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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 56

Question of Southern Rhodesia: report of the Special Committee established under General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI)

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/5256 AND CORR.1)

1. Mr. IBE (Nigeria), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: Mr. President, with your permission, this being my first opportunity, I wish to congratulate you publicly on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly during this, its seventeenth session, a position for which your great experience and distinguished public career eminently qualifies you.
2. I have the honour to come before the General Assembly this afternoon to introduce this first report of the Fourth Committee during the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, on the question of Southern Rhodesia [A/5256 and Corr.1].
3. As is stated in the report, the Fourth Committee decided to consider first on its agenda the item entitled "The question of Southern Rhodesia", because of the urgency which it attaches to the subject in view of recent developments in the Territory. Although the Committee is still occupied with this item, it considered it fit to interrupt the usual procedure followed in examining items on the agenda, in order to recommend the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/5256 and Corr.1. Subsequent developments in our work will be reflected in a further report or reports on the question.
4. In spite of painstaking efforts to eliminate errors in translation from this report, one does appear in

paragraph 12 of the Spanish text. I will draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that the words "on the draft resolution", which appear in all the other languages, are missing from the Spanish version of this paragraph. The unusual speed with which this report has been prepared is a factor in the situation. This error will, of course, be corrected in the printed version of this report.

5. The agenda of this Assembly is heavily burdened and time is precious. I shall therefore say no more than to recommend this report for the Assembly's approval.

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

6. The PRESIDENT: I call now on those speakers who wish to explain their vote.

7. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria): At the 1337th meeting of the Fourth Committee on Tuesday, 9 October 1962, my delegation was absent during the voting on the draft resolution of which we were a co-sponsor, and I said at that meeting that we would have voted in favour of that resolution if I had been present.

8. My delegation has maintained the view that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was very grave, and the mood of the vast African majority was one of frustration and distress. Such a mood was fraught with dire consequences to peace in Africa and to harmonious political evolution in that territory.

9. We believe that the United Kingdom can no longer adopt such an indifferent attitude vis-à-vis the critical situation in that Territory. It is high time that the United Kingdom Government puts aside the so-called constitutional powers and acts energetically to remedy the situation. We are certain that the United Kingdom Government could use all measures necessary to release the President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and all other nationalist leaders detained or imprisoned. We think that if this happens, it will be conducive to the normalization of the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

10. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): When the draft resolution now before us in document A/5256 was discussed in the Fourth Committee [1336th meeting], my delegation pointed out that we had given a full and comprehensive explanation of our views on the discussion of this item by the Assembly at the resumed sixteenth session in June 1962 [1109th meeting]. We said then that we opposed discussion of this subject in the United Nations, since we adhered to the basic principle that the United Nations has no authority, under the Charter or otherwise, to intervene in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia. This question of competence is fundamental and cannot be thrust aside as of no account. The existence of a resolution asserting competence cannot create what is not in the Charter.

11. The other main basis of our opposition is one of fact: this fact is that for forty years the Government of Southern Rhodesia has exercised full internal autonomy in the control of its own internal affairs. The only power retained by the Government of the United Kingdom was a power of veto over some limited categories of Southern Rhodesian legislation within one year of enactment. This power of veto or disallowance was never in fact exercised. As we have explained on several occasions, such is the force of constitutional convention that it would be unthinkable to exercise it now.

12. These are the fundamental reasons for our opposition to discussion of Southern Rhodesia in the United Nations.

13. In the Fourth Committee recently [1336th meeting], we added that we had no new statement to make at this stage and that, for the reasons previously stated, we would not be able to participate in the vote on this draft resolution. This remains our position.

14. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote.

15. The recommendation of the Fourth Committee appears in paragraph 17 of document A/5256.

16. A separate vote has been requested by the representative of Mexico on the final words of the second paragraph of the preamble, that is to say, on the words "and endangers peace and security in Africa and the world at large". Is there any objection to this proposal for a separate vote? As there are no objections, I shall therefore put to the vote the final words "and endangers peace and security in Africa and the world at large" of the second paragraph of the preamble.

The final words of the second paragraph of the preamble were adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 28 abstentions.

17. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in paragraph 17 of document A/5256 as a whole, as it stands. A roll-call vote has been requested by the representative of Ethiopia.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Czechoslovakia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland did not participate in the voting.

*The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 83 votes to 2, with 11 abstentions.**

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

18. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): Mr. President, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on behalf of the Iraqi delegation on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office is an act of recognition on the part of the international community of the long and devoted service you rendered to the cause of peace and justice in the world.

19. The General Assembly has already welcomed Algeria as a Member of the United Nations. I have had the privilege of speaking on this memorable and historic occasion. After 132 years of French colonial rule, and a war which lasted nearly eight years, the Algerian people, who bore heroically the brunt of the eight years' battle with a big Power, have emerged stronger than ever and have demonstrated that a war of national liberation cannot yield to force. This is because the Algerian struggle for independence has also been a revolutionary war, both in its methods and its impact on the minds of the people as well as on the organization of Algerian society. Although it has been a costly war for the Algerian people, it is hoped that the colonialists would have drawn the necessary conclusions as to the futility and the dangers involved in the policy of force, not only in maintaining their position in occupied areas, but also in their endeavour to arrest the march of history in the developing countries. Nobody would dispute the fact that realism has finally triumphed in France, as can be evidenced from the approach to the Algerian question. The liberation of Algeria, we believe, has set the stage for a new development in the relationship between the West and the Middle East, particularly between France and the Arab countries.

20. I wish also to welcome among us the four other new Member States, namely, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and we hope to welcome, in the very near future, yet another new Member, Uganda.

21. The People's Republic of China is still barred from taking its rightful place in the United Nations. This anomalous situation cannot be tolerated much longer. It is utterly inconceivable that the most populous nation in the world, a country with a rich and ancient culture representing a great force in our world today, should be denied its lawful rights to represent the Chinese people in this Organization. We welcome the inscription of this question as a separate item on the agenda, and we wish to express our thanks to the Soviet Union for taking the initiative in this regard. My delegation will expound its views fully at the appropriate time when the question of China's representation is discussed in the plenary.

* The representatives of Cyprus, Guinea and Madagascar, who were absent at the time of voting, subsequently indicated to the Secretariat that, had they been present, they would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

22. This session of the General Assembly opens once again in an atmosphere of international tension despite the great efforts made since the last session to settle the major international problems. However, some success has been achieved in the settlement of certain questions which, it is hoped, will lead to creating more confidence in the machinery and process of peaceful settlement of international disputes and differences. The attainment of independence by Algeria and the settlement of the problem of West Irian provide a new hope for the future and demonstrate the futility of colonial wars to suppress the rights of peoples to freedom and independence.

23. I wish to take this opportunity to extend our congratulations to the Government and people of Indonesia on the restoration of their rights in West Irian, which we have always considered to be an integral part of the Indonesian Republic. A major portion of the credit is due to the Secretary-General, whose patient efforts have succeeded in bringing the two sides together and settling a potentially dangerous problem. The United Nations has embarked upon a new and important experiment which may be fruitfully followed in similar cases in the future.

24. While wide-spread and deep satisfaction was felt on the occasion of the termination of the war in Algeria and the achievement of Algerian independence and on the conclusion of the Agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands [A/5170, annex] there remain unsolved a number of crucial problems which threaten peace. At this juncture mention should be made of the German problem and the tension over Berlin, the deteriorating situation in the Congo and the situation arising between the United States and Cuba. Each of these problems is stirring up trouble in an important region, namely, Europe, Africa and Latin America, respectively.

25. The crisis over Berlin threatens to unleash a general war. The German problem continues to be serious and has become a factor of delay in the settlement of other international problems. The choice now is in the method of settling this problem. To attempt to solve the problem by employing force would be a complete denial of the realities of the situation, as revealed by the existence of two Germanies, differing in economic and political systems, and a reversal of the whole trend of development of peaceful coexistence. To proceed thus is utterly unrealistic, and the community of nations rejects such methods of force as contrary to the United Nations Charter and the main historical trend of development in the relationship among nations.

26. The situation in Cuba poses a number of serious international questions which have considerable bearing on the maintenance of peace. We all have as neighbours countries with differing social and political systems and no country has the right to impose its system upon others. This is the essence of the accepted policy of peaceful coexistence, and any other policy would inevitably lead to aggression. The people of Cuba are free to choose their own system of government and no State, however big and powerful, has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

27. The situation in the Congo remains a source of great anxiety and concern. The laudable efforts of the Secretary-General to ensure the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations in the Congo are being continually thwarted and obstructed by Tshombé.

Mercenaries continue to be recruited and their position in Katanga has been further consolidated. The United Nations is called upon to take effective measures to defend the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo and to end the secession of Katanga.

28. It is necessary here to draw attention to the disruptive influence of some of the great Powers. By their deliberate obstruction of the measures taken by the Secretary-General, and by their overt and continuous aid to Tshombé, they bear the major responsibility for frustrating the efforts of the United Nations to restore the peace and unity of the Congo. Their irresponsible actions can only weaken this Organization and impair its usefulness and effectiveness as a vital force for world peace and human welfare.

29. I turn now to some questions regarding the Middle East and the colonial Powers. A number of speakers have already referred, in some detail, to their own regional problems. Let me now refer to some of our regional problems and their impact on the world situation.

