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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 56

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

(a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4912)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I invite the General Assembly to consider the first item on our agenda for this afternoon, which deals with the report of the Fifth Committee concerning an appointment to fill a vacancy in the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

2. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the draft resolution which has been recommended by the Fifth Committee and appears in its report [A/4912] is adopted by the General Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Niger) (translated from French): As some eminent speakers have already said at this rostrum, our sixteenth session has opened on a note of meditation. We are mourning Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General. His sudden and unexpected death has been deeply felt in Africa, to which for the past year or more he had devoted all his efforts. I take the liberty of associating myself with all those who have sung his praises here and of

paying a tribute to the man who died serving the noblest of causes and whose memory will remain forever engraved on our minds and on our hearts.

4. My country, through Mr. Hamani Diori, President of the Republic of Niger, has sent the following message to all his friends, among whom we are proud to count ourselves, to his family and to Sweden, his country, which has offered two martyrs to peace, one after the other:

"The Government and the people of Niger are shocked at the death of Mr. Hammarskjold. I express my sincere condolences and those of the members of the Government who mourn with me the grievous loss of this man who had devoted his life to the cause of peace and who has come to a tragic end in the service of peace and human brotherhood." [A/4894.]

5. Africa is the heir to his thoughts and his desires. Indeed, it is an African who is presiding over the General Assembly. It is hardly necessary for me to congratulate Mr. Mongi Slim, the President, on his election, for this has been done fully by the representatives of other countries, outside Africa, who have drawn attention to his personal and human qualities, his wisdom, his sound judgement in all matters, his spirit of fair play and the esteem in which his country is held throughout the world. This is borne out by his unanimous election as President and by the good will with which the Indonesian candidate withdrew. We are convinced that with him as President of the General Assembly Africa will write a constructive page in the annals of peace.

6. It is a particular pleasure for me to stress the joy of my delegation at seeing the membership of the United Nations at the opening of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly increased by yet another African State.

7. It was by acclamation that Sierra Leone, a new African State, was admitted to membership in the United Nations and, having accepted the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter, it has now taken its seat among us. Niger extends its fraternal congratulations to Sierra Leone and knows full well that this country, which belongs to the Monrovia group, will make a constructive contribution to the development of Africa.

8. Our only regret is that at the sixteenth session the doors of the United Nations have not been thrown wide open to other deserving independent countries, as was the case at the fifteenth session. We hope that the sixteenth session will follow the example of the fifteenth and that before long other States from Africa and elsewhere will join us in this Assembly and play their part in building the world of tomorrow.

9. Mauritania has been waiting at the gates of the United Nations for the past year. Over twenty African States are pressing for its admission. We think that

the States that are blocking its admission will realize that they are making a grave mistake and that all Africa will be unable to forgive them if Mauritania fails to be admitted to membership of the United Nations this year.

10. At the last session of the General Assembly we adjourned without having had time to consider agenda item 88, entitled: "Africa: a United Nations Programme for Independence and Development". The African and Malagasy States know that for them there can be no genuine independence unless their economies are strengthened. Consequently we particularly welcome the fact that assistance to Africa is to be discussed this year in three General Assembly Committees.

11. This is a crucial issue for us and I should like to mention some of its aspects which apply more specifically to the States members of the African and Malagasy Union to which my country belongs. The concept of aid to Africa is of great complexity, for it embraces every aspect of economic and social development in our vast continent and it may be said that no formula transplanted from another part of the world is likely to afford a solution.

12. Apart from the problem of finding outside sources of finance, the need for which is too obvious to call for comment, the development of any country presents, I think, three essential features.

13. In the first place there is the problem of adapting traditional social structures to economic development. It is important that African society should not be outstripped by economic progress but should keep pace with it since, in the last analysis, it is the human being whose welfare is at stake, it is the African whom we wish to endow with a new dignity, for the achievement of which we rely, at least partly, on modern techniques and powerful economic means. With this in mind we welcome the forthcoming discussion on African educational development.

14. The second feature of this development to which I attach very great importance is that of the organization of world markets for tropical commodities. Indeed, if we Africans are rather too dependent upon international aid, is not the reason to be found partly in the difficulties we experience in finding adequate and stable outlets for our products?

15. Far from being poor, Africa is a reservoir of raw materials for the whole world. As yet it has only a limited number of commodities, but those commodities play a crucial role in the balance of trade of our States. It is the duty of the nations which are ahead of us in economic development to join us in organizing markets for tropical commodities, in particular by creating the conditions necessary for the stabilization of prices.

16. This question must therefore remain a matter of primary concern to the United Nations. We are glad to note that it has been placed on the agenda of this session.

17. The third feature of African development is that of the co-ordination of sources of assistance and regional co-operation.

18. The situation of the States members of the African and Malagasy Union is characterized by the fact that, by reason of their geographical position, they belong to a zone of economic solidarity. Consequently,

they have access to several sources of mutual assistance:

(a) Bilateral aid, mostly from French sources;

(b) Multilateral aid provided by investment capital from the European Economic Community;

(c) United Nations aid, a source of assistance in which we all place great hopes.

19. The first problem which the planning organs in each of the States concerned must try to solve is the co-ordination of these different sources of technical assistance.

20. Moreover, it is clear to any realistic mind that rational development, in Africa or elsewhere, cannot be properly conceived except at a given regional level and, first and foremost, with economic co-operation and political solidarity among the States concerned. This raises the question of the establishment of common institutions which are both economic and political in nature.

21. To settle this question, the States forming the Brazzaville group, which a bare six months ago laid the foundations for the African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation, adopted on 12 September 1961 the Charter of the African and Malagasy Union, which will henceforth unite the twelve States of the Brazzaville group in a political institution. May I be allowed, as the representative of one of the States members of this Union, to give some particulars of the decisions which were taken recently by our Heads of State.

22. To begin with, this is what they decided with regard to the institutions of the African and Malagasy Organization of Economic Co-operation.

23. The headquarters of the Organization has been established at Yaoundé; Mr. Razafimbahiny has been appointed its Secretary-General. Thus the African and Malagasy Organization of Economic Co-operation is now ready to function effectively.

24. The following four technical committees have been set up within the Organization.

25. A committee for economic and social development, which will be responsible, in particular, for co-ordinating the development plans of the States concerned and their investment schemes, for obtaining external financial assistance and for exploring the possibility of establishing an African and Malagasy development bank.

26. A committee on foreign trade, which will be responsible, among other things, for bringing the various legislations and customs and tax regulations into line, for exploring the possibilities of instituting an African and Malagasy free-trade area, for expanding the existing customs unions and the scope of their co-operation and for proposing ways of co-ordinating trade.

27. A committee for the study of monetary problems, responsible for studying the functioning of banks of issue and central banks (and in particular the speedy Africanization of such organs) and the problem of foreign payments.

28. A committee for scientific and technical research, to study, in particular, a plan for the establishment of institutes for scientific research, study centres, training etc.

29. Each of these committees is empowered to adopt resolutions which come into force when they have been approved by the Council of the African and Malagasy Organization of Economic Co-operation, the supreme executive body of the Organization.

30. The institution has thus been given the means which it lacked hitherto for bringing about effective co-operation among its twelve member States. The figure twelve, moreover, is not restrictive, since under article 2 of its Charter the Organization is open to any African State which adheres to its principles.

31. I feel it necessary at this point to recall that in May 1961 the representatives of some twenty African States, meeting at Monrovia,^{1/} arranged for a study to be made of the means of consolidating the accord they had reached and their political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical co-operation. They agreed in principle on an Inter-African and Malagasy consultative organization. A group of experts met at Dakar^{2/} in July 1961 to draw up conclusions for consideration at a later meeting. The experts advocated, in particular, the creation of an African and Malagasy common market, which would include an investment and guarantee fund which could serve as an agent between the States and the international credit organizations called upon to provide financing for major projects of a national or international character.

32. I have dwelt at some length on the economic provisions which the States members of the African and Malagasy Union have adopted, in harmony with the spirit with which the Monrovia group is imbued, because I wanted to give a clear picture of the efforts we have made to strengthen the deep solidarity of the African and Malagasy States and their desire for close co-operation in order to enable them to raise the level of living of their peoples more rapidly.

33. I need scarcely point out that a small country like Niger cannot hope to improve its lot solely by its own efforts. My country is of course ready to make all the necessary sacrifices at the domestic level in order to increase its savings and investments; it has naturally fixed an optimum degree of self-propelled growth as the objective of its development plan. But its very size places a limitation on what it can accomplish through its own means. My country, therefore, attaches importance above all to the efforts towards inter-African and international co-operation at the economic level.

34. Among these efforts, those made by the United Nations, I repeat, occupy a special place, less because of their present dimensions than because of the hopes which they have always aroused among the African peoples.

35. President Kennedy spoke, in this very hall, of a "United Nations Decade of Development" [see 1013th meeting, para. 73]. To what extent are these mere words and to what extent will they lead to concrete action? Our under-developed peoples will reserve judgement until they see the results. It must be admitted that so far we have mainly had to accept bilateral assistance and that all Powers have not shown themselves to be equally generous in their desire to

help us. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that our Organization has by no means made use of all its possibilities for action.

36. We are not among those who seek, but among those who act. While we support economic co-operation within the United Nations, we must admit that the progress it makes—which incidentally is too slow—depends more on the will of the great Powers than on our own. Nevertheless, we believe that in the field of regional co-operation much depends on our own efforts. That is why my country is in favour of any concrete action which is calculated to develop co-operation among the African States. My country is determined to play its part both in the Economic Commission for Africa and among the members of the African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation.

37. My delegation hopes that in the debate on the economic development of Africa all the African States will make an objective appraisal of the present efforts and of the practical possibilities for action and that in the future the United Nations will bear in mind the co-operative efforts made by the African and Malagasy States.

38. I should now like to refer to the international problems which are of particular concern to my country. First, however, I shall venture to say a few words concerning the decisions with regard to foreign policy which the twelve States of the Brazzaville Group took at the Tananarive Conference.^{3/}

39. As I said just now, these decisions were the culmination of a development which has brought us, without the surrender of any part of our sovereignty, into increasingly close co-operation, first in the economic field and then within the larger perspective of the execution of a common foreign policy.

40. It was for this purpose that the African and Malagasy Union, whose charter has just been adopted by our Heads of State, was set up. What is the goal of this organization? I can best reply by quoting article 2 of this charter:

"The African and Malagasy Union is based on the solidarity uniting its members. Its purpose is to establish co-operation among its members in all fields of foreign policy, in order to strengthen their solidarity, to ensure their collective security, to assist in their development and to preserve peace in Africa, in Madagascar and in the world."

41. I should add that under the terms of article 1 of its charter the African and Malagasy Union "is a union of independent and sovereign States, open to any independent African State" and that consequently it is not limited to the twelve founder States.

42. I should like, in this connexion, to quote the statement issued by the twelve African and Malagasy States at the conclusion of the Tananarive Conference:

"The African and Malagasy Union is merely a part of the larger grouping of African States known as the Monrovia Group. Both the former and the latter, though based on African solidarity, have no purpose other than to make their contribution to the development of the international community through the elimination of war and the establishment of world co-operation."

^{1/} Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States, held from 8 to 12 May 1961.

^{2/} Conference of experts of the African and Malagasy States, held from 10 to 17 July 1961.

^{3/} Conference of the African and Malagasy Union, held from 6 to 12 September 1961.

" ... In other words, they intend to work to build the Earth in the spirit of the United Nations. Their method is that of discussion, i.e. negotiation, an outgrowth of the original African palaver. They do not believe that truth is the preserve of any one nation, race, continent, ideology or, in a word, of any one bloc: they are convinced that truth emerges from the confrontation of theories and interests which at first glance appear to be opposed."

43. Under the terms of article 4 of its charter, the general policy of the African and Malagasy Union is determined at the Conference of Heads of States or of Governments who meet in regular session twice a year and in special session at the request of the majority.

44. Decisions are taken by a simple majority; discipline is enforced in all problems of decolonization. In order that the decisions taken may be put into effect, the African and Malagasy Union has an administrative General-Secretariat with its headquarters at Cotonou. Lastly, with a view to coordinating the policies of the member States of the Union at New York, it has been decided to establish a group of the African and Malagasy Union at the United Nations.

45. I do not think that this outline of the provisions of our charter requires any commentary. Their moderate terms amply express the firm determination of our leaders to set up common institutions designed to provide the twelve States members of the Union with the means of acting effectively in the international field.

46. I should like, in the light of the final declaration adopted by the twelve members of the African and Malagasy Union at the conclusion of the Conference of Tananarive, to give you our views on the main international problems which are at present engaging the attention of African leaders.

47. I need hardly say, at the outset, that we approach these problems in a spirit of strict neutrality, that is to say without any allegiance to any other countries whatever. Of course, as I have already said, our geographical position compels us to establish economic links with our European neighbours, especially in view of the complementary character of our economies and the interdependence of the major currents of the modern world. It must be understood, however, that when we have signed agreements with other States and when in the future we conclude treaties with inter-governmental bodies we have done and shall do so in absolute freedom and independence and such instruments may in any case be amended or annulled if circumstances should so require.

48. In our view, the policy of non-alignment should consist in a genuine neutrality and it seems to us that very often what one finds in Africa under the guise of "neutrality" is in fact simply a concealed allegiance to one of the two blocs. This genuine neutrality which today dictates the attitude of the members of the African and Malagasy Union and that of the Monrovia Group will one day, we hope, be that of the whole of Africa. It makes us the determined champions of general disarmament. The young African States want to devote all their energies and all their resources to building up peace, not war. They cannot, therefore, allow certain countries to treat disarmament as a source of easy propaganda, where radical and demagogic formulas are just a pretext

for delaying the adoption of real and progressive measures. We believe in particular that it is absolutely necessary to institute rigorous control and inspection, and at the same time to take every possible step for the gradual reduction of existing armaments.

49. The most effective control, it seems to us, would be that provided by an international body, since that fact would destroy in advance the arguments of those who would like to represent such control as a form of espionage. It would seem essential to couple this control with the establishment of a body responsible for maintaining peace and security in the world as the various stages of disarmament take place. But the first stage would certainly be one culminating in the halting of nuclear tests once and for all for their continuation on a large scale would probably mean the contamination of the entire human race. We should solemnly denounce here all those who have deliberately, in contempt of human life, resumed thermo-nuclear tests and thus contributed to the intensification of the cold war.

50. One of the most acute symptoms of this cold war is the open controversy at present taking place on the subject of Berlin. We consider that this problem, with reference both to Berlin and to Germany as a whole, should be solved on the basis of self-determination. But the division of Germany exists: it is a fact which we must accept for the moment, in the hope that the international situation will be such as to make it possible very soon for the whole German people to decide upon their own future, i.e., to reunite if they so desire. It seems to us that this principle, upon which our own entire development has been based and which has enabled African States to acquire international sovereignty, ought not to be the prerogative solely of peoples who were formerly under colonial rule but should serve the interests of all those who are in a state of dependence of any kind whatever. Such a limitation, which has recently been espoused by certain people, would surely be likely to bring about a marked reduction in the scope of the principle of self-determination, whose universality is enshrined in the United Nations Charter and which clearly reflects the eternal right of peoples to decide how they should live.

