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at 10.30 a.m.**

**NEW YORK**

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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN  
(Pakistan).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The meeting is being called to order fifteen minutes later than the scheduled time, for which I tender my apologies to the Assembly. The reason for this was a meeting of the General Committee which went beyond the time that I expected it would take. I trust the delegations will not take this as a precedent.

2. Mr. BONILLA ATILES (Dominican Republic) (translated from Spanish): It is a great honour for me speak from this rostrum of the world Organization in order to make known my Government's views and feelings on the many important problems that are to be discussed at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

3. I should like to extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan for his well-deserved election to preside over our deliberations. His great learning, his long experience in the service of the loftiest of international causes, his wisdom and judgement are, as we have seen here, the attributes that go to make a good President.

4. On behalf of the people and Government of the Dominican Republic, I extend a hearty welcome to the new States which are joining this family of nations. Our welcome and our best wishes go to Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, as also to Algeria, which has just been admitted to the United Nations.

5. At home, the Dominican Republic has begun to make amends for the cruelties, tortures, persecutions, assassinations, deprivations and abuses inflicted on the Dominican nation by the tyrant Trujillo, who was fortunately brought to justice on 30 May 1961, by a group of national heroes whose two sole surviving members, Mr. Antonio Imbert Barrera and Mr. Luis Amiama, are serving on the Council of State.

6. The present Government has undertaken to attend to the immediate needs created by the chaotic situa-

tion and, with the resolute co-operation of the people and the help of the Alliance for Progress programme, it has provided new opportunities for employment in emergency public works projects. The wealth amassed under the dictatorship has been invested in a development corporation which is using, for the benefit of the Dominican people and on behalf of that people, the riches of which they had previously been divested. A housing programme has been initiated; an agrarian reform is being carried out, with the result that hundreds of families have been settled on land previously occupied by the relations and henchmen of the tyrant. The international credit of the Republic has been restored and the banking system has undergone a scientific reconstruction which will enable the nation's wealth to be better utilized.

7. The Council of State also has the honour, as caretaker Government, of establishing a democratic system, based on the will of the people, which will be expressed in the course of free elections to be held on 20 December, in which the attributes of the individual citizen—those which lend dignity to man—will finally acquire their full meaning. This task will be carried out with the valuable assistance of the Technical Electoral Commission which the Dominican Government asked the Organization of American States to provide.

8. At the international level, the Dominican Republic is preparing to fulfil all its obligations and to co-operate to the best of its ability in ensuring that the international community and the juridical instruments at its disposal shall acquire the maximum efficacy.

9. With that end in view, my country will abide by all the decisions taken by the United Nations, in keeping with the Charter on which it is founded and in particular with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice whereby the expenses incurred in operations ordered by the Assembly shall be borne, together with the regular expenses, by all Members of the Organization. The Dominican Republic regards compliance with these decisions as an unavoidable duty and an absolute necessity, not only because it is an obligation under the Charter but because it implies support of one of the most important organs of the United Nations—the organ whose basic function is to give meaning and scope to the standards of international law. To disregard the rulings of the International Court of Justice would be to undermine the new international order which the United Nations is seeking to establish. It would, in fact, be a backward step that would deal a severe blow to law and order and would establish force as the determining factor in relations between States.

10. With regard to disarmament and all that this problem entails, the Dominican Republic considers that the over-armed Powers are called upon to end the state of mistrust and fear in which mankind is living, by deciding to put an end to the armaments

race. The world demands this because disarmament is not a problem which affects the armed Powers alone but is a general problem which concerns all of us, since modern wars are not mere episodes confined to the belligerents, but tragedies which involve the whole of mankind.

11. One of the many problems which the Dominican Republic views with concern is the plight of the under-developed countries. Until these nations enjoy the benefits of social justice and economic prosperity, they will always be a prey to anxiety and frustration—sentiments which sow the seeds of unrest and are the prelude to agitation and subversive ideas incompatible with the atmosphere of peace in which peoples wish to live. There can be no democracy or freedom in a world in which poverty and social injustice prevail.

12. The twin concepts of freedom and democracy will reach true fulfilment when the efforts that are now being devoted to the armaments race are used to eradicate the causes of poverty and injustice. The Dominican Republic accordingly commends and supports the measures that have been proposed in order to remedy this situation and especially the plan which is now in operation to promote social advancement and raise the level of living in accordance with a broader concept of freedom, as provided in the Charter. It also fully endorses the remarks made in a recent report by U Thant, the Secretary-General:

"If this Organization is to make the principles enshrined in the Preamble of the Charter a living reality, there must be no pause in the determined, sincere and continuing campaign to reduce world tensions and hostility. The people of the world who continue to live in such a tense and surcharged atmosphere, replete with the ever present threat of total destruction, are entitled to look forward to the dawn of a new era in which every man, woman and child in every country can be expected to live above want and in dignity, at peace with themselves and with the rest of mankind." [A/5201/Add.1, page 3.]

13. In keeping with these ideas, the liquidation of colonialism which must proceed at a faster rate should not be restricted merely to the granting of independence to peoples who have been subjugated but must take on a broader dimension. The political solution, in the form of liberation from all foreign domination, is of paramount importance but is not enough. It alone will not appease the urge for emancipation. Economic independence is just as important as political independence, for until it is fully achieved the bonds of colonialism will persist. As long as those peoples remain in the background, as mere suppliers of raw materials to the highly industrialized centres, they will not have achieved complete freedom nor will they have attained the complete happiness to which they have a right. It is therefore imperative that the plan to which I referred just now should be extended to include them, in a positive way, since they are the ones who need it most at the present time.

14. Fortunately, in the Western Hemisphere this serious problem is being solved by the determination of our peoples to put the programmes of the Alliance for Progress into effect without delay; those programmes are already sapping the foundations of a feudal era which is giving way to a "revolutionary evolution", as it has been termed by the President of the Dominican Republic and of the Council of State.

15. It is a pity that these programmes for social progress are being constantly held up by the last-ditch efforts of reactionaries who are endeavouring to retain their privileges and by the communists, who see in it the defeat of their tactics, which are based primarily on demagogic. Obstacles of the kind that are now being encountered by the Alliance for Progress were similarly experienced in Europe at the time of the Marshall Plan.

16. The impartial study of the ideological trends which divide the world, is a privilege of the free man. Those of us who bear the grave and solemn responsibility of speaking from this rostrum have an inescapable obligation to analyse the merits and demerits of the two contending positions. So long as the spectre of man's destruction haunts a century that has suffered the tragedy of two world wars and a series of other wars, confined to specific geographical areas, which have decimated the youth of five continents, the weight and significance of each word, of each phrase and of each idea spoken from this forum must of necessity be directed towards the promotion of a world-wide desire for peace and justice for all. Peace and justice cannot be achieved by vitriolic attacks or by slander and false accusations, by the use of demagogic or by hasty attempts to impose a particular system on a people without allowing it to listen to the debates—not the fallacies and pretexts but the substance of the ideas that seek to influence and guide the world. The United Nations cannot and must not deceive the nations of which it is composed, for if this were to happen, civilization would find itself in a vacuum.

17. The Cuban situation and its implications for the regional system has been referred to in this Assembly and we must therefore discuss it. The Cuban Government has cut itself off from the rest of the hemisphere by failing to meet the conditions which the charter of the Organization of American States prescribes for its members. We wonder what caused the withdrawal of the Cuban Government from the continental system. In order to answer that question we must make a brief excursion into history.

18. From the very beginning of the independence movement in America, the struggle acquired a mystique which lent it greater impetus and led it from victory to victory, on to its final triumph. Basically, the struggle was not for the sole purpose of gaining freedom but was also waged with the aim of improving the system of government prevailing at that time, which was absolute monarchy in which the monarch was sovereign ruler and proclaimed his powers to be of divine origin.

19. After the United States achieved independence, the concept—not new in theory but new in practice—that the people alone are sovereign began to gain ground. This concept calls to mind Benjamin Franklin, of whom it was said: "He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from the tyrants". The sceptre of tyrants was the symbol of sovereignty. Seized from its holder, it passed to a new sovereign—the people. Since then a new concept has grown up in America, that of self-determination. Each people decided its future as a free nation by force of arms, whereby it severed its ties with the mother country. But within the new boundaries of the State, the nation's destinies had to be decided by the people, established as the new sovereign, which, unlike the earlier physical entity of the monarch or aspirant to the monarchy, was a complex, many-sided

being, made up of thousands of individuals whose opinions, as yet unknown, had to be expressed peacefully, in order to be able to respond to the truth, to the new principle that only the people are sovereign. Nisi novi sub sole—nothing is new under the sun. An old principle was thus given a new application to meet the needs of the times, which were representative democracy and electoral processes and procedures.

20. Having grown wary as the result of previous experiences, the people began from the very outset to resist such expedients as acclamations at public meetings and armed coercion, and to understand that in order to ensure that the elections resulted in genuine representation of the new sovereign, it was essential to safeguard the process by guarantees of all the civil liberties which were embodied in the constitutions and their amendments.

21. Latin America has been engaged for more than a century—for reasons which I shall not go into here, owing to the shortage of time—in a continual struggle against the violation of these principles which were so dear to the founders of the various nations of the continent. Each dictatorship set out with the sincere or feigned intention of remedying the deficiencies of the preceding regime. It is equally true, however, that each dictatorship has always tried to justify itself by a show of respect—naturally spurious—for representative democracy, no matter what enormities it committed against the rights of the people.

22. Foremost among the rights of the people which were violated or suppressed was the right to life, which was abruptly ended by the firing squad of the political opponent or by the assassin's dagger or threatened by the dungeon. Then there was the deprivation of all liberties and of the right to a better economic existence based on social justice and without the sway of the traditional oligarchies, feudal practices and the near enslavement of the less privileged classes.

23. When the inter-American system was established, this century-old tradition was incorporated into it as a basic principle; thus the exercise of representative democracy is an essential requirement for membership of the group. Renunciation of this principle implies automatic exclusion from the system and it was this principle that was rejected by the Cuban Government when it announced its adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

24. It should be made clear that the system has not set itself up as a stern accuser to browbeat Governments which, owing to temporary circumstances or to more or less prolonged lapses, have departed from the basic tenets of the system. This is a mistake that democratic Governments must strive to correct.

25. It can readily be seen that the juridical and political standards of the inter-American system entails the following progressive series of conditions: (a) respect for human rights; (b) exercise of the inherent freedoms of the citizen, without which no opinion can be expressed; (c) free elections, with majority and minority representation of the people, as appropriate; (d) freedom not only to constitute a government by means of elections but also to replace it by the same means. These are the conditions for achieving representative democracy and through it—and only through it—self-determination.

26. Parallel with these concepts, there has also developed, as an intrinsic part of the system, the principle of non-intervention, which has been of inestimable value in promoting inter-American relations and has been the staunch defence of the weaker nations against the stronger. At times, this very principle has served certain regimes as a pretext for retaining power in outright violation of democratic precepts; at other times it has served as a pretext for evading action that should have been taken.

27. We are sure, however, that though the principle of non-intervention has not yet taken final shape it will eventually be defined in harmony with the new concept of the inter-dependence of States engaged in a common undertaking.

28. Against this background the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, at Punta del Este, adopted resolution VI, which reads as follows:

"Whereas:

"The inter-American system is based on consistent adherence by its constituent States to certain objectives and principles of solidarity, set forth in the instruments that govern it;

"Among these objectives and principles are those of respect for the freedom of man and preservation of his rights, the full exercise of representative democracy, non-intervention of one State in the internal or external affairs of another, and rejection of alliances and agreements that may lead to intervention in America by extra-continental Powers;

"The Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in San José, Costa Rica, condemned the intervention or the threat of intervention of extra-continental communist Powers in the hemisphere and reiterated the obligation of the American States to observe faithfully the principles of the regional organization;

"The present Government of Cuba has identified itself with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology, has established a political, economic, and social system based on that doctrine, and accepts military assistance from extra-continental communist Powers, including even the threat of military intervention in America on the part of the Soviet Union;

"The Report of the Inter-American Peace Committee to the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs establishes that: 'The present connexions of the Government of Cuba with the Sino-Soviet bloc of countries are evidently incompatible with the principles and standards that govern the regional system, and particularly with the collective security established by the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance';

"The above-mentioned Report of the Inter-American Peace Committee also states that: 'It is evident that the ties of the Cuban Government with the Sino-Soviet bloc will prevent the said Government from fulfilling the obligations stipulated in the Charter of the Organization and the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance';

"Such a situation in an American State violates the obligations inherent in membership in the regional system and is incompatible with that system;

"The attitude adopted by the present Government of Cuba and its acceptance of military assistance offered by extra-continental communist Powers breaks down the effective defence of the inter-American system; and

"No member state of the inter-American system can claim the rights and privileges pertaining thereto if it denies or fails to recognize the corresponding obligations.

**"Declares:**

"1. That, as a consequence of repeated acts, the present Government of Cuba has voluntarily placed itself outside the inter-American system.

"2. That this situation demands unceasing vigilance on the part of the member States of the Organization of American States, which shall report to the Council any fact or situation that could endanger the peace and security of the hemisphere.

"3. That the American States have a collective interest in strengthening the inter-American system and reuniting it on the basis of respect for human rights and the principles and objectives relative to the exercise of democracy set forth in the Charter of the Organization; and, therefore

**"Resolves:**

"1. That adherence by any member of the Organization of American States to Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the inter-American system and the alignment of such a government with the communist bloc breaks the unity and solidarity of the hemisphere.

"2. That the present Government of Cuba, which has officially identified itself as a Marxist-Leninist Government, is incompatible with the principles and objectives of the inter-American system.

"3. That this incompatibility excludes the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system.

"4. That the Council of the Organization of American States and the other organs and organizations of the inter-American system adopt without delay measures necessary to comply with this resolution."<sup>1/</sup>

29. The consequences of this resolution are revealed in the following communiqué, which has the distinction of having been approved unanimously by all the Foreign Ministers of America, or their representatives, at the recent informal meeting held at Washington. The communiqué reads as follows:

"In their informal meeting held in Washington, D.C., on October 2 and 3, 1962, the Foreign Ministers and Special Representatives of American Republics discussed in a spirit of strong friendship and co-operation the serious problems that face the Western Hemisphere.

"Although the informal character of the meeting precluded formal decisions or resolutions, which are in the competence of the appropriate bodies of the OAS, the meeting was marked by extraordinary solidarity on matters affecting the security and well-being of the hemispheric system. The Ministers

reviewed the resolutions adopted at the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the progress made in response to them, and further steps which might be taken to give effect to those resolutions.

"During the meeting it was manifest that at the present juncture the most urgent of these problems is the Sino-Soviet intervention in Cuba as an attempt to convert the island into an armed base for communist penetration of the Americas and subversion of the democratic institutions of the Hemisphere.

"The meeting reiterated its adherence to the principles of self-determination, non-intervention and democracy as guiding standards of relations among the American nations.

"The meeting reflected the opinion that now more than ever it is necessary to strengthen the system of representative democracy and to redouble the efforts being made to bring harmonious progress to the peoples, and the earliest and most effective improvement in their standard of living, within the framework of the Alliance for Progress, and with the most complete respect for human rights. Special consideration shall be given to expanding markets and increasing prices of Latin American primary products.

"The meeting reasserted the firm intention of the Governments represented and of the peoples of the American Republics to conduct themselves in accordance with the principles of the regional system, staunchly sustaining and consolidating the principles of the Charter of the Organization of American States, and affirmed the will to strengthen the security of the Hemisphere against all aggression from within or outside the Hemisphere and against all developments or situations capable of threatening the peace and security of the Hemisphere through the application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro.

"It was the view of the Ministers that the existing organizations and bodies of the inter-American system should intensify the carrying out of their respective duties with special and urgent attention to the situation created by the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba, and that they should stand in readiness to consider the matter promptly if the situation requires measures beyond those already authorized.

"In the ideological struggle against communism, destroyer of man's liberties, the meeting expressed the desire that the resources and methods inherent in the democratic system should be mobilized to bring the peoples to realize fully the difference between totalitarianism and democracy.

"The meeting reaffirmed its repudiation of repressive measures which, under the pretext of isolating or combating communism, may facilitate the appearance or strengthening of doctrines and methods which attempt to repress ideas of social progress and to confuse truly progressive and democratic labour organizations and cultural and political movements with communist subversion.

"The meeting observed that the inter-American regional system has had since its beginnings characteristics of its own that are expressed in specific provisions agreed upon by a community of nations for its collective security and, therefore, that a

<sup>1/</sup> Organization of American States, Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Documents of the Meeting, Document 66, Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., 1962.

military intervention of communist powers in Cuba cannot be justified as a situation analogous to the defensive measures adopted in other parts of the Free World in order to face Soviet imperialism.

"The meeting expressed the need for undertaking the actions called for by Resolution VIII of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, especially paragraph 2, also including the use of their ships in the Cuban trade, in the light of the new developments taking place in Cuba. It also called upon all other independent countries to review their policies in this regard.

"The meeting agreed that it is necessary for the countries, in accordance with their laws and constitutional precepts, to intensify measures to prevent agents and groups of international communism from carrying on their activities of a subversive nature.

"The meeting recalled that the Soviet Union's intervention in Cuba threatens the unity of the Americas and of its democratic institutions, and that this intervention has special characteristics which, pursuant to paragraph 3 of Resolution II of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, call for the adoption of special measures, both individual and collective.

"The meeting observed that it is desirable to intensify individual and collective surveillance of the delivery of arms and implements of war and all other items of strategic importance to the communist regime of Cuba, in order to prevent the secret accumulation in the island of arms that can be used for offensive purposes against the hemisphere.

"The meeting concurred in the wish that studies be undertaken urgently, in accordance with Resolution II of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of the transfer of funds to the other American Republics for subversive purposes, the flow of subversive propaganda and the utilization of Cuba as a base for training in subversive techniques.

"The meeting voiced the traditional fraternal affection of all the American peoples for the people of Cuba and their deep sympathy for the victims of the present regime, and expressed the hope that the Cuban people may return as a full member of the democratic American family of nations, under a government compatible with the purposes and principles of the inter-American system."

30. With the deliberate intention of distorting the facts, an attempt has been made to represent the case of Cuba as a conflict involving that country and the United States alone, to the total exclusion of the Latin American Republics. This concept, of course, does not correspond to the facts, as is amply demonstrated by the Punta del Este documents and those of the Meeting of Foreign Ministers at Washington to which I have referred. From the very moment that the Government of Cuba turned its back on democracy and its contractual obligations under the inter-American system and began to violate—often very seriously—the spirit and letter of treaties and conventions of vital importance to the continent, an extremely serious crisis arose between the Cuban Government and the Cuban people and between the Cuban Government and the Government and peoples of rest of America.

31. The Communist propaganda line, which is designed to convey the impression that a conflict exists solely between Cuba and the United States, is damaging to Latin America because it seeks to make Latin America appear as if it were a group of republics which are not conscious of their own responsibilities and are incapable of discerning the imminent danger to which they are exposed. This danger is caused by the existence of a Government which, on American territory, has turned the land of José Martí, the great apostle of freedom, into a Sino-Soviet centre for military and political operations and for the ideological subversion of the democratic institutions of all the American nations, of their Christian ethics and of their peaceful coexistence.

32. Owing to its exceptional political, military and economic relations with Russia and Communist China, the Communist Government of Cuba constitutes a threat—unparalleled in the history of the hemisphere—to the peace, security and sovereignty of the American States.

33. The problem is not a quarrel or conflict between Washington and Havana. In an inter-American context it is a conflict between Cuba and the republics of our continent, just as within a world context it is part of the struggle between East and West, between democracy and non-democracy.

34. Convinced as we are of the greatness of the nations that are Members of the United Nations, we find ourselves asking the following question, which we have no hesitation in putting to this august Assembly: are there any peoples whose views are not legitimately represented here?

35. Of necessity, and in order to do justice to the profundity of the idea behind this question, we must begin by saying that the Government of the Dominican Republic was not born of popular elections but of popular acceptance, won by conduct based on undeniable freedoms, on clear-cut guarantees for the honest citizen, on the equitable administration of justice and above all on the firm determination of the President of the Republic and the members of the Council of State to hold elections in full view of any international observers who may wish to witness them. For not only is it not afraid, but it is anxious for the world to see the triumph of the will of a people which, for more than three decades, has been pining for its freedom behind the prison bars of Trujillo's unprecedented tyranny.

36. Thus, on 20 December, the Dominican Republic will select a Government through the proper and free exercise of the right to vote. In the certainty that this will come to pass, I appear before you with the proud humility of one who knows that he is not one of the elect but simply a servant of western civilization with every right to ask: are there any peoples whose views are not legitimately represented here?

37. The people seek peace—but not the peace of the firing squad or of the prisons packed with political opponents whose only crime was to disagree with the régime in power. The people seek peace—but not peace born of the sufferings of exile or peace born of the daily flight of those who risk their lives to escape. The people seek peace—but not peace which does away with the freedom of the Press, which stifles the thoughts of men after robbing them of their right to speak and turns them into terrorized beings who tremble in the presence of the accuser,

who may send them to the scaffold on a trumped-up charge. The people seek peace—but not peace which prevents the worker from exercising his right to strike or robs the universities of their independence or compels the peasant to carry a gun to defend ideas which he does not understand.

38. The people seek peace—but not peace which robs families of their loving children in order to send them away for indoctrination, whence they return so devoid of all filial affection that they inform on their parents. The people seek peace—but not peace that prohibits the holding of meetings in the fear that genuine elections will show the world how unpopular the leaders of the day really are. The people seek peace—but no peace which exports subversion, unrest and conspiracy to neighbouring countries, which are thus condemned to live in a state of constant anxiety, defending their democratic institutions. The people seek peace, but it is a different kind of peace. It is the peace which helps to eradicate all those evils, to remove the threat of war, subversion, hatred, unrest and terrorism. The peace that promotes understanding, industry, culture and happiness.

39. Lastly, it is the peace which allows people to worship their own God and gives us the freedom to beg ours, from this high rostrum, to guide the United Nations in its search for a way to live together in dignity, in peace without fear and justice without humiliation.

40. The PRESIDENT: It might be convenient for the Assembly if, before calling on the next speaker, I were to make a statement with regard to the question that was discussed in the Assembly during the morning meeting yesterday [1149th meeting].

41. I am happy to be able to report to the Assembly that the delegates who did me the honour to meet with me yesterday afternoon to consider further the question of the date of the elections to three of the principal organs of the United Nations came to an amicable accord on that matter. Those delegates included the delegates of all States which are likely to be affected by the elections to the Security Council, but I trust that what they agreed to will meet with the approval of the Assembly and I shall, of course, be only too happy to give effect to their wishes.

42. Those delegates were in agreement that, considering that as many as five new Members had been admitted into the Organization—one of them only as recently as three days ago and all of them since the beginning of this session—and that those new Members might not have had time to make themselves familiar with all the procedures, methods and factors bearing on elections to three of the principal organs of the Organization, it was desirable that those elections should be postponed for about a week. Within that limitation the delegates were willing to leave it to me to determine the date and time of the elections, having regard to the requirements of proper arrangements for the dispatch of the Assembly's business next week.

43. I had hoped that while I was making this statement I should be able to indicate to the Assembly the date on which the elections would take place. But I had already scheduled a meeting of the General Committee to consult it on certain aspects of the arrangements of the business of the Assembly next week, and I have not yet had time—as I came directly from the meeting of the General Committee to the Assembly

meeting this morning—to consider the actual arrangement of that business. I hope, however, to be able to do that during the course of the day, and I trust that I shall be able to inform the Assembly tomorrow of the date on which the elections will take place. One of the considerations I have in mind is that the arrangement of business should be so ordered that, as far as can be foreseen, no contingency should arise which would disturb the date that might be announced for those elections.

44. While I am on the arrangement of business I wish to mention to the Assembly a factor of which representatives themselves are fully aware, namely, that we are now in the closing stages of the general debate and that whereas, in conformity with tradition, it has been my purpose so to arrange the order of the general debate that it should meet with the wishes and convenience of all delegations, we are now at a stage where, in turn, I may have to request the delegations which have still to speak to co-operate with the Secretariat and with me to make it easier for us to arrange the rest of the order of the general debate. To this end certain transpositions—I hope not too many—might be proposed which, again subject to their convenience, I trust the delegations concerned might be willing to accept.

45. I trust that what I have submitted to the Assembly meets with its approval, and since I hear no objection I shall take action accordingly.

46. I call now on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

47. H.R.H. Prince FAISAL (Saudi Arabia)<sup>2/</sup>: Mr. President, it gives me pleasure at the outset in this Assembly to express to you my wholehearted congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly during its present session.

48. I do not have to introduce Muhammad Zafrulla Khan to this Organization. He is too well known for his wide and notable participation in its activities during past years. Nor do I have to mention how well versed he is in international affairs, nor to mention his singular ability in dealing with international problems. Indeed, this rostrum is the best witness of the various stands which he has taken in defence of freedom and justice:

49. It likewise gives me pleasure to express my warm greetings on the independence, and subsequent admission, of five friendly States to this international Organization; namely, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Rwanda, Burundi, and, last but not least, Algeria which only recently has rightly joined the community of free and independent nations. Sovereignty, which is one of the corner-stones of the United Nations, has indeed been vindicated by the admission of these States.

50. As my memory takes me back to the San Francisco Conference where we had met to lay the foundation of this international Organization, today I rejoice to find the United Nations has more than doubled its membership. I am also deeply gratified that many nations in Africa and Asia have achieved their freedom and independence. It is my fervent hope that the United Nations will become more complete by the advent of independent States increasing its membership, as it is our duty to continue our efforts on behalf of those yearning for freedom and independence. Inasmuch as

<sup>2/</sup> Prince Faisal spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

We should all work for a free and independent Angola, we should also join forces for the eradication of racial discrimination, particularly in South Africa, in the Congo, we believe that the national unity of that country should be upheld and respected. For the United Nations to be worthy of its existence and the principles of its Charter, it should safeguard both justice and national sovereignty for all, and endeavour to prevent the violation of the principles of international law and all other principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter.

1. I feel that on this occasion I must express my profound appreciation for the agreement which has been concluded between Indonesia and the Netherlands on New Guinea, and I seize this opportunity to congratulate U Thant, the Acting Secretary-General, for his efforts in bringing this agreement to a successful end. It was through his tact and wisdom that he was able to remove the dissension that had existed between two Member States of the United Nations. U Thant accomplished this on the basis of the recognition of the right of self-determination and national sovereignty.

2. When I looked at the agenda of this session I was indeed astonished to find that a good number of the items with which we are seized today happen to be the same as those which had been included in the agenda of previous sessions. One of the most important and urgent questions is disarmament. The whole world is intensely disturbed by the fact that this momentous question is still being remitted from one session to another without tak'ng a single step towards a solution which would bestow hope for peace and stability to mankind. The thing which indeed magnifies our fear and deepens our anxiety is the armaments race, which is resorting to efficient and highly technical weapons for mass slaughter and destruction. However, what is most regrettable is that in spite of the fact that the nuclear Powers are aware of the dangers of nuclear war, they have not been able to reach an agreement which would allay the fears of mankind in this and future generations.

3. Nuclear tests are continuously being carried out in the atmosphere and underground, notwithstanding all the United Nations reports that have stressed the dangers of such tests. Despite all this, all efforts to stop nuclear tests have failed. We regret that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee which convened in Geneva last spring has not met with the success expected of it by the whole world.

4. We have not lost hope that all parties concerned will reach an agreement. However, it is the duty of this Organization to strengthen peace, on the basis of right and justice, and to save mankind and civilization from annihilation on this earth. We implore all the powers concerned to do away with differences separating them so as to create a favourable atmosphere in which the United Nations will be able to fulfil for the whole world the old dream of building a new international community free from the menace of ruin and destruction. All that I have mentioned so far paves upon world peace.

5. When it comes to peace and stability in the Middle East, it is the duty of those who constitute the Arab nations to inform the United Nations that for us, without any doubt, the sole issue which threatens peace in that area is the question of Palestine.

56. Ever since the United Nations adopted the resolution [181 (II)] for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of Israel, peace has been continuously jeopardized. The emergence of Israel constitutes a conspicuous tyranny like which nothing had been known before in history.

57. Palestine is an Arab homeland and its legitimate owners are the Arabs of Palestine. Fourteen years have elapsed since the Arabs have been proven right in their warnings concerning the danger of creating Israel in the heart of the Arab world. One million Arabs have been scattered, their property seized, their cities and villages occupied and pillaged—all this while thousands of Zionist immigrants continue to pour into the land where the Arabs have lived since time immemorial.

58. I do not intend to dwell at length on this human tragedy, as our delegation has had the opportunity of discussing in detail all the aspects of this question. However, I should like to confirm to this Organization that we will never abandon or give up Palestine as an Arab country, and we will continue to exert all our efforts so that the Arab people of Palestine shall live in their land and thereby enjoy their freedom, independence, and national sovereignty. Having made this declaration on the Palestine question, I find it my duty to express our deep concern regarding the supplying of rocket weapons to Israel—this same Israel which has been known to the United Nations as an aggressor and violator of the United Nations Charter, this same Israel which has been repeatedly condemned by the Security Council as a flagrant aggressor. We maintain that supplying Israel with weapons will incite it to further aggression.

59. I cannot let this occasion pass without drawing the attention of the Assembly to the question of Oman, which we believe has also to do with the issue of justice and independence. We are one with our brethren of Oman in their struggle for freedom and independence. We call upon the United Nations to uphold their right to self-determination, as has been the case of all the peoples who had achieved their freedom and independence.

60. Before leaving this rostrum, I would like to express the hope that the United Nations will tackle international problems in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

61. Now that United Nations membership has substantially increased, we expect this Organization to gain in strength while marching with steady steps towards its goal, so that peace and justice may prevail and thereby pave the way for the progress and happiness of all mankind.

62. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me first of all to offer you my delegation's sincere congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at its seventeenth session. Our Assembly has gained in stature by selecting, as its guide and arbiter, a man of high moral and intellectual standing. Of all the high offices you have held in the course of a brilliant career, I shall only mention that of judge at the International Court of Justice. To this office you brought not only your undisputed legal knowledge but a keen sense of duty and the profound conviction that right and justice, and not might, should be the supreme law of the world.

63. As an eminent Asian you will carry on the tradition of that great African, Mongi Slim, who presided over our deliberations at the sixteenth session with discernment and distinction and whose election was a source of legitimate pride to all Africans.

64. I am also happy to welcome the admission to the United Nations of five new Members: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Rwanda, Burundi and Algeria. In a few days' time we shall, no doubt, be extending an equally warm welcome to Uganda, which will bring the number of our Members up to 110. We offer them our hearty congratulations and we hope that they will work in peace, harmony and wisdom for the good of their peoples.

65. Rwanda and Burundi have a special place in our affections because it was the United Nations that decided that they were ready for independence. They gave proof of their maturity in the weeks following their liberation and, eager to demonstrate their interest in the African and Malagasy Union, they joined us at the Conference held recently at Libreville.<sup>3/</sup>

66. We must also congratulate the United Kingdom, Belgium and France, which have given this proof of their devotion to the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

*Mr. Seydoux (France), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

67. As for Algeria, it is with deep emotion that my country welcomes this proud and heroic people to the community of nations. The fighting has now ceased after seven years of bloodshed and sacrifice. The "peace of the brave" for which General de Gaulle hoped has come to pass.

68. Once again France has reminded the world that since 1789 it has been the cradle of liberty; in less than eight years, it has given eighteen African countries their freedom and its prestige has never stood so high; moreover it is still providing disinterested aid to some of these countries. As a great journalist wrote recently, "It is now drawing dividends from its generosity".

69. The improvement in the political situation in the Congo is a source of great satisfaction to us. We sincerely hope that the plan drawn up by Secretary-General U Thant, on federalist lines will succeed in ending the present difficulties and that this country can be reunified as soon as possible. Our friends in the African and Malagasy Union and we ourselves feel that Katanga is an integral and inseparable part of the Congo. We appeal to the wisdom of the Congolese leaders and people to ensure that reunification is achieved without there being any need to resort to coercive measures. My Government, for its part, considers that the matter should be settled by the Congolese and between the Congolese.

70. In four days' time the Malagasy Republic will be celebrating the third anniversary of its foundation. Throughout this crucial period of its history, there has been no disturbance of law and order and our democratic institutions have functioned smoothly: a National Assembly, freely elected by universal suffrage shortly after the proclamation of independence; a Senate; a Government based on a parliamentary majority and, at the highest level, a Head of State, President Philibert Tsiranana, who was the son of a

cowherd, as he himself likes to recall, and rose, step by step, to become the chosen and respected leader of his country. Under his guidance we achieved independence peacefully and soberly. In our country, all the fundamental freedoms are safeguarded and our people live in peace and calm. The opposition freely exercises its rights and all opinions are expressed openly, without fear.

71. I should like to remind you that Madagascar is a mosaic of various ethnic groups, whose eighteen tribes have none the less learnt to live together in harmony and perfect friendship, on a tiny continent where everything breathes calm, industry and happiness. I only give you this background because it serves far better than any long speeches to convey my country's attitude towards the grave and sometimes dramatic problems which will be discussed by this Assembly.

72. Upon its admission to the United Nations the Malagasy Republic affirmed its faith in the principles of the Charter and its firm determination to do all in its power to ensure that they are respected.

73. We are convinced of the need to uphold the authority of the Secretary-General, who, now that he has the services of his own hand-picked staff, should be free to take on his own initiative, necessary steps to apply the decisions of our Assembly. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the efforts made by the Secretary-General, whose competence and courage it commends. It hopes that he will be unanimously re-elected to office and is confident that he will intensify his efforts to give the new Member States an opportunity for greater participation in the administration of our Organization, in particular by arranging for an increasingly equitable distribution of posts in the Secretariat.

74. One of the principles of the Charter to which my country is particularly attached, is the right of peoples to independence through self-determination. In all circumstances my delegation will subordinate its actions to this principle, which it will place above all other considerations. It was for that reason that it was faced with the painful duty of withholding its support from the Agreement which decided the fate of West Irian [See A/5170, annex], for it felt that the right of the 700,000 inhabitants of this country freely to decide their future was not adequately safeguarded and should have been exercised immediately upon the completion of the United Nations mandate. A large part of my country's population is of the same origin as the people of Indonesia; my country can therefore have none but fraternal feelings towards the latter. Now that a majority of the Assembly has ratified the Agreement, my delegation earnestly appeals to the Indonesian Government and people and to the United Nations to regard it as their duty, when the time comes, to respect the inalienable and sacred right of the people of West Irian freely to decide their own future.

75. We want to see the right of self-determination accorded to all the peoples whom the events of the past twenty-five years have cruelly and unjustly divided: Germany, Berlin, Korea, Tibet and Viet-Nam. And above all we want that right for all our African brethren who are still under foreign rule. We ask it, we demand it, for Angola, Mozambique, the enclave of Cabinda, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Nyasaland. We shall go on with the

<sup>3/</sup> Conference of the African and Malagasy Union, held from 11 to 13 September 1962.

work that has been done in the Committee of Seventeen,<sup>4/</sup> on which we have the honour to serve. We consider that, in future, only those States which recognize the right of the peoples at present under their rule to self-determination and independence should be entitled to a seat in this Assembly. We are also resolutely opposed to the policy of racial discrimination practised in such places as South Africa, which is an intolerable violation of the most sacred rights of the human being.

76. In this, we shall be faithful to our undertaking to respect the spirit of the Charter and we know that we are expressing the profound conviction of all Africans when we say that their independence will not be fully and finally assured until all African peoples, free or freed, take their place in this Assembly.

77. The Malagasy Republic is convinced that the union of all the African States is essential if this aim is to be achieved. This union can only be brought about in respect for the integrity and independence of each country. Casting aside vague and dangerous illusions, the Malagasy Republic feels that it would be unrealistic and even hazardous to try to rush matters and to strive immediately for a form of union that would not respect these principles and for which, in any case, neither the people or the leaders are yet ready.

78. The first step is to achieve agreement on certain broad principles and general courses of action and, to borrow an inspired phrase used by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cameroon, to proceed by means of large concentric circles.

79. Taking this realistic approach, the Malagasy Republic and eleven African States, dominated by the same ideal of peace through wisdom, formed the African and Malagasy Union and the African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation. Broadening this firm basis for union still further, the Malagasy Republic joined the so-called Monrovia group, which at the Conference recently held at Lagos<sup>5/</sup> decided to co-ordinate the efforts of twenty-one African countries and Madagascar so that we shall all work together for the maintenance of peace on our continent and for the betterment of our peoples. No one is debarred from these groups. They are open to all who uphold the same principles and they are prepared to give a fraternal welcome to anyone who wants to sit down with them and discuss all matters of interest to Africa and the rest of the world.

80. My Government feels, however, that in view of the pressing political and, above all, economic problems which face us, no group of countries, however powerful, can live in a vacuum. Consequently, ever since France, as a result of freely conducted negotiations, granted us independence and international sovereignty, the Malagasy Republic has endeavoured to maintain and even to strengthen the ties of trust and affection which have formed between our two countries over the years. Genuine co-operation, safeguarding the sovereignty of each State, has been initiated. Furthermore, in circumstances conducive to both freedom and dignity, my country acceded

to the Treaty of Rome,<sup>6/</sup> which has enabled trade relations to be established between the six European countries and the associated African countries, for the benefit of all parties concerned. I should emphasize here that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, in these agreements that can impair our independence or dignity, that they could never stand in the way of our industrialization and that they in no way prevent us from trading freely with any other country in the world, regardless of any such consideration as the political allegiance of the country concerned.

81. Pursuing both in the economic and the political spheres, a realistic policy based on peaceful coexistence, Madagascar intends to maintain friendly relations of mutual trust with all countries without exception. The only condition on which we absolutely insist is that these relations must never entail any interference in our domestic affairs.

82. The developing countries enthusiastically welcomed the generous initiative which led to the historic decision to institute the United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1710 (XVI)]. The excellent survey<sup>7/</sup> carried out by Secretary-General U Thant and his staff provides us with a solid and realistic basis and we hope that the various stages envisaged will be completed promptly so that the enormous gap—whose dangerous and explosive potentialities have been stressed by many speakers—between standards of living among the different sections of the world's population may be diminished.

83. Spurred on by its Head of State and by an energetic Government, my country for its part has resolutely set out on the arduous road to economic independence. Proceeding with the plan which he described to the Second Committee in November 1959,<sup>8/</sup> President Tsiranana is steering our economy, which is still basically agricultural, towards industrialization.

84. A radical policy for progress and development was initiated three years ago. While broader achievements and large-scale programmes are not being neglected, a considerable proportion of this action is directed towards giving each peasant direct assistance and raising his level of living. Co-operative activities have been greatly intensified. While leaving scope for private initiative, emulation and free competition, its purpose is to establish large groups of producers, farmers and craftsmen, to control the profits of middlemen and, in short, to ensure that the producer receives the optimum remuneration for his labour and his efforts.

85. In the social field, there have been important achievements. Technical training has proceeded apace so that our country may be equipped with the necessary cadres. The University of Tananarive, or "Charles de Gaulle Foundation" as it is called, will shortly become a focal point for the dissemination of culture and learning throughout the whole area of the Indian Ocean. Primary and secondary education are making rapid progress; in 1962, 7,955 classes will be providing 500,000 Malagasy children with an education. A nation-wide drive to promote co-oper-

<sup>4/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>5/</sup> Conference of the Heads of African and Malagasy States, held from 25 to 30 January 1962.

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Second Committee, 620th meeting.

tion, initiated by the Government, has resulted in concerted action for the complete eradication of illiteracy, even in the remotest corners of the Malagasy bush.

86. In the matter of public health, the more serious tropical endemic diseases are dying out and, in some areas, malaria and leprosy have been completely eradicated. Madagascar is grateful for the valuable assistance provided by the World Health Organization. But the demographic curve of our population, which is one of the highest in the world, presents increasingly acute social problems every year.

87. Although it is now concentrating on weighty problems of internal reorganization, the Malagasy Republic cannot remain indifferent to the international issues confronting our Organization, on some of which our very survival depends. Foremost among these problems are disarmament and the elimination of atomic weapons.

88. My country, which is firmly in favour of simultaneous and controlled disarmament, hopes that the great Powers will agree without delay to discontinue tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, as a first decisive step towards the total abolition of these monstrous weapons. We entreat them to heed the anguished appeal of world public opinion. The discontinuance of these tests is to be sought not for Africa alone but throughout the entire world.

89. As many speakers have pointed out, the vast sums that would be released as a result of the reduction and subsequent abolition of armaments could be used to transform the face of our planet and to banish hunger, poverty and the problem of under-development.

90. Since the sixteenth session, we have all been admiring the conquests made in the realm of outer space, which have considerably broadened the dimensions of the world in which man is evolving. We heartily congratulate the Soviet and American astronauts and scientists on their exploits and hope that the United Nations will promote agreements that will prevent these admirable achievements from becoming instruments of war and destruction.

91. I should now like to say a few words on matters relating to the internal functioning of our Organization. As nearly all speakers have pointed out, the increase in membership calls for structural reforms and improvements in methods. It is essential that the principal organs, such as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, should be enlarged, so that the new Members may have an opportunity of expressing their views.

92. As regards the methods of work of the General Assembly, my delegation welcomes the commendable initiative taken by President Mongi Slim, who has submitted a constructive plan [see A/5123]. No one is better qualified than this eminent specialist to suggest the necessary improvements and alterations, and my delegation hopes that before we conclude our

session we shall have drawn up a set of provisions that will expedite our work and make it more fruitful. The General Assembly might well decide that a study of the Mongi Slim plan should be undertaken, either by the General Committee or by a small ad hoc sub-committee. This is a field in which politics have no place, so let us leave it to the experts.

93. The year 1962 has been one of anxiety and uncertainty for the world. But although the atmosphere is still constrained, we can at least note with relief that no new armed conflict has broken out in any part of the globe and that, on the contrary, the fighting that was still going on at the beginning of 1962 has come to an end in the Congo, in Laos and, above all, in Algeria. Let us thank God and hope that, at least until the eighteenth session, the guns will be silent and all disputes will be settled peacefully with the help of the United Nations, which embodies the conscience of the world.

94. Let us seek to dispel the suspicions and mistrust which still divide the world into two groups so that they may settle their differences in peace at the conference table, by means of free negotiations undertaken in good faith and in a sincere desire to allay the anxieties of millions of men, women and children who are deeply concerned about the fate of the world. This is the hope which my country, its leader and Government cherish at the outset of the seventeenth session.

95. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Israel, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

96. Mr. COMAY (Israel): I wish to refer briefly to the statement made this morning by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

97. In 1947, the United Nations rejected overwhelmingly the claim that Palestine should become an Arab State. In 1948, certain Arab countries invaded Israel in order to destroy it. That attempt to settle the matter by the sword was a failure.

98. Fourteen years afterwards, and thirteen years after Israel has been a full and equal Member of the United Nations, it seems that Arab spokesmen should have learnt nothing since 1948. What is more remarkable is that those spokesmen should complain about Israel's existence, should practise policies of bellicosity against it and, in the same breath, should also complain that Israel should have the capacity to defend its existence.

99. As my Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, has already made clear, if there are differences between Israel and any neighbouring States, those differences can and should be resolved by peaceful negotiation and not by war. That is all we want, and that is the only course which could be tolerated by this Organization.

*The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.*