30. The Middle East region stands at a meeting line between East and West and has been directly and indirectly dominated by the colonial Powers because of its strategic importance and for its great natural wealth. While some countries of the Middle East have been successful in freeing themselves from colonial domination, there still remain large areas under colonial subjugation. In general, the main sources of wealth are still in the hands of foreign Powers. The struggle between the peoples in this region and the colonial Powers has been sharpened by the general awakening of the people and their desire to live freely and independently and to become masters in their own countries. The struggle against colonial domination and intervention is consuming most of the energies of the people, thereby retarding their economic and social development, which is the most fundamental aspiration of people everywhere. It is clear that the colonial Powers have failed to understand that the people in the Middle East have one supreme desire: to end their state of under-development and to live in peace and amity with the whole world. Experience has demonstrated that the colonial Powers have one main objective: to prevent the complete liberation of the people in the Middle East in order to prolong the colonial presence in the region, politically, economically and militarily.

31. The maintenance of the colonial presence in the Middle East is a factor of instability. Various means have been employed to foment instability in the region, for the maintenance of positions of strength for the colonial Powers in the newly independent States as well as in the occupied territories. This instability has become a socio-political problem, dangerous both to the people of the region and to the peace of the world. The methods used by the colonial Powers include open warfare, subversion, hostile propaganda, economic and military pressure, the maintenance of military bases and garrisons, instigation to violence, and the causing of friction and hostility between States through their involvement in military blocs.

Mr. Menshikov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Vice-President, took the Chair.

32. Moreover, the colonial Powers have utilized all the forces that are most eager to keep the peoples

of the Middle East in a backward state. This type of intervention falls in the pattern of the traditional colonial policy of divide and rule. And although the colonial tactics have changed from one place to another, their strategy remains one of keeping conditions of instability in the region, so as to perpetuate the colonial presence under a state of continuous tension.

33. The period since the last session of the General Assembly has been characterized, in the Middle East particularly, by an obvious increase in the activities of the colonial Powers and their reactionary agents in the region, despite the manifestations of casual friendship and amity. A number of States have received, from the United States in particular, increased aid for military purposes, and military bases have been strengthened by men and war materials. All these activities have not been accidental, but were intentional and are part of an over-all plan aimed at keeping tension and instability in the whole Middle East region.

34. The NATO and the CENTO, as it is well known, are closely interlocked and interdependent alliances. Both the United States and the United Kingdom are committed to CENTO, which operates in the Middle East. It was after March 1962 that both NATO and CENTO decided to step up their military preparations in the Middle East and to increase the pressure on some countries of the region, including my own. Other countries of the Middle East, not members of the alliance, have joined in these activities.

35. The colonial Powers, notably the United Kingdom, have taken steps to fortify their positions in the area, especially since the rapid progress of the movement for national liberation in Asia and Africa, and the United Nations decision regarding the liquidation of colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)].

36. The Iraqi national revolution of July 1958 and the decision of Iraq to leave the Baghdad Pact have had a deep impact on changing the policy of the colonial Powers in the Middle East. A new politico-military plan has been worked out with a view to tightening the colonial grip on the region. What disturbs the colonialists further is the adoption of the policy of non-alignment in the area by an increasing number of States and the influence of that policy on public opinion in others. To meet these new trends, the colonial Powers have resorted, on the one hand, to augmenting their military preparedness, and, on the other, to increasing their direct and indirect intervention in the affairs of the countries which submit to their military and political influence.

37. The extent of the new military preparations of the colonial Powers in the Middle East cannot be judged only by the new military measures taken by CENTO or the military expenditures and manpower mobilization in individual States, but should be viewed also in the light of the over-all military planning of the various Western alliances.

38. This is no place to discuss the elements and the implications of the new policy involved in the operation of these military alliances. But it would be useful to say a word regarding the extent to which Great Britain alone has recently increased its military preparedness in the region, and the motives which lie behind such action.

39. The United Kingdom has set out its general world military policy in a White Paper issued in February

1962, Statement on Defence 1962, The Next Five Years, in which its military position in the Middle East and the motives for such action are clearly set out as part of an over-all military plan and policy. The military plan for dominating the Middle East envisages the exercise of military power in a network of points, some of which even fall outside the Middle East. According to this White Paper, they extend from Gibraltar to Malta to Cyprus to Kenya to Aden and the Arabian Gulf; and include points of military importance in adjacent countries to the Arabian Peninsula. This implies the setting-up of military bases and garrisons and the storing of great quantities of military and war materials and the stationing of personnel. According to the new British military policy: "Greater mobility by air and sea is the best way of fulfilling efficiently over the next five to ten years the requirement..."^{1/} as envisaged by the establishment of this military network of bases.

40. The reasons for this military policy, plans and preparations are given in the White Paper. By way of illustration, I quote the following paragraph:

"Peace and stability in the oil-producing States of Arabia and the Persian Gulf are vital for the Western world. We are, and shall remain, responsible for military assistance to those States in the area to which we are bound by treaty or which are otherwise under our protection. We have an obligation under treaty to protect the Arab Rulers of the Federation and other States in the Aden Protectorate and direct military responsibility for the defence of Aden Colony. This has meant stationing a garrison in Aden Colony, and providing detachments for the assistance of Arab forces in the Protectorate. For possible operations in the Gulf we have relied on Aden as a base and on reinforcing from Kenya. Henceforward, we plan to keep land forces permanently stationed in Aden and the Gulf and to reinforce them rapidly in emergency not only by air but also by means of an amphibious joint Service task force East of Suez capable of putting ashore in the threatened areas land forces, and their heavy equipment, and of providing air and communication support."

It was stated furthermore:

"At present we maintain in Kenya a part of our Army Strategic Reserve, which is available for supporting the civil power in the African territories for which we are responsible and as a reinforcement for our forces in the Middle East, primarily for operations in the Persian Gulf."^{2/}

41. The nature of this military policy and preparation is clarified by the role assigned to the various services, which reveals the general strategy of the West as far as the Middle East region is concerned. The following statement from the White Paper shows the extent to which Western military policy is involved in the mounting tension in the Middle East, as well as the degree of threat to the state of stability of the area. The British Government states:

"Our armed forces provide a contribution to the strategic nuclear power of the West. We support NATO and SEATO with land, sea and air forces, and CENTO with our air striking force. In addition,

^{1/} Cmnd. 1639, para. 6.

^{2/} *Ibid.*, paras. 17 and 18.

we have to maintain both a military presence in, and a capacity for rapid reinforcement of, some areas where we have responsibilities beyond the scope of these three regional alliances.

"This requires forces organized and trained for mobility, both in the United Kingdom and in our overseas bases, as well as the means for moving them. In the United Kingdom we have the Army's Strategic Reserve and the transport aircraft at the disposal of the Royal Air Force. There is already the closest liaison in training and operations between the appropriate formations of the Strategic Reserve and Transport Command. The considerable degree of sea and air mobility which these forces have already achieved was amply demonstrated in the operations in July 1961 to support Kuwait. Land forces in excess of brigade strength, with their heavy equipment, were gathered from a wide area and landed by sea and air with great speed. This operation showed that the mobile forces we are now building up are well fitted for their task. These include one Commando ship (H.M.S. Bulwark) in commission; another, H.M.S. Albion, is commissioning in July. These ships will normally carry a fighting force of 750 men consisting of a Royal Marine Commando and its associated battery of the Royal Artillery, the vehicles and equipment necessary to support them in operations ashore, a squadron of helicopters and four Assault Landing Craft. In emergency each ship could carry some 1,200 men. In addition, the Amphibious Warfare Squadron, now stationed in the Middle East, will continue to be available to lift heavy equipment and discharge it at the beachhead. The ships of this squadron will be replaced by a new type of Assault ship with improved capacity and speed; the ordering of the first of these ships has already been announced and the Government has now decided that a second will be ordered in the course of the financial year. In addition the first of a new class of logistic ship (the L.S.L.) is being laid down this year for the Army. Air cover for a task force of this kind will be provided by a carrier, and a cruiser will also normally be available providing gun support and the capacity to carry further Army troops or Royal Marines. Similarly, the total lift of the present transport fleet of the Royal Air Force will be steadily increased by the addition of new aircraft. The Comet IV is now entering service and orders have been placed for the VC-10 and the Belfast. Argosies are now being delivered to reinforce the medium range transport force. A small force of mobile light bomber and fighter squadrons is also always available to reinforce the Royal Air Force overseas and to accompany the strategic reserve forces if required." 3/

42. It will have become abundantly clear from the preceding facts why the situation in the Middle East continues to be disturbed and the extent to which Western policy is responsible for the state of tension and instability there. The impact of this policy is clearly demonstrated by conditions of unrest and conflict which emanate from the desire of the people to be free, a desire which is being obstructed by the colonial Powers in their determination to keep their colonial presence in the area, with a view to prolonging their exploitation of the great wealth in these countries. The result of such colonial policy is war in Oman and conflict in Aden.

3/ *Ibid.*, paras. 22 and 23.

43. As to Oman, the situation continues to be serious in that unhappy country. The people of Oman are courageously fighting to attain their independence and freedom from colonial rule. We are confident that they will succeed in their struggle and that all the peoples of the world who have recently acceded to independence will assist them in their noble cause. This Organization should show in this instance, as it has in others, the moral weight its decisions can have in the world, particularly on colonial questions.

44. Aden, as previously indicated, is an important link in the chain of British bases in the Middle East. Because of its strategic position, Aden has been made the headquarters of the unified Middle East command, where troops, ships, aircraft, heavy equipment, supplies and facilities for maintenance and repair are kept for military operations elsewhere in the region. And it is solely for strategic reasons that the Aden Colony has been joined to the so-called South Arabian Federation by an agreement between the British and a minority of feudal sheiks and a few unrepresentative people of Aden. The British control over the base will continue, as nothing in the Treaty, it is stated, will affect British sovereignty over Aden.

