contribute to its stability, they need to reduce as much as possible the differences of level which separate them from the highly developed countries, the solidity of whose structures has depended essentially on their economic and social progress.

207. One of the conclusions immediately drawn by the leaders of the developing countries was that there is a vast difference between the responsibilities flowing from independence and the difficulties of effective decolonization. On the one hand, the legal and political attributes of independence are not of themselves sufficient guarantee of national sovereignty and, on the other hand, the restoration of political equality at the international level does not remove the other inequalities which under-development threatens to perpetuate for certain countries as compared with others. Awareness of this fact and the realities that it forces us to face make our task infinitely more difficult and, in almost all cases, impossible without outside aid and assistance.

208. With regard to decolonization, most of the countries concerned have had first of all to deal with the problems inherent in the creation of the machinery of government and of legislative and administrative institutions. Others have had to adapt existing structures to the new needs of the State and the new conditions of the people. Parallel with this task—which is fundamental in that it determines the framework for and the means of all other action—these countries have also had to create, in conditions which were sometimes more difficult, adequate economic and social structures to serve as effective instruments for action by the State to carry out development programmes.

209. While in some cases the economic potential of these countries provides grounds for optimism, the shortage of trained personnel remains a major obstacle to their development and the harnessing of their resources in the direction that will best further their national objectives.

210. The greatest possible attention should be given to this aspect of the inadequacy of our means. On this plane also and in this general perspective we should like others to join us in seeking suitable technical and financial means of assisting us effectively.

211. One of the most undisputed merits of the United Nations is that it has concentrated its action on the furnishing of specific assistance conceived in terms of economic objectives, defined as to their nature, the means to be devoted to them and the period in which they are to be achieved, taking into account the general conception of the national economy concerned. This method of giving aid and assistance is indeed the best for ensuring a country's free development and is one of the surest ways of completing the decolonization stage. It must also be admitted,

^{6/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

^{7/} Belgrade Conference, 1961, Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), No. 5, page 4.

however, that there can be no real development if it is not first and foremost the work of the country concerned. Outside assistance, however extensive, has no telling effect unless it is integrated into a plan in which the national effort preponderates. Similarly, a country which remains dependent on others for technicians and trained personnel can only promote its development partially and insecurely.

212. The assistance that was given to certain stricken areas after the Second World War would have achieved nothing if the recipient countries had not mobilized their own resources and capabilities in a remarkable effort.

213. It is facts such as these and the lesson we have drawn from this example that have guided our action in Morocco.

214. From the very first years of our independence we endeavoured to correct those two fundamental weaknesses that are characteristic of under-development—paucity of equipment and shortage of trained personnel. The planning we undertook for this purpose was based on a very realistic inventory of our country's means and resources, so that we might at once draw up a programme of priorities.

215. This programme of action was itself undertaken on three planes. The first was the intensification of vocational training and the training of technicians of all categories; side by side with the universities, a number of institutes were established or are in process of establishment with international assistance; a large number of young technicians are already providing the trained personnel for the country's new industrial and agricultural structures. On the second, agricultural, plane, expansion has been based both on the intensive modernization of equipment and on the transformation of the way of life in the rural communities, in particular by extensive construction of schools and by the supply of modern equipment and facilities to the communities by the State; a comprehensive programme of dam construction and irrigation works is also being carried out. This plan, incidentally, has been well received by the United Nations Special Fund and the World Bank. Lastly, in regard to industry, our policy is in the direction of greater integration with the other sectors of economic activity and our efforts are aimed during this stage at upgrading our country's raw materials which until recently were exported in their raw state, and at establishing, with funds obtained from these resources, basic industries which are to form the hub of industrial complexes and, in particular, iron and steel and chemical processing plants.

216. In order to provide for this development a method of financing based as widely as possible on national effort, we have adapted or created a banking system with specialized organs and have instituted a credit policy extending to all sectors of economic activity. This policy ties in with and supplements the objectives of the national investment fund and forms an integral part of the general mobilization of all national resources and energies.

217. A few moments ago I said that there could be no real development if it was not first and foremost the work of the country concerned and that by itself international assistance was merely a palliative which provided no lasting solution for the real problem. If it is conceived of as assistance to a country which does nothing to help itself, international aid cannot

attain any worthwhile economic objectives or have any political influence in the direction of stability or the consolidation of independence.

218. Morocco has always supported these ideas, and, last year, at Belgrade, His Majesty King Hassan II said:

"Financial aid, on however large a scale, will never produce the desired results unless it is accompanied by technical assistance aimed essentially at the training of national skilled personnel who will take over and help to consolidate political independence. So true is this that, more than economic needs, it is the lack of technical and administrative staff that accounts for the gravity of the problems confronting the developing countries."

219. Whereas the Belgrade Conference defined the nature of political non-alignment and the role of the non-aligned countries in the quest for world peace, the recent Cairo Conference of developing countries [A/5162] examined the problem of under-development and attempted to outline a programme of national, regional and world-wide action to harmonize economic activity within the framework of international co-operation free from the play of antagonistic forces in which many under-developed countries are still involved.

220. All continents were represented at that Conference, proving that the problems peculiar to under-development are in the forefront of men's minds all over the world at the present time.

221. In fact, the conclusions of that important Conference are of interest not only to the under-developed countries; they also brought out the dangers of under-development for the economically and technically advanced countries, so that the world economic situation as a whole should be examined without delay in a new perspective. This situation has already prompted a most encouraging initiative. In welcoming the plan for a United Nations Development Decade, my delegation would like to express to the Acting Secretary-General its sincere congratulations for having distinguished this initial period of his responsibilities by an undertaking of vast scope and significance which accords with our profound preoccupations.

222. However, in order to reflect correctly the nature and the scale of the new problems, it should be more than just international assistance and should seek rather to restore harmony to the world economic situation, so as to avert the consequences which the establishment of powerful economic blocs will inevitably produce in their relations with the under-developed regions.

223. It was in order to find a common denominator for the new and contradictory facts of the present situation that the Cairo Conference called earnestly for the convening of an international economic conference [see A/5162]. It must of course not be expected to produce solutions to all present and future trade problems, but it will surely help to indicate the basis for world co-operation in equity and solidarity.

224. The international situation and its projection into the future throw special light on the nature of the new problems confronting the United Nations and establish a new scale of values and a new system or priorities. Along with a will to win and consolidate

their freedom, the peoples of the whole world are at grips with economic and social problems on which depend the stability of each country and the balance of the entire international community.

225. The United Nations is aware of this and is daily showing increasing interest in the study and solution of these problems. But if it is to be able to carry this new action through successfully, it will have to review some of its structures and in particular to adapt its economic and social machinery and make it an instrument better able to cope with these new conditions. Until just recently, the characteristic feature of the international situation was

an imbalance between dominating Powers and dominated countries; its characteristic feature today is an imbalance between highly developed Powers and developing countries.

226. The United Nations has experienced some grave crises because it did not always foresee the consequences of maintaining political inequalities. We would tend to have greater hope for the future if the new interest which the Organization is now showing in these new problems and the efforts being made to solve them had the support of all peoples in close co-operation.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.