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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. U THI HAN (Burma): Mr. President, permit me, at the outset of my speech, to convey to you my warm congratulations and those of my delegation on your election to the high office of President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. The wisdom and wealth of experience which you have acquired in many decades of public service, in both the national and international fields, will stand us all in good stead as we embark on our deliberations on the numerous and often complex issues which are on our agenda.

2. I should also like to take this early opportunity of extending to our friends from Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago a very warm welcome to our Organization. The decision to admit them on the opening day of our session was a particularly happy one, and we are confident that our Organization will be strengthened by their presence in our midst.

3. Once again the General Assembly meets at a time of dire peril. The world talks disarmament but practises rearmament in newer and ever more virulent forms; all of humanity, including the nuclear Powers, clamours for the end of nuclear weapons tests, but the tests conducted during the past year have transcended everything that gave rise to the clamour. Colonialism, though dying, continues to hold millions of fellow human beings in its last desperate grip; and at a time when man has embarked on the initial stage of his exploration of the stars, two-thirds of his fellow beings continue to exist in conditions of hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease. Such are the paradoxes of the present-day world: persistent and unmitigated conflict at a time when it is generally recognized that there exists no alternative to peaceful coexistence; and wholesale want in a world of superabundance.

4. In these circumstances it would be easy and tempting to become cynical about the United Nations. The yawning gap between existing realities and the

promise of the Charter cannot, on occasion, but make all of us wonder where we are heading and whether there is not some other way out of our dilemma. But calm reflection can only bring us back to the same conclusion—that there is no other way. Despite its imperfections, and despite its apparent inability to make an impact on some of the most vital of the issues facing mankind today, the world would today be a poorer and much more dangerous place to live in if there were no United Nations. To realize what this Organization means to us, we of the smaller countries, and particularly those of us who refuse to become associated with any political-military bloc, have only to think for a moment what our situation would be today if the United Nations ceased to exist. This is why Burma has always been a firm believer in the United Nations and a loyal adherent of its Charter. This continues to be the policy of the Government which I have the honour to represent.

5. In this connexion, Mr. President, it might be of interest to you and to the Members of the Assembly to know that on the very day on which it came to power, the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma issued the following declaration:

"The Revolutionary Council and Government of the Union of Burma, desirous of maintaining and strengthening Burma's existing friendly relations with all countries, hereby make the following declaration:

"1. They reaffirm their unswerving dedication to the ideal of peace, friendly relations and co-operation between all nations based on international justice and morality.

"2. They reaffirm their whole-hearted support for and complete faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations as embodied in its Charter.

"3. They reaffirm their conviction that the policy of positive neutrality pursued by the Union of Burma ever since her independence is the policy best suited to her in the context of the prevailing world conditions, and that its faithful pursuance best serves the larger interests both of Burma and the world.

"4. Accordingly, the Revolutionary Council and the Government of the Union of Burma look forward to the continuance of their existing cordial relations with all countries on the basis of the above stated policy."

6. Because we believe that the future of mankind depends on the success or failure of the United Nations, we shall continue to do all in our power to strengthen this Organization in every way open to us. In saying this, we cannot but be conscious of the fact that we are but one of the 108 countries which are Members of this Organization, and furthermore that we are a

small country. This naturally limits our contribution as an individual Member. On the other hand, we also recall that the vast majority of the Members of the General Assembly are small countries like ourselves, so that the operation of the democratic principle puts these countries, collectively, in a position of great power in the Assembly. It is for all of us—the small Powers—to see that this power is used wisely, in the interests both of the United Nations and of ourselves. There are very real limits to what the United Nations, as at present constituted, can do, and we would be doing the United Nations, and ourselves, a grave disservice if we were to ignore or belittle this in our quest for what are admittedly laudable and desirable objectives. In other words, our collective power places on each one of us a very great responsibility.

7. And while on this subject, I should like to say a word about the role of the great Powers in our Organization. We know that in military and economic terms the great Powers stand apart from the rest of us. Without them, and particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, the United Nations would cease to be the United Nations. This throws a very great responsibility on each of them individually, and the future of the United Nations demands that this responsibility be exercised wisely. In particular, we trust that the disproportionate military and economic power which they possess will not distract the great Powers from the purposes and principles of our Charter, and that they will resist the temptation to use the United Nations as a means of furthering their national objectives in a manner inconsistent with these purposes and principles.

8. Speaking of the role of the great Powers in our Organization brings me to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. As the Assembly knows, Burma recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only Government of China. We continue to believe that the absence of the legitimate representatives of a quarter of the human race has been, and will continue to be, a major source of weakness to our Organization, and that it cannot truly be described as a world organization until this glaring anomaly has been eliminated.

9. As I said earlier, we meet at a time of dire peril. Nevertheless, the dark clouds which hover menacingly over us are not without their silver linings. The long and bitter conflict between Algeria and France has at last been brought to an end. Having from the very outset given our full support to the cause of Algerian independence, we welcome with a deep sense of gratification the emergence of Algeria as an independent, sovereign nation. For this achievement the credit must, in the main, go to the Algerian people, especially to the Algerian leaders in the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Government who spearheaded and sustained the national struggle for independence through eight years of extreme trial. To them go our heartiest congratulations and best wishes. It is our fervent hope that the representatives of independent Algeria will before long take their rightful place among us in this Assembly. But since we believe in giving credit wherever it is due, we cannot allow this moment to pass without referring to the realistic and far-sighted policy adopted by President de Gaulle, and the French Government headed by him, with regard to the Algerian question. To them also we should like to extend our sincere congratulations on the successful conclusion of an extremely

difficult and delicate task. With this happy ending of the Algerian-French conflict a long-standing threat to international peace and security has been removed.

10. My delegation happily welcomes the agreement concerning West Irian recently concluded between Indonesia and the Netherlands. As the record will show, Burma has consistently supported the position of Indonesia in the West Irian dispute, but it had always been our stand that the transfer of this territory from the Netherlands to Indonesia should be carried out by peaceful means. That such a transfer has now been arranged is a source of deep gratification to us. The major share of the credit for this happy outcome is due to the Acting Secretary-General, at whose initiative talks between the two parties were started and whose patient and undespairing efforts to keep the negotiations going and to guide them finally brought them to fruition. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Ellsworth Bunker who, as special representative of the Acting Secretary-General, played a major role in bringing about a settlement acceptable to both sides. Our congratulations go to our Indonesian brethren on the successful conclusion of their struggle for the peaceful recovery of West Irian, and our appreciation to the Netherlands for its spirit of conciliation and co-operation, without which a peaceful settlement would not have been possible. Our gratification at this happy outcome is all the greater because this agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which has already been endorsed by the General Assembly, has removed another threat to international peace and security, and this cannot but make for greater peace and stability in South-East Asia.

11. Coming nearer home, I should like to refer to a similar happy development in Laos, with which country we have a common border and to which we are bound by ties of religion, culture and history. It has long been our belief that, given the geographic position of Laos and the political alignment of most of the countries bordering it, there would be no peace in Laos unless it kept itself outside the struggle of the two great Power blocs. Indeed, we have always considered that it is not only in the best interests of Laos itself, but also of peace and security in South-East Asia, that Laos should adhere to a policy of independence, strict neutrality and friendly relations and co-operation with all nations, irrespective of differences in political and social systems. Thus we cannot but feel deeply gratified with the agreement concluded recently at Geneva among fourteen nations—compromising Laos; all the great Powers, including the People's Republic of China; India, Poland and Canada as members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control; and all the other countries having a common border with Laos—an agreement under which Laos accepts for itself a policy of strict neutrality and friendship with all nations, and all the thirteen other signatories guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos.

12. Thus, the Laotian people are at last being given an opportunity to work out their own destiny without outside interference. Burma was privileged to play a humble role at this Conference, and we would like to draw attention to the fact that the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos—namely, the principles of respect for Laotian sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and neu-

trality—are universally applicable and binding, and that the Laotian settlement might well serve as a model for application to similar situations elsewhere.

13. I have referred to three areas of the world in which imminent threats to international peace and security have either been eliminated or brought under control. Unfortunately there still exist many other areas where the threats continue unabated, calling for continued vigilance by the United Nations and action where necessary and possible to prevent further deterioration and open conflict. But the fact that it has proved possible, in the course of the last few months, for agreements to be reached on three areas which had been of deep concern to the world for many years brings us hope that these other issues will also, in the course of time, be resolved through peaceful negotiation. Some of these questions relate to the fulfilment of the aspirations of dependent peoples. With regard to this, I was much struck by what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway had to say last Friday, and I would like, with your permission, to repeat it. Mr. Lange said:

"The assistance and the services of the United Nations in assuring a peaceful fulfilment of the aspirations of dependent peoples are today being rejected in certain situations in Africa where they are urgently needed. This attitude of non-co-operation is a matter of deep concern to the people and the Government of Norway, because the final choice facing the administering Powers is not one between denying and granting the right to self-determination, but rather one between the achievement of legitimate aspirations through peaceful means and their achievement through violence. If the potentialities of the United Nations were recognized, administering Powers which are now refusing co-operation would no doubt find that the world Organization would once more establish reasonable procedures and modalities for rendering effective assistance adjusted to the actual needs and circumstances." [1126th meeting, para. 54.]

14. These are wise words, and I pray that our South African, Portuguese and British friends will pay heed to them, coming as they do from a source which is free from the emotionalism with which some of us are sometimes charged, before it is too late.