45. The agreement between Britain and the so-called South Arabian Federation forces the people of Aden against their will to join the Federation and, secondly, consolidates British control over the southern Arabian coastal territories, and separates permanently those territories from Yemen of which they are an integral part.

46. The game played by Britain in granting artificial independence is nothing new. It has already been tried in Kuwait, to separate it from Iraq. This is a dangerous game which cannot escape the notice of the peoples of the countries concerned and the countries fighting imperialism. As in Kuwait, The Observer states:

"What the British Government, with its commitment to a larger and better base in Aden, is primarily interested in is to gain a few useful years and to keep the Arab Nationalist forces at bay."

47. This action taken by Britain has met with wide resistance and opposition in Aden, despite all the acts of violence and suppression employed by the forces of occupation. The people of Aden and the Protectorates are determined to throw off the colonial yoke. They demand the termination of colonial rule and the transfer of sovereignty to the people themselves, in order that they will be able to determine their future status, and not have it decided for them by a handful of decadent and reactionary tribal chiefs.

48. Three years ago we asked the United Nations [812th meeting] to investigate the position and presence of Britain in that part of Arabia. We repeat now, and especially after the sad events in Aden, that it is the duty of the United Nations to take positive steps in that direction and to implement its decision regarding the liquidation of colonial rule. If the United Nations does not assist in the operation of decolonization, it would be leaving the destiny of millions to the mercy of the colonialists, thus prolonging their agony and endangering the safety and progress of the whole Middle East.

49. At this point, I should like to ask you to look at the map attached to the text of this statement, which has already been distributed. It is at the end of the statement. You will certainly notice the extent of the

British occupation, extending from Aden to Kuwait. Military bases and oil wells have been marked—a fact which shows how oil and imperialism are inter-linked in southern Arabia, the Gulf and the adjacent countries. While imperialism came before the discovery of oil, it has remained and, indeed, has expanded to protect its oil interests.

50. Mr. John Strachey, a Labour Member of Parliament and a former Minister in the Labour Government, in his book *The End of Empire*, reveals the reasons for this British presence in Arabia and says:

"... the story of how British, American and to a less extent other European capital became involved in the extraction of oil, above all in the region of the Persian Gulf, is a strange and important special case of modern imperialism.

"... the British Empire effected one last major expansion as lately as the end of the First World War. This was the acquisition, in fact though not in form, of much of the Arabian provinces of the Turkish Empire... these territories... have now turned out to be by far the richest imperial acquisition which Britain ever made."

Mr. Strachey concludes:

"For there is no doubt about it, for sheer wealth there has never been anything in the history of imperialism like the Middle East oil."^{4/}

51. The result has been that while Britain has been willing, or forced to accept, the demands of our times for independence nearly everywhere, it has in fact increased its dominance and control over the territories in the Arabian Peninsula. From Aden to Kuwait, British troops are active in fighting the inhabitants, in order to continue to be able to obtain and control the vast wealth of Arab oil.

52. Now while I am speaking about the Middle East, I should like to say a word on the Palestine question. Two weeks ago it was announced that the United States had agreed to sell missiles to Israel, and thus Israel becomes the first country not formally a member of a Western military alliance to receive from the West the supersonic weapons and supporting equipment. In March 1962 [1006th meeting] the Security Council condemned Israel, by a vote of 10 to none, for aggression against Syria and for its "flagrant violation" of past United Nations resolutions. The Israel Parliament, only a day later, by a vote of 76 to 3, adopted a resolution which categorically rejected the resolution of the Security Council.

53. Why should the United States, a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, behave in this contradictory manner? Why should the United States supply arms to an aggressor who has insistently violated the decisions of the United Nations? This is not the first time that the United States has supported Israel's aggressive policy, nor the only form in which the United States has built up Israel's military power. Since the creation of Israel, the United States has been rendering colossal material and economic assistance disproportionate to Israel's size and population. Other Western Powers have done the same, and continuously. The West is interested in maintaining and strengthening Israel as a bridge-head for colonialism in the Middle East. The reasons

are obvious—to resist the national liberation movements in the Middle East and Africa; to force the new countries to remain within the framework of the Western economic system and under the yoke of colonial domination, and to use it for the implementation of the colonial and military plans of the West. Last but not least, the West is using Israel as a cover for its policy of intervention in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Israel's role is co-operation in subversion and the perpetuation of tension in the Middle East.

54. There have, therefore, been constant efforts on the part of the western Powers to paint Israel as a peace loving and tolerant little country. Many people have been deluded by this false propaganda, and seem to forget its many acts of aggression against the Arab States, its violation of the decisions of the United Nations, its defiance of the orders of the Security Council, and its lack of co-operation with the United Nations peace machinery. It would be difficult to enumerate here the acts of defiance and aggression committed by Israel. The record of the Security Council is full of such acts. Those who wish to see peace established in the Middle East should look back on this record. By way of illustration, I should like to draw attention to a few cases.

55. More than 25 per cent of the present area occupied by Israel belongs to the Arabs, according to the so-called Partition Plan of the United Nations. Israel moved its capital to Jerusalem in violation of United Nations resolutions.

56. Israel took the Negev after the cease-fire and against United Nations decisions. Israel refuses to grant to United Nations military observers freedom of movement along the armistice lines in accordance with the General Armistice Agreement. It refuses to allow the United Nations to place patrol boats on Lake Tiberias despite the fact that the United Nations has jurisdiction over the whole demilitarized zone. Israel has resisted United Nations supervision of the demilitarized zones, and its guards have been placed inside the zones. Israel refused to recognize the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission with Syria and Egypt. Israel occupied Al-Auja, the demilitarized zone which is supposed to be under United Nations control.

57. These are only a few of Israel's many acts of violation of United Nations decisions and authority which were mostly accompanied by use of force, in order to show how false is the pretension of the west regarding the peace-loving character of Israel. It is hardly necessary to recall here the aggression against Egypt in 1956, and the major role assumed by Israel in collaboration with Britain and France.

58. As to the tolerance of Israel, I would only refer to the thousands of Palestinian Arabs driven from their land in Israel-occupied territory into bordering Arab countries. The Arabs living in Israel are treated as second-class citizens in every respect. Control over those Arabs is applied through police tactics not dissimilar to those practised by the Nazis and Fascists.

59. The refusal of Israel to abide by the decisions of this Organization and to co-operate with its peace-promoting machinery deprives the United Nations of its main objectives. This attitude is clearly a challenge to the rule of law in international relations, and therefore threatens peace and security in the Middle East. The reasons for such an attitude ema-

^{4/} John Strachey, *The End of Empire* (London, Victor Gollancz Limited, 1959), pp. 154 and 155.

nate from a policy of expansion pursued by Israel since its creation. Increased immigration into Israel, piling up of arms, suppression of the rights of Arabs of Israel are some of the facets of this expansionist policy. It is thus evident that States assisting Israel in the implementation of this policy are working to prevent peace and security in the region.

60. With such a record and with such avowed expansionist and aggressive intentions, it must be clear that the insincere call for negotiations and peace which we heard from Mrs. Meir on 9 October 1962 [1148th meeting] is nothing but a call on the Arabs to surrender all their rights and legalize the aggression committed against them and sanction the usurpation of their homeland.

61. The rights of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine are not negotiable. Justice and self-determination are not negotiable. One's own country and existence are not negotiable. Yet that is what Israel hopes to achieve from direct negotiations—surrender, total and complete. This, the Arabs will never do. The Arab people of Palestine shall never surrender their rights. They are determined to regain their lost homeland, Palestine in its entirety.

62. Allow me now to turn for a few moments and draw attention to some international problems. I will start with the question of disarmament. There is, today, a valid and justifiable fear of a general and disastrous war. No question in the world's history has received so much attention and has been viewed with such grave concern as that of disarmament. General and special meetings and conferences on governmental and popular levels have been held since the last session of the General Assembly. Many declarations were made by responsible statesmen and considerable literature appeared in condemnation of the arms race and in defence of the urgent need for disarmament. People everywhere have been living in perpetual fear of the accumulation of arms, and particularly nuclear arms, which threaten humanity at any moment with total destruction. It is feared that accidents or acts of provocation might lead to an unexpected nuclear war. Public opinion has come, therefore, to believe that the only way to avert such a catastrophe is by general and complete disarmament under appropriate and effective international control. The urgency of reaching agreement on disarmament requires no emphasis, as any further delay in reaching such agreement might render controlling disarmament operations in stages less effective. The present trends in arms production show only too clearly that when the displacement of the nuclear arms-carrying devices becomes generalized, especially when missile bases become mobile, the control of disarmament consequently becomes extremely difficult if not impossible. Moreover, scientific research will render cheaper the production of nuclear weapons, and the possibility of obtaining them will no longer be confined to the present nuclear Powers but to a much larger number. The nuclear Powers have, therefore, a decisive role in the disarmament negotiations, for without their agreement it would be impossible to proceed either to a liquidation of nuclear arms or to a prohibition of testing.