51. Moreover, it is this principle which will, we hope, lead to the solution of another problem very close to our hearts: I mean that of Algeria.

52. We are all confident that the Algerian people will attain independence—and we are anxious to help them achieve that end—and that this new step towards the emancipation of the African continent will be made soon. I should like, however, to state once again that in my view bilateral negotiations alone are likely to have a successful outcome and to bring about a lasting peace. My delegation repeatedly declared, during the Bizerta affair, that the only possibility for a settlement of the Franco-Tunisian dispute lay in direct negotiations between the two parties. Subsequent events have proved us right. We shall be even more satisfied when this dispute is completely settled. It is our hope that these two countries, for both of which we have feelings of friendship, may very soon enjoy once again the atmosphere of co-operation which united them before this unfortunate incident.

53. With regard to Algeria we can only beseech the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria to resume negotiations

once again in the hope of achieving, after years of strife, a lasting and fruitful peace. We should like, in this respect, to make reference to the positions taken by General de Gaulle for they represent real progress towards the complete decolonization of the Maghreb, and we are sure that the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria will follow his example so that peace may very quickly be restored in Africa.

54. There are many other hotbeds of discord in the world. I am thinking in particular of the conflict of rival factions which has been going on in the Congo (Leopoldville) for more than a year.

55. We have always maintained that national unity could and should be based upon the central authority. We have also constantly upheld the principle of a reform of the "Loi fondamentale"—which is in no way sacrosanct—by the Congolese themselves in order to bring about a solution through unification, but always employing the methods of peaceful negotiation. We Africans are well aware that up to now trials of strength have never brought any solution to the world's problems.

56. More serious still than the events in the Congo are those which are now steeping Angola in blood. The arguments advanced by the representatives of Portugal from this very rostrum to justify the maintenance by force of their domination over this Territory seem to us to have little foundation; they will not stand up to criticism; they are very often ridiculous. How, for example, can it be argued that Angola is a Portuguese province, when its inhabitants have never had representative institutions and have never participated, by means of universal suffrage, in electoral consultations of any kind? We maintain that Angola, like the other African countries, is entitled to self-determination. We make a solemn appeal to Portugal to end the senseless genocide it has been conducting against the Angolan people. The desire of the Lisbon Government to perpetuate the colonial system is equally apparent in its other African colonies, particularly in so-called Portuguese Guinea, where nationalists are hunted down and imprisoned if they do not succeed in escaping to neighbouring African States. My country, in common with all the African States, strongly condemns this obsolete colonialism, whose incalculable consequences Portugal fails to appreciate.

57. The question of apartheid in South Africa is, in our eyes, an open wound in the side of Africa which must be healed as soon as possible. Flouting universal morality and the resolutions of the General Assembly, and disregarding the indignant protests of the international community, the South African Government obstinately continues to apply a policy based on a racist ideology. Everywhere and at all times we denounce any discriminatory practice of any kind whatever, as well as those who resort to such practices. It is in this spirit that we address a solemn and final warning to the Republic of South Africa, for if it continues to apply its shameful policy it will be personally responsible for any measures we may later adopt with regard to it.

58. Before referring to the last problem of decolonization, I should like to mention the dispute between the Arab States and Israel. Again and again, at this rostrum, the hope has been expressed that the unfortunate conflict ravaging the Middle East might be brought to an end. There again, we feel that it is

through direct and frank negotiations between the Arab States and Israel that a real and peaceful solution can be found. Africa is particularly interested in the maintenance of peace in this region, for any local conflict is in danger of becoming a world conflagration.

59. The last problem of decolonization, a more modest one, which is also of concern to the African States, is that of Western New Guinea. In our view, the people of New Guinea have the right, like all the African peoples, to self-determination. As our Heads of State declared at Tananarive in September 1961,^{4/} this right ought to be applied without any consideration of race, locality or history. That is why we endorse the plan announced to the General Assembly [1016th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, the object of which is to place the administration and development of the Territory under the control of the United Nations, so that the population may be enabled to prepare for self-determination. The Netherlands, however, should voluntarily increase its efforts, for it has left a great gap to be filled in New Guinea.

60. In general, our position in the matter of decolonization is that all countries under foreign domination should, through a process of self-determination, acquire full and complete independence within the shortest possible space of time.

61. I should like now to broach the problem caused by the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld—that of his replacement. This is a question which causes us great distress, for to us Africans, Dag Hammarskjöld was the symbol of the help and protection that all the small countries expect from the United Nations. His replacement is of particular importance to us. There is no doubt, moreover, that the absence of the Secretary-General dangerously paralyses the life and work of the United Nations at a time when it is faced with problems of exceptional gravity.

62. A campaign has been under way for some time to transform the Secretariat into a three-headed body. We can in no way give our support to this attempt because it would inevitably place the United Nations before the dangerous alternative of serving the interests of those who advocate such a formula or being paralysed in action by a veto. The Secretary-General's office would thus, in violation of the principles of the Charter, become an organ divided against itself and powerless to rise above the antagonisms of the cold war.

63. We should therefore like there to be appointed, at the earliest possible date, a person capable of acting in the best interests of our Organization and of discharging the functions of Acting Secretary-General with the requisite efficiency. Africa has too much to gain from the United Nations for it to tolerate any impairment of its prestige and authority.

64. Lastly, in order to carry out the wishes expressed by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld before his death, we should like the Acting Secretary-General thus chosen to be assisted in his heavy responsibilities by Deputy Secretaries-General chosen in such a manner as to give a fair geographical representation of the world.

^{4/} Conference of the African and Malagasy Union, 6 to 12 September 1961.

65. I should like to conclude this statement, which has already taken up too much of the Assembly's time, on a note of hope: the hope that friendship and co-operation between all peoples will in the end triumph over mistrust and hatred. Adaptability, respect for the sovereignty of every country, sincere co-operation, friendship towards all the world—these, as Mr. Hamani Diori, President of the Republic of Niger, said recently, are the essential conditions for Africa's development. We have tried and we are trying with all our strength, among the States of the African and Malagasy Union, to translate into facts an international policy which, according to our joint declaration of 12 September 1961, is directed towards the service of truth through peaceful debate in order to build a more humane world.

66. Dato' KAMIL (Federation of Malaya): Meeting in these troubled and uncertain times of international crisis and tensions, the General Assembly should consider itself highly fortunate and privileged to have for its President a man of outstanding personality and qualifications. Mr. Slim's responsibilities as President are exceptionally heavy and the task ahead of him is no less difficult. I feel confident, however, that with his sterling qualities of statesmanship and patience, impartiality and integrity, and devotion to the cause of peace and humanity, for which he has earned a much deserved reputation, he will effectively guide and steer the deliberations of the Assembly to a fruitful conclusion. Nothing can speak more of the high esteem and deep confidence in which he is held by Members of the Organization than the unanimous vote by which he was elected to the highest office of the Assembly.

67. Conscious of the historic and crucial test which the United Nations is now facing and mindful of our obligations to uphold the Organization and the lofty principles and purposes for which it stands, the delegation of the Federation of Malaya, while extending to the President our warmest and sincerest congratulations, pledges our wholehearted support for the Assembly's collective endeavour to weather the crisis and tension that are now threatening man and his civilization with total annihilation.

68. I should like to say a few words of appreciation for Mr. Boland, President of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. Mr. Boland had the distinction of presiding over what one might term the most historic and exacting session of the General Assembly, when so many Heads of State and Government personally took part in its proceedings. We owe much to him for the skill, courage and leadership with which he successfully steered the arduous proceedings of that session. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our sincerest congratulations to Mr. Boland for his most successful term of office, as well as our most heartfelt gratitude for the valuable services which he as President had rendered to the cause of the United Nations.

69. The statements that have been made in the Assembly in the last three weeks by leaders and statesmen from all corners of the globe, representing various shades of political and ideological convictions, have all underscored the collective concern of mankind at the gravity of the world situation and the dangers inherent in it.

70. The Berlin crisis is blowing up into dangerous proportions with both protagonists slinging threats and counter-threats. In the field of disarmament, in-

stead of reducing their armies, both sides in the power struggle are stepping up their military preparations with increasing number and variety of potent weapons of mass destruction. The three-year moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons has been broken and the world is now threatened not only with an acceleration of the armaments race but also with the danger of pollution of its atmosphere by nuclear fall-out.

71. The major military Powers are assuming alarmingly grave responsibilities for the future of mankind, for increasingly they are holding the world hostage to their will. Yet, while recognizing the special position of these Powers in any efforts towards achieving a safer world to live in, we recognize at the same time that the dangers resulting from their failure to reach agreement will affect all nations alike, be they big or small, guilty or innocent, aggressor or victim. We have now come to a point in history where peace or war is indivisible. By the same token the responsibility of maintaining peace and avoiding war has also become indivisible. All nations big and small have the same stake and therefore the same responsibility. In short, we are all part of the enormous struggle of humanity itself to avert its own self-destruction.

72. Admittedly the medium and small Powers have neither the specialized knowledge nor the capacity to contribute directly to the lessening of tension. It nevertheless remains their responsibility individually, and more especially collectively, both by moral persuasion and by wise counsels, to help find ways and means of replacing mutual distrust and hostile rivalry with friendly relations and brotherly co-operation.

73. We have the means to do this, and that is why we are meeting here in the Assembly. The United Nations provides the forum for earnest discussion on the urgent problems besetting the world. The lofty principles enshrined in its Charter provide the guiding light for international conduct and propriety and, if faithfully adhered to, should ensure for humanity a peaceful world in freedom and justice. Whatever shortcomings and setbacks it may have suffered, the United Nations remains the only international body representing the collective will of mankind and therefore its collective wisdom. More than ever before, we the Members of the Organization are shouldering the heavy burden that has been entrusted to us which is, as set forth in the preamble of the Charter, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for treaties and international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

74. The Government and people of the Federation of Malaya steadfastly reaffirm their abiding faith in the United Nations. We believe that in order to be effective the United Nations must remain strong, and we would oppose any attempt, from whatever quarter, at reducing its efficiency. Like other newly-independent and emerging countries, particularly those of Asia and Africa, the Federation of Malaya regards the United Nations as a protector of its independence. We would regard any attempt to destroy the Organization or to reduce its effectiveness as indirectly an attempt to destroy or to jeopardize our own independence. Without the United Nations the peoples of the world will once again find themselves lost in a wilderness

where the weak have no defence against the bullying and exploitation of the strong.

75. My delegation deeply regrets that there has been a growing tendency on the part of some big Powers to render the Organization subservient to their interests. We fear that if this tendency is not arrested the United Nations will cease to function as the instrument to implement the collective will of mankind.

76. We recognize that there exists some imbalance in the composition of the major policy-making organs of the United Nations. We subscribe to the view held by a great majority of Members that in order to reflect the expanded membership of the Organization and to achieve a greater degree of geographical representation, the composition of these organs must be enlarged. This, we believe, is a necessary change, for it is a change not only toward greater efficiency but towards a higher degree of justice. The Federation of Malaya has been and is now ready to support any effort towards a revision of the Charter or an amendment to it in order to rectify this imbalance.

77. Unfortunately, however, owing to the attitude of some Members, the United Nations has not yet been able to find itself in that elusive propitious climate under which discussions on this very important matter can prove fruitful.

78. In considering the need for a change in the Charter it is the submission of my Government that we should be guided by the principle that a change is desirable only if it is deemed to improve and strengthen the Organization. A change that would have the effect of paralysing the activities of the Organization not only is undesirable, but also must be resisted at all costs.

79. In the light of these considerations the Government of the Federation of Malaya is categorically opposed to any proposal for the introduction of a "troika" panel of Secretaries-General to replace the present office of a single Secretary-General. It is our conviction that only a single chief executive, completely impartial and taking no instructions from any quarter external to the Organization, can faithfully and effectively implement the collective will of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

80. The United Nations is not an Organization of three blocs. Rather it is an Organization of 100 Members—and soon, we hope, there will be more—with equal sovereign status and each with a right to exercise its vote freely on all issues.

81. The organs of the United Nations provide a forum for discussion and exchanges of views, for proposals and counter-proposals; but, once a decision has been reached in these organs through parliamentary and democratic procedure, that decision becomes the collective will of the United Nations and should not be subject to a renewal of controversy, nor should its implementation be paralysed because of the objection of some Power or bloc, as would be the case if the chief executive organ of the United Nations were composed of a "troika" panel, each member having the right of veto. To accept a "troika" of Secretaries-General is tantamount to accepting the subordination of the collective will of the Organization to the whims and fancies of bloc power politics.

82. We are not blind to the reality of bloc power politics; nor are we blind, on the other hand, to the fact that this reality reflects an unhealthy situation in

international relations. Rather than passively capitulate to this reality the United Nations should, on the contrary, strive to harmonize international relations in order that the present conflict of power blocs may eventually give way to co-operation among nations. That is the ideal enshrined in the Charter, and were we to jeopardize the aspirations of the United Nations towards achieving this ideal we would be untrue to the Charter and guilty of betraying the hopes of mankind.

83. I am comforted to note from statements that we have so far heard in the Assembly the manifestation of a distinct awareness of the dangers inherent in the introduction and perpetuation of bloc Power politics in the Organization.

84. The tragic and untimely death of the late Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, is a sad loss to the Organization. His memory still remains fresh in our minds, and his dedication to the ideals of universal peace and justice must remain a source of inspiration to all of us.

85. With the United Nations holding so much responsibility in these critical times, it is imperative that no time be wasted in searching for a man of outstanding calibre and personality to carry out the functions of Secretary-General.

86. While urgent efforts must be made for the selection of a chief executive, even on an interim basis, to carry out the functions of Secretary-General, we have to be mindful at the same time of the necessity of maintaining the integrity, effectiveness and impartiality of that office. Any solution that has the effect of reducing the capacity of the chief executive to implement impartially and effectively the collective will of the Organization has to be rejected if the Organization is to remain the effective international instrument for peace and justice envisaged by the authors of the Charter and hoped for by peoples all over the world.

87. Items concerning disarmament and other related questions once again figure prominently on the agenda of the Assembly. To the list of items which have figured on the agenda of previous sessions of the Assembly has now been added a new item which appropriately puts in sharp focus the extreme urgency of concluding a treaty on a nuclear test ban under effective international control.

88. Despite the lull in disarmament talks since the break-up of the negotiations in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament a year ago, the world had at least entertained some hope, however slender, of a successful outcome of the Geneva negotiations on a nuclear test ban.^{5/} But even this hope was shattered by the unilateral decision of the Soviet Union, followed by that of the United States, to resume nuclear testing, thus ending our short-lived honeymoon with the three-year moratorium. The renewal of nuclear testing is not only a serious set-back in our quest for disarmament, not only a major cause of further aggravation in international tension and of further acceleration in the armaments race, but also a grave threat to the health and lives of the world's population.

89. In the interest of all mankind, of this and future generations, we would earnestly urge that the nuclear

^{5/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, opened at Geneva on 31 October 1958.