15. No mention of the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations would be complete without a reference to the situation in the Congo. The present situation in that unfortunate country is described by the Acting-Secretary-General, in the introduction [A/5201/Add.1] to his annual report, as "particularly crucial". With this description it is difficult to quarrel. The situation is indeed crucial, both for the Congo itself and for the United Nations as well. Believing that the United Nations has the duty to explore all possible means of bringing about the peaceful reunification of the Congo, my delegation was happy to note that the Central Government of the Congo and the Katanga authorities had responded favourably to the recent initiative of the Acting Secretary-General, and we trust that this will bring about the desired reunification without any further delay.

16. One reason why the Congo question has become crucial is its impact on the finances of the United Nations. The financial crisis which the Organization faces as a result of its Congo operation cannot but be of the gravest concern to all those who value the United

Nations. Burma has done what was within its capacity to meet this crisis, and it is the hope of my delegation that we shall be able, during the course of this session, to agree on ways and means of meeting extraordinary expenditures of this kind.

17. Burma was privileged to take part in the Conference of the Eighteen-nation Committee on Disarmament which met at Geneva earlier this year. The reports of that Conference are to be placed before this session of the General Assembly. I would not be frank if I did not say that in regard to general and complete disarmament there is little or no progress to report. But, to my delegation, that is hardly surprising. The very magnitude of the problem and the complexities involved make it impossible for agreements to be reached quickly, and where, as we found in Geneva, the essential element of mutual trust is not only completely absent but is replaced by complete mistrust, the stage has been set for a complete deadlock. In any event, my delegation and other like-minded delegations took the view that it was unrealistic to enter into a serious discussion on general and complete disarmament without first stopping all nuclear tests, since nuclear tests constitute the most dangerous aspect of armament. We therefore concentrated on the cessation of nuclear tests.

18. On this question of nuclear tests, I believe it is not untrue to say that we made some progress. The joint memorandum of 16 April 1962 tabled by the eight nations at the Geneva Conference which belong to neither of the military blocs^{1/} was designed to bring the two sides closer together and to provide them with a basis for further negotiation. Unfortunately, it was not so used by the two parties, both of which declared that they accepted it either as the basis, or a basis, for negotiation. In prolonged discussion, each side insisted that its interpretation of the memorandum was the only correct interpretation, with the result that there was no serious negotiation on the basis of the memorandum. However, there were indications towards the end of the last session of the Conference that the memorandum was beginning to have some effect, and it is our hope that it will, before the end of this year, bring about an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests. Despite the manner in which it has been treated, we remain convinced that the eight-nation memorandum offers the best possibility for a settlement of this question and it is our intention to seek the Assembly's endorsement of it as a basis for continued negotiations between the nuclear Powers.

19. Several speakers who preceded me in this general debate have referred to the fact that almost half the present Members of the United Nations acquired their national independence since the birth of the Organization. It is an impressive record, one made more impressive by the fact that the process is a continuing one. But the achievement of independence is only a beginning, not an end. It is the beginning of what should be the progressive realization of a richer and fuller life by those who have been politically liberated. Otherwise, independence would have no meaning.

20. Experience over the past fifteen years has shown however, that such a progressive realization is not easy to achieve. The progress of the newly independent countries has been hampered by lack of development

^{1/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, section 3.

capital and of technical and managerial skills, and by the progressive deterioration in their balance of trade vis-à-vis the developed countries. Furthermore, the rapid growth of population in most countries has tended to cancel out any advances that might have been made. Indeed, we now face a situation in which the gap between the advanced countries and the developing countries is widening rather than closing, thereby leading progressively to a situation fraught with the gravest dangers. Unless we succeed in arresting and reversing this trend, the certainty is that we are, all of us without exception, heading for disaster.

21. Unfortunately, there is a fast-growing awareness of this danger, both among the highly developed and the developing countries, as is evidenced in the case of the latter countries by the deliberations of, for instance, the Bandung Conference^{2/} and the Belgrade Conference^{3/} and also by the recent Cairo Conference^{4/} which produced the Cairo Declaration which is one of the items on our agenda. We also welcome the various steps taken by the developed countries to help meet this problem. But the needs are much greater than the resources available today, and new and fresh efforts are needed. We therefore warmly endorse the United Nations Development Decade which was launched during the sixteenth session. We believe that the energetic implementation of this imaginative plan will do much to make political independence more meaningful to hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and thus to restore the balance of what is already a dangerously imbalanced world.

22. Mr. LANSANA (Guinea) (translated from French): A year ago, at the opening of the sixteenth session, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea saluted with joy and pride the great turning-point in the life of our Organization symbolized by the election, for the first time, of an African to the Presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This important event was the glorious culmination of the efforts and sacrifices made by millions of patriots for the liberation of Africa, the rehabilitation of our peoples and the affirmation of their identity, and the restitution to the sovereign States of Africa of their legitimate right to participate fully in the settlement of all world problems. It marked for us within the United Nations a sure and important first step towards still more splendid and decisive successes on the part of the great family of African and Asian peoples which the forces of colonial domination had managed for centuries to exclude from international life.

23. In this context, it is only natural that the delegation of the Republic of Guinea should welcome with equal joy and pride the election of one of the most illustrious personalities of Asia to the Presidency of the General Assembly at its seventeenth session. Mr. President, your merits have been extolled with such competence and distinction by most of the preceding speakers that I shall confine myself to a reference to your anti-colonialist position and to your frequent efforts in the various international bodies on behalf of the freedom of the African and Asian peoples; some of those efforts were made a considerable time ago, when there was real merit in attacking the general mystification with which the colonial

Powers had confused the opinions of the leaders of most of the independent States of the day.

24. These remarkable qualities are to us, Mr. President, the sure pledge that under your guidance the seventeenth session of the General Assembly will honourably acquit itself of the most crucial of its obligations, namely, that of ensuring complete decolonization throughout the world, which is the prerequisite for fruitful co-operation between peoples and States and the maintenance of international peace and security, the essential aims of the United Nations.

25. We should also like to address through you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations to the other members of the General Committee who will have the honour and the heavy burden of assisting you in the conduct of our deliberations. In this respect my delegation wishes to reiterate its thanks and gratitude not only to friendly delegations but to the representatives of all Member States both for the election of our country to the Vice-Presidency of the General Assembly and for all the expressions of interest, good will and solidarity that have been lavished on it on this happy occasion.

26. I should also like, Mr. President, to offer my delegation's sincere congratulations to the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, for his unceasing efforts to fulfil his high and delicate responsibilities in very difficult circumstances. It gives us pleasure to reassure him publicly of our brotherly understanding and support.

27. Even a superficial perusal of the agenda submitted for our approval clearly shows that the seventeenth session, like the four previous sessions, which have rightly been described as African sessions, will be dominated by the various aspects of the political, economic and cultural decolonization not only of Asia and America but also, and principally, of the African continent, where the hard-pressed colonial forces are clinging desperately to the last remnants of their ill-gotten privileges, despite the unanimous condemnation by international public opinion and the recommendations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

28. Nevertheless, despite the lack of any notable progress towards a satisfactory solution of the problems of the cold war, such as disarmament, the Berlin situation, the extension of nuclear testing, the questions of Korea and Hungary, the representation of China in our Organization, and the dangerous aggravation of tension in the Cuban situation, the seventeenth session is undeniably opening in a more relaxed and less explosive atmosphere than that prevailing last year at the same time.

Mr. Auguste (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

29. Moreover, in important spheres there have been decisive successes which must be registered as encouraging steps towards the common goal of men of good will who are striving to liberate the peoples and to safeguard peace throughout the world and security for all. In this connexion, we welcome the peaceful settlement of the serious crisis in Laos. The internationally guaranteed neutrality of Laos now enables its people and its Government to join forces with all non-aligned States in order to decrease international tension and seek a just and negotiated settlement of all the disputes dividing States and peoples and thus constituting a serious threat to peace.

^{2/} Asian African Conference, held at Bandung in April 1955.

^{3/} Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961.

^{4/} Conference on the Problems of Economic Development, held at Cairo in July 1962.

30. Similarly, we have cause to rejoice at the Netherlands-Indonesian Agreement [see A/5270, annex] which, while removing one of the most serious threats to peace in South-East Asia, brings to an end the Netherlands colonial empire and at the same time thus liberates once and for all the people and the Government of the Netherlands.

31. Our hope is that the realism and the wise and friendly advice which have led the Netherlands to carry out this peaceful decolonization will also, while there is still time, inspire the other colonial Powers which up to now have refused to look reality in the face and are vainly trying to oppose by force the inevitable liberation of the peoples they hold in subjugation.

32. Since the process of decolonization is irreversible, the colonial Powers have no choice but to yield and depart. If they reject peaceful settlement, negotiated or otherwise, they will force their victims to resort to the only remaining solution: the kind of agreement reached in Goa between the Indian people and Government and Portuguese colonialism.

33. We hail with joy the heartening reconquest of independence and sovereignty by the peoples of Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, whose liberation means a corresponding reduction of colonial empire in Africa and the Caribbean. To all these brother nations and their friendly Governments the Republic of Guinea addresses sincere congratulations and the assurance of its support and active solidarity. We are convinced that within this Organization the representatives of these countries will spare no effort in support of all those here who labour for the final liquidation of the shameful and degrading system of foreign domination.