63. Although the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, held in Geneva in 1962, has not achieved the desired results, it has, nevertheless, proved a useful step in the right direction. The role of the neutral countries has been con-

structive and the Eight-Nation Memorandum dated 16 April 1962^{5/} provided sound bases for discussion and a common ground for negotiations between the two sides. Despite the fact that an agreement on the cessation of tests has not been reached, nevertheless the gap between the two sides on this problem has been narrowed down. With the exception of underground tests, both sides seem to agree that tests in the air and outer space and under water can be detected and identified without international control and inspection. It is hoped that the talks on nuclear tests will reach definite and positive conclusions regarding the cessation of these tests. Without such an agreement, the international situation will remain dangerous. It is a grave error to underestimate the potential danger of war in the present world tension.

64. It requires no emphasis that disarmament has a direct bearing on every aspect of life, national and international. There is hardly any single vital question, be it related to national freedom and independence, living standards or employment anywhere in the world which is not directly affected by the arms race.

65. The report of the Secretary-General on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament^{6/} is a valuable document which deserves the closest attention and study. What is being spent annually on armaments is also as much as the entire national income of all the under-developed countries of the world. Even if only a small part of the huge amount of \$120 billion which is annually consumed by armaments is spent on the development of the under-developed countries, then we may reasonably hope to eliminate forever from the world, and within a foreseeable future, the age-old scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance.

66. We are glad that the Soviet Union has proposed an item entitled "Economic programme for disarmament". The important aspect of the Soviet proposal is that the economic programme of disarmament will not depend upon the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament, but should be dealt with immediately and without delay.

67. In his introduction to the Annual Report [A/5201/Add.1], the Secretary-General laid special emphasis on the economic aspect of the world situation and its relation to peace, and rightly directed attention to the needs of the developing countries.

68. In its last session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution [1710 (XVI)] calling for a United Nations Development Decade. For the first time, it has been decided to make a concerted attack upon the age-old problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. "The plight of the under-developed world", wrote The Times of London on 7 August 1962, "is once again forcing its attention on the leading industrial western nations. After years of giving aid to Asia, Africa, and South America, it is slowly being realized that, far from the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' being narrowed, it is still widening."

69. The FAO estimated that one-sixth of the world population is permanently hungry, and that another one-third endures diet deficiencies that shorten life and reduce strength. Measured in standard dollars, the average annual income in the United States is

^{5/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, sect. J.

^{6/} United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1.

\$2,350; in Western Europe, \$850; among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, about \$100 a year. The difference in income levels between advanced and developing countries is being accentuated by a more rapidly rising per caput income in the advanced countries, and thus the gap between the two groups of countries is rapidly widening and rich and poor nations throughout the world are moving further apart.

70. The division of the world into rich and poor countries is more real with more serious consequences than is generally imagined. Self-interest and narrow-mindedness prevent a true appraisal of the dangers involved. On the other hand, the mounting difficulties facing commodity exports from under-developed areas is an alarming phenomenon facing their developing economies.

71. The President of Pakistan, Mohammad Ayub Khan, stated in this Assembly [1133rd meeting] a fact which deserves repetition. He said:

"Even if the most modest targets of the United Nations Development Decade are to be attained, improved access to the world markets for the exports of developing countries must be assured. Without this, those countries could not reach the necessary stage of self-sustaining economic growth.

"The prospects of improved access to export markets, however, are getting dimmer with the increasing trend towards the formation of common markets of continental proportions... The time has come for the Western world to decide whether it will make a viable place for the developing countries, or whether it intends to turn itself into a powerful international cartel denying to our manufacturers access to their markets and forcing us to remain primary producers to feed their factories, dictating the terms of our trade and compelling us to pay several times more for their finished goods. If this were to happen, it would amount to re-establishing imperialism of the worst kind, which may lead to disastrous consequences."

72. It is hardly necessary to repeat that European capitalism has taken steps, through the establishment of the Common Market, to accelerate the concentration of industry and capital in Western Europe, which is bound to result in new forms of division of the world markets. On the other hand, as it is a monopoly agreement between the finance oligarchies of Western Europe, the Common Market has become the economic instrument of NATO, thereby intensifying the armaments race. In fact, what big business aims at establishing is a large protected market and a large area in which to operate freely and under more or less uniformly favourable legal, social and economic conditions. This means the erection of obstacles in the way of developing countries to sell their products in Europe, and thus subordinate them permanently to the Western economy by keeping them in the role of producers of agricultural products and raw materials for their industry.

73. The special status in the Common Market offered to certain States outside Western Europe does not decrease the danger of the Common Market to the developing countries of the world. This special status means a privileged position for the agricultural and mineral products of the associated members in the Common Market, and a privileged position for the Common Market's manufactured goods in the asso-

ciated States. The Development Fund has been changed from a means of assisting in developing health and education in the associated States into "productive investment" to enhance their capacity to supply raw materials.

74. All this shows that the Common Market is endeavouring to promote a system of neo-colonialism not very different in content from the old type of imperialism. It is, in other words, an attempt to establish a collective imperialism to safeguard capitalist interests by perpetuating Western economic hegemony over the under-developed areas of the world.

75. We therefore welcome the decision of the Economic and Social Council to hold an international conference on trade and development. The proposal of the Soviet Union to convene a conference on international trade problems is timely and constructive. There is no doubt that the present situation in international trade is characterized by harmful and discriminatory practices which are obstructing the free flow of goods and services. This is a situation from which all nations suffer, particularly the developing nations. An international conference on trade problems will help to normalize and improve the world market situation. It will also help to eliminate the unsatisfactory practices which curtail free commercial intercourse among the nations of the world.

76. It has become abundantly clear that neo-colonialism is the counter-strategy of imperialism in the era of the triumph of national liberation movements. The Belgrade Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, in September 1961, has considered neo-colonialism as the greatest threat to the independence of the newly emerging nations, and sounded a note of warning of its grave consequences. The success of neo-colonialism would mean a new form of domination by political, economic, social, technical and military means. Imperialist strategy employs all these means, although there are differences in the methods used by each colonialist power. The techniques of neo-colonialism are directed by the retreating colonialists towards the acquisition and the maintenance of maximum possible political and military domination and economic exploitation of the liberated countries. This objective is partly fulfilled by making the new States weak at the time of their birth. In certain cases, the method of partition was employed as in the case of Palestine; in others the form of government was chosen under pressure and intervention by the colonialists. For example, in a number of cases the Governments which emerged out of this intervention were of a reactionary or feudal character. Still other artificially-created States have been forcibly separated from the national territory of sovereign countries.

77. Last year, for example, the British Government created out of Kuwait—which is an integral part of Iraqi territory and the richest British oil colony in the Middle East—a puppet State, supported by British arms. Moreover, new arbitrary frontiers were imposed on the basis of former colonial divisions, irrespective of economic, ethnic or other considerations.

78. Yet another method for perpetuating colonial domination is through military agreements and blocs.

79. Last, but not least, neo-colonialism employs economic and financial aid as a means to continue

its domination. Such aid is usually accompanied by economic, political and military strings, and designed to perpetuate the grip of colonialism and to facilitate capitalist penetration.

80. Experience has shown that bilateral "aid" extended by colonialist Governments to under-developed countries is a means of exerting political, economic and military pressure on them. Certain Western Powers pretend that they are making sacrifices to help developing countries. In reality, most forms of aid amount to investing capital for military and political motives. The idea of sacrifice does not stand objective examination.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

81. It is hard to assess the total profit made from investments in under-developed areas because the real figures are kept secret. Nevertheless, it is certain that imperialists spend far less in aid than the profit they derive as a result of unequal trade and capital investment. It should be noted that unequal trade is one of the economic scourges of under-developed areas. Raw materials and agricultural products constitute nearly 80 per cent of the exports of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, and about 65 per cent of the exports of Asia and Oceania. The prices paid for these exports are low, while high prices are charged for manufactured goods from Europe and America.

82. In the liberated countries, the pressing and urgent tasks of national economic and social development and progress cannot be achieved except by solving the problem of under-development and destroying feudalism, the ally of colonialism. When foreign capital and aid are used to orientate the economic and social policy in the developing countries on colonialist patterns, the colonial economic structures are bound to remain, although quantitative growth is achieved. The objective of the under-developed countries is, and must remain, to translate their political independence into real economic and social progress in terms of higher living standards.

83. I would only say a few words in conclusion regarding the United Nations role and the new world order. The United Nations today is clearly more representative of the nations of the world than at any time since its creation. For the majority of nations, it has become the forum in which to meet and express their views and aspirations, with the hope of promoting the broad lines of a generally acceptable policy covering the basic elements of the new world order. The rapid growth of the United Nations membership in recent years has rendered the representative character of this Organization an extremely significant factor in building up the future foundations of the international society of nations. Thus, the position that is gradually assumed by the United Nations in the world's political, economic and scientific development makes it incumbent upon all nations to abide by the formulae worked out by the various organs of the United Nations. In the past, national interests have been generally accepted as the guiding criteria in dealings between States; but the growth in the interdependence of nations has set a term to the old criteria of national interests, and is bound to force States to look beyond these criteria in order to achieve peace and progress.

84. At present, the powers of small and under-developed countries are circumscribed by the world's

political and economic forces more than by purely internal factors. The great changes in the world are often beyond their control, although they may affect them and impress upon them the need to alter their own internal and external relations. Thus, the differences between the two world ideologies on the one hand, and the endeavour of former colonial Powers to retain their privileges on the other, have had a disturbing effect on the small countries' effort to build their own societies. Nevertheless, these forces have led, in the international field, to the birth of the policy of non-alignment now followed by a large number of countries. In the internal field, most countries have adopted a policy consonant with their pressing social, economic and political needs and possibilities. What the new nations, and especially the uncommitted, aspire to—as the world now realizes—is economic and technical aid and a sympathetic understanding of their political aspirations for independent existence.