Powers immediately exert all efforts towards reaching an effective ban on nuclear testing. The record of the Geneva talks does reveal some areas of agreement, and, if these negotiations are pursued with vigour and sincerity, it should not be beyond the wisdom of man to overcome technical and procedural difficulties. The Federation of Malaya, therefore, welcomes the initiative of the United States and the United Kingdom [see A/4799] in utilizing the forum of the Assembly to urge the resumption of negotiations aimed at achieving a solution on banning nuclear testing under effective international control and inspection.

90. While recognizing that the problem of banning nuclear tests is closely linked with the whole disarmament question, we believe, nevertheless, that in the circumstances of the present-day world a permanent banning of nuclear testing under effective international control is a first logical step towards the gradual approach to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

91. The Federation of Malaya fully endorses the view that a treaty on a nuclear test ban need not await, in fact it should not await, general and complete disarmament. Disarmament is a highly complex and intricate problem, and experience has shown how difficult it is even to reach agreement on general principles. To make the conclusion of a treaty on a nuclear test ban conditional upon the successful conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament would be to take unnecessarily grave risks; for, if nuclear testing is not halted, and halted soon, the world's population may be subject to untold hazards of atomic radiation resulting from a continued series of nuclear blasts. Although it is unquestionably our ultimate objective, general and complete disarmament must necessarily take considerable time and laborious negotiations before it can be attained. To the millions of the world's population, general and complete disarmament would become meaningless if, in the meantime and while it is being negotiated, the atmosphere of the world continued to be contaminated with the deadly particles of nuclear fall-out.

92. In the larger field of disarmament, my delegation welcomes with relief the joint statement [A/4879] of the United States and the Soviet Union, issued on 20 September 1961, on agreed principles to guide future negotiations on disarmament. We welcome particularly the appeal of President Kennedy to the Soviet Union to proceed henceforth beyond mere agreements in principle towards agreement on plans of action [1013th meeting, para. 54]. It is our profound hope that the current series of high-level talks between the United States and the Soviet Union will result in the relaxation of tension, the restoration of a larger degree of mutual trust and confidence, and the early resumption of negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

93. To our world, which has suffered two global wars in half a century and which is now facing a constant threat of another and infinitely more terrible war, the attainment of general and complete disarmament is of paramount importance—indeed, it is a matter of life and death. But it is a highly complex and intricate problem. The disarmament problem is closely tied to the problem of maintaining national and international security. Nations have armed themselves to the teeth in the interest of national security, and indeed the peace of the post-war years has

been maintained by the balance of terror of the nuclear deterrent. Thus disarmament, if not effectively supervised and controlled, can constitute a national and international risk. The Federation of Malaya, therefore, deems it quite indispensable, if disarmament is to be consistent with the security of all nations, and if disarmament is really to bring peace to earth, that any programme of disarmament should be carried out under effective international control and inspection. With this same consideration in mind, it is also our view that a disarmament programme must be so planned and phased that at any point of its execution no nation or group of nations will gain a military advantage to the detriment of another nation or group of nations.

94. The Federation of Malaya believes in the objective of general and complete disarmament, but we do not believe that it can be achieved in one stroke. Disarmament has to proceed step by step, stage by stage, until it is general and complete. We believe that a start, however modest, must be made and we would urge the Powers principally concerned to initiate modest measures of disarmament in areas where agreement can be established. These will be followed by other measures, and in that process mutual suspicion and distrust is bound to give way to a greater degree of mutual confidence and faith, so that the more difficult measures of disarmament can be planned and carried out in more favourable conditions.

95. The acute international tension of our day, of which the armaments race is both a cause as well as a manifestation, finds expression also in the Berlin crisis. Although the question does not appear on the agenda of the Assembly, there is no escaping the conclusion that it is a grave threat to the peace not only of Europe but of the whole world. The Federation of Malaya, like all other peace-loving countries, is gravely concerned at the turn of events in Berlin. The problem must be settled by peaceful negotiations. The Powers principally involved have a grave responsibility. Any mishandling of the situation may bring the tension to flash point. Any unilateral act on the part of one side in violation of obligations arising from treaties and agreements freely concluded will unavoidably produce reactions with harmful consequences to world peace. We believe that the German people are as closely involved in the whole question as the other Powers and, therefore, any solution should have due regard not only to the sanctity of treaties and agreements, but also to the freely expressed wishes of the German people themselves. We welcome the assurances of President Kennedy that the United States Government will spare no effort in exploring all possibilities of negotiations in regard to this question.

96. Another problem over which the Federation of Malaya is gravely concerned is the crisis still obtaining in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville). No doubt the situation has shown some considerable improvement. In this everlasting tribute is due to the efforts of the late Secretary-General and his collaborators, as well as to those Member States which have readily come to the support of the United Nations operations. The reconvening of Parliament and the reconciliation of national leaders have helped to restore normality in most parts of the Republic and have made possible the establishment of a Central Government of national unity.

97. In the Katanga province, however, the problem remains largely unsolved. The Government of the Federation of Malaya deeply regrets the recent fighting in the province and strongly deplores the action of foreign mercenaries in the province in instigating the Katanga "gendarmarie" to resist the United Nations efforts at implementing the Security Council resolution of 21 February 1961.^{6/} There is no doubt in anyone's mind that the foreign mercenaries still constitute a major source of trouble in the Congo, and it has become all the more urgent that their withdrawal, as required by the Security Council resolution, should be effected without delay.

98. My Government would appeal to all Member States either to give their continued support in material and men to the United Nations operations, or to abide faithfully by the Security Council resolution not to interfere, in whatever manner, in the affairs of the Republic. Only through such loyal and unselfish support can the Congo's territorial integrity be restored and the crisis in Katanga prevented from becoming another powder-keg.

99. It is an ironic twist of fate that the late Secretary-General, who in the last year gave so much of his time and energy to the Congo, had to pay the ultimate price for that cause. We all mourn his sad and tragic loss. But his death is still surrounded by mysteries. In order that the whole story may be told, my delegation will lend its support to any proposal for the institution of a thorough investigation into the circumstances attending the death of the late Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and of those who perished with him.

100. A depressing problem which requires our most serious attention is the defiant attitude of some Member States towards the resolutions of the Assembly, and their flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The intransigence of the Government of South Africa in maintaining its apartheid policy is a classic example. Not only has the South African Government shown complete disregard of every resolution that this Assembly has adopted on this question and utter contempt for public opinion all over the world, it has also intensified its apartheid practice, and has even tried, in a demonstration of sheer hypocrisy, to establish its justification. The Government and people of the Federation of Malaya cannot but express their abhorrence of this arrogant display of the flagrant flouting of the basic principles of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights, especially when this is done by the Government of a country which, as a Member of the United Nations, professes to subscribe to the Charter.

101. South Africa cannot for ever turn its back on the mounting tide of resentment against the inhumanity and cruelty of its apartheid policy and practice. Even as a human problem, as a problem involving large-scale violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, apartheid cannot be shut off from public discussion in the General Assembly by closing the door of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. The Assembly has in many resolutions established its competence to deal with the problem. The Federation delegation has this year, and will do so again in future years, if necessary, associated itself with a great number of other delegations in

requesting the inclusion of the apartheid question on the Assembly's agenda [see A/4804 and Add.1-5].

102. Regarding the recommendation of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, the Federation Government has passed legislation, in fact, it did so even prior to the adoption of the Assembly's resolution [1598 (XV)] prohibiting the importation of goods of South African origin into the Federation of Malaya. The Federation Government will maintain this policy and will give its support to any other measures consistent with the United Nations Charter aimed at bringing about a realization and a change of heart on the part of the South African Government.

103. Further up north on the continent of Africa, the Portuguese Government is putting up a desperate and stubborn resistance against the rising tide of Angolan nationalism. As in the case of South Africa, the Portuguese Government, hiding behind the shield of domestic jurisdiction, has disregarded the resolution [1603 (XV)] adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly and the subsequent resolution of the Security Council.^{7/}

104. It is unrealistic and an act of folly on the part of the Portuguese Government to cling to the outmoded contention that Angola is an integral part of Portugal and to deny the Angolans their right to self-determination. Angola is a colony of Portugal, no matter what the Portuguese Government may claim to the contrary. The sooner the Portuguese Government recognizes this fact of life and discharges its obligations to prepare the Angolan people for complete independence, the better it will be for future relations between Angola and Portugal, and the better it will serve the cause of the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the African continent.

105. Algeria is another spot in Africa where colonialism is putting up a desperate and losing battle. After seven bitter years the senseless war in Algeria is still going on. The people of the Federation of Malaya, themselves a colonial people not too long ago, have full sympathy with the aspirations of the Algerians to attain independence. We recognize the difficulties attending the Algerian problem and the numerous impediments to be removed before a just and equitable solution is found. But at least the principal basis of a solution—namely the right of the Algerian people to self-determination—has been recognized both by the United Nations and by President de Gaulle. The recent assurances by President de Gaulle of his recognition of Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara leads us further to believe that renewed negotiations between France and the Algerian nationalists should finally pave the way for a solution based on the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and on the national and territorial integrity of Algeria.

106. Every human being is entitled to the free enjoyment of his basic rights and fundamental freedoms—be he white, black or yellow. In dealing with the violations of human rights that occur in various parts of the world, the United Nations is thus under an obligation to examine these problems in their entirety. It would be an act of grave injustice, contrary to the principle of the universal application of the Declaration of Human Rights, were the Organization for some reason or other to direct its attention

^{6/} Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1961, document S/4741.

^{7/} *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1961, document S/4835.

only to those instances in which the oppressed are the Coloured, and the oppressors the White. We who believe in the United Nations Charter as the basic law of human decency and justice and as the foundation for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law should deem it our fundamental obligation under the Charter to speak out against violation of the basic rights of peoples wherever and by whomsoever that violation is perpetrated.

107. So, to the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya, the repressive measures directed by the Chinese Communist authorities against the Tibetan people are no less a crime against the basic rights of peoples than is apartheid in South Africa or any other instance of large-scale violation of human rights.

108. In the case of the Tibetan people, with no means of effective defence against its powerful oppressors, only the United Nations and the moral force of world public opinion can save it from the forcible deprivation of its basic rights and liberties. The Organization would stand judged as having failed in its duty and responsibility were it to turn its back on the plight of the Tibetan people. Our endeavour to save succeeding generations from the evils of imperialism will be meaningless if we fail to make it doubly certain today that no new system of imperialism rears its ugly head to take the place of the old and dying one.

109. In reflecting upon the problem of decolonization, my delegation finds considerable satisfaction in noting that in many cases the process of decolonization has been carried out in a smooth manner. The General Assembly only a few days ago [1018th meeting] unanimously approved the membership of Sierra Leone. Soon Sierra Leone will be followed by Tanganyika, and no doubt by many others. It is to the everlasting credit of the United Kingdom's enlightened policy of preparing its dependent peoples for independence that Sierra Leone—as in the case of many other territories under United Kingdom administration before that, including my own country—has enjoyed a peaceful transition from colonial status to sovereign independence. We profoundly hope that the birth of other new nations also will take place in similar harmonious and peaceful circumstances.

110. It is precisely in keeping with this ideal, as much as with our avowed opposition to colonialism generally in all its forms and manifestations, that my delegation became one of the original sponsors of last session's resolution [1514 (XV)] on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries. That resolution contains some of the loftiest ideals enshrined in the Charter, but more than that, in the practical sense, one of its principal objectives is to urge the Administering Authorities to take immediate steps to prepare subject peoples for sovereign status and to facilitate a peaceful transition towards the cherished goal of independence.

111. The Government of the Federation of Malaya attaches the greatest importance to the principles and objectives of the resolution. And we believe too that in its proper implementation, quite apart from the major role that Administering Authorities must naturally play in hastening the attainment of its objectives, there is sufficient scope in special circumstances for a contribution by others not directly connected with the administration of dependent territories.

112. It is in the light of this consideration, apart from geographical, ethnic and cultural ties, that our Prime Minister recently proposed the formulation of the Federation of Malaya. For many decades the eleven States now comprising the Federation of Malaysia, and our sister territory Singapore, an island located at the southernmost tip of the Malay Peninsula, and Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, all located on the island of Borneo, have been under British colonial administration. Through negotiation and the liberal understanding of the United Kingdom Government, as well as through the statesmanship of our leaders and the enthusiastic nationalism of our people, the eleven States of the Federation of Malaya have succeeded in achieving independence ahead of the other States.

113. We now feel that it is as much our responsibility as it is the United Kingdom's to help in bringing about a speedier end of colonial rule in these territories. In this connexion, the proposal for the Federation of Malaysia can, we believe, provide the framework within which this peaceful transition can be achieved. What is envisaged in this proposal is that the territories of Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, as well as the eleven States now forming the Federation of Malaya, will each and every one come together as equal constituent partners in the Federation of Malaysia. They will owe a common allegiance to the one motherland and jointly work out its future destiny.

114. This leads me to the subject of my concluding remarks, the question of international co-operation and interdependence in the economic, social, educational and cultural fields.

115. One of the primary purposes of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, thus promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. Ever since the attainment of independence, the Federation of Malaya has worked unceasingly to promote the application of this basic principle, which, I need hardly reiterate, is one of the corner-stones of our foreign policy.

116. Thus the Federation of Malaya has extensively participated in fruitful co-operation in the Commonwealth of Nations and in the Colombo Plan. In the United Nations itself my delegation has given its whole-hearted support to all measures aimed at facilitating and hastening the development of underdeveloped countries—of which, of course, my country is one—through international co-operation under the aegis of this Organization and its specialized agencies.

117. A country heavily dependent for its economic development and the social well-being of its peoples upon the export earnings of its primary commodities, the Federation of Malaya has joined in all international efforts to achieve a higher degree of commodity price stabilization. We note with satisfaction that the United Nations is undertaking extensive studies of this problem through the work of the Economic and Social Council and its fundamental commissions. Our keen participation in the work of the Commission on International Commodity Trade is a concrete evidence of our strong support for the efforts of the Organization in this sphere.

118. The genuine concern of the Federation of Malaya for international commodity price stabilization is further reflected by our participation in the International Tin Agreement of 1953, and the leading role we played in the consideration and drafting of the second International Tin Agreement.^{8/} We have also done our utmost to contribute to the work of the International Rubber Study Group in its extensive studies of the causes of rubber price fluctuations.

119. Our special emphasis on rubber and tin is readily understood when it is realized that the Federation of Malaya is today the world's largest producer of these two commodities, and about 80 per cent of our export earnings, which are so vital to the development of our young nation, comes from the export of rubber and tin. But it is not only in the narrow sphere of rubber and tin that we seek price stabilization. We believe that efforts and studies towards price stabilization should cover all primary commodities. For this, in our opinion, is one of the most important spheres of international co-operation in helping developing countries to maintain a stable economy and to hasten their economic and social development.

120. In our efforts towards this goal of economic stabilization, we would place strong emphasis on the co-operation of the industrially developed countries. Thus the Federation of Malaya reiterates its welcome to recent assurances made by the United States Government that it is willing to examine any reasonable proposal in respect of commodity trade. We hope that these assurances are the forerunner of a more positive approach on the part of the United States Government towards international commodity arrangements.