34. One of the happiest events which come to mind at the opening of this seventeenth session is, without a doubt, the liberation of the heroic people of Algeria, after more than seven years of savage warfare and sacrifice without precedent in the history of the African continent. This liberation foreshadows a better tomorrow for all the millions of Africans who still continue to suffer and fight, in the four corners of our continent, for the elimination of all forms of oppression, domination, arbitrary government and injustice on the political, economic and social levels. The independence of Algeria, which we welcome as a cardinal element of our own freedom, is more than an example or a symbol: it is yet another striking confirmation that a people that is conscious of its identity and united, however weak it may be and however powerful its adversary, is invincible in its sacred crusade for national liberation from the foreign yoke.

35. It is for all these reasons that from this rostrum we respectfully salute the people of Algeria, their martyrs, and the political and military organizations, which have written into the annals of African history one of the finest and most glorious epics of all time.

36. It will thus be easily understood that we joyfully and impatiently await the representatives of the Algerian Republic, who will very soon come to take their place in our ranks and make a worthy contribution to the unceasing efforts of the United Nations to build a better world based on brotherly co-operation and universal peace.

37. The welcome events to which I have referred call for various comments on our part.

38. First of all, we in the Republic of Guinea greatly rejoice that the final settlement of the Algerian question, which was a painful nightmare for us in many ways, has at last removed one of the major obstacles which unfortunately appeared on the road to African unity.

39. Next, the admission of four new Member States and the prospect of the admission of other African States before the end of this seventeenth session, further accentuating the universal character of our Organization, imposes upon us all the obligation to make every effort to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate place in the United Nations. The political error of excluding from the Organization the largest State in the world, failing whose contribution the majority of great international problems cannot be satisfactorily solved, constitutes more than an injustice: it is one of the greatest handicaps from which the United Nations suffers. The role of the non-aligned States is to do everything in their power to restore to their rightful place all the States which are arbitrarily kept out of the United Nations by reason of the division among the great Powers.

40. Lastly, the exceptional increase in the number of Asian and, particularly, African Member States further emphasizes the necessity and urgency of carrying out structural reforms in our Organization, in order to adapt it to meet the existing international situation, so different from that prevailing in 1945 when the Charter of the United Nations was drafted.

41. It is no secret that the representatives of Africa and Asia are practically excluded from the various bodies in which the important decisions of the United Nations are really made and carried out. We shall no longer be content merely to take part in the debates of the Committees and the General Assembly. We wish to participate fully in all the main organs and specialized agencies of our Organization, in the positive and productive life of the United Nations.

42. To this end, the representatives from Africa and Asia and all those who concern themselves with the equity and efficiency of our Organization must unite their efforts in demanding, at all costs and for our own benefit, adequate and specific representation in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat and the various specialized agencies. The legal tricks and manoeuvres of the strategists of the status quo—whatever their nature, extent or source—must in no way discourage us, since for us this is a vital matter of justice, of dignity and of honour. This is an essential aspect of the present crisis of the United Nations which is all too easily neglected while the emphasis is laid on the Organization's financial difficulties. The two questions, while not completely interlocking, arise from the same political background, and it must be carefully analysed in the quest for appropriate solutions, which obviously cannot be other than political in nature.

43. The pursuit of peace, the prime objective of our Organization, will at this seventeenth session bring us once more up against the crucial problems of decolonization, general and complete disarmament, and technical and economic co-operation to raise the level of living in the developing countries.

44. We should like to outline briefly our delegation's position on these important issues, before turning to

the question of African unity, now the fundamental concern of the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea, united in an upsurge of patriotic enthusiasm.

45. There can be no doubt that this year again, as in previous years, the colonial problem will be the main subject dealt with by the General Assembly. The fact must now be recognized that the peoples of Africa and the other enslaved peoples are resolved to put an end to foreign domination as soon as possible and by all the means at their disposal. As President Sékou Touré said recently, this resolve to achieve entire freedom is the expression of an awakening of conscience and a feeling of responsibility with regard not only to the history of the colonized peoples but to the history of the whole of humanity, the harmonious development of which depends upon a true recognition and complete respect of the right of each country to independence.

46. It was in the light of this historic evolution of the peoples that, two years ago, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XVI)]. In spite of the great hopes which this Declaration aroused throughout the world, we must today express our profound disappointment at the way in which the majority of colonial Powers have carried out the task which was set them. Only two clauses of the Declaration need be recalled to illustrate how its application has failed to fulfil the hopes which the Declaration aroused among the enslaved peoples. Although the General Assembly declared that it "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" and that "immediate steps shall be taken in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations" we cannot but admit that the ultra-colonialist Powers have utterly disregarded the clearly expressed will of the General Assembly.

47. Thus Spain, South Africa and Portugal, far from listening to the voice of reason and adapting their attitude to the realities of the present day, are continuing daily and ever more acutely to jeopardize international peace and security in their obstinate determination to maintain millions of Africans under their intolerable yoke. Portugal, in particular, calls for special mention in this respect. It is well known that Portuguese colonialism is the most exaggerated form of denial of the human, political and social rights of a people. Its system of oppression and domination is at once a disgrace and an insult to the United Nations, which guarantees every people the right to self-determination. The blind repression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and other territories by the Portuguese Government can no longer be tolerated by the conscience of the world.

48. The African States, which do not wish to jeopardize the establishment of the peace to the cause of which they are completely devoted, are under pressure from their peoples to cease to tolerate the continued treatment of their brothers in the Portuguese colonies like wild beasts. The ever-increasing number of refugees from these countries who are fleeing from Portuguese atrocities has increased the sense of frustration and justified revulsion of all the peoples of Africa. For its part, the Republic of Guinea, which is linked by blood, by race, and by culture with the

countries enslaved by Portugal, considers it its duty to act as the spokesman of the peoples of these countries at the United Nations.

49. As Mr. Sékou Touré, the President of our Republic, declared very recently, it is the task of the Republic of Guinea to put into words the will for independence of all peoples who are victims of foreign domination. It is this attitude which inspires the policy of Guinea with regard to all the Portuguese colonies, and particularly to so-called Portuguese Guinea. Hence it is our duty to demonstrate before this Assembly our indignation at Portuguese colonialism and demand with all our power the immediate and unconditional liberation of the territories still administered by Portugal.

50. What can one say of the South African Government, which for sixteen years has consistently treated the resolutions of the General Assembly with complete contempt? In connexion both with the question of South West Africa and with that of apartheid, the South African Government is in a permanent state of rebellion against the United Nations. In spite of the numerous attempts which have been made to settle the status of the mandated territory of South West Africa, in spite of the unceasing efforts of all States Members, and in spite of universal reprobation, South Africa continues its policy of repression and enslavement, which is contrary to the most elementary principles of the United Nations Charter. The South African Government, while brutally repressing every aspiration for freedom on the part of the African population of South Africa and arbitrarily imprisoning African nationalist leaders such as Mr. Nelson Mandela, is at the same time doing all it can to integrate the international territory of South West Africa into the South African Republic.

51. This is a fitting moment at which to draw attention also to the equivocal attitude which characterizes the colonial policy of the United Kingdom—a policy which is unmasked every day by the unspeakable acts of the Governments of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The appeal made recently at the second resumption of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly [see resolution 1747 (XVI)], on behalf of the African population of Southern Rhodesia, has not met with any favourable response. On the contrary, Messrs. Welensky and Whitehead have intensified their repressive measures, which culminated a few days ago in the banning of Mr. Joshua Nkomo's African Nationalist Party.^{5/} If the United Kingdom, which so proudly vaunts its record of decolonization, wishes to deserve the respect and friendship of the peoples of Africa, it should hasten to find an appropriate formula for giving unfettered independence to Kenya, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and all its other colonial possessions.

52. The sombre picture of colonialism throughout the world appears clearly in the report (A/5238) submitted by the Committee of Seventeen.^{6/} All these facts prove the urgent necessity for the United Nations to take positive steps for the rapid liberation of the colonial territories before it is too late. If, in spite of the clear and precise wording of the Declaration, no effective action is taken by the ultra-colonialist Powers,

^{5/} The Zimbabwe African People's Union.

^{6/} The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

It is the duty of the United Nations to give the Declaration a more specific meaning, the Declaration called for the immediate liberation of all colonial countries and peoples, but since the expression "immediate liberation" has been deprived of all significance and its interpretation has been left to the whim of each country, a precise time limit should be fixed for this liberation.

53. Thus, in spite of its conviction that all peoples, at all times, are capable of managing their own affairs and that, that being so, all enslaved peoples should be liberated immediately, the Republic of Guinea considers that the United Nations should during the present session proclaim the final abolition of colonialism throughout the world in 1963. We solemnly propose 24 October 1963, United Nations Day, as the day to be devoted to the celebration, at the same time as the anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, of the final end of colonialism. Such a proclamation would, of course, have tremendous consequences, which should be accepted by every Member State resolutely engaged in the fight against colonialism and against every system of direct and indirect domination. The date of 24 October 1963 would thus mean for the United Nations the *de facto* and *de jure* recognition of all the governments set up by the populations of colonial countries through the intermediary of their best-authorized spokesmen, and the obligations resulting from this recognition should be observed in every field by all Member States.