85. There is, therefore, little point in Western endeavours to sell these countries systems of economic individualism which have long since been superseded in many Western countries. The imperative choice for the new countries is between different brands of socialism. Both East and West should realize the need of the new nations for democratic forms of socialism, which would ensure respect for individual freedom while providing the economic bases for development and growth. They should also realize that the relationship between them and the newly emerging countries should be that of equals and not of spheres of influence. If these general lines are observed, at this stage in world development, then the transition from the old to the new world order would be assured peacefully.

86. It would be redundant to repeat here that, at this stage in world history, the only way for achieving this transition is by adopting a policy of peaceful co-operation. It must be realized that the mere dread of destruction by nuclear war, though very real, is not enough to bring about new relationships between nations and a new world order. It is too negative a force, and there must be something more positive. The belief in the inevitability of growth and progress, as factors through which human society and civilization can continue to exist, would be the appropriate outlook for our present world.

87. The possibility of international action, sufficiently powerful to bring about changes in the present international order of relationships, lies in accepting the fundamental premises of peaceful coexistence and co-operation. The United Nations can play a beneficent role in bringing about such co-operation.

88. Mr. EL AZMEH (Syria) (translated from French): Allow me, Mr. President, to convey to you my sincere congratulations, and those of my Government and delegation, on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly. Your eminent qualities and your unceasing activity in the service of the Organization are the main assurance of the success which all of us here earnestly wish you in the interest of a peace that will, we trust, be based on better understanding among peoples; to the achievement of such better understanding the country which I have the honour to represent is proud to have made its modest contribution.

89. Syria, as a founding Member of the United Nations, has always upheld the purposes and principles of the Charter. The records of the various United Nations bodies fully confirm this. Although a small country, the Syrian Arab Republic has, since the first days of its independence, held it an urgent necessity to work towards a basic goal dear to the hearts of all the Arab peoples—namely, the achievement of their unity, which has its roots in history and in the deep yearnings for economic development as a means to sound social justice. The Syrian people, although less numerous than others, has always taken an advanced position in efforts to fulfil this historic task, which is fully consonant with the purposes of the United Nations.

90. Thus we rejoice in seeing newly liberated countries join us here. As early as 1947 and 1948, when it was a member of the Security Council, Syria vigorously upheld the universal character of our Organization—the universality which the Charter had consecrated in 1945. I should therefore like to address a welcome to those new Members which the General Assembly has already admitted in the course of this session, namely Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. And I should especially like to express the happiness of my people and Government at witnessing the achievement of one of the aspirations of the Arab nations—the proclamation of the independence of Algeria, and that country's admission to the United Nations.

91. This is a historic moment, reached through the heroic efforts and untold suffering of the Algerian people that have won the admiration of the entire world. Spurred on by an indomitable faith, the people of Algeria waged an unequal struggle with an iron will, an unquenchable ardour and a fierce courage the likes of which are unknown in the annals of national liberation struggles. I wish also to take this opportunity of congratulating the French Government and people, which fully understood that an independent Algeria was the best guarantee of sound and durable relations between the two countries. The France of Descartes, Diderot, Rousseau, Victor Hugo and others, the France of the French Revolution, has won an undisputed victory over the false and odious image which an insignificant minority of Frenchmen wished to give of the country in the course of a brutally savage war.

92. Yet while we witness the admission of new States to our Organization, we are still haunted by a shadow—that of the People's Republic of China. Years pass, and a Government representing one fourth of the world's population is still denied its natural right to speak here on behalf of China, a country holding a permanent seat in the Security Council. This is an anomalous and an abnormal situation which it is our duty to rectify as quickly as possible in the interests of peace and security.

93. We must also redouble our efforts to secure implementation of the well-known Declaration of 1960 in which the General Assembly resolved that the colonial system must come to an end. Last year, a Special Committee^{1/} of seventeen nations, including my own, was established to give effect to the Declaration [see resolution 1654 (XVI)]. All our efforts must be directed towards facilitating the task of the

^{1/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Special Committee, whose report [A/5238] we will, I hope, study very carefully. To grant independence to all countries that are not yet independent is one of the essential duties we are called upon under the Charter to fulfil.

94. In this connexion we wish to express our profound satisfaction at the Agreement concerning West Irian reached between Indonesia and the Netherlands [see A/5170, annex]. This Agreement proves that colonial problems can be solved on the basis of good faith and realism—and upon this a great many Powers would do well to meditate. We can only praise, on this occasion, the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, U Thant, who did everything to secure the signing of the Agreement.

95. While noting this fact, we must also observe that the liberation of a host of colonial territories has already been accomplished. Thus we warmly greet the African brethren who have now joined our ranks. At the same time, our thoughts go out to those who are still fighting, either to obtain their full liberation in territories still under the rule of European Powers, or to free themselves from the inhuman policy of racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa.

96. Nor should we forget that the valiant people of Oman continues its uncompromising struggle. From that struggle it will emerge victorious, for the existence of oil deposits cannot serve to justify the perpetuation of a system that is in process of liquidation. Nor can the perpetuation of this system be secured by the creation of the Federation of South Arabia, which does not meet the basic aspirations of the Arab people of that area.

97. Indeed, all traces of colonialism have not yet disappeared, and they will remain until certain conditions which today exist in the world are removed.

98. The first of these conditions relates to the distinction commonly drawn between developed and developing countries. The rapid progress of technology, the development of means of communication, and the expansion of international trade are not, unfortunately, operating in favour of those who are seeking to build up their economies; these latter countries thus become an easy prey to the very Powers which yesterday grew rich at their expense. So we have witnessed the rise of neo-colonialism, particularly in the form of economic blocs created to offset the effects of the loss of the previously dominated territories.

99. We can even now estimate the adverse effect which these economic blocs will produce at a future, and we believe not too distant, date. Instead of reducing the social and economic differences which continue to separate the two groups of countries, they will serve only to reinforce them. The peoples of the less developed countries will continue to suffer, and one day they will reach the point of resorting to extreme measures in order to secure the necessary changes. Coexistence between the ill-fed majority and the prosperous minority can be achieved only if we are all convinced of the need to preserve the human race without regard to colour or ethnic differences.

100. To obtain this we must recognize that the safeguarding of peace and the economic betterment of the developing countries are indivisible notions. Technical assistance rendered by the richer to the poorer

countries should not be tainted by any speculative self-interest. It should be based on a broader and more generous view of the future of man; a thorough understanding of all the factors that go to make up human existence quite often leads to reason and prudence. If the richer countries played the game of increasing their wealth at the expense of the less favoured nations, the latter would become poorer still, and this in turn would foster crises and depression in the richer lands. Some say that crises and depression are but the normal consequences of the operation of the laws of classical political economy. We fear, however, that the operation may this time become a mortal one owing to lack of foresight and good faith on the part of those who not so long ago chose to give lessons in civic virtue and morality to the whole world.

101. The developing countries need help in the building of their economies; but they require not so much daily bread as new industries, a body of trained personnel and higher cultural levels, in order that the differences between richer and poorer countries may begin to decrease and finally fade away altogether, as advocated by the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his Annual Report to the General Assembly [A/5201/Add.1]. It is beyond all doubt that this long-term task can be accomplished only in a climate of peace. That is why the new countries regard disarmament and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons as a solution to their problems.

102. While it is true that peace is in the hands of those who possess weapons, world opinion has clearly declared itself in favour of maintaining life on our planet. It is in our common interest to ensure that the negotiations for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear tests yield concrete and positive results as early as possible. We often hear it said that the peace we enjoy today is based on a balance of terror. One day this pessimistic attitude must be replaced by the more optimistic and human one of mutual understanding—the corollary of peaceful coexistence.

103. My country was one of the first to express its warm support of the principles of coexistence during the Bandung Conference held in 1955. Needless to say, coexistence lies at the basis of non-intervention. How many problems would have been avoided, and how many vexing issues settled, had we tried to understand these basic notions thoroughly.

104. If we could place coexistence in its proper framework and provide the fundamental guarantees for it, we might then legitimately boast of having removed the causes of tension and eliminated what we now commonly call the "cold war". The East and the West, instead of fighting between themselves, would be freed of their present obsessions and could devote themselves to raising the standards of the developing countries. The millions upon millions in money today invested in unproductive and possibly destructive endeavours might be redirected into more normal channels. These sums would find use in the construction of schools, clinics, hospitals, roads, tractors and homes. They would allow an increase in cultural exchanges. They would ensure that man was not a wolf to his fellow-man, as a certain blind and hateful propaganda would have us believe.

105. When I speak of unproductive endeavours, I know very well what is involved. A very grave act of injustice has been committed against the Arab

nation. For the first time in history, in 1947, a people was denied the right to be master in its own land, on its own territory. Arab Palestine was torn asunder through the intrigues of Zionism, which long ago placed itself at the service of imperialism and international finance. One million Palestine Arabs were expelled from their homes, and now live in precarious conditions while waiting for their legitimate right to return to their homes to be respected at last. In its resolution of 11 December 1948 [194 (II)], the General Assembly fully recognized the validity of this sacred right. But so far as respect for it is concerned, no headway has been made. Matters remain as they were.

106. Zionism found the means of creating what it has styled the State of Israel with the help it received from imperialism in both its old and its new forms. Dr. Weizmann wrote in his posthumous memoirs that, in the conversations he held with Lloyd George and Lord Balfour during the First World War, he made a point of stressing that a Jewish Palestine would best serve the imperial interests of Great Britain. From this emerged the famous Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917. After the Second World War, the Zionist movement, having shifted its centre of operations from the United Kingdom to the United States, succeeded in convincing Americans that it would support them in their short and long-term political designs and that they could not count on similar support from the Arabs of the Middle East. Thus everything conceivable was done to prevent the Arabs of Palestine from living in peace in their own homes, on the very land that had witnessed the birth of their ancestors. And thus the gravest injustice in the annals of history was committed.

107. Not content with having expelled the Arabs, the Israel authorities have gone further and threatened the peace of our region. Their expansionist plans, their obstinate refusal to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the aggressive actions they have undertaken in daily violation of the general armistice agreements which the Arabs agreed to sign with them, the part they played in the treacherous attack upon Egypt in 1956, their constant use of intimidation and pressure, their permanent collusion with forces alien to the region—all these reprehensible actions are proof that Arab Palestine was torn apart in order to be delivered into the hands of those who are, and remain alien to it. This fact is undeniable.

108. Most unfortunately, however, it is a fact still not understood by the West, which persists in relying upon Israel and in placing it at the centre of the cold war in the Middle East, thus preventing the Arab countries from completing their economic reconstruction and charting the course for their future. So long as the Palestine problem has not been justly and equitably solved, the Arabs will continue to feel that their lives and destiny are endangered. They will continue to build trenches instead of schools; they will be forced to go on diverting a considerable part of their national income to expenditure on arms.

109. The Arab countries assign substantial amounts to their defence, because they hold their existence to be threatened by the proximity and aggressiveness of the Israel authorities. These authorities, moreover, receive considerable outside assistance, which enables them to increase their military potential. Their

expansionist plans and the influx of immigrants have made the Arab people determined to accept any sacrifice called for by the situation, since they are resolved to live on their own soil and not to accept the status of refugees.

110. Far from seeking to reduce tension, the Government of the United States recently decided to deliver to Israel missiles and other arms that it usually furnishes only to members of the military pacts to which the United States belongs. The pretext for this decision is apparently that three Arab countries have already received considerable supplies from the Soviet Union, it thus being feared that the balance is no longer in favour of Israel.

111. The logic of this reasoning is hard to follow. If the United States Government was really alarmed by the strengthening of the Arabs' military potential, it should have started by asking itself the following four questions: First, why did the Arabs feel the need to increase their forces? Secondly, do the official records of the Security Council and the General Assembly contain a single condemnation of an Arab country for acts of aggression? Thirdly, how many times has Israel not been condemned for attacks upon the Arab countries? Fourthly, has not Israel already received considerable supplies of weapons which constitute a threat to the Arab world?

112. Only after finding the answer to each of these questions would the United States have been entitled to adopt, if necessary, a given attitude. We quite understand that its Government may have thought it was acting on the basis of what it regarded as compatible with the interests of its strategy or tactics, whether domestic or foreign. The Arab peoples too have their own interests—interests which, moreover, are in conformity with those of peace in general. The Arab peoples do not wish to become involved in the cold war. But they are being pushed into it by the attitude taken in regard to them by a West which has not yet realized that the theories of the "vacuum" are now completely out of date and that henceforth it is only the peoples which count. Such behaviour will certainly not break the will of the Arab countries.

113. Furthermore, Palestine belongs to its people. Only a tiny minority of that people has remained in its homeland, where it is at the mercy of a harsh military administration; the great majority is scattered throughout the neighbouring Arab countries. To endorse artificial solutions aimed only at maintaining a status quo based on usurpation and injustice would be to betray the destiny of this suffering people, which has a right to be heard—not through individual interrogations and whispered interviews, as some advocate, but through a thorough airing of the question and a frank and fair discussion addressed to the settlement of the Palestine problem and not to the question of Arab-Israel relations, which is alleged by some quarters to be the issue.

114. May I recall, in the interests of a clear understanding of the subject, that in the eyes of the Arabs the essential problem at issue is that of Palestine. This problem was created on the day when the British Government, in the person of Lord Balfour, made its famous Declaration of 2 November 1917 in which it undertook to permit the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. It should be noted that this promise was vitiated by the following two defects: first, Palestine was not under British jurisdiction—it formed

part of the Ottoman Empire but had been occupied by the British forces as territory seized from the enemy; secondly, the Palestinian people had not been consulted in advance in accordance with the elementary concepts of the right of self-determination.

115. It is regrettable that such a situation should have persisted throughout the period during which Palestine was subjected by the League of Nations to the British Mandate. The Palestine Mandate was associated with Zionist expansion from abroad, a movement basically favoured by the Mandatory Power.

116. This is why we consider that the Palestinian people has not yet received satisfaction. It has the right to express itself clearly, without having to take into account any obstacle originating abroad. To try to reverse the roles by propagating the idea of what is described as the settlement of Arab-Israel relations is to depart from reality in order to perpetrate injustice. It is true that Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria successively signed general armistice agreements in 1949, but they did so only in order to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on 15 July^{8/} and 16 November 1948.^{9/} Moreover, each of the agreements in question includes a final clause in accordance with which the armistice is to remain in force until a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question has been achieved.

117. Owing to the circumstances which I have recalled, Syria's geographical position and the essentially democratic and pan-Arab aspirations of its people, the latter has had to carry on a relentless struggle against all foreign intervention in its affairs; it has struggled to assert its legitimate right to adopt a policy of positive neutrality without being challenged. It has also struggled to prevent inter-Arab relations from being exploited for sinister purposes by a desperate foreign propaganda which sees all situations exclusively in terms of a so-called ratio of strength between East and West.

118. In reality the movement for Arab unity, a goal to which the whole of Syria unceasingly aspires, concerns only the Arab countries themselves. Any attempt to deflect it from its fundamental objective and to make of it an instrument of political hegemony or of the cold war is doomed to failure.

119. Our positive neutralism is based on comprehension and co-operation. We seek to preserve our national independence by protecting it from all outside intervention. That does not prevent us from establishing economic and cultural ties with all countries, regardless of the ideology they profess, provided they exact no price other than friendship and mutual benefit.

120. It is interesting to note that the concept of neutralism has made headway since Bandung. We have come far since the time when it was regarded a sin. If that is acknowledged, so much the better for the cause of world peace. The Conference held at Belgrade^{10/} took note of a state of affairs which was already coming into being. It performed a worthy task by putting non-alignment at the service of those who were and continue to be sincerely interested in the lessening of international tension.

^{8/} Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Supplement for July 1948, document S/902.

^{9/} Ibid., Third Year, No. 126, 381st meeting, pp. 53-54.

^{10/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, 1-6 September 1961.

121. On the credit side of this policy we can now enter the agreement on the neutrality of Laos.^{11/} We rejoice that it has been possible to conclude such an agreement, which proves that no problem concerning peace is insoluble if the rules of justice are respected.

122. The agenda of the General Assembly's seventeenth session is a heavy one. It includes a variety of items. Moreover, the session has opened in rather difficult circumstances. At various points of the globe, such as Berlin, Cuba and South-East Asia, we find situations which may become explosive. I should therefore like to express the hope that everything will be done to prevent the "inevitable" and to enable our Organization to do whatever lies in its power to ensure that it will not be said that mankind, having discovered space, renounced its human values and fell back into a darkness unworthy of its genius and of the progress built up through centuries of hard and unremitting toil. We should be renouncing a civilization achieved at the cost of struggle, suffering and tears were we to persist in dangerous adventures at a time like this, when the conflicts confronting us, if subjected to the analysis of history, appear small indeed compared with the great destiny of a world whose dimensions have been shrunk by science.

123. Mr. DADET (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Mr. President, in taking the floor after the many eminent speakers preceding me, not one of whom has failed to pay you a tribute, I feel some diffidence in adding my congratulations to all those which have so brilliantly hailed your accession to the Presidency of this Assembly. In your person and in that of the Secretary-General, U Thant, the two continents of Africa and Asia, united by the same past, the same sufferings and the same hopes, are jointly honoured. A certain sector of the Press has had the bad taste to refer to the colour of the skins of the three officers of this Assembly. For us, on the other hand, the circumstance is a cause of legitimate satisfaction, since we see in it a sign of progress towards harmony and the normalization of relations between all peoples, regardless of any considerations of power, wealth or race.

124. We are likewise proud to welcome in this Hall those whose persistent efforts have overcome the inertia of the older nations and, at the same time, revitalized these nations' wisdom and clear-sightedness sufficiently to secure from them the right to sit side by side with them here. To Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and, finally, Algeria, which have joined us this year, I extend the modest and fraternal greetings of my country, with the hope that I shall soon be able to address a similar greeting to Uganda. My delegation also expresses its satisfaction to the former colonial Powers which have helped us to expand the frontiers of freedom on the map of our world and to reduce in some degree the dimensions of the problem of decolonization as it appears on our agenda. Yet, while recognizing with pleasure that we have reduced the scope of that problem, we cannot consider it solved: it remains a matter of paramount concern for all the countries of Africa and Asia.

125. But before dealing with the question of decolonization, with which we are sometimes accused of occupying ourselves too exclusively, I should like to

say a few words on the subject of disarmament and peace. I shall add nothing to the accurate, sometimes technical and always terrifying descriptions which distinguished representatives have given of the face overhanging our world. I shall naturally create only a small stir by saying that on 19 December 1960, at the Brazzaville Conference,^{12/} the thirteen States represented made the relentless quest for peace their main concern. The peaceful declarations of small nations like ours carry but little weight if one considers the small size of their armies. But now that a common threat confronts both the strong and the weak, it is the duty of the weak to raise their voices unceasingly, until a reasonable solution makes a reality of what has so long been talked about merely in propaganda speeches.