121. I would like, finally, to say a word on our recent decision to translate into a workable and practical programme the principle of international co-operation in the economic, social, educational, cultural and scientific spheres. Having learnt from our experience in the Colombo Plan and the Commonwealth of Nations of the mutual benefits accruing from international co-operation and convinced of the practicability of undertaking such co-operation on a regional level and of the immense potentialities arising therefrom, the Federation of Malaya, together with Thailand and the Philippines, has recently launched the Association of Southeast Asia. We hope through this Association to pool our joint and voluntary efforts for the increase of productivity in our respective countries and to help raise the standards of living of our people. Concerning itself only with matters of mutual interest, particularly in the economic, cultural and educational spheres, the Association is not to be a forerunner of a confederation of any kind, nor is it tied, or intended to be tied, to SEATO or any other military and defence arrangement, as has been alleged in certain quarters.

122. Thus isolated and divorced from any ideological or political considerations, the Association represents a new adventure in mutual co-operation in economic and social advancement among neighbouring countries; it represents a desire on the part of all the partners to promote a better understanding and appreciation of each other in a region where for so long, owing to the force of history, neighbourliness has only a geographical meaning.

123. Above all, the Association represents our sincere belief and hope that despite differences in culture, language and religion and despite other barriers, the nations of the world, particularly if they are neighbours in a common region, can and should live side by side, not in passive coexistence or wasteful competition, but in positive co-operation. Our venture may be a small beginning but it is our profound hope that in time, and with dedicated efforts on our part, it will bring gratifying rewards to our respective countries, promote stability in our region, and establish true and lasting friendships among our peoples. This should be a significant contribution to the stability and peace of the world in general. In choosing this happy note on which to conclude my statement, I only wish to express our optimism that in a world torn asunder by mistrust, suspicion and fear, it should still be possible for nations to initiate a movement, however modest in its beginning, towards co-operation and solidarity.

124. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): This is the first time since the foundation of the United Nations that Africa's right to share the highest responsibilities within the Organization has been recognized. The delegation of Cuba is very happy that a representative from that continent, which has been humiliated, exploited and oppressed for centuries, has been elected to preside over the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. We must emphasize that this did not happen by chance. It was a clear and forceful expression of will which reflects the changes which have taken place both in the structure of international relations and in the composition of the United Nations.

125. I should like to congratulate Mr. Slim on behalf of the Government and people of Cuba and to ask him to assure the Government and people of Tunisia of our solidarity with them in their firm and heroic reply to imperialist aggression.

126. Considered purely from the point of view of its geographical dimensions, Cuba is one of the smallest nations in the world community. This circumstance, however, does not dismay or disturb Cuba in the exercise of its rights and duties as a country which bases its concept of international relations on respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, the full enjoyment of sovereignty, the principle of non-intervention, the sovereign equality of States and their peaceful coexistence whatever their political and social systems.

Mr. Schurmann (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

127. Cuba raises its voice in the United Nations without faltering, quibbling or grovelling. It believes in what it says and says what it thinks. The revolution, which has radically transformed its spirit, its structure and its appearance, has divorced it from lies and wedded it to the truth. Although it has no power to decide on the solution of conflicts which are beyond its scope, it feels itself fully competent to give its views and to take a stand on the dramatic problems which affect the dignity, survival and progress of peoples. It is not in vain that Cuba has ceased to be a mere onlooker and has assumed an active role. The minute Caribbean island is at present the scene of an epic feat: the building of a socialist society within ninety miles of an empire which is stubbornly resolved to stem the inexorable flow of history.

^{8/} Signed on 24 June 1960.

128. It is ninety-three years today since the Cuban people began their tremendous struggle for self-determination, independence and sovereignty. It so happens that Cuba's statement in the general debate coincides with this anniversary in its history, the beginning of the heroic deeds, the frustrations, misery, servitude, shame and rebellions which culminated in the radiant dawn of 1 January 1959.

129. The complete destruction of the edifice of power which supported the Batista tyranny brought about the necessary conditions for the further development of the revolutionary process, which, in successive stages and with lightning speed, gave the Cuban people national and social emancipation and in the Declaration of Havana proclaimed as a condition and guarantee of the cult of human dignity, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Liberating itself from the political, economic, diplomatic and military domination of United States imperialism, which had replaced the Spanish colonial system by deceit, bribery and force, and laying the foundations of a free, just, enlightened and prosperous society, the Cuban people, under the guidance of Fidel Castro, achieved the age-old aspirations of the nation, as new prospects which had existed in the visions and hopes of José Martí opened out before it.

130. Ninety-three years after the beginning of this process, the single star on our flag shines forth as a symbol of the fusion of reality and hope.

131. The long list of problems facing the General Assembly is an unmistakable sign of the increasing seriousness and complexity of the international situation. The United Nations was originally established to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It is sad to note that, despite the ardent longing of the peoples of the world for peace and security, it has not even been possible to do away with all traces of the terrible hecatomb which led to its establishment. Mankind has been driven once more to the brink of war by the ambition, blindness and selfishness of the imperialist and colonial Powers—but a war which would differ radically from former wars: the death-dealing power of thermonuclear weapons is of such a nature and extent that it could turn the planet into a ball of lifeless ashes revolving through space. In this state of affairs we are logically faced with a choice between war and peace. It is no secret that the way out of this situation is general and complete disarmament. The complete abolition of the means of destruction is the only way to prevent war and consequently the direct and indirect dangers involved in thermonuclear tests. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been compelled to resume such tests in order to preserve its national security, the security of the socialist camp and the security of all peace-loving peoples and States, which is gravely threatened by the unbridled preparations of the NATO Powers for war.

132. Thus the problem of disarmament is the most important and urgent item on the agenda of this session.

133. The history of the frustration of the negotiations on general and complete disarmament is familiar to all, and international public opinion has already condemned the great Powers which are responsible for it. The action [resolution 1378 (XIV)] taken by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the fourteenth session gained the firm support of the immense majority of States Members of the United

Nations. The delegations of India, Indonesia and Ghana submitted a draft resolution^{2/} on the basic principles of general and complete disarmament. But the inflexible opposition of the United States delegation and its allies at the fifteenth session prevented the adoption of any decision on the question of general and complete disarmament. The present state of the bilateral negotiations which opened this year between the Government of the Soviet Union and the United States allows us a ray of hope. The two Governments issued a joint statement of the principles which should govern general and complete disarmament. The delegation of Cuba regards their common conviction of the urgent need to reach an agreement on the matter as a step towards the attainment of peace. Yet there is still profound disagreement about the nature and extent of international control. The United States Government thinks that control should be restricted to the field of armaments, while the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposes that it should be extended to cover the very process of general and complete disarmament.

134. The delegation of Cuba is in favour of international control over general and complete disarmament. Mere control over armaments is not only ineffective: it is a source of war rather than of peace. To be frank, it is an excuse for aggression.

135. International peace and security depend, in fact, on whether or not a treaty on general and complete disarmament is concluded. Since this is a question which affects the vital interests of all peoples, the delegation of Cuba considers that all States, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, should take part in the coming talks and negotiations on general and complete disarmament. In accordance with the fundamental principles and purposes of its international policy and in compliance with an agreement reached by the Conference of the Heads of States or Government of Non-Aligned Countries which met recently at Belgrade, the delegation of Cuba asks that the representatives of those States should be included in the body responsible for drawing up the treaty on general and complete disarmament. The final abolition of war and the investment of the fabulous sums now spent on the manufacture of means of destruction in the economic development of the under-developed countries would make the achievements of science, technology and culture available to many peoples and would contribute to the expansion of material welfare and spiritual progress. The possibility of perpetual peace in a world of peaceful competition between systems, values and methods, is no longer a Utopian dream.

136. The Cuban delegation thinks that steps should be taken immediately to reduce international tension, to strengthen mutual confidence among States and to reduce the danger of war. Such steps could include the strengthening of peaceful coexistence, the freezing of military budgets, the unconditional renunciation of the use of thermonuclear weapons, the establishment of zones where the production, stockpiling and use of such weapons would be forbidden, the prohibition of surprise attacks until such time as a non-aggression pact is concluded between the military blocs, the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its rights in the United Nations, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States,

^{2/} A/C.1/L.259 and Add.1 and 2.

the settlement of the disputes between States by peaceful means, the disappearance of colonialism in every shape and form and the abolition of foreign military bases in countries whose Governments and peoples are opposed to their establishment or continued presence.

137. This last point applies to Cuba. The only military base in our country is neither Soviet nor Chinese: it belongs to the United States and was imposed when the Platt Amendment was enacted. This base, which has no strategic value for the military defence of the United States, has been repudiated by the Revolutionary Government and the Government of Cuba, not only because it infringes the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country but because it has become a bastion of United States imperialism against the popular movements of liberation in the Caribbean area and is now a centre of subversion, conspiracy, provocation and aggression and a serious danger to the independence of Cuba and to international peace and security. The Belgrade Conference explicitly recognized, in a separate clause, the inalienable right of the Cuban people to recover that portion of their national territory. My delegation solemnly reiterates before the United Nations General Assembly the intention of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to raise that claim at such time as it deems opportune and in the international forum which it considers appropriate. With equal solemnity it repeats that there has not been, nor is there now, any intention of resorting to force in order to recover the exercise of Cuba's sovereignty over that portion of its national territory which has been usurped. Finally, it should be realized that the strategy of provoked aggression at the military base at Guantanamo continues to be one of the favourite plans of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency. The countries which have foreign military bases on their territory should look at themselves in the mirror of Bizerta.

138. It must be agreed, however, that any conversations and even any agreements on general and complete disarmament would be futile if the People's Republic of China did not participate directly in such conversations and in the work of the body entrusted with the task of drawing up the relevant treaty. It is not possible to discuss peace, the abolition of colonialism and the granting of aid to under-developed countries unless the presence and co-operation of all peoples without exception is assured; this is particularly true of the question of peace and of the participation and vote of the People's Republic of China. Now is an excellent time to restore to the only legitimate Government of the Chinese people, without further delays or subterfuges, the rights inherent in self-determination, independence and sovereignty. The "theory" of the two Chinas, defended and upheld by the United States, is inadmissible because it is absurd and has been repudiated as false. My delegation proposes that as soon as the general debate is concluded the Assembly should restore to the People's Republic of China its place in this forum and in the Security Council. In so doing it would be not only rectifying an injustice compounded by inaction but also making real progress towards general and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the universality of the United Nations, from which the Mongolian People's Republic has been and still is inexplicably barred.

139. The adoption of the measures which have been briefly enumerated would do much, in the opinion of

my delegation, to prepare the ground and clear the air for drafting of the treaty on general and complete disarmament.

140. Of all these measures, the most urgent is unquestionably that relating to the liquidation of the consequences of the Second World War. The tensions existing in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America constitute a very grave threat to international peace and security. None of them, however, is as explosive as the situation which has developed in Berlin as a result of the systematic refusal of the United States, the United Kingdom and France to sign a peace treaty with Germany. The urgent need to find a peaceful solution to the situation created by this refusal, the irredentist policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the threats of the NATO Powers to maintain the status quo and even to annex the territory of the German Democratic Republic at the cost of a thermonuclear war—these leave little room for speculation. It is the course of events and their implications which dictate the solution in this case. The application of the principle of the self-determination of the German people and the reunification of Germany, which are invoked by some delegations as prerequisites for the signing of a peace treaty, are, objectively speaking, impracticable at the present stage in the development of the situation.

141. The existence of the German Democratic Republic is as irreversible as the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is only too well known which State was born first and what aims the three Western occupying Powers were pursuing when they made that forceps delivery. The fact is, however, that it exists as a State and that fact cannot be ignored. Neither the forcible absorption of the German Democratic Republic nor the forcible absorption of the Federal Republic of Germany would constitute an effective or lasting solution.

142. Proceeding on the basis of that premise, i.e., the objective existence of the German States as an irreversible fact, it may be seen that the only real way to overcome this situation is to sign a peace treaty with both the German States, to guarantee the inviolability of the borders laid down at Potsdam and to admit those States to the United Nations. The peace treaty would, of course, entail the conversion of West Berlin into a free demilitarized city and would expressly recognize and provide for the international defence of the right of its people to live under the social system of their choice and to maintain unrestricted relations with the outside world, while the obligations deriving from the German Democratic Republic's sovereignty over the means of access passing through its own territory would be complied with. Any other matters which might affect relations between the two States would fall within the exclusive competence of those two States themselves following the signing of the peace treaty.

143. This is not a matter which can be deferred. It is as urgent as it is important. The way it is decided will determine the future of mankind. Berlin is at the very heart of the "peace or war" dilemma. Those whose response to the rational proposal for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany is to unleash a thermonuclear conflagration, betray a degree of irresponsibility which borders on insanity and imbecility. My delegation, conscious that a catastrophe threatens, urges the parties concerned to take a peaceful settlement of this alarming situation.

144. This is, in essence, my delegation's position concerning a problem which reality, being stronger than rules and regulations, has inscribed on the Assembly's agenda with a prominence that cannot be challenged, although it has not been formally recommended by the General Committee.

145. One of the chronic disturbers of international peace and security and one of the main causes of the oppression, backwardness and poverty which exist in vast areas of the globe has been and is the colonialist system, formerly in its classic form and now as neo-colonialism, which is the form that imperialism takes in the politically emancipated countries where economic conditions are precarious and there is little awareness of the subtle tactics used by the wolf in sheep's clothing. Although in the dialectical development of the process of history colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism have been condemned to death, the sentence still remains to be carried out. The historic Declaration on the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960, was a harsh blow to colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. On the eve of the anniversary of that Declaration, not only has the course of events dampened the hopes placed in its application but the situation in Algeria, Angola, Uganda, Kenya, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and West Irian is even grimmer than it was a year ago. Only one Territory has obtained independence since then: Sierra Leone. My delegation extends to it the warmest greetings.

146. The heroic people of Algeria are continuing to shed their blood as the Government of France fails to move from promises to deeds. France will never be able to conquer the Algerian people by military might. The Algerians have already won the full right to self-determination, independence, territorial unity and sovereignty, and they will win the exercise of that right either by force of arms or by agreements which will allow of no compromise. It is simply a question of time.

147. The imperialist machinations designed to bring about the secession of the Province of Katanga from the Republic of the Congo are being carried on behind the scenes. The plot which is being hatched must be watched carefully. The Central Government of the Congo, reconstituted and propped up by Parliament, is not yet strong enough to resist another neo-colonialist assault such as that which preceded the foul murder of Patrice Lumumba.

148. The Congo belongs exclusively to the Congolese and it is for them alone to solve their problems. The action of the United Nations has been too negative to justify placing any faith in it. To the great havoc wrought and the many crimes committed under its aegis must be added the strange death of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, and those accompanying him.

149. The atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese authorities in Angola and Mozambique with the concealed support of the NATO Powers, especially in the former of those two Territories, where more horrors are being recorded with every passing day, must be stopped and punished.

150. The inhabitants of Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya are the victims of oppression, poverty and backwardness under United Kingdom rule.

The same thing is happening in Ruanda-Urundi under the Belgian yoke. Over West Irian, a Territory which belongs to Indonesia, dark clouds are gathering. In the Republic of South Africa and in the Territory of South West Africa, which is under the despotic rule of the Republic, racial discrimination has been made the essential tool of the ruling Power, which has set itself the goal of exterminating the African population. Such monstrous evil has not been seen since the days of Hitler.

151. My delegation calls for immediate decisions on these matters, expresses its abhorrence of that system of political cannibalism and views in the same light all existing forms of racial discrimination, wherever they may be found; in this connexion I may mention the vexations and abusive treatment by the United States authorities of African diplomats representing their countries in the United Nations.

152. I take this opportunity to denounce the restrictive measures, constituting a violation of diplomatic immunity, which the Government of the United States applies to the Permanent Representative and members of the Mission of Cuba.

153. It is obvious that the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists are acting in concert, in Laos as in Angola, in a desperate effort to prevent the crumbling and collapse of the turgid system which has enriched them at the expense of the labour, poverty, ignorance and blood of millions of human beings.

154. The Cuban delegation considers it essential that the General Assembly should without delay provide the necessary means for bringing about, within a specified time, the abolition of colonialism wherever it may exist and in whatever form it may appear. It must point out, however, that the colonial system is not confined to Africa, Asia and Oceania and that the European Powers are not the only colonial Powers. There are still territories in America under United Kingdom, French and Netherlands domination; there is also a people, akin to us in history, language and aspirations, which has every right and qualification to govern itself as an independent, free and sovereign nation but which nevertheless forms a part of the colonial system of the United States. I refer to Puerto Rico, that unrecovered island which José Martí hoped to liberate together with Cuba but which has not yet been able to come into our America. Until that happens, the Declaration on the independence of colonial countries and peoples will remain in force, even though the last vestiges of colonialism may have disappeared from the rest of the world.

155. The Cuban delegation proposed that Puerto Rico should be included in the resolution to be adopted for the implementation of the mandate laid down in the Declaration approved by the General Assembly. The right to self-determination is as indivisible as peace.

156. The Cuban delegation considers it essential that the obsolescent machinery of the United Nations should be reformed to bring it into harmony with the development of the international situation and the increase in the number of its Members. It will not be enough to ensure that Africa and Asia are equitably represented in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council; it is also necessary to increase their participation in all the specialized agencies and above all, to make the necessary changes in the Secretariat to adapt it to the exigencies, realities and currents of contemporary international life so

that it may function impartially, dynamically and effectively. Colonialism must also be banished from the principal organs of the United Nations. This reform should be completed with the abolition of the Trusteeship System.

157. With regard to the immediate problem facing the Secretariat as a consequence of the tragic death of its Secretary-General, the Cuban delegation accepts in principle the formula recommended by the Security Council: namely, the appointment of an Acting Secretary-General to be assisted by various Under-Secretaries who will work in close agreement and co-operation with him. The United States claim that the Acting Secretary-General should be elected by the General Assembly is completely arbitrary and its objective is obviously to impose someone on the Organization by means of its mechanical majority.

158. There have been various references to Cuba in the course of the general debate. This is only natural since Cuba is today one of the most serious centres of international tension. Well, is its Government or its people to blame for that or is it the sole fault of United States imperialism, which, in its idle attempt to restore the crumbling colonial system and to impose a puppet government on the Cuban people has not hesitated to endanger international peace and security?

159. The repeated and well-grounded accusations and claims which Cuba has made in the Security Council and in the General Assembly have been provoked by the wilful acts of aggression and intervention by the United States Government in its internal affairs. I am not inventing any tendentious stories; I am presenting incontrovertible facts. The President of the United States himself has publicly accepted full responsibility for the organization, financing, direction and failure of the invasion by mercenaries at Playa Girón which was crushed by the Cuban people and their armed forces.

160. Despite the universal revulsion which this act of piracy aroused in world public opinion, the United States Government is preparing new plans of aggression and acts of interference, in complete contempt of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of American States and of international peace and security. It was to expose these new plans of aggression and acts of interference, with the aid of incontrovertible facts and dates, that the Cuban complaint was submitted for inclusion in the agenda.

161. On this occasion the Cuban delegation will merely place the General Assembly on the alert and provide it with some background data. The territory of the United States, the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, the plantations of Guatemala, the ranches of Nicaragua, the estates of the Dominican Republic and the Panama Canal Zone have been and are being used as training camps and centres for mercenaries, and the agents of the Central Intelligence Agency and Cuban counter-revolutionaries are, by various ways and means, smuggling explosive material and arms into Cuba for purposes of sabotage, acts of terrorism and attacks on individuals. The discovery of the plan to assassinate Major Raúl Castro, Minister of the Armed Forces, which was conceived and planned at the United States military base of Guantánamo, and the recent plot to do away with Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, are convincing proofs of this sinister intrigue; so also

are the clandestine printing of a preposterous decree according to which the right of patria potestas is to be revoked and the crude forgery of documents attributed to the Cuban Foreign Office which was done at more or less the same time in Argentina and the Philippines with the object of forcing those Governments to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

162. The trick is as old as it is contemptible. When on 15 April last we challenged the United States representative to produce the mythical pilots of the Cuban Air Force who were supposed to have deserted and to have bombed Havana, the facts proved that those pilots were mercenaries in the pay of the Government of the United States. Again today we challenge him to prove the authenticity of the documents which the Central Intelligence Agency has forged and which are said to have been removed from the Cuban Embassy at Buenos Aires. We know in advance that the result will be the same.

163. The purpose of these manoeuvres is quite clear. In view of the obstacles which, since the Inter-American Economic Conference at Punta del Este and the failure of the military coup in Brazil, it has encountered in its efforts to convene a meeting of the Presidents of the Latin American Republics in Washington and subsequently a conference of Foreign Ministers, the United States Government is bringing pressure to bear on the Latin American Governments to force them individually and in turn to break off diplomatic relations with the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, just as it has already succeeded in doing, by similar methods, with Guatemala, Peru, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica. It will then seek in the Organization of American States to give these measures a collective character, thus setting the stage for a military aggression, also of a collective character, on the pretext that Cuba constitutes "a danger to the security of the hemisphere" because it intervenes in the domestic affairs of other States, and thus, with unparalleled cynicism, trying to make the victim of its acts of aggression and interference, perpetrated in collusion with its Latin American vassals, appear to be the villain of the piece.

164. The renewal of the campaign of calumny against the Cuban revolution by the news services of the Department of State and the forgery of official documents by the Central Intelligence Agency with the connivance of Cuban counter-revolutionaries are the basic ingredients of the plan to isolate Cuba diplomatically. A secondary theme which it has shamelessly exploited has been the Revolutionary Government's behaviour to the Catholic Church, which, like all religions, has been and will continue to be scrupulously respected by the Revolutionary Government so long as its activities remain within the law. Similarly, the propaganda conducted by United States imperialism and its henchmen sheds crocodile tears over the execution, in conformity with the legislation in force, of war criminals, terrorists, traitors and foreign agents.

165. The shameless allegations, oblique references and appeals for surrender which we have heard from certain specific speakers or have read in the Press—including statements by two Presidents of Latin American Republics, one abjuring the principle of non-intervention and the other offering his adherence to the "free world" in exchange for his preservation in power—are in conformity with the strategy and tactics of the United States Government.

166. Let us hear no more of these hypocritical lamentations and dubious digressions about Cuba having withdrawn from the "inter-American system". Let us tell the truth. Let us say that Cuba can neither admit nor accept the United States Government's concept of the Organization of American States as a Ministry of Colonies. And let us also say that, despite the worthy efforts made by a minority of respected and respectable Governments, the Organization of American States has given the green light to the United States Government's aggressive and interventionist policy towards Cuba. It has not been this Organization which has so far prevented a United States military invasion, as it ought to have done in accordance with the letter of its standards and principles; it has rather been the Cuban people's decision to conquer or die, the warnings of the Soviet Union, the support of the socialist camp, the backing of the non-aligned countries, the firm attitude of various Latin American Governments and the militant solidarity of all the peoples of the world.

167. Cuba is a small country which asks only to be allowed to work out its own life in peace. It does not and cannot constitute a threat to any country, least of all to the United States, whose arsenals are overflowing with thermonuclear bombs and rockets. Cuba has declared over and over again that it is prepared to settle its differences with the United States through bilateral negotiations, on a footing of equality and with an open agenda, excluding only the subject of its independence and sovereignty, which are not negotiable.

168. The Government of the United States, however, not only has stubbornly refused to enter into unconditional discussions with Cuba but, to use the words of Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, the President of the Republic, when he spoke at the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, it "organized a commercial and economic blockade against our little country, fostered a conspiracy of terrorism under the direction of the Central Intelligence Agency, and crowned its villainies with the bombardment and armed invasion of our territory".

169. The President went on to say: "With outstanding courage, the Cuban people routed the mercenary troops which the Government of the United States, on its own confession, had equipped and organized to destroy the Cuban revolution. The revolution gained in strength and cohesiveness after the victory against the invaders; nevertheless, not only did we again express our desire to live in peace and to develop our country without external military conflicts but we also proposed, and explicitly stated our readiness to accept, the friendly mediation of various Latin American Governments in exploring the possibilities of just and honourable negotiations with the Government of the United States. The arrogant response of the Government of the United States of America to the peaceful and dignified conduct on the part of the Cuban Revolutionary Government was to pursue its aggressive aims and to declare its irrevocable determination not to enter into any negotiations with the Cuban Government. Thus this imperialist Government refuses an honourable and peaceful understanding with a small country like ours and proclaims the necessity of destroying the work of our revolution".

170. Mr. Alfonso Arino de Melho Franco, the distinguished former Foreign Minister and present representative of Brazil, stated the position of

the genuinely representative Governments of Latin America towards the Cuban revolution plainly and unequivocally: "Respect for sovereignty, based on the principle of non-intervention"—I am quoting literally—"constitutes an imperative duty of international life and an essential condition for the restoration of continental harmony. Brazil considers that Cuba alone can decide its own destiny".

171. Leave Cuba in peace and you will see how the focus of international tension deliberately created by the United States Government for the manifest purpose of reconquest and hegemony will at once disappear.

172. Yet I should warn you that the last word in the defence of Cuba's self-determination, independence and sovereignty rests with its people. On the occasion of the announcement of a forthcoming intervention by the Organization of American States in the affairs of our country, Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister and leader of the revolution, expressed himself as follows: "Cuba's right to self-determination is sacred and inalienable; it is not a right which the Cuban people will proclaim at the rostrum or in the public square but a right that we shall defend to the last drop of our blood on the battlefield, a right that we shall defend in our trenches with our weapons at our side, a right that we Cubans shall defend to the last patriot".

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

173. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): On behalf of the Malagasy Republic and its Head of State, Mr. Philibert Tsiranana, President of the Republic, I wish to offer our warm congratulations to Mr. Slim on his election as President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. We cannot forget that twice in 1960 he demonstrated his friendship to the Malagasy people and gave it powerful support: in June 1960, when he submitted Madagascar's application for membership to the Security Council, and in September of that year when he supported our final admission to membership of the United Nations. The Malagasy people also rejoice with all the African nations at the honour that the achievement of this high office by one of its most illustrious sons does to our continent.

174. It is my sad duty to pay my respects to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld. The world has lost a great man, one of those who are a credit to mankind; his name will remain in our memories long after so many passing triumphs have been forgotten. A high sense of duty, a lofty conception of his role, a dedicated search for everything which could help to make the dread spectre of war recede—these are some of the qualities which made Dag Hammarskjöld a living personification of the ideal which gathers a hundred free nations of the world together in this Assembly.

175. For the last few weeks the world has been plunged into fear and anguish. The two great Powers and their allies have been engaged in controversy which is likely to lead them along a dangerous path. The small nations are anxiously wondering what turn events will take, fearful that at any minute a rash and ill-advised action may unleash blind and destructive forces which will bring to nought the efforts the free peoples have been making in this Organization for the last sixteen years to maintain peace and to ensure that wise and conciliatory solutions may prevail over violence.

176. In this strange duel which is taking place above their heads, the outcome of which will nevertheless decide their future and even their lives, they have a part to play. For, in an upsurge of faith and generosity, the peoples who created the United Nations in 1945 agreed that in this Organization every nation, weak or powerful, would have an equal voice, the same opportunities for action and hence the same duties and responsibilities in the maintenance of peace.

177. It is in conformity with those principles that the Malagasy Republic is determined to make its contribution, during the sixteenth session, to any action which would result not only in preventing the cold war from turning into horrors of a real war but also, if possible, in bringing that cold war to an end, so that, returning to wisdom, reason and reality, the nations would decide to live together in peace.

178. We shall support with all our strength the proposals on the agenda of this session which are designed to put an end to nuclear explosions in any form and to bring about an agreement to outlaw these dreadful weapons. We also support the proposals for progressive general disarmament, simultaneous and controlled.

179. My delegation still thinks that the best bulwark against war lies in the strengthening of the collective security machinery provided for in the United Nations Charter and that for that purpose an effective executive is essential for the Organization. It will therefore oppose any measure likely to restrict the initiative and the powers of the Secretary-General, although it will not refuse to consider the institution of a system which would enable him to be assisted by competent colleagues.

180. During the fifteenth session emphasis was placed on the desirability of enabling the Member States, at present numbering 100, to participate more effectively in the two major United Nations bodies, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. My Government considers that that is an act of justice which should no longer be delayed and that, before the end of the sixteenth session, specific action should be taken to enlarge those bodies considerably. That should be done independently of any other discussion concerning some of the provisions of the Charter which one of the groups in the Assembly wishes to see amended.

181. Articles 52 and 53 of the Charter envisage the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with matters relating to international peace and security. It is in conformity with those provisions that, since the admission of my country to the United Nations, my delegation has belonged to the group of African and Asian countries and to the African group and has given them loyal and disinterested support. It was with the same idea that the Malagasy Republic took part in the big conference, at Monrovia,^{10/} of some twenty African and Malagasy nations. During that conference, resolutions were adopted for promoting friendship and co-operation among all the African nations, without exception, and for ensuring the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means.

182. Later, from 6 to 12 September 1961, twelve African and Malagasy Republics met at Tananarive^{11/}

^{10/} Conference of Africa and Malagasy Heads of State, held from 8 to 12 May 1961.

^{11/} Conference of the African and Malagasy Union.

and laid the foundations of the African and Malagasy Union. This Union is open to all peace-loving peoples who would like to work with us, within this fraternal organization, for the elimination of war and the development of international co-operation in the spirit of the Charter, and, more specifically, to collaborate for the defence of the integrity and independence of the African nations and for their economic and social development. For seven days, twelve Heads of State exchanged views, in a friendly atmosphere, on the great problems which plague the world. Scorning noisy publicity and avoiding all exaggerated statements, which could only stiffen the various positions, the Tananarive Twelve, anxious to preserve an impartial position between the two blocs, reaffirmed the principles which had been agreed upon at Monrovia and decided to unite their efforts to ensure that wise and conciliatory settlements should prevail. I will not dwell on the results of the Tananarive Conference, since the representative of Niger has just informed you of them, in all clarity and eloquence.

183. With regard to the vital problem of decolonization, my delegation, faithful to the decisions of the Tananarive Conference, will continue to give its full support to all decisions calculated to give the peoples who are still dependent an opportunity to express their free will as soon as possible and, through self-determination, to accede to independence if that is their wish. It hopes that Portugal, listening to the voice of reason, will liberate Angola and Mozambique as soon as possible.

184. My Government is opposed to all forms of racial discrimination. It will not hesitate to endorse any action designed to remove this shameful evil from the face of the earth, especially in South Africa. It feels, however, that decolonization alone is not enough.

185. For decolonization to achieve its goal, which is ultimately the liberation of man, the régimes of the independent countries must be democratic. My Head of State is a convinced democrat and he considers, as does the whole population of Madagascar, that a people living under a regime which is not based on the free consent of the people is not a free people.

186. My Government has never made a secret of the friendly relations existing between Madagascar and France, which as a result of free negotiation gave it self-government in 1958 and independence in 1960. It is because of that friendship that Madagascar fervently hopes that the Algerian conflict, which has been going on for seven years, may be brought to an end according to the principles laid down by the Charter, i.e., by the total decolonization of the Maghreb.

187. The obstacle of the Sahara having been finally surmounted, we urge the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic—as did the twelve Heads of State of the African and Malagasy Union at Tananarive—to resume their negotiations to determine the conditions for supervising the process of self-determination which should ensure the independence of Algeria, including the Algerian part of the Sahara, and this time to bring them to a successful conclusion.

188. The Malagasy delegation is happy to see that for Tunisia the absurd conflict which arose on 19 July 1961 is almost at an end and will soon be no more than a bad memory. It is glad to have contributed

loyally to that settlement by voting in favour of the resolution [1622 (S-III)] which called upon both parties to enter into negotiations.

189. With regard to the Congo, my Government's policy has never altered. It still considers that the United Nations must help that country to recover its balance, and, since its constitutional institutions have finally been established, to seek reconciliation and to forget past quarrels. My Government, faithful to its constant principle of respecting the right of peoples to self-determination, would have reservations if ever the United Nations, going beyond its role, gave its assistance to any military operations whose objective, whether avowed or secret, was to reduce opposition by force. I state categorically that the peoples of the Congo must be the sole masters of their fate and must remain free to adopt whatever form of government they may choose.

190. In order not to prolong this statement of general policy, may I be allowed to quote a few extracts from the speech made by Mr. Tsiranana, President of the Malagasy Republic, on 6 September 1961 at the opening of the Tananarive Conference. They throw light on the views of my people and their President concerning the events which are convulsing the world, and it is on that basis that my delegation, in close association with the eleven other States of the African and Malagasy Union, will determine its policy and its votes. I quote:

"We too could easily stoop to words and deeds which would demonstrate that in our minds decolonization has not been completed. But we can, I think, be proud to say that hatred does no good and that, as formerly colonized peoples, we do not want to become colonizers or ever to have to take up arms against anyone.

"All colonialism must disappear, all neo-colonialism must be destroyed in order to increase cohesion, interpenetration and peace among all the States inhabiting the vast continent of Africa. We hope that at the intercontinental level relations between countries may be developed in conditions and directions similar to those by which the establishment of our relations with France has been characterized, on the basis of reciprocal feelings of respect, generosity and understanding."

191. Political independence is not everything. It would even be a delusion unless every nation could achieve economic independence, which is a prerequisite for genuine independence.

192. The generous efforts which have been undertaken to help the under-developed countries to escape from poverty, and perhaps from despair, must continue and, with experience, become more and more effective.

193. My Government considers that international assistance and multilateral aid are undoubtedly necessary, but that the means that have been used so far are very paltry compared with the immense task which has yet to be accomplished. The reasons advanced against bilateral assistance agreements are, in its opinion, unsound. The first attribute of a sovereign State is the capacity to enter into agreements freely with whomsoever it wishes for its national defence and its economic life. My Government is therefore glad that there are many such agreements, whose replacement should not be contemplated until there is sufficient international assistance available.

194. It wishes, however, to draw attention to a problem which indeed did not escape the notice of the Assembly when the Committee for Industrial Development and the Commission on International Commodity Trade were set up. It seems to us essential that the work done by those two bodies should produce specific solutions quickly and that the important question of the stabilization of commodity prices should be settled satisfactorily. Indeed, it would be impossible for development programmes to be carried out rationally if unpredictable and frequently inexplicable variations in world prices of basic commodities were to upset the economic balance of the under-developed countries.

195. My delegation was delighted to co-sponsor the resolution [1623 (XVI)] admitting Sierra Leone to membership of the United Nations. I am happy to voice here the satisfaction felt by President Tsiranana, my Head of State, my Government and the Malagasy people as a whole at this auspicious event. Our most affectionate wishes will accompany the new State in its first steps on the road of independence and we rejoice to see one of the participants in the Monrovia Conference taking its seat in this Assembly.

196. Unfortunately another of the twenty-one States at that Conference is still awaiting admission: I refer to Mauritania, which is being kept out of the Assembly by a veto prompted by cold war considerations which have nothing to do with the merits of the case. I urge all those who are directly or indirectly involved in this unhappy state of affairs to reconsider their position and to cease frustrating the explicit will of the Assembly, which at its fifteenth session recommended the admission of Mauritania by 63 votes to 15 [989th meeting]. Is that the respect due to our Organization, that respect for the lack of which some countries have so often been reproached?

197. In December 1960, during the fifteenth session of the Assembly, we adopted, with unanimous and spontaneous enthusiasm, the resolution [1514 (XV)] designed to put an end to colonialism. I urge one and all to match their words by their deeds and not to oppose the admission of Mauritania, for the African and Malagasy people would not understand an attitude which would be in such flagrant contradiction with the statements made from the rostrum.

198. We welcomed the announcement that other African States will accede to independence in the next few months. We shall welcome them with equal joy, confident that one day all the peoples of Africa, free or liberated, will be represented in this Assembly.

199. Despite the shadows which have been hanging over mankind for the last few months, despite the atmosphere of terror in which we live, trembling for our fate and that of our children, mankind has not lost all hope, for there are some rays of light. One of the most comforting is the fact that a hundred nations are today gathered in this Hall to study ways of emerging from this labyrinth and embarking upon a future of light and hope.

200. Must mankind finally be defeated? To think that is to disregard the message which, from beyond the grave, Dag Hammarskjöld, and with him all the generous souls who have worked for peace, have left us.

201. No, let us combine our good will, let us unite in one and the same desire to save the thousands of millions of human beings living on the earth who have

placed their faith in us. Let us swear that we shall do all we can to ensure that this planet does not sink into the eternal silence of the icy universe and infinite space.

202. Mr. BENJELLOUN (Morocco) (translated from French): As I take my turn to intervene in this particularly important debate, I would like to offer the President my sincere and fraternal congratulations and to express the satisfaction of the Moroccan delegation at seeing a son of the Arab Maghreb, a man who is loyal to the African cause and devoted to the principles of the United Nations Charter, elected to the highest office of our Organization. At the personal level, too, how could I not be proud and touched to see one who was formerly a fellow-student, and a comrade-in-arms in the struggle for our peoples' liberation, become President of this Assembly?

203. I am happy to see him in the Chair, and I am confident that his intellectual qualities and his experience will enable him to deal successfully with the problems confronting this sixteenth session, which has been referred to in this hall as the "session of the brink".

204. I have listened carefully and given thought to the words of the distinguished speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum.

205. I believe that the anxieties they have expressed reflect the uneasiness and apprehension of the peoples which they represent. All of us are deeply disturbed in face of the blind forces which are buffeting the world. In fact—why hesitate to say it?—we are all afraid. Yes, we are afraid of war. But that fear may be beneficial and may contain the seeds of our salvation. Amid the variety of the statements made from this rostrum and the diversity of the attitudes expressed in them, one can discern a general conviction that the persistence of the present disputes is futile and dangerous, that it is time to put an end to artifices and procedural battles, and that consideration for the welfare of mankind must prevail over considerations of self-esteem and prestige and aspirations to greatness. World opinion today is sufficiently enlightened and conscious of the real values, essential to humanity and necessary for the continuance of its mission of progress on earth, not to be deluded by outward shows of greatness or by the imposing façade of a structure based on unethical foundations.

206. We are beginning our work this year at a time when international relations have deteriorated very seriously and when world peace is threatened by a war which could destroy the whole of mankind. On every continent we find one or more sources of tension which for several years have resisted efforts to eradicate them. Indeed, new trouble-spots have been created in various areas merely in order to serve the interests of their creators, at the risk of setting off a world conflagration at any moment. Algeria, Berlin, Laos, Palestine, the Congo, Mauritania and finally Angola all constitute problems whose solution is becoming increasingly urgent.

207. It was with the important object of seeking such solutions that a large number of non-aligned countries, tirelessly pursuing their efforts for peace, recently made a new endeavour in that direction by meeting at Cairo^{12/} and at Belgrade^{13/} to consider

^{12/} Preparatory meeting for the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 5 to 12 June 1961.

^{13/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 1 to 6 September 1961.

the extent of the danger and its consequences, and to unite in taking action, alone or with the assistance of all those of good will, towards seeking genuine ways of removing anxieties and restoring an atmosphere of trust and sincere co-operation between peoples, such an atmosphere being an essential condition for the ensuring of world peace. I will not stop to refute here the unjustified criticism levelled at the Belgrade Conference in the Press and elsewhere and inspired by motives which are obvious and need no comment. This Conference was a challenge thrown out to those responsible for international tension, a cry of alarm expressing the intense anxiety to which all the peoples are a prey. We should pay a sincere tribute to its promoters and to the work of those who took part in it.

208. Devoted Members of the United Nations, placing all their hopes in this Organization, these countries met just before the opening of the present session, steadfastly determined to continue their efforts within the United Nations in order to ensure that it employed all its resources and enlisted the support of all its Members to cope with the grave dangers besetting us.

209. At this crucial stage in the international crisis, the United Nations has received a severe blow as a result of the death of the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. There is no region of the world where Mr. Hammarskjöld's abrupt disappearance has not been deeply felt. This sad event has brought home to us the importance attached by world opinion to the life of this Organization and the role which it plays. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld certainly made a quite personal contribution towards the enforcement of the United Nations Charter, thanks to gifts and qualities which have permanently linked his name with the major events of recent years. His tragic disappearance is a considerable loss. The noble work of our Organization must be tirelessly pursued, and strengthened at the points where experience has revealed shortcomings.

210. We are sure that an adequate and effective solution will be found to the problem of the Secretariat, and to that of the structural reform for which our Organization has felt a need. The important changes and developments which have taken place in the world since the creation of the United Nations, and the increase in its membership, call for a reconsideration of its structures. We propose that a special United Nations conference should be held to study this important question. Given the delicate and critical situation in which the United Nations finds itself at the present time, we believe it to be essential that this conference should convene immediately, in order to rescue us from this impasse and give the United Nations the strength and authority which will enable it to fulfil the functions entrusted to it by the Charter in the solution of grave international problems.

211. His Majesty the King of Morocco declared last month, at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade:

"It would be a matter of making a fair distribution of the present seats on the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council, of developing the power and means of action of the regional economic commissions and of amending and im-

proving the system of recruitment of United Nations personnel." ^{14/}

212. Our agenda this year includes, alas, a whole series of problems some of which have been before the United Nations from its earliest years and have already been the subject of clear and decisive pronouncements on its part. Other problems, which have escaped its attention or have never been brought before it, have reached a degree of gravity which imperils the peace of the world. Today all these problems are interconnected and, through the repercussions of one on another, are giving rise to such international tension that it has become essential for the United Nations to fulfil, immediately and energetically, its universal mission. There are a large number of Member States that have had no part whatever in the creation or development of these crises; but today all Members are directly concerned with them, because of the gravity and scope of their consequences.

213. Amid the convulsions shaking the world, it is still the African continent which endures the hardest fate. From one end of that continent to the other, racialism and colonialism manifest themselves in forms whose diversity barely conceals their common source: Algeria, the Congo, Angola, South Africa and South West Africa are all manifestations of the same segregation of races or of civilizations.

214. With regard to the problem of Germany and Berlin, we cannot but point out that its basic causes are bound up with the division of a country and the destruction of a people's unity. The conflicting interests which clash in this area can be reconciled, sooner or later, only if the parties are wise enough not to allow the division of a country to lead to the division of the world. The vicissitudes of war cannot indefinitely stifle the natural impulses of a people whose destiny must be recreated, whatever the difficulties that this people may still have to overcome. While Berlin has once again become the crystallizing point of an international crisis, it also crystallizes our hopes of seeing the parties to the dispute show the necessary human wisdom and political intelligence in order to banish the spectre of war which is haunting the world. We therefore continue to hope that the virtues of negotiation will prevail and will lead to a peaceful and just solution of this grave problem.

215. We have been happy to see that a desire for conciliation has greatly lessened the acuteness of another international problem—that of Laos, which has several times threatened to produce a general conflict. It has been possible to safeguard peace in Asia by seeking a solution based on the Laotian people's desire for neutrality; this desire must be scrupulously respected, if the encouraging initial action taken at Geneva is to be consolidated in the near future. Only the recognition of a neutralist State, guaranteed by the United Nations, can restore that national unity which is essential to the restoration of peace. However, the peace which is being patiently sought in Asia will remain precarious as long as a nation of more than 600 million people—the People's Republic of China, which carries an increasing amount of weight and has a definite influence on international politics—is unjustly barred from the

United Nations, although it could make a positive contribution to our work and would set the seal on our Organization's universality.

216. All these crises and problems produce political tensions which create a desire to "strengthen positions", leading in its turn to a desire for power and to a frantic arms race. The competition in nuclear weapons of mass destruction is obviously a continual threat to mankind. Enormous sums are pointlessly consumed by such armaments each year, instead of being used to raise the economic and social levels of many countries and to help them banish hunger, disease and ignorance. This money would also help to increase the economic and social prosperity of the protagonists themselves, whose aspirations to well-being have not yet been entirely satisfied. It would also help them to assume moral responsibility in respect of the under-privileged countries, and would give international co-operation its true meaning—that of human solidarity. The important problem of disarmament involves not merely the great Powers. We, the small countries, also have a word to say, for the fate of all mankind is at stake. We consider that the participation of the non-aligned countries in the disarmament negotiations will help to bring the various standpoints closer together and thus hasten the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament. We appeal once more to the atomic Powers to cease their nuclear tests, which are both costly and harmful.

217. The two great Powers have just issued a joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations [A/4879]. This strengthens our hope of a settlement of this grave problem. There is not a single country which does not wish to support, to the full, the general desire for the earliest possible settlement of the problem. The Moroccan delegation has already made, from this rostrum, proposals which include a plan to give the neutral countries a larger role in the search for a solution. This year, our delegation intends to repeat these proposals during the debate on this question. My country protested against the nuclear tests carried out by France in the Sahara. At the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, Morocco, supported by many other countries, initiated action which resulted in the adoption of a resolution [1379 (XIV)] requesting France to refrain from such tests in the Sahara and elsewhere; but France is still defying the African people and the international community. As a result of its obstinacy, what was so laboriously agreed upon at Geneva has been called in question, and we are once more faced with a crisis which many of us recognized to be a possibility when we appealed to France, also, to suspend its tests.

218. Besides the crisis factors I have just mentioned, there is another factor which has been a source of conflict for some considerable time already and has left its mark on nearly all the problems before us: I would even say that it is the major factor contributing to the deterioration of relations between peoples and the disturbing of their security. I mean colonialism in all its forms. The peoples whose civilization has given the world eminent thinkers, philosophers and historians no longer seem to want to distinguish themselves in the international community, except by this determination to maintain their presence and their wish to exploit countries which in actual fact they conquered by force, although it was done in the name of morality and civilization—two

^{14/} Belgrade Conference, 1961, published by the *Review of International Affairs*, Belgrade, No. 5, p. 4.

ideas which they proclaimed only so long as their domination lasted. When we look at the recent history of relations between States, it is difficult not to define them merely as relations between colonizers and colonized. Two dominant trends have characterized this period: on the one hand an emancipation movement reflecting the peoples' determination to shake off for ever the yoke of oppression, and on the other the last manifestations and stratagems of a colonialism that knows its last hour has struck.

219. Africa is now the scene of a fierce, tragic, and often bloody struggle; but Africa, which was the cradle of colonialism, will also be its tomb.

220. For more than seven years, the Algerian people has been carrying on a heroic struggle for its right to freedom and independence. This ruthless war against a people struggling courageously for its dignity and its most sacred rights has already cost hundreds of thousands of lives. What is France expecting from the prolongation of this savage but useless war? What could one year or even ten years more bring to Algeria but more ruins, more destruction? If France has not been able to crush the Algerian movement in seven years of war with the aid of forces much greater than those of the Algerian fighters, it should by now be convinced of the need to end these cruel battles forthwith and, in a more serious and realistic spirit, to open negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic—the only real representative of the Algerian people, and the only one entitled to make commitments on its behalf.

221. The aim of the negotiations should be to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people. In a recent statement, General de Gaulle referred to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Algeria in terms which are obscure. Now, in his speech of 2 October, he has renewed his offer to allow the Algerians to exercise their right of self-determination. He also said that he had no doubt that the Algerians wished to establish an independent and sovereign State. Why, therefore, delay the solution of the Algerian problem, a solution which can reside nowhere but in formal recognition of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Algeria? In our view, recognition and support of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic by the States which have so far not taken that step will be an act of justice in regard to the Algerian people and a substantial contribution to the cause of peace.

222. Morocco has been and always will be behind the Algerian people in its struggle to achieve liberation. Morocco also supports it in all its efforts to find a way of ending the war and establishing peace on the basis of respect for its rights and national dignity. Nothing, however Machiavellian or seductive, can shake the solidarity of the Maghreb.

223. At two particularly critical moments in its history, North Africa's inescapable need for unshakable unity has been revealed. First, when in the nineteenth century the war of conquest led to the disappearance of the Algerian State, it was clear that a dire fate awaited Tunisia and Morocco. Today, this same need for unity drives Algeria towards its destiny, shared in common with its brothers of Tunisia and Morocco.

224. It is almost as if Africa's destiny was born under an unlucky star: as soon as there is a glimpse

of hope in a disturbed area, the crisis moves to another region of the continent.

225. The people of Angola, long oppressed but never resigned to its fate, has undertaken to free itself—choosing, likewise, the most painful but also the most heroic and perhaps the surest way of doing so. Portugal has had a breathing-space in which to meditate upon the many experiments in decolonization that the world has witnessed, both in Asia and in Africa; but it persists in measuring the strength of its empire by the brutality of its planters, and in believing that certain alliances are a talisman which will protect it indefinitely. The awakening of the people of Angola and its determination to free itself at any cost seem only to inspire Portugal with a desire to exterminate the inhabitants of Angola and to defy world opinion and the world Organization.

226. Africa has noted with satisfaction the decision [resolution 1603 (XV)], taken by the United Nations at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, to appoint a sub-committee to investigate the extent of the repression, and the real situation, in Angola. Morocco and its people have formally pledged their full support for the cause of the people of Angola, and will stand at its side until its liberation. Africa is entitled to become once again purely African, and not to have some of its regions still designated by the names of their former occupiers. There should no longer be a Portuguese Guinea and/or a Portuguese Angola, any more than a Spanish Sahara, a French Algeria or a French Somaliland. Despite the wave of liberation which has emancipated much of the continent, such anomalies still exist. These are redoubts in which colonialism is seeking to entrench itself or assume new forms, as varied as they are insidious. The replacing of one legal form by another does not, of itself, suffice to bring freedom or lead to the emergence of a new State.

227. Faced with the solidarity of a people conscious of its unity, the colonialists, finding themselves powerless to maintain their rule by dividing that people, are resorting to an even more immoral procedure—partition, which gives a State independence only in exchange for open violence done to its territorial integrity.

228. With the Katanga situation, the United Nations has experienced one of its most serious crises. The Congolese people has suffered from it as much, perhaps, as from the entire period of its foreign domination. All Africa has been profoundly shaken by it; and this criminal adventure, whose list of victims is undoubtedly not yet closed, has recently cost the Secretary-General of our Organization his life. The collusion extended to the originators of the Congo's division, together with the impunity that they have enjoyed, has encouraged them to flout the national and the international will, to which their only answer is crime and murder.

229. What is at stake in this unhappy Congo affair is much more than the imperialist designs of domination and exploitation. A colonizing nation does not quickly repudiate these two instincts which constitute its true make-up. This power-giving knowledge of evil inspires every action of such a nation and provides it with more than one means of adapting itself to the exigencies of world progress, while at the same time playing it false.

230. What colonialism plays with in the Congo, as elsewhere, is the very principle of the unity of a

country and a nation, and it does so in the hope of reconquering them. Violation of the territorial integrity of a country freeing itself from domination is the ransom imposed by the colonizer. Before leaving the house to which he can no longer lay claim, the colonizer makes provision for his re-entry by the back door.

231. This was what happened just after my country had gained its independence. France, which had formally undertaken by international treaty to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Morocco, resorted to this method to shear off one of our provinces whose resources and strategic position furthered certain permanent interests of France in the way of exploitation and the pursuit of its new African policy.

232. Indeed, the attempt had begun in the period of the Protectorate itself through a series of administrative measures calculated to remove the Mauritanian province from the jurisdiction of the central power.

233. We agree with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria who, in his statement this morning, expressed the hope that certain countries would not oppose the admission into this Organization of certain African States. But it is first of all necessary that these should be States as recognized by international law; secondly, the entity involved should not be a region detached from the territory of a Member of the United Nations and elevated to artificial statehood.

234. In this particular case, successive processes of carving-up, in accordance with military considerations or local interests of the moment, gradually altered the purely Moroccan administrative character of Mauritania and gave to it structures that increasingly resembled those of the West African territories. However, no act of the Moroccan authorities ever sanctioned these unlawful transformations. A special administrative régime was installed not only in the Mauritanian province. Other regions, in which armed resistance to occupation had been lengthy and stubborn and had not ended until the 1930's, were subjected to an exceptional administrative régime—sometimes exclusively military—because of the insecure situation.

235. France cannot claim to remove Mauritania from Moroccan sovereignty because of a special administrative organization, any more than it can remove the region of Agadiz or the region of Zaïan, which were also subjected for a long time to a régime which in effect withdrew them from the central authority.

236. Furthermore, on the very morrow of independence France clearly recognized the existence of a frontier issue the examination of which was to take place subsequently. There could be no doubt about the nature of the problem: it was essentially a territorial dispute whose settlement was to result primarily in the effective extension of Moroccan sovereignty to the whole of the national territory, as recognized internationally immediately prior to the Protectorate.

237. Convinced of its clear right, which is established beyond all question in a number of international conventions, my Government officially put the question to the French Government during the first months of Moroccan independence.

238. France was not the only country thus to be confronted with the problem and with the question of its responsibility. All the capitals that were bound by bilateral or multilateral conventions bearing on the safeguarding of the kingdom's sovereignty and territorial integrity were advised of the situation through normal diplomatic channels during the year 1957.

239. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, having been requested by France to assist in the development of the resources of the Mauritanian province, was also approached by my Government, and the memoranda which we submitted to it delayed its decision for two years. The decision was finally taken only because of the interests of certain great Powers which disregarded their responsibilities by creating the legal fiction of a "State of Mauritania".

240. France's long silence in the face of all the notes and representations of my Government was followed by some dilatory replies bearing on certain procedural matters but containing no explicit denial of Morocco's lawful rights. True to our traditional principle of settling all conflicts by negotiation, and while continuing to assert our claim firmly, we remained confident and hoped that France, which had not denied our right, could not indefinitely delay its recognition. It was in those circumstances that, in reply to the Moroccan Government's last note, dated 15 December 1959, the French Government on 20 January 1960 sent a note in which it rejected the Moroccan claim to territories which, it said, "come under the sovereignty of France and of the States members of the Community".

241. This was the first time since 1912 that France had called in question one of the principles that had been most formally recognized by France itself and by the Powers which had consented to the establishment of its Protectorate over Morocco.

242. One of the peculiarities of the Protectorate's history is that the juridical nature of the régime was to have safeguarded Morocco from integration into the French colonial empire, by reason both of the permanence of its international juridical personality and of the preservation of its territorial integrity.

243. While the recognition of its independence admittedly restored to it the prerogatives of a sovereign State, the restrictions which were abnormally attached to the effective exercise of its sovereignty over the whole of its territory cannot justify the impairment of its territorial integrity.

244. What France was unable to accomplish lawfully under the Protectorate régime, it accomplished arbitrarily on the morrow of independence through an administrative alteration of the structures in one part of the country and through the introduction of a legal fiction which totally defies the current and well-defined norms of international law. This is the first time that such a change has been made, unilaterally, in one of the fundamental concepts of international law.

245. To bolster up this fragile position and conceal its unlawful nature, France is endeavouring to gain the admission to the United Nations of a so-called Mauritanian State whose territorial mass has been torn from Moroccan flesh and whose population has been forcibly detached from the people to whom it belongs.

246. It is these considerations which led my Government in 1960 to request our Organization to include this question in the agenda of its deliberations.^{15/} A number of delegations recognized our right and defended it with us. I take this opportunity to extend to them, once again, the gratitude of the Moroccan Government and people.

247. The Security Council, to which the application of Mauritania was submitted and to which my delegation presented its view, did not see fit to accept the application.^{16/} This year again, attempts are being made to force the decision of the Council, by introducing into the consideration of this question certain extraneous elements. My delegation will not allow itself to be diverted by such stratagems, and will oppose the admission of an artificial State the creation of which is based purely on the theft of a territory and the violence done to a people.

248. The Assembly knows that other parts of Moroccan territory are still being withheld from our sovereignty and kept under foreign rule. Ever since we became independent, the Moroccan delegation has been denouncing this situation in the Assembly and in the Fourth Committee. Many of the Governments represented here have been directly informed to this effect by His Majesty's Government.

249. First there is Ifni where, in June 1957, tension rose to such a pitch that regular armed conflict almost broke out between the population and the Spanish military authorities. Negotiations lasting several months, such as those in 1959, have unfortunately led to no result.

250. Sequiat el-Hamra and the Southern Sahara, which Spain occupied under an agreement with France when the latter was just starting its occupation of Morocco through Mauritania, are still not under Moroccan sovereignty and their peoples are being forcibly kept outside the national community. Here again, we have been able to cope with all the strains to which friendly relations between Spain and Morocco are being subjected as a result of this situation.

251. Unfortunately, the Spanish Government seems to have no real wish to negotiate. Moreover, some of Madrid's decisions seeking to extend Spanish sovereignty to these territories force us to the conclusion that the process by which France is separating Mauritania from Morocco presents some attraction for certain minds in the Spanish capital. In any event, this is to all intents and purposes what is happening in regard to Ceuta and Melilla, where the authorities are refusing to recognize for the population any nationality other than Spanish and frequent expulsions of Moroccans are taking place.

252. I request the General Assembly to take note of our most explicit reservation and our categorical refusal to allow our territory to be dismembered, while those who are tearing it apart and defending their action are none other than the signatories of the agreements which made of Morocco's territorial integrity a law putting an end to territorial ambitions and the disputes resulting from them.

253. The circumstances in which an Arab country's richest province was stolen and handed over to foreign immigrants recall to us the tragedy of 1 million

Palestinians, stripped of their property and driven out of their homes.

254. All principles of law and all moral and humanitarian values have been ignored; and the United Nations, powerless, has quieted its conscience only by granting to the refugees an inadequate minimum of material aid which, instead of solving the problem, has merely added others to it.

255. Resolutions have been adopted which, while not restoring justice, would at least, if respected, have mitigated the tragedy and increased our Organization's authority. They are ignored, however, and shamelessly violated. Nevertheless, the peoples that are the victims of all these tragedies are still among those most deeply attached to the United Nations, to its values and to the hope for peace which it represents.

256. My country's policy is based on these values and these principles. We desire that it shall be marked by faith in this Organization and in the spirit of co-operation and solidarity which is its *raison d'être*. While Morocco takes no side in quarrels arising out of conflicts of interests to which it is foreign, it feels itself affected by all the problems which are brought before the Organization and the international community, and shoulders its responsibilities to the full.

257. Some scepticism has been expressed regarding the policy of non-alignment, which is our doctrine and the basis of our actions. This policy issues from no ancient school, but in the space of a few years it has won the support of many countries and distinguished Heads of State; as its outlines emerge more clearly with the course of events and from exchanges of views among its supporters, it shows itself to be indispensable to international equilibrium and capable of bringing such equilibrium into being, whereas contending blocs can only be a source of crisis. Non-objective and often malicious critics resort to easy slogans and cast aspersions on our attitude, calling it political inertia and a flight from responsibility.

"Our neutralism", said His Majesty, King Hassan II at the Belgrade Conference,^{17/} "means, not isolation or lack of interest in any section of humanity, but, on the contrary, a search for the acceptance in human thought of all that is true and just."

258. Nevertheless, we are aware of our weakness. Our country's economic and social development is not yet such as is called for by our political action in the international field. There are many reasons for this, and they are linked with our recent history. We cannot of ourselves remove all the obstacles, because they are not solely national in character. Co-operation among ourselves and with all like-minded quarters is, we feel, the best course, since the assistance and mutual aid which it presupposes requires that there be true solidarity between the peoples.

259. The United Nations is all the time trying to capture this spirit of solidarity and translate it into fact. Its resources encounter limits beyond which it cannot always pass, but the international community of which it is the embodiment has, as a whole, a potential that can in fact bring to man greater prosperity and hence more genuine freedom.

^{15/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 79, document A/4445 and Add.1.

^{16/} Ibid., agenda item 20, document A/4656.

^{17/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 1 to 6 September 1961.

260. This, at all events, is the frame of mind in which we take part in the debates of this session of the Assembly, a session that is incontestably of decisive importance for the future of the Organization. We hope that these debates will conclude with satisfying answers to the anxious questions asked by the peoples in regard to the peace of the world. Only then will the prestige and authority of this Organization make it into mankind's greatest common achievement. The destiny of the United Nations is inextricably linked with the destiny of the world, and the Organization must remain, as His Majesty the King of Morocco has said, a positive act by mankind on behalf of peace and co-operation among peoples: we must do all we can to correct its weaknesses and give it the authority and resources that are required if it is to accomplish tasks which are vital to the future of the human race.

261. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Iraq, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

262. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): I have asked for the floor to reply briefly to the statement made on Friday, 6 October, by the Minister of State of the United Kingdom. He accused my delegation of "grossly misrepresenting the policies of the United Kingdom" [1028th meeting, para. 188], but he failed to mention how and where this misrepresentation occurred. Mr. Godber expressed confidence that "the true motives and policies of my Government are well understood by the great majority of the Members of this Assembly" [*ibid.*, para. 189].

263. However, I cannot share this confidence because I feel that there is a great deal that is unknown about the true character of British policies in the Arabian Gulf area. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of referring to some of the basic facts.

264. British relations with the Arabian Gulf go back to the end of the eighteenth century, when, after the consolidation of British power in India, Britain sought to dominate those areas of the Gulf and the Southern Arabian coast which were situated on the route to British imperial possessions in Asia. In pursuance of this policy, the Sheikh of Kuwait and other tribal chiefs in the area were induced, by bribery and threat, to conclude numerous protectorate agreements with the British representatives in the Gulf.

265. The case of Kuwait is especially noteworthy because of the macabre circumstances which preceded the conclusion of the agreement. Sheikh Mubarek, the grandfather of the present Sheikh of Kuwait, usurped the sheikhdom from his two brothers when he murdered them in cold blood in 1896. Fearful of vengeance and desperate to maintain his position, he concluded, in 1899, a secret agreement, by which he undertook not to make any territorial changes in Kuwait without the prior consent of the British Government.

266. This secret agreement was entirely illegal because the Sheikh of Kuwait had no right to enter into any international undertakings, since he was no more than an administrative official of the Ottoman Empire and was under the direct authority of the Governor of Basrah in Iraq.

267. During this century, Britain developed new interests in the Arabian Gulf. The achievement of independence by India, Pakistan, Burma and other

former British possessions in Asia changed the character of British strategic interests in the Arabian Gulf. It was no longer a question of defending the route to India, but rather of maintaining bases in the Arab world to strike at any liberation movement which threatened British interests in the area. But the greatest interest of Britain in Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf in general is oil. British financial interests own half the concession in Kuwait and their share of the net profits total about \$250 million yearly. The Sheikh of Kuwait receives revenues of more than \$400 million a year, of which about \$150 million are invested yearly in London, particularly in British Treasury bonds. It is estimated that the total of these investments has now exceeded \$1 billion.

268. This should give us some idea why the British are such staunch and enthusiastic defenders of the Sheikh. The so-called independence given to Kuwait in June 1961 must, therefore, be viewed against the background of the vast oil interests of Britain.

269. Kuwait has always been considered an integral part of Iraq. It is not, and has never been, an independent State. It has none of the normal prerequisites of statehood. Besides some oil wells and thousands of acres of barren desert, there is a small town with a population of about 250,000, most of whom are considered by the Sheikh himself to be foreigners. This is the so-called "independent State of Kuwait".

270. Had it not been for the oil production of Kuwait and the fabulous profits derived therefrom by British and other Western financial interests, Britain would never have thought of giving the Sheikh of Kuwait this so-called independence. In fact, I was somewhat surprised to hear the Minister of State of the United Kingdom referring to the "Kingdom of Kuwait". I wonder whether the British Government is now thinking of placing a crown on the head of the Sheikh as a reward for the services he has rendered to Britain?

271. Is it conceivable that the Sheikh and other petty feudal rulers in the Arabian Gulf, who only yesterday were paid agents of the British Government, should in this day and age be allowed to pose as heads of independent States?

272. The Sheikh of Kuwait is supported by the British solely for the purpose of maintaining British military, political and economic domination over Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf area as a whole.

273. The agreement of 19 June 1961, which is in reality an exchange of letters between the British Resident and the Sheikh, gives Britain unlimited rights in Kuwait. British troops may be called into Kuwait at any time. The provision that this will only be done at the request of the Sheikh should mislead no one. Britain can, whenever it wishes, suggest to the Sheikh that he call for military assistance, and it is very unlikely that the Sheikh, who is a creature of the British, would ever ignore these suggestions or disobey British orders. He himself has recently said that the withdrawal of British troops will in no way alter or affect his relations with Britain as defined by the 1961 agreement. In fact, these troops, if they are ever going to be withdrawn from Kuwait, will probably go to neighbouring sheikhdoms such as Bahrein, where they will be ready to return to Kuwait whenever the Sheikh is ordered by the British Resident to ask for their intervention. Besides violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Iraq, of which Kuwait is an integral part, the 1961 agreement

constitutes a serious threat to Iraq's security and independence. Kuwait is nothing more than a British base to be used at will against Iraq and any other Arab country whenever the British Government feels its political and economic hegemony threatened.

274. These are some of the facts surrounding the Kuwait situation, and my delegation will be in a position to expound them more fully, as well as other aspects of the imperialist presence of Britain in the Arabian Peninsula, in the course of the consideration of colonial problems during this session of the General Assembly.

275. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United States of America, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

276. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America): In the speech which the representative of Cuba made here this afternoon, he has added another to the incessant attacks against the United States which have characterized the Castro régime from its inception. I would have preferred not to take up the Assembly's time with a renewal of the public argument, but the remarks of the Cuban representative have obliged me to claim my right of reply to at least a few of his charges—the balance will be dealt with at the proper time and place.

277. First, Mr. Roa has charged that the United States was guilty of aggression against Cuba in April 1961. The Cuban Foreign Minister seems to hold the communist belief that repetition establishes validity. The General Assembly considered the same charge at its last session and adopted a resolution [1616 (XV)] exhorting all Member States "to take such peaceful action as is open to them to remove existing tensions". Has Cuba heeded this resolution, or has American peaceful patience been answered by the same violent and continuous attacks?

278. In the next place, the Cuban representative has declared that the United States is planning intervention and aggression against Cuba. The United States is not planning any intervention or aggression against Cuba. We, in this country, have a deep and a legitimate interest in what goes on in Cuba. Cuba is very near to us, and sixty years of close, friendly and beneficial relations bind the peoples of the two countries together.

279. If there is any threat to the Cuban Government today, it comes not from the United States but from the Cuban people, who will not tolerate indefinitely the repression to which they are now subjected. But we have faith that the Cuban people, in the normal, the inexorable, unfolding of history, will themselves correct injustice in their country.

280. Another charge made by Mr. Roa was that the United States is plotting to wipe out the leaders of the Castro Government. In reply to that repulsive accusation, I would only say that it is ridiculous and that, little as the United States likes Fidel Castro and his associates, it abhors assassination as a means of accomplishing political objectives.

281. Then Mr. Roa made the familiar charge that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. The fact is that Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States, who have freely chosen their present Commonwealth. In 1953 the General Assembly approved a finding that Puerto Rico had ceased to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory. A year ago, similar attacks

prompted the Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Muñoz Marín, to send a message to the President of the General Assembly and all Members of the United Nations, in which he said, in part:

"The people of Puerto Rico are a self-governing people freely associated to the United States of America on the basis of mutual consent and respect.

"The United Nations General Assembly, by resolution of November 1953, has solemnly recognized that the people of Puerto Rico effectively exercised their right to self-determination in establishing the Commonwealth as an autonomous political entity in a mutually agreed association with the United States.

"In further regard to the principle of self-determination, the Commonwealth Legislative Assembly has approved this very year a law authorizing another vote on Puerto Rico's status whenever 10 per cent of the electors request it." [A/4519.]

282. I cannot conclude without mentioning that from Mr. Roa's remarks it might be inferred that the United States opposed the movement which brought Mr. Castro to power. Far from it. We did our best to adhere to the same principle of non-intervention which Mr. Roa now so loudly invokes. At the same time, we followed our immemorial practice of granting political asylum in the United States to refugees from the Batista dictatorship. Among the refugees who enjoyed asylum here in this country was Mr. Castro himself. In fact, he organized and equipped his expeditionary force to a great extent on our shores. He was not in those days such an ardent advocate of non-intervention. But we are familiar with Mr. Roa's agility: he has conveniently forgotten all that. When Mr. Castro and his comrades in arms came to power, they had the widespread support and good wishes of the American people, and prompt recognition from the United States Government. Mr. Castro came to the United States three months later and was cordially received. Nevertheless, he chose to turn on this country, to appoint us as his chief enemy and whipping-boy for all calamities, and to betray his promises to the Cuban people by stamping out political opposition, by stifling the free Press, by delivering the economy and military affairs of his country into the hands of the Soviet Union, by banning all political parties except the Communist, and by driving into exile every Cuban who criticized those steps.

283. It is small wonder that Cubans, deprived of their elementary human rights, continue to flee by the thousands from their beautiful island to find refuge in the United States and other hospitable and free countries. And this exodus goes on despite Castro's efforts to make the departure of the refugees more difficult. Only today the Press reports that the Government in Cuba has ruled that any Cuban who leaves for the United States and remains abroad for twenty-nine days automatically loses everything he owns.

284. Here is a country whose new leaders, after seizing power nearly three years ago, set out to lead the whole Western Hemisphere to political, social and economic reform. Instead, they have led their own country into political and social reaction and economic chaos. Meanwhile, the United States, which they have sought to portray as the chief enemy of their progress, has joined with the rest of the hemisphere in a mighty Alliance for Progress to build the

social and economic foundations of democracy for all the peoples of this hemisphere. We look to the day when the Republic of Cuba, with whose people we in the United States have so many enduring ties of friendship, can join the rest of us in the hemispheric march to freedom and progress.

285. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Spain, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

286. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I realize that this is hardly the time for historical and legal explanations of the sort into which I might be drawn by the Moroccan representative's masterly intervention. His speech was couched in moderate and magnanimous terms and I must reply very briefly in the same way, taking up only a few of the points to which he referred.

287. For example, and this is what interests me most, he mentioned the names of Ceuta and Melilla. It is not altogether clear to me what he wanted to say about these two towns. Perhaps if I were to reflect and read the text of his speech I might understand better; he seemed, however, to fear that the example of France's attitude in separating Mauritania from Morocco might prove attractive to some circles in the Spanish capital. He said that to all intents and purposes this is being done, in any event for the towns of Ceuta and Melilla, etc.

288. What is happening in Ceuta and Melilla needs no recent example. For innumerable centuries these two Spanish towns have been part of the national community. They are two towns which belong to Spanish provinces and which have a fairly large population. Ceuta has 77,000 Christian inhabitants and 13,000 Moslem inhabitants, and belongs to the province of Cadiz. Melilla is a town of the province of Malaga, with 85,000 Christian inhabitants and 7,000 Moslems.

289. I had a great many figures on this subject, which I gave last year. The moderation with which the representative of Morocco avoided saying anything to contradict these manifest facts—and I should like to pay a tribute to him, for this shows his good will and his ability—relieves me of the necessity of going once again into the history of Ceuta and Melilla, that goes back to the Roman Empire, and the Visigothic Empire, which occupy so much of Spanish history.

290. As a deputy I was often in Parliament with the deputies from Ceuta and Melilla in the remote days of my youth. This is far from being a problem of the present day and I must say again that I liked the elegantly evasive way in which the Moroccan representative dealt with it.

291. Anything else, of course, would have elicited, as it did last year, a respectful protest from the Spanish delegation in which, although this may surprise some representatives, we would have associated ourselves with the theory—as I said at the time, established by the Soviet delegation with real dexterity—that any attempt to impair the unity of countries which are Members of the United Nations and under the guarantee of its Charter is inadmissible and must call for due protest and action by the President of the Assembly. The interpretation seemed self-evident and at that time I stated it before the previous President.

292. I would refer also to paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the terms of which,

which I accept, are as follows: "Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

293. I have no need to tell the Assembly, which knows its geography and includes representatives of many island countries and some which are true archipelagos—I am thinking of Indonesia—that the sea does not separate countries but rather unites them. We are not separated but united to North Africa by a branch of the sea some eight miles wide. A French writer once said that Africa began at the Pyrenees. This classification does us great honour, but the fact is that Spain has always continued into an African Spain on the other side of the Straits.

294. The representative of Morocco also spoke—again I say with moderation and good taste—of the Spanish Sahara and Ifni. Here again, why should we become embroiled in legal and historical discussions. Moreover, conversations are still going on between the Spanish Government and the Moroccan Government, conducted, I believe, with moderation and in full knowledge of the facts.

295. I shall begin by saying that this Spanish colonialism is not really a very serious matter. I have noticed an advertisement in the newspapers for a "Three-penny Opera", apparently a minor work which I have not seen. I would venture to say that this Spanish colonialism is a "three-penny colonialism". Do the representatives here know how many people there are in the so-called Spanish Sahara? Seventeen thousand. Ifni has some 47,000 inhabitants, 4,000 of whom are white. Clearly, then, this is hardly a monstrous adventure in colonization and foreign dominion.

296. I would point out, furthermore, that the historic presence of Spanish citizens on the west coast of Africa, not subject to the sovereignty of any other country and devoting themselves largely to fishing, goes back a very long way and has been confirmed by international law. I should also like to mention—and I want to stress this point—that the rulers of Morocco have recognized on repeated occasions that their sovereignty does not extend to the coasts of the present Spanish province of the Sahara. These territories were conquered in the Middle Ages, not by the Sultans of Morocco, who did not exist at the time, but by the countries to the south of Morocco, by the Almoravides and the Almohades, who could still lay claim to better rights over those territories than those which are so often cited by Morocco. Since they also invaded a part of the Iberian peninsula, they might even claim various Andalusian provinces from us on these same vague historical and genealogical grounds.

297. I would say the same in regard to Ifni. As in the case of the Spanish Sahara, the presence of Spanish citizens in these provinces goes back very far indeed. The rights of Spain have been recognized by the Sultans of Morocco in various treaties, which could be brought forward as evidence if a discussion on this subject were to arise. I shall only draw attention to one mistake that the distinguished representative of Morocco made when he said that in 1957 there was a real armed conflict between the people of Ifni and the Spanish military authorities. That is not true. They were foreign hordes which invaded the territory

and provoked these incidents—and I think this has been officially recognized in our conversations.

298. I repeat that this "three-penny colonialism", adequately disposed of—briefly and with moderation—by the distinguished representative of Morocco, is not worthy of your attention. To Spain, Morocco has always been and still is a country to which we are bound by a thousand ties of history and affection.

299. I should like to recall a few words spoken on the occasion of his visit to Tetuan on 12 June 1956 by the then Crown Prince of Morocco, who is now, after the sad death of his unforgettable father, that country's King. The Crown Prince said, and I respectfully quote his own words: "The men and women, the old

people and young children of Morocco will never forget the part played by Spain and the great service which it did to His Majesty the Sultan and to Morocco in those difficult days when persecution was rife and justice was being trampled underfoot. Those actions were no more than a reflection of the nobility and sense of honour of the Spanish people. They sowed the seeds of love and sincere affection and of that unbreakable friendship between Morocco and Spain which will redound so greatly to the good of both countries. I shall end by saying long live Spain, long live Morocco!" I, too, will close with the Crown Prince's words.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.