54. All that is left before closing this important chapter is to make a brief mention of the tragic situation in the Congo, which continues to be a test of the effectiveness, impartiality, and even the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations. This is why, in spite of the actions of certain countries whose direct or indirect interference is known to all, and in spite of the obstinacy of the murderers of the great African patriot Patrice Lumumba and the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations should spare no effort to restore to the Congo its place in the community of nations as a great African country, in all its territorial integrity and real independence. Let there be no more support for the Katangan secessionists, let there be no more crocodile tears shed over the woes of the Congo, let there be no more references to the economic difficulties of the Congo, let there be no more spreading of misleading judgements of the nationalists of the Congo, and let there, finally, be no more open and aggressive interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. That and only then will the people, the nation, and the State of the Congo regain their greatness, their freedom, their dignity, and their prosperity in complete solidarity with the States of Africa in the fight to free our continent. Such, it seems to us, are the conditions for the success of any United Nations plan for the just and equitable settlement of the problem of the Congo.

55. Quite apart from the financial crisis through which the United Nations is passing, the success or failure of such a plan will determine the survival or extinction of our Organization. The Republic of Guinea has always held an unequivocal position on this vital question. Thus, in response to an appeal from the United Nations, the Guinean Government placed all its available resources of men and equipment at the disposal of the Organization from the very outset of the Congo operation, in July 1960, in order to come to the assistance

of the Central Government of the Congo, in accordance with the clear and precise terms of reference laid down by the Security Council and the General Assembly. The situation in the Congo being what it is, we hereby declare that no technical or legal solution, however ingenious it may be, can put an end to the Congolese crisis, that is to say the financial crisis of the United Nations. This financial crisis is political and moral and calls for political and moral solutions: political out of respect for the independence and territorial integrity of the Congo, and moral through the principal and obligatory contribution of the Powers responsible for the crisis.

56. One of the great problems which have confronted mankind since the end of the Second World War and which still confronts it is that of disarmament. The views of the Republic of Guinea on this problem have been explained before this Assembly on a number of occasions. We should like, however, to restate something that we have never ceased to affirm, namely, that the problem of disarmament as such is only one aspect and one condition of universal peace. The armaments race is but the manifestation of a situation resulting from the deterioration of relations between the great Powers, solidly entrenched in their ideological conflict.

57. Between the end of the Second World War and the recent Geneva conferences on disarmament^{7/} and on the discontinuance of nuclear tests,^{8/} meetings at various levels have followed one after another, in the form of commissions and round-table conferences producing plans, programmes and counter-programmes, all designed to provide a solution for this serious problem. Despite all the efforts made, these meetings have ended, if not in failure, at least in the breaking off of negotiations, leaving the problem not even partially solved. This means that until the great Powers succeed in reaching a level of mutual trust based on good faith and on a sincere desire to achieve a just solution, all attempts will be doomed to certain failure.

58. The dangers which the armaments race holds for all mankind and the immense advantages which all countries would derive from a stable and lasting peace are so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell on them further. We, the developing countries, whose main concern is to promote the rapid advancement of our peoples, should simply like to express our surprise at the negative attitude adopted by the highly developed countries. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that if the material means and the extraordinarily advanced scientific knowledge which twentieth-century man has at his disposal today were used exclusively for the benefit of mankind, it would be possible to rebuild a new world, a world of happiness and prosperity, for ever freed from the nightmare of the hunger, poverty and ignorance of which three-quarters of mankind are still victims.

59. And yet, instead of embarking upon this exhilarating task, which no people in the world could fail to welcome, we are obliged to stand by powerless, watching the great of our times frantically manufacturing, improving and stockpiling the most horrifying means of destruction, of which the least that can be said is that they are contrary to the interests of mankind.

^{7/} Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, opening date 14 March 1962.

^{8/} Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons tests, opening date 31 October 1958.

After all, there can be no doubt in anybody's mind that the use of these weapons of mass destruction, by one Power or another, can only lead to wholesale slaughter and to the inevitable end of all human life on our planet. If the problem is put in this way, there is obviously only one choice, and that is the sincere renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes or, in other words, general and complete disarmament.

60. We are profoundly convinced, however, that any purportedly serious discussion of general and complete disarmament would be illusory without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, we must point out that—as is generally realized—it is impossible to settle any international problems relating to the peace and security of peoples without the participation of that great country. When our Organization considers such important and vital questions as those of disarmament, the production of nuclear weapons and the discontinuance of nuclear tests, it is inevitably obliged to recognize that an agreement on these subjects must be reached among all the great Powers, including the People's Republic of China. Without going so far as to say that the failure of successive disarmament conferences has been due to the absence of the People's Republic of China, it can at any rate be stated that the shadow and weight of that absence have always made themselves felt.

61. As we said last year, it would be ingenuous to think that general and complete disarmament can be achieved while we are still confronted with the spirit of domination which usually takes the form of violation of elementary human rights and of the sacrosanct rules of relations among peoples. That is why we consider it essential not to lose sight of the fact that the problems which the African continent has to face today are directly connected with the question of disarmament.

62. Indeed, the question of the independence of colonial peoples, the question of seeking the most effective ways and means of promoting the harmonious development of Africa, which is passing through a critical phase of its history, and, finally, the question of assistance to all under-developed countries, particularly those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have a direct bearing on the problem of disarmament.

63. We continue to believe that the problems of divided countries—and especially the problem of Berlin, which is a permanent source of tension and a constant threat to international peace and security—will never be finally solved until mutual trust, based on good faith, prevails in the relations between the great Powers.

64. In the question of Cuba, another source of tension, it is essential for Member States, and especially the non-aligned countries, which have a special duty in this connexion, to urge a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the dispute, with full respect for the sovereign rights of the peoples concerned and in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

65. With regard to the search for satisfactory solutions in all those centres of international tension, who can fail to recognize with increasing clarity the decisive role played on the international scene during the past few years by the non-aligned countries, whose numbers are constantly increasing?

66. Indeed, the Conferences of the non-aligned countries held at Cairo^{2/} and Belgrade^{10/} have irrevocably demonstrated the moral and political force of non-alignment, which henceforth constitutes the only rational course open to under-developed countries and the only way of avoiding the increasing division of the world into antagonistic blocs.

67. It is becoming ever clearer that in our day non-alignment is an important element in the balance between the various parties responsible for the chronic tension in international relations. The part played at the international level by the non-aligned countries as a group has just been tellingly confirmed during the Geneva disarmament negotiations. Indeed, the neutral countries favourably influenced the development of these negotiations and will continue, we are sure, to create conditions propitious for a rapprochement of the different blocs, and ultimately for international equilibrium.

68. Another constant concern of our States is to consolidate our independence by setting up a prosperous and stable economy, which is an effective and sure way of solving our social problems. In the present international situation and in view of the currents which are emerging, we recognize the interdependence of peoples as a fundamental law. The non-aligned countries cannot live on the fringe of the modern world; apart from the results of their own efforts, they consider themselves entitled to benefit by the experience of other peoples.

69. At the economic level, the colonial Powers integrated every one of their colonies in their own national economy, scorning the traditional bonds of custom, history, geography, economy and so forth. Each of these colonized countries, having lost all normal economic relations with its neighbours, became a mere tributary of the colonial Power.

70. We know that we shall have to reconstruct Africa. The political liberation of our continent appears to us as a means towards the end of creating and developing the new African economy. Our continent possesses fabulous reserves of raw materials and its immense power potential provides excellent conditions for its industrialization.

71. Accordingly, while it seems unrealistic and irrational to contemplate the piecemeal association of the African countries with the European Common Market, or in any other regional economic grouping, it is on the contrary essential for our States to organize themselves into an African common market, which would subsequently co-operate, on a basis of equality and solidarity, with the other economic regions of the world.

72. Although it is essential for countries to complement each other economically, this presupposes that the development of the associated countries should progress in accordance with the needs and common interests of the peoples grouped together in the economic community. No plan which implicitly and a priori imposes a preconceived scheme and programme for the development of the associated countries can be viable, because it will provide no radical solution for problems relating to the nature of economic relations.

^{2/} Preliminary meeting to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, 5 to 12 June 1961.

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

and especially for the problems which confront integrated human communities.

73. The leaders of the European Economic Community do not seem to be aware of this concern, at any rate with regard to Africa, and make no secret of their desire to create a political community of the countries of Europe, with objectives that are difficult to reconcile with the will for political independence and unity of Africa, which remains fiercely hostile to the Berlin Congress of 1885, which gave its blessing to the de facto and de jure partition of Africa.

74. The unity of Africa within the framework of an African common market, far from being an end in itself, will simply be an instrument of development, a vital element of inter-African co-operation, which is essential owing to the injustice of the relations between the under-developed African nations and the economically developed nations. It is the nature of these relations which we on both sides must change, with a view to the elimination of social inequality between peoples and differences in the levels of economic development of the nations of the world. The relations between the highly developed countries and the under-developed countries are relations of exploitation and economic domination. There is a tendency for exploitation by international monopolies to take the place of the direct colonial exploitation of the past. Paradoxically, a considerable part of the income and the social improvements enjoyed by the highly developed countries are derived from the under-developed countries, which export primary commodities and raw materials.

75. It is in order to stress this aspect of our economic policy that we reaffirm the whole-hearted adherence of the Republic of Guinea to the programme worked out at the last Economic Conference at Cairo.^{11/} At this Conference principles were laid down and a number of measures and methods were recommended for promoting the rapid and harmonious development of the under-developed countries. Compliance with these principles by the United Nations in general and the highly developed countries in particular would establish a real balance in the world, a balance which cannot be brought about as long as the world is divided into rich peoples and poor peoples and into nations which are exploited and those which exploit. The principles contained in the Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries could be the inspiration for sustained action by the United Nations and the rich countries, thus making the Cairo Declaration a veritable economic charter for the under-developed countries.