126. If the question of disarmament was the only one on our agenda, this would still suffice to justify the existence of our Organization and our presence together in this Hall. In this connexion, I must on behalf of my country express regret that none of the States of the African and Malagasy Union, which accounts for 12 per cent of the votes in this Assembly, has been associated in the work of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.^{13/} We are none the less convinced that one day the efforts of the Committee will be crowned with success and that inspection and control systems, in which our Organization will have a role to play, will soon receive approval from the great Powers and bring to a halt an arms race whose cost and consequences the whole of mankind has to bear.

127. In addition to the general threat of nuclear destruction, the delicate balance of the world is steadily threatened by the cold war, which flares up and dies down from one continent to another at the will of an insidious and secret diplomacy. We must all welcome the peaceful settlement under which the neutrality of Laos has been guaranteed by the fourteen States attending the Geneva Conference.^{14/} Thus the inhabitants of this traditionally peaceful country now have a good chance of being able to improve their standard of living instead of killing each other in uniforms supplied from abroad. The Laos agreements were negotiated in the same spirit as that inspiring the work of the Assembly, and represent a victory which we should be proud to place to that body's credit.

128. Unfortunately, however, other local hotbeds of war continue to threaten the stability of East Asia. South Viet-Nam and South Korea are the victims of foreign infiltration which in its turn justifies further intervention. The People's Republic of China, which controls a mass of people equivalent to one quarter of the world's population, is threatening its neighbours in an alarming way. After absorbing Tibet, it is now encroaching on the borders of India. In Europe, the freedom of the inhabitants of West Berlin is menaced. We realize the political difficulties which the presence in their territory of a rich, free and prosperous Western enclave may create for the communist Powers, but that does not warrant the absorption of this city by an ideological bloc to which it refuses to belong. We have fought on the African continent

^{12/} Political Conference of African and Malagasy States, held from 15 to 19 December 1960.

^{13/} Conference opened at Geneva on 14 March 1962.

^{14/} Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

^{11/} Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

for the principle of self-determination and it is logical that we should continue to seek its application throughout the world, without straying from the road we have chosen and without accepting any compromise or restriction. Viet-Nameese, Koreans and Berliners all have the same right to decide their own destiny. Unfortunately, as we know, the strategic balance of the world is such that we can no longer reasonably envisage for the near future the political reunification of certain countries divided by wars. Nevertheless my delegation will strive to bring to birth, and to support, any compromise solution enabling all to decide their destiny, make their voice heard and practise their own religion in freedom.

129. In referring to localized areas of strife, I must make special mention of the Congo (Leopoldville), because of the general implications it has had for our Organization and because of the particular interest which the Congo (Brazzaville) takes in it as a brother and neighbouring country. I shall not recall the differences of opinion in this Assembly about the various external interventions in the southern part of the Congo, including the intervention of our own Organization. Today more than ever we believe that there can and must be found a compromise solution satisfying the wishes of the different Congolese provinces and above all enabling Katanga, freed from the suspicions which surround it, to become part of a politically and economically viable entity. For this reason, we are glad that a United Nations plan is being offered to the Congolese with the aim of organizing their country on a federal basis.

130. The theatre of the cold war is vast, and I have been able to give only a few examples. In each trouble-spot—in the Middle East, in Cuba and in Hungary, as well as in the Congo, at Berlin and in the Far East—we are faced with *de facto* situations which most of us deplore. But these situations are now part of history and we must accept them, at least temporarily. It is the duty of our Assembly to give the most effective and practical expression to its ideals by patiently seeking middle-of-the-road solutions such as will, I repeat, enable all to keep their churches and worship their gods. It is true that there have been so many different commentaries on and interpretations of the idea of freedom that today it is very difficult to distinguish its true champions from those who are trying to stifle it. But freedom it is which should be sought by all peoples and particularly by the Africans, who have learnt from past and present experience acquired in their struggle for independence.

131. Decolonization, on which we have set our hearts, is the most obvious form taken by the quest for freedom. In this sphere, fortunately, we are beginning to see light. By the repetition of the brotherly greetings which we extend each year to new Members of the Organization, we are steadily recording the value of the results obtained and of the contribution made to that end by the United Nations.

132. The African and Malagasy Union also has at this session the special satisfaction of knowing that the painful Algerian question has been solved, thanks to the realism of the leaders of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and to the humanity of General de Gaulle. The Evian Agree-

ments^{15/} have at last given to France's African policy the over-all coherence which it had previously lacked. Now, although the shores of the Mediterranean are the frontiers of this great country, its culture knows no bounds. We Africans, friends of France, can rejoice that we have chosen its language, with all its universality, to place it in the service of our own civilization.

133. Because of the dearly won victory of our Algerian brothers, our pride is all the more wounded by the remaining enclaves on our continent where colonialism still persists. The flexible and pragmatic reasoning of the British will soon, we earnestly hope, find for Rhodesia the same wise solution that French rationalism has produced for Algeria. We are more worried about the territories in which Portugal, Spain and South Africa are simply refusing to implement the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

134. Because of its geographic and ethnic ties with Cabinda and Angola, the Congo (Brazzaville) is particularly bitter about the provocations of the Salazar Government. These have even taken the form of aerial incursions over our territory, and Portuguese troops have actually crossed our frontier to capture Cabindans who had fled to our country. The protests by our Government called forth apologies tinged with ill-concealed irony. Despite the peaceful nature of our people, I must remind Mr. Salazar that, with the help of its allies, the Congo (Brazzaville) would soon be able to rid Cabinda of the Portuguese army. Fortunately, we are sure that the Cabindans will one day accomplish this task themselves.

135. South of the Sahara we are faced with the same problem that previously arose in the North. Minorities enjoying a privileged status want to preserve their dominion over an entire country and an entire people. Contemporary history has sufficiently shown that this attitude is not only immoral but also illogical. The problem is not whether the Angolans or the South Africans will one day enjoy political freedom, social equality and national independence. The only question is how many they will have to sacrifice in dead before they achieve this. Whatever special interests may be injured in the process of decolonization, the privileged groups must have the sense to give up their privileges before these are wrenched from them by force. The African and Malagasy Union has decided to give ever more practical help to the African countries which are still not independent. In line with this policy, my country will support in this Assembly any proposed measures of retaliation and expulsion against the impenitent colonialist and racist Powers. In this connexion, it has decided to contribute as much as it can to the financial, technical and cultural assistance that fellow-Africans who are still slaves need in order to achieve their liberation.

136. We express the hope that 1963 will see the end of the scandalous evils which colonialism in its death-throes is still leaving about on earth—in particular the two blemishes of Portugal's so-called policy of assimilation and the inadmissible principle of racial segregation in South Africa, which is accompanied by unjustified claims to South West Africa. We adopt this attitude with a clear and free conscience, because we are convinced that races can learn to coexist in

^{15/} Agreements concluded on 18 March 1962 between the representatives of France and of the National Liberation Front.

peace and that, while the African territories south of the Sahara belong to the African majority who have lived there for thousands of years, these people ask nothing better than to co-operate with any white minority which can help them. The development of our continent can benefit considerably from the sincere participation of a foreign élite with proven technical knowledge and a high level of culture.

137. Although I am convinced that our Assembly is continually winning new victories in the struggle for decolonization and that in this respect most of the entries are on the credit side, I should like to make a special reference to the problem of West New Guinea. We are presented with a fait accompli in the shape of the agreement which approves the cession of this territory by the Netherlands to Indonesia [A/5170, annex] following on the transfer of the administration of the territory to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority. We do not, however, think that this operation has been arranged in accordance with the principle of self-determination to which we attach importance. If this country was to become part of Indonesia, we should have preferred this to happen after a popular vote which could have been taken while the territory was being administered by our Organization.

138. I am well aware that these are undoubtedly the most under-privileged people in the world and that it is certainly difficult to discover, today, the nature and direction of their true aspirations. Perhaps the responsibility lies with the former administering Power, which does not seem to have adequately prepared the inhabitants of this country for emancipation. Most supporters of decolonization have, however, always agreed in this Assembly that considerations based on so-called historic rights or on inadequacy of cultural development should not delay a people's exercise of the right of self-determination. In the present case, we are sorry to say that this right has been deliberately ignored.

139. I wish to explain that, although we express our regret that a colonized territory is being handed over to an Asian State without the taking of a popular vote, we should by no means prefer it to be left in the hands of a European Power. Our attitude reflects no neo-colonialist intentions.

140. Neo-colonialism, which we see developing when former empires are vanishing, is a phenomenon with a thousand facets. It is true that first and foremost we have the neo-colonialism of former settlers who are trying here and there to win back by intrigue what they have lost by negotiation or by force of arms. There is a retrograde capitalism which clings to its land, its mines and its privileges. Far from becoming the slave of this capitalism, the African and Malagasy Union relies on the unity of its members for the creation of an African socialism which does not reject foreign initiative provided that such initiative respects our political and economic independence. But the new imperialisms of our age also take other forms. There is a communist imperialism which closes the frontiers of certain countries in Europe, Asia and Africa and prevents those countries from enjoying that reasonable commercial freedom which is the basis of the prosperity of peoples, just as political freedom is the basis of their dignity. Finally, there are among us, the non-aligned countries, States which have territorial designs on their neighbours. We condemn these attempts

at domination in the same way as we condemn all other such attempts, because we have based our African and Malagasy Union on mutual respect for frontiers.

141. Any regional association, of course, could be suspected of seeking to replace individual selfishness by collective selfishness. We intend, however, that our co-operation shall always remain open to Africa, Europe and the world. It is right that the union of peoples should be discussed at the summit, in this Assembly. But it is also right that it should be undertaken at the base, since nothing is more difficult but also more rewarding than to begin by establishing good relationships with one's neighbours. Thus friendship can go out in concentric circles from group to group, until it reaches these precincts in which we seek to build it on a world scale.

142. Like the United Nations itself, the African and Malagasy Union has influenced events by creating specialized agencies: the Association of African and Malagasy Economic Co-operation and Development, the African and Malagasy Regional Postal and Telecommunications Union, the Higher Council of Mutual Defence and the Compagnie Air-Afrique. Our association with the European Common Market is not, as some have implied, a new form of colonial subjection; it is merely a regional application of co-operation between developed and developing countries, which all Members of this Assembly agree is desirable.

143. This brings me, after peace and decolonization, to the third panel of the triptych which illustrates our agenda: aid to the under-privileged countries. My country took much comfort from the latest meeting ^{16/} of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the bodies connected with the Bank. The participants stressed in quite a new way, the problem which under-development poses for the world. There is a disturbing and daily increasing gap between living conditions in the industrialized countries, which are constantly improving, and those in the under-privileged countries, which seem threatened by automatic deterioration.

144. Today, financiers and bankers seem to regard technical and economic assistance no longer as charity dictated by morality, but as a process of construction necessary to the health and prosperity of all. The former colonial Powers are realizing that their responsibilities did not end when they granted us political independence. We are now entering a second phase, during which we must strive to enable those who have obtained their freedom to make use of it within the framework of a better life.

145. It is in this spirit that the African and Malagasy Union, renouncing narrow and outdated nationalism, has agreed to co-operate with the Europe of the Six, which on a regional level is in a position to contribute the first elements of a solution for the problems exercising the world: the stabilization of primary-material prices, technical, economic and financial assistance, and finally a raising of levels of living.

146. We have no intention of sacrificing our freedom, and in our negotiations with Europe or other partners we shall resolutely set aside any notion of protectionism. In this connexion, I should like to quote the words

spoken on 25 March 1962 by Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, then President of the African and Malagasy Union:

"That aid should be jointly discussed and organized within the framework of customs unions and of the African and Malagasy Union. No co-operation, no international life is possible without respect for commitments freely discussed and contracted. According to the nineteenth-century view, the problem could be solved through micro-nationalism and the erection of customs and fiscal barriers; the twentieth-century solution lies in economic communities which transcend national boundaries, in a lowering of customs and fiscal barriers. We should be swimming against the current of history and be in danger of drowning if, in the twentieth century, we employed nineteenth-century methods."

147. These economic communities are not incompatible with the great world community which we are seeking to create here. For this reason my delegation wishes to reaffirm our country's confidence in the United Nations and the value it attaches to the resolution [1710 (XVI)], adopted at our last session, instituting the United Nations Development Decade. We hope this year to see a strengthening of all the specialized bodies responsible for promoting the economic and social growth of the non-aligned countries, and my country will support every measure proposed to that end.

148. I believe that all our problems are linked together by certain external forces. In the first place, we are searching for peace. No nation stands apart from that search, and we know that most inhabitants of this planet, from Washington to Moscow, do not want war. The arms race is the result of that mutual fear which was present in mankind's most ancient rivalries. Today, however, the fear has increased from individual to world-wide proportions. The American and Soviet scientists, whom we congratulate on their astonishing discoveries, are bringing within our reach both the keys to a golden age which we would never have dared to hope for, and the dangers of mass destruction capable of casting our dead world back to the earliest ages of matter.

149. Even outer space has not been spared, for, despite the assurances of the great Powers, we are well aware that they would not be sacrificing so many dollars and roubles to reach the moon if each did not fear that the other would turn it into another strategic base. The strong and the weak must negotiate together in order to eradicate this mutual fear.

150. If we advance on the path of peace, the freedom of all men will be near, for oppression is a natural consequence of war. Lastly, the reduction of armaments is likely to release more resources than are needed to equip the retarded world. Disarmament, decolonization, development: my delegation has no doubt that this triple goal will receive the endorsement of most votes in this Assembly. We must now resolutely seek out the means of reaching it.

151. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Iran in exercise of the right of reply.

152. Mr. ANSARI (Iran) (translated from French): Mr. President, with all my delegation's and my own respect for the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, I should like to refer to that part of his speech concerning the role of CENTO, of which organization my country is a member. Unfortunately, that passage

does not entirely conform to the facts. As we know, CENTO is essentially defensive in character and is a bond of economic co-operation. I therefore reserve my delegation's right to reply at an appropriate time, after having studied the speech thoroughly. For the moment, however, I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to the improper designation of the Persian Gulf in the map attached to the text of that speech which has been distributed. We must again repeat that the body of water which separates the great Iranian province of Fars from the Arabian Peninsula has, from time immemorial, been called the Persian Gulf, not the Arabian Gulf. Even the greatest Arab historians have used the term "Persian Gulf" in their works. We referred to this question last year in the Special Political Committee [300th meeting], and I shall not take up the Assembly's valuable time by dwelling on it further here. We have, however, felt it necessary once again to call the attention of the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs and the General Assembly to this terminological inexactitude.

153. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of the United Kingdom in exercise of the right of reply.

154. Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom): I do not propose to take up the time of this Assembly by replying in detail to all the 'exaggerated charges' against my country made by the Foreign Minister of Iraq. I would, however, like to draw attention in particular to two points only.

155. In the first place, my delegation is obliged to the distinguished Foreign Minister for quoting so extensively from the White Paper on Defence, published by my Government in 1962. There is nothing in it for which we have any reason to apologize. It is well known that the United Kingdom Government has, for a number of years, had certain treaty obligations in the Middle East area. The White Paper shows, I hope, that we propose to abide honourably by those treaty obligations, which are entirely legitimate and fully in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

156. Secondly, the distinguished Foreign Minister has called Kuwait a British oil colony and a puppet State supported by British arms. The Government of Kuwait will be able to defend itself against these charges. I would only point out that Kuwait has been recognized by over seventy States, including the vast majority of the Arab States themselves.

157. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Turkey in exercise of the right of reply.

158. Mr. RURAL (Turkey) (translated from French): The Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke of NATO and CENTO in his speech, and, as I fear that his words may lend themselves to misinterpretation, I should like to offer some clarification.

159. First, I would once more state and explain what everyone is already supposed to know—that NATO and CENTO are purely defensive organizations, created on the basis of the United Nations Charter. Secondly, I should like to say that neither those organizations nor my country have taken any decision, or are pursuing any practice, aimed at exerting pressure on any country, in the Middle East or elsewhere.

160. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Iraq in exercise of the right of reply.

161. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): I do not intend to prolong the proceedings of the General Assembly at this very late hour. However, I should like to take up the few points raised by the distinguished representatives of Iran, the United Kingdom and Turkey.

162. The distinguished representative of Iran took issue with us for calling the Gulf "the Arabian Gulf". Now, we do not want to quibble about geographical names; the fact is that the Gulf is the property of no one country. Whether it is called the Persian Gulf, or the Arabian Gulf, or by any other name, it does not make it the property of a particular country. The fact of the matter is that, while the eastern coast of the Gulf is in Iran, the northern, western and southern shores of the Gulf are all in the Arab world. I think, therefore, we are as justified, if not more so, to call this the Arabian Gulf, as our distinguished friends of Iran are to call it the Persian Gulf. However, if all the disputes between States were as simple as the question of giving a name to geographical areas, I think that this Organization would be a much happier one.

163. With regard to the point raised by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom with respect to their treaty obligations with the various sheikdoms in the Gulf, and that they were concluded in accordance with the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter, it is just a matter of history: those agreements were not concluded after the Charter came into existence, but they were concluded in the heyday of the British Empire during the latter years of the nineteenth century. And I am sure that all the Members are aware how treaties and promises were extracted from hapless, local rulers by the superior power of the great Empire, which dominated a very fair portion of the world.

164. The fact is that these are not equal treaties; they are treaties imposed by a great Power on weak, local sheiks who, in any event, had no right—no right whatsoever—to barter away the rights of their people, the rights of their country, for such a long time as was the case with the various sheikdoms in the Gulf.

165. So far as Kuwait is concerned, I am sure that the Members of the United Nations are aware of our stand on this question; it was fully explained in the Security Council during its meetings in July and also in November 1961.^{17/} The fact is that we have never renounced the right of Iraq in Kuwait; Kuwait has always been an integral part of our homeland. The fact that the British Government unilaterally detached this part of our homeland and set it up as an autonomous sheikdom after the First World War and then gave it this so-called independence does not change the facts of history. And when you come to the treaty that was concluded on 19 June 1961, as I have explained in the Security Council, one of the most glaring facts about this treaty is that it gives the United Kingdom the right to intervene at any time in the affairs of Kuwait. And we all know that the main reason why the British Government insists on maintaining its privileged position in Kuwait is because of its huge oil interests in that area, and that is the only reason that they are prepared even to fight to maintain those rights and those privileges, which have given the United Kingdom treasury a good deal of profits over the years.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

^{17/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 957th to 960th meetings and 984th and 985th meetings.