76. It has become a tradition to link the rapid development of these countries with the disarmament problem. There is no point in dwelling on all the desirable effects which disarmament would have on the economic and social conditions of the whole of humanity, which is one of the reasons why the non-aligned countries are seriously concerned with the problem of disarmament and are doing all they can to find a final solution to it. It is easy to observe that, in spite of the increased efforts of certain rich nations to come to the aid of the developing countries, and in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations through its various programmes of technical and financial assistance, the problem of under-development is still unsolved. The reason for this is obvious. The

efforts required to bring about real economic growth in the under-developed countries require very great financial resources, much of which could be made available only by disarmament.

77. If such financial resources were made available by an improvement in exchange conditions, based on stabilization of commodity prices, the increasing disparity between the levels of living in different parts of the world would be considerably reduced, and the possibilities of ensuring lasting peace and progress for mankind would be increased. Assuredly there can be no real economic progress by the developing countries unless the regional economic groups of the highly industrialized countries avoid prejudicing the interests of the developing countries by restrictive and discriminatory measures.

78. In that connexion we would recall the efforts made by the Economic Commission for Africa, which recently adopted resolutions of great importance for the future development of the countries of Africa—particularly those resolutions setting up the African Development Bank^{12/} and the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning.^{13/}

79. We likewise congratulate the Secretary-General on his happy initiative in launching the United Nations Development Decade, and we sincerely hope that the clear-cut ideas inspired by his report^{14/} will be taken up and thoroughly analysed with a view to their correct application for the benefit of needy peoples.

80. All the preceding considerations lead us to reaffirm the unchanging attitude of the Republic of Guinea to problems of economic development. Here, as in other respects, we follow a policy of non-alignment. The economic characteristics of Guinea, which, on the one hand, has exceptionally favourable potentialities, but on the other hand, lacks financial and technical resources and suffers from all kinds of after-effects of its colonial past, impose special requirements on it. Consequently, the Republic of Guinea has undertaken to maintain economic relations with all the countries of the world within the framework of bilateral and multilateral co-operation and on the basis of reciprocity of interests and respect for national sovereignty. In this respect, there are grounds for satisfaction with regard to the efforts now being made within the framework of the United Nations technical assistance programme to carry out a number of projects which will help to bring about a considerable improvement in the living conditions of Africans. At the same time our bilateral economic relations are being increasingly developed, thus accentuating friendly and loyal co-operation between nations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

81. Steps have been taken in the Republic of Guinea to encourage and safeguard foreign investment by the adoption of an Investment Code. The sustained efforts of the Government of Guinea in the fields of economic development, accelerated training of skilled workers, and international co-operation, enable us to view the future with confidence. We see this future as above all intimately integrated with that of Africa as a whole. It could not be otherwise, in view of the complementary

^{12/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 10, resolution 52 (IV).

^{13/} Ibid., resolution 58 (IV).

^{14/} United Nations Development Decade: Proposals for action (United Nations publication, Sales No. 62.II.B.2.)

^{11/} Conference on the Problems of Economic Development.

nature of the economies of the various countries of Africa, the similarity of our aspirations, and the common nature of our historic destiny.

82. Since the beginning of the organized struggle for total liberation the peoples of Guinea, mobilized in a great movement of national salvation, have clearly discerned the chief milestones along the uphill road to African emancipation, and have consequently defined the objectives of their battle for liberation. These objectives were and are national independence for all the peoples of Africa, African unity, and the rational economic development of Africa with a view to the full social development of its people.

83. It was only logical and natural that the Republic of Guinea, having consolidated its national independence and gained full mastery of its destiny on the political plane, should press on towards the realization of the second objective of its historic struggle, that of African unity. The liberation of a large part of our continent and the artificial dissensions raised here and there between African States and leaders make unity more necessary and more urgent every day.

84. Now that suitable political and psychological conditions have come into being through multiple individual and collective contacts between all the active forces of Africa, its political, trade union, youth, and women's organizations, and between members of Governments and heads of States, we have the intensely heart-warming experience of observing that African unity, which will be the work of all Africans for the benefit of all, is henceforth possible and can be achieved immediately. This is the most tangible result of the community of interests and aspirations of the peoples of Africa in the united struggle to recover their liberty, ensure respect for their unique personality, and endow their action on the international plane with the necessary effectiveness and scope.

85. President Sékou Touré, who has at all times, but particularly during the past year, devoted all his energy and faith, and made use of all his connexions, in his search for the best ways and means of bringing about African unity, recently had the great satisfaction of being able to pay a solemn tribute to all the African Heads of State who came, in response to his fraternal initiative, to confirm their unreserved agreement to the convening in the near future of an African conference at the highest level. There is no doubt that this will be the most epoch-making event for the destiny of Africa since the Berlin Conference of 1885, which set the seal on the disastrous carving up of our continent and legalized the pillage of our riches, the overthrow of our States and the insupportable oppression of our peoples. The sacred duty of the first leaders of the liberated parts of Africa will be to restore what was destroyed at Berlin. Our hope, and that of all the peoples of Africa, is that around an African conference table our leaders will work out the details of the charter of African unity and the conditions for honest co-operation between our States, and will set to work, in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of Africa, to create an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and fraternal confidence between all the States of Africa. By way of contribution to the search for a solution acceptable to all concerned, President Sékou Touré recently declared:

"The unity to which we aspire does not and cannot mean uniformity of our institutions or of the

structure of our States, and still less the creation of a single party or a single great African State. . .

"One of the main handicaps which has so far hindered the complete achievement of African unity has been the idea . . . that this unity must be built around a single State or a single man. Today it has become obvious that the political evolution and the economic, social and cultural development of the African States require rather their united action based on a joint programme freely chosen by all the States and conforming to their interests and to the rules of equality and fraternity within the framework of continental solidarity."

86. The warm welcome given by the continent of Africa to this important declaration and to all those made by other Heads of State inspired with the same realistic desire for effective action, is a sure guarantee that the States of Africa are on the eve of bringing about their unity. We hope that during this seventeenth session of the General Assembly all the representatives of African States will contribute to this end by their general attitude, their statements and their votes. In this noble enterprise, the consequences of which will far transcend the frontiers of Africa, we are counting on the co-operation and support of all peoples and all States. In particular, the leaders of the States responsible in various ways for the present division of Africa have here a unique chance to help us rebuild our continent so that we can forget past bitterness, misery and humiliation. In this vital field, the interests of present-day Africa are identical with those of all other countries, and in particular those of Western Europe. We proclaim loudly to these latter that the moment has come to substitute the slogan "unite and co-operate" for the slogan "divide and rule".

87. For our part, our aims are clear, our intentions pure, and our willingness for honest co-operation unlimited. This is one of the vital contributions which we are offering to the international community. Modest though it may be, it seems to us to be essential for the success of our common enterprise: the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan resumed the Chair.

88. Mr. VELAZQUEZ (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): Permit me, Mr. President, to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation upon your election. You possess to a very high degree qualities which are rarely found in a single person: you are thoroughly familiar, as a jurist, with the principles of theoretical and speculative thinking and, as a statesman, with those of the practical science of politics. These endowments warrant the hope that, under your wise leadership and the guidance of the Supreme Being whom you have so humbly invoked, the debates now beginning will help to attain our objectives.

89. The seventeenth session of the General Assembly is opening at a time when the international situation is fraught with tension and danger. The problem of Berlin and the whole problem of the future of Germany—the most difficult legacy left to us by the Second World War—are still unresolved and compel the forces defending the principles of the free world to remain in a continuous state of vigilance. In that more than in any other area, an act of rashness or an act of weakness may have unforeseen consequences.

90. There is also tension and conflict in Asia, despite some instances of significant progress; tension in Afri-

on, where some sectors of opinion still refuse to recognize the inescapable realities of African nationalism; and finally tension and danger in America, the continent which we would have wished to be "par excellence" the continent of peace, in accordance with what has been and continues to be the unalterable objective of our peoples.

91. This, of course, is no new situation. Since the Second World War, with shorter or longer periods of respite, the world has become accustomed to living in a permanent state of crisis. The days of September 1961, when we opened the sixteenth session, seemed even darker. At that time, too, the question of Berlin was in an acute stage, but there was also the Congo crisis; we were on the eve of the explosion of the fifty-megaton bomb, and the whole world was mourning the death of one of the most selfless servants of the United Nations.

92. But crisis and conflict, however recurrent, do not provide sufficient reason for our hopes to waver. Life itself is conflict and crisis, because injustice, cruelty and ambition are present in it. Life is all that, and all that is worse in an international than in a national context. But such is reality; and it is reality which must be our starting-point, for paradise is not of this world. All we can hope to do is to make the human condition more tolerable, by using the means available to us.

93. The United Nations is one of those means. We do not, of course, regard it as the only instrument for coping with the problems arising from the coexistence of nations. As pointed out in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization from 16 June 1961 to 15 June 1962,^{15/} it was never the intention that all problems should be solved within the United Nations, nor was the United Nations conceived as the sole means of conducting international diplomacy. It is clear that our world is still based, and will continue to be based for some time to come, on the classic concept of sovereign nations in more or less peaceful competition—for that unity upon which alone can be based a juridical structure with any claim to universality has not yet been established. The "world city" seen as the highest ideal of human political organization in the philosophies of all great cultures is still no more than a dream, an age-old dream.

94. But if that is true, and if on that account the small countries, more than others, are compelled relentlessly to defend their sovereignty in a world in which the differences in economic and military power are so vast and blatant, ultimately we are bound to unite and integrate, not to separate and divide. That is why the instrument which the United Nations represents should be conceived as a dynamic one, to be used in the service of new forms of co-operation and international action. Possibly a dynamic concept of the United Nations was not in the minds of the Organization's founders, and perhaps that idea has not yet been fully developed. But the United Nations is an institution, and institutions are destined to live, not to die. They are living things, even though their life—that is, the force they exert—is of a nature different from ours. And just as our life is simply the translation of power into action—that is, a movement towards perfection, towards fulfilment, which is the

ultimate goal—so institutions, like plants, animals and men, require the harmonious development of their potentialities and their attributes before they can arrive at the full achievement of their purposes.

95. Even a superficial review of what has happened in the United Nations in the past few years would show that part of that process has begun and that a peaceful revolution has been set in motion within the Organization. In illustration of my point, it cannot be denied that the decisions adopted by the Assembly are merely recommendations, devoid of the binding effect which international obligations usually have. Nor can it be denied that the non-mandatory nature of the Assembly's decisions, together with the veto and the principle of domestic jurisdiction, constituted the three pillars on which it was possible to support the San Francisco agreement. But while this is still true from a strictly legal standpoint, it is less obviously true from the standpoint of one particular political consideration. I am referring not merely to the moral force consistently attributed to the Assembly's recommendations as expressions of public opinion and world conscience. I am thinking specifically of the increasingly wide-spread belief, particularly in certain fields of United Nations activity, that these resolutions are mandatory—of the emergence of a psychological factor, the opinio necessitatis, which is one of the decisive elements in the development of the rules of customary international law. This, it must be recognized, is a new phenomenon—one not provided for in the system of the Charter. The least we can say now is that this idea already exists; time alone will tell whether it is to be the idea of the future.

96. I have indicated a specific field of the United Nations activity in which this "living" concept of the Organization has made itself felt more keenly than in others. The field is that of colonial questions. It has been said that colonial empires are lost in New York; while that may be an exaggeration, it is a fact that the United Nations is playing a decisive role in this matter. Who can now doubt, for example, the tremendous explosive power of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples? We may go on debating whether the Declaration is strictly in conformity with the letter of the Charter or the intention of its authors. But who would now deny that the Declaration is in conformity with the spirit of the Charter and its political philosophy? Even if we did go beyond the formal provisions of the Charter when we adopted that resolution, we did so in order to make those provisions serve the purpose of the Charter more effectively, for that is why they are there. And that was all to the good, for it is the letter which kills and the spirit which gives life.

97. I would not wish to let this opportunity pass without expressing our appreciation of the work accomplished by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, on which we were privileged to serve. We think that, apart from the normal flaws which inevitably characterize any new and original undertaking, the Committee has done constructive work. While there have been differences of opinion among the members with regard to some problems, and certain positions may have been maintained with the rigidity of extremism, there has also been much evidence of a spirit of compromise and a constructive approach.

^{15/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 5.

When we consider what colonialism, a system which grew out of an inhuman desire for gain, has meant in our time, we must at the very least recognize the responsible attitude adopted by countries which have undergone, in body and soul, the affliction of colonialism; we must at the very least marvel at the fact that, with one single exception, this battle for liberation is being waged within the framework of the Charter, which is tantamount to saying that it is being waged within the law. Any revolution is, to a large extent, violence; but violence within the law and in support of the law is known as justice. After all, the object of this struggle for liberation is legitimate, and there is probably no nation represented in this Assembly which has not had to fight, at some moment in its history, for its liberation from foreign domination. In any struggle for a noble cause, those who carry on the struggle must also, in some way, be ennobled.

98. Much, doubtless, remains to be done, and it is for the Assembly to decide how the task shall be pursued. But if we are to go on—and no one doubts that we must—it should not be merely to bring about peoples' more or less formal independence. Political independence and self-government are the first objective, but not the ultimate goal. The ultimate goal is independence in the fullest sense of the word—independence which really makes us masters of our own destiny, masters and sovereigns in the legitimate areas of competence of our communities. It is true that political independence is a sine qua non of full independence; but of itself is not enough.

99. I should like to recall that we, the peoples of Latin America, have learnt, and not in anima vili, that the establishment of self-government involves, in the first place, intelligent adaptation of the forms of law to the sociological realities of each country. Speaking for a people which, like its brothers in America, has in the past had to involve itself in a continuous battle as between ideal constitutions and real constitutions, as between written constitutions and sociological constitutions—a battle fortunately terminated by Uruguay half a century ago—we are in a position fully to appreciate the need to adapt the principles underlying the development of free institutions to the political body which they are intended to govern, as skin is adapted to the human frame.

100. Every country, of course, must make its own experiment in working out its own principles. But in all cases the objective should be the same: that those institutions—except for such basic principles as the sovereignty of the people or respect for natural human rights, which are unconditionally applicable in all situations—should be adapted, like the skin to the body, to the actual structure of the country. Otherwise, independence leads to chaos and chaos breeds a new colonialism or spurious forms of government which, as history shows us, are nearly always exploited by interests alien to legitimate national self-interest.

101. And this holds true not only for the new nations attaining to independence, which we heartily welcome to our ranks, but also for that vast sector of humanity wrongly known as the "under-developed world"—an expression which seems to suggest that development and progress can be measured only by technology and material wealth and not by moral achievement and cultivation of the mind, which we so often seek in vain in this vast desert of industrial cities.

102. For those who belong to that world, we must abolish the paradox of political independence and economic dependence, the luxury of freedom and the yoke of poverty. A world in which 500 million people are hungry and 1,000 million are at least suffering from malnutrition cannot continue to exist. At this stage of civilization, it is certainly neither novel nor revolutionary to assert that the wealth of this earth has been created for the benefit of all mankind, not for a particular part of it. And what that part claims as its right is nothing more than the role incumbent upon it, its administrative and social task, which should be acknowledged and performed within the international community even more imperatively than within a national community. For there can be no healthy international community so long as entire populations are still sunk in backwardness or poverty. The gap between rich, powerful nations and poor nations is even less acceptable than the gap between rich and poor within a given country, precisely because the international community is the most effective political entity—the only one able to supply mankind as a whole with adequate means for achieving happiness, which is the purpose of human life.

103. I should not like to omit a reference, however brief, to such exceptionally important subjects as disarmament and nuclear testing. It should be borne in mind that despite the valuable and constructive work being done by the United Nations in broad fields of human activity, and particularly in economic and social matters, its primary objective is still the maintenance of international peace and security.

104. It is true that if the question of disarmament had to do, as the word suggests, merely with arms, the unarmed countries which comprise the vast majority of the Assembly could have little to say. But disarmament is merely an instrument, a means, one of the aspects of peace; and peace is a question that concerns us all. Peace is not a matter of opinion, a matter of veto, or a matter of numbers of army divisions. Peace is the common good, and the question of disarmament therefore concerns us all. And this is particularly true of that aspect of it which relates to nuclear testing. For even if we could agree, at least in theory, that the arms race, with its immense danger and the vast resources of which it deprives us, constitutes neither a positive breach of peace nor a real injury, nuclear tests, however legitimate the interests held to justify them, already constitute an injury—a real, not a potential one. Consequently, with the same right as that enjoyed by the nuclear Powers in advancing arguments in defence of their national security, we advance the same arguments in opposition, since no Government can neglect its inescapable duty of protecting the lives and health of the people placed under its care—its first and, indeed, most sacred obligation.

105. We confidently hope that substantial progress will be made at this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in the matters of disarmament and nuclear testing. Men—like countries, which after all are nothing more than communities of men—faced, as they are today, with the inexorable prospect of total annihilation, are capable in the last resort of performing acts of supreme wisdom which in other circumstances might have seemed Utopian or impossible.

106. Among the items to be considered at this seventeenth session is one entitled "Consideration of prin-

ciples of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". We are not too sanguine as to the effectiveness of such an investigation as a real means of establishing friendship and co-operation between nations. It is not enough for men to know the truth; they must also will it, and to seek and operate truth must become a habit, a second nature, so that thought and action become one, instead of being, as seems to be characteristic of the spirit of our times, permanently dissociated.

107. In considering these principles, we must start from the basic fact that the international community has not yet succeeded in advancing beyond the stage of the coexistence of many sovereign national States. If such is the present structure of the world community—and it always seems to have been—that is because it is to some extent inherent in the nature of things and in the plan of creation; consequently, in their relations with each other, these natural entities must possess more or less the same rights as those held by individuals in their mutual relations within their own communities.

108. States, like individuals, have a right to live, to exist, to protect themselves and to develop in a lawful way. They have a right to physical integrity, i.e., territorial integrity, and to the exercise of free will, i. e., self-determination; a right to enjoy legal status and therefore to be equal before the law; a right to be respected by their peers; a right to their own culture and to the development of their national characteristics; and lastly, a right to use the fruits of the earth for the sustenance of their populations.

109. If these fundamental rights are really inherent in the nature of the State and in the fact of its spontaneous existence within a multiple society such as the international community, we must then accept, as a corollary of those rights and because any rule of law is essentially bilateral in its application, a series of guiding principles or standards for coexistence which, if they were effectively applied, could make a practical contribution to the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation among nations. Such would be, for instance, respect for self-determination; the principle of non-intervention, strict observance of which would be a very effective, if not the most effective way of restoring confidence between nations; the principle of self-defence, and genuine equality before the law; freedom of communication and trade between all the peoples of the world; and finally, the duty of the rich nations to come to the help of the poorer nations, not in pursuance of an optional, unilateral decision, but in compliance with a regular legal and natural obligation.

110. That is not all, however. The international community, although a multiple society, has an entity of its own, based on ontological foundations just as firm as those justifying the existence of a State. Consequently, because they are component parts, or members, of a greater whole, States must assume certain types of obligation which to some extent transcend those resulting from the varying legal relationships between them. However strong our national feeling, however legitimate (as of course it is) the life of each nation, the autonomy of the State is not absolute; it is restricted not only by the equal rights of other States but also by the more general requirements for the general good of the human race as a whole, without

which it would, in the last analysis, be vain to seek the good of its members.

111. This optimum good, the exclusive good of the international community, itself involves duties and responsibilities which have to be discharged. It must be recognized, not only with words but also with deeds, that there are interests even higher than national interests and that the former do not exclude or conflict with the interests of each State, just as the health of the whole body does not conflict with the health of its members.

112. I could give many examples of how and when the individual good gives way to the universal good, a process which makes friendship and co-operation between nations possible and fruitful. But there is one case that is particularly important, because it relates to one of the interests which we consider vital. I am referring to the possible use of force, presented as a legitimate instrument of national policy. When we hear talk of this today, there come to mind the words written more than four centuries ago by Francisco de Vitoria, the eminent Spanish Dominican who was the father and founder of the Law of Nations. Writing for a world which still recognized war as a lawful means of resolving conflicts and whose division into ideological blocs is strangely reminiscent of our own, he had, in his Relecciones, this to say about the power of the State:

"As a republic is part of the world and, in particular, a Christian province part of the republic as a whole, I think that a war which would be of advantage to one province or even to the republic as a whole but harmful to the rest of the world or to Christendom would for that very reason be unjust."

113. I do not think that I need go any further, because this is the only reply we can give today.

114. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): Permit me, Mr. President, to express the gratification of my Government and delegation at your having been elected to direct the debates of this Assembly. Your specialization in the study and practice of law and your devotion to the principles of justice are a guarantee of success at a time when the United Nations is facing such grave problems, which may be crucial for the destiny of mankind.

115. Since the time of the last session, events have taken place which may have important consequences. Man is questioning the cosmos and requiring answers from it. He has overcome the force of gravity, which used to be absolute, and the almost ineradicable dangers of weightlessness, in his conquest of outer space. But the United States representative, Mr. Stevenson, a statesman who is accustomed to looking at events in their historical perspective, said with extraordinary frankness in the General Assembly [1125th meeting] that if the enormous technical and economic efforts which had been made for the conquest of outer space had been made for the well-being of mankind, many of the problems of underdevelopment, disease and poverty could have been solved. In addition, there is still the potential danger of outer space being used for purposes of mass destruction. Mr. Stevenson's statement that there is a strong probability of agreement being reached in this area does much to alleviate the growing anxiety regarding the use of space vehicles for purposes of war.

116. One shudders to think what such use would mean. The bomb which burst on Hiroshima in 1945 is almost insignificant compared with the hydrogen bombs exploded in 1952, and the latter are almost inoffensive compared with the 100-megaton bombs, equivalent to 100 million tons of TNT, which we are told the Soviet Union has exploded. In order to have a standard of comparison, all we need do is to remember that the bombs used in the Second World War contained about 2,000 tons of the same explosive and sufficed to destroy Europe. According to official calculations, if twenty-five of these 100-megaton bombs were dropped on a densely populated area, they would kill 36 million people outright and affect 57 million others, while sixteen days later 72 million people would be dead and 21 million awaiting a lingering death.

117. But even apart from a nuclear war, there is definite danger to human life in the test explosions of the atomic bombs.

118. It is well known that the isotopes produced by nuclear fission have sinister effects so far as the future of mankind is concerned. Strontium 90, which behaves like calcium, affects the bone structure. Caesium 137, which acts like sodium, affects the cell tissues. Iodine 131 disturbs the endocrine functions. And Carbon 14 causes genetic mutations which, sooner or later, may produce a generation of monsters.

119. It is estimated that 300 nuclear bombs have so far been set off; and according to the figures given by Mr. Stevenson in his speech of 20 September, 390 megatons have been exploded, or 390 million tons of TNT—140 by the United States and 250 by the Soviet Union. There is every indication that we are approaching dangerous levels of radio-active concentration in the atmosphere. The only end of the armaments and nuclear testing race appears to be mass extinction.

120. It is with these appalling problems that the Organization is faced. Year after year, we have seen proposals emerge and perish. World opinion has been given glimpses of the mirage of general disarmament and complete peace. On the other hand, we have seen the failure of the voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing; and we know that gathering a few wise diplomats around a table will not give us world peace, by decree, overnight. In a divided world like ours, distrust and fear are inevitable; but there does seem to be a possibility of reaching honest agreements which would achieve a truce in conventional armaments, as a first step towards the abolition or at least the reduction of weapons of mass destruction. And it is also possible that agreements concluded in good faith may replace voluntary suspension and, in the end, lead to the abandonment of nuclear testing.

121. It is a fact that the technical mastery of nature is reaching a point which used to be considered miraculous. It is therefore not Utopian to think that in a not too distant future the new science, based on Einstein's theory of the equivalence of matter and energy, may place in man's hands the almost fabulous power of nuclear energy for peaceful uses. And there can be no doubt that the peaceful use of atomic energy would produce great changes in human relations.

122. Today we can already see how greatly technology has influenced international life. The use of the turbine in aircraft and the mastery of short-wave transmission

have led to the internationalization of human relations and to a radical change in world politics. The historical era which is now ending was based on the rigid concept of unlimited and unrestricted national sovereignty. The historical period we are now entering tends towards the organization of the international community and the increasing subordination of domestic to international jurisdiction, by the free and voluntary action of sovereign States. The political expression of the historical period that is now closing was what was called the balance of power and spheres of influence. In our era, we have come to accept increasingly a policy of international co-operation, formerly confined to penal and health matters. In the era now drawing to a close, relations between States were viewed as an association; our own era tends towards the constitution of the international community out of free States. The idea of association carries with it the idea of being a means to an end, a means of consolidating interests. But a community is an end in itself. If Kant's language were applicable in this field, I should say that the former is governed by hypothetical and the latter by categorical imperatives. More and more, the United Nations is becoming the juridical organization of the international community and is strengthening the policy of co-operation.

123. In the interests of realism, we should like it to be understood that we are not saying that the stage of the balance of power has been left behind. It must not be forgotten that the United Nations was born of a successful alliance against nationalistic totalitarianism. The talks at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 and at Yalta in 1945 established the basis for the United Nations, and reflected the wishes of victorious Powers, which were then united to organize the post-war world. For that reason, the United Nations was conceived on the principle of limited universality, but the door was left open for development towards complete universality.

124. That we have developed in this direction is undeniable. The United Nations is proving that, as an organization, it is dynamic, not static; flexible, not rigid. It is therefore steadily becoming the organization of the whole international community, and the instrument for increasing co-operation between States.

125. In a world divided by opposite systems of existence, we cannot expect final solutions in political matters; but it is undeniable that the Organization's moderating action has helped to lessen major tensions and avert dangers. Mention has already been made—and here again I refer to the statement of the United States representative—of its peace-making action in such matters as the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, the relaxation of tension in Laos, and progress towards the political unification of the Congo. And there are grounds for hoping that, directly or indirectly, the United Nations may be able to find solutions for the problems now tormenting the world. Such action requires prudence and energy, patience and determination; it can however, be carried out either directly and spontaneously, or as a result of pressure from world opinion.

126. Although the road to a solution of the great political problems is beset with difficulties—which should not, however, halt the work of the United Nations as the guardian of international peace and security—there are specific fields in which international co-operation has achieved concrete results; for instance,

in technical assistance, the struggle against illiteracy and ignorance, the promotion of methods to improve conditions in the under-developed countries and co-ordinated action to combat unhealthy living conditions.

127. This co-operation has admittedly led to important advances. However, the great problem of the one third of mankind living in poverty, sickness and ignorance still remains. Vast regions of the world are afflicted by under-development. In addition, the concentration of population in urban areas has outstripped the growth of productivity in those areas and has created idle masses susceptible to the blandishments of totalitarian propaganda. There is also the alarming problem of the disparity between the population explosion—which is most marked in the under-developed countries—and food resources. This problem, which in the past century has attracted the attention of economists such as Malthus, is now acute. It can be solved only at one or other of its two extremes: either by limiting births, which is repugnant on religious or ethical grounds to a large part of mankind, or by increasing productivity.

128. Technology can facilitate the latter solution. The discovery of underground water resources, soil fertilization processes, improvements in food preservation, plans for land reform and population resettlement would greatly help to solve this pressing problem. The under-developed countries however, lack the economic resources to undertake these measures and our Organization has insufficient means to accelerate the process.

129. My delegation agrees with the perceptive analysis of this question made by Mr. Alfonso Arlinos de Melo Franco, the representative of Brazil, who pointed out to the General Assembly [1125th meeting] that a fall in the prices of raw materials and foodstuffs on the world market was having the dangerous result of forcing the people of the under-developed countries to work harder and harder to earn less and less. It should be added that, in the meantime, the prices of manufactured goods and mechanical equipment for the development of agriculture and industry are rising. This imbalance is a constant source of dangerous social upheavals which have no connexion with ideologies but reflect real and vital needs.

130. My delegation also supports the programme to be carried out during the period designated as the United Nations Development Decade, and in this regard wishes to place on record its appreciation of the great understanding of our problems shown by U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

131. Lastly, my delegation would like to touch on a matter relating to the maintenance of peace based on justice. I refer to the process of decolonization. The United Nations has great achievements to its credit in this field. Only ten years ago, the question was still discussed of whether Chapters XI and XII of the Charter really formed part of that document or whether, as the colonialists claimed, were merely declaration of good intentions. It is true that we recently heard an attempt to revive this argument, but we regarded it as being of purely historical interest. A considerable advance was made in 1953 with the formulation of the list of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a full measure of self-government has been attained. In 1960, the Magna Charta of decolonization was proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XVI). Ten years ago

there were sixty Member States; today there are 108, very few of which have not at one time had colonial status. Although their independence is largely the result of courageous and intelligent action by their leaders, United Nations efforts to speed the process also made an important contribution.

132. In view of the fact that Africa is the continent which suffered and still suffers most from the hardships of colonial exploitation, I feel compelled to dwell on what I might call the African problem. I hasten to offer my apologies to the African representatives who do me the honour of listening to me; any errors I commit will be made unwittingly. However, I believe that the African problem cannot be understood except in its historical context.

133. One of the most wide-spread beliefs about Africa is that it had no culture of its own and that the Europeans gave it theirs. The truth is that when the Europeans first arrived in Africa, the continent was in the initial stages of a transition from a tribal to a state system of organization, a process similar to the one which took place in Europe when the feudal system was superseded by the development of nations. In the fifteenth century—from 1482, when Gil de Eanes reached Africa, until 1497 when Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope—exploration of the continent was confined to the coastal areas; there were, however, reports of the half-mythical land of Bilhad Ghana mentioned by the Arab chronicler El Bakri. The Kingdom of Mali had its origin in the legendary Sundiata. The kingdom of Gao was in the ascendancy. Such chroniclers as Ibn Batuta, also an Arab, mentioned the important cities of Mussa, Timbuktu on the Niger and Yenne on the Bani, which were active trading centres. This process was arrested by the slave trade which, in four centuries, deprived Africa of some 100 million of its most vigorous inhabitants, delayed the continent's development and left a legacy of tribal hatreds which have perhaps not yet been eradicated. It was against this background of economic dislocation in Africa that colonialism was established during the nineteenth century, a process which, like the slave trade, took place without regard for existing ethnic, linguistic or cultural divisions. Africa was thus colonized according to lines boldly drawn on the map and not on the basis of homogeneous cultures.

134. I must apologize for this historical digression, which is necessary for an understanding of the African problem. The new States have been set up more or less in accordance with the arbitrary boundaries drawn by colonialism and do not correspond to any actual cultural, ethnic or linguistic areas. This makes African nationalism different from nationalism as we know it in Western States. African nationalism has a continental as well as a national aspect. More important than a narrow nationalism is Africanism, which the distinguished philosopher and poet who guides the destiny of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, has called a return to the sources of Negro being, "nigritude". Accordingly, developments in Rhodesia, the Congo or Angola concern every African State regardless of its guiding ideology or the superimposed cultural region to which it belongs.

135. The features of surviving colonialism with its brutal forms of racial discrimination and the domination of large masses of Africans by small white minorities, must be dealt with speedily because of the growing danger of serious developments which,

as Spengler foretold, would add a racial struggle and a class struggle to the just fight for African liberty.

136. We understand the difficulties. We believe that untimely sanctions or violent measures will not help to overcome them. We believe that impatience is not a good counsellor; but neither is indulgent forbearance. We trust that the wisdom of this Assembly will lead to the adoption of prudent, timely and just solutions.

137. Having discussed the world problems confronting the United Nations, my delegation would now like to take up the problems of the Organization itself. It has been asserted that the United Nations is suffering from a so-called "crisis of confidence". An honest and frank examination of the present situation is therefore desirable in order to determine the Organization's purposes and clarify the means available to it.

138. A great deal of confusion results from a misconception of its purposes. There are many who like to regard the United Nations as sort of super-State with coercive powers similar to those of a national State. There are many others who view it as a world parliament capable of endowing its decisions with the binding force of laws. There are many others again who would turn back the clock and make the United Nations an instrument of power politics.

139. I should like to say that we consider the United Nations as the greatest attempt in history to organize the international community on a legal basis and achieve the goals implicit in the existence of such a community—politically, the maintenance of peace and security, and socially, co-operation in the attainment of higher living standards. We therefore believe that it is based on the principles of universality and the equality of States both large and small, without discrimination. The principle of universality forbids the exclusion of peace-loving States capable of carrying out the obligations imposed by the Charter, and guarantees the principle of self-determination of peoples so that they may select their own system of government by democratic methods.

140. The principle of the equality of States applies not only to the exercise of rights but also to the fulfilment of obligations. My delegation will therefore respect the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice regarding the costs of maintaining peace and security [A/5161].^{16/}

141. In conclusion, my delegation would like to refer briefly to the structure of our Organization. The Charter does not and cannot embody an immutable order; it must be adaptable to new needs and be sensitive to new relationships. We believe, therefore, that it can and should be revised. It is essential for the New States to play a greater part in United Nations organs and this calls for a change in the Organization's structure through revision of its Charter. Without such a revision, no structural changes can be made. In our opinion, therefore, the suggestion that the direction of the Secretariat should be jointly exercised is unsound and untimely and I should like to take the opportunity of expressing the sympathy and interest with which my delegation views the arduous and enlightened work of our Secretary-General, U Thant.

^{16/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I. C. J. Reports 1962, p. 151).

142. My delegation wishes to indicate its stand on the major problems before the General Assembly. Everyone is aware that we are living at a turning-point in history, in a changing world where all truths are tentative and all solutions subject to review in the light of developments.

143. We trust that understanding, selflessness and a sense of historical responsibility will guide the work which we undertake. Without those qualities, the United Nations would cease to be the world's greatest attempt at organizing the international community and the best co-operative instrument for the solution of its most pressing problems. Without them, it would be nothing but a storm-ridden costly and futile tower of Babel, built of glass.

144. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): Mr. President, first of all permit me to extend to you the most heartfelt congratulations of the Austrian delegation. We are, together with all the other delegations in this hall, most gratified that a man enjoying such a high reputation as a statesman and jurist, a man of such great wisdom and experience, is occupying the highest office in this Assembly at such an important session as the present one.

145. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my warmest thanks to the Acting Secretary-General for having taken the not inconsiderable trouble, during his fatiguing journey, to include a visit to the capital of my country. In Vienna he had the opportunity of engaging in valuable talks with the Federal President and members of the Federal Government.

146. Although we are still so grievously and deeply smitten at the loss of Dag Hammarskjöld, we can consider ourselves fortunate that we have succeeded in finding a man who is not only the representative of one of the world's most ancient peoples of culture but who has also earned great respect and great admiration, even during the short time he has been in office, by the acuteness of his judgement, by his balanced personality and by his realistic attitude.

147. Austria is one of the smaller countries of the world and, like all the others, is therefore particularly interested to see the work of the United Nations crowned with success. Its work can be successful only if it has a Secretariat that operates effectively. But there can be such a Secretariat only if it is headed by a Secretary-General with unequivocal and clear-cut powers, who is not constantly obstructed in the execution of his duties.

148. The United Nations also requires the financial resources to enable it to carry out its important tasks. Although Austria is faced with substantial obligations arising out of various post-war treaties and because of the fact that our country was not spared the devastation of the war, the Federal Government, nevertheless, has not turned a deaf ear to the Acting Secretary-General's appeal and has accepted Austria's quota of United Nations bonds.

149. So far as the Special Fund and technical assistance are concerned, the Austrian Federal Government will gladly fulfil its obligations particularly because it is fully aware of the beneficial activities of these two important fields of United Nations activity.

150. The United Nations conference on consular relations is scheduled to be held next year in Vienna, and I can assure you that the Austrian Federal

Government and all the authorities concerned will do everything in their power to provide proper facilities for this conference.

151. I also want to express my thanks for the confidence displayed in my country by the election of the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, Mr. Franz Matsch, as Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. We are all aware of the great importance of outer space research and we are very grateful to those States which have become the great explorers of our age in this field for the material sacrifices they have made and the energy they have expended.

152. The Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, was completely right when, speaking on this subject a few days ago [1125th meeting], he put the question in the following clear terms: "But what does it profit if a few men orbit the earth while below them millions are starving?" Recently at Detroit, I myself said in a lecture that fate will not look kindly upon us unless, at the same time as we set course for the stars, we also do everything possible to make life on our planet worth living for all.

153. The Austrian Federal Government has already expressed its great interest in the activities of the Economic and Social Council. We sincerely hope that all Member States will support our candidacy, and we wish to thank those who have already indicated their intention of doing so.

154. Austria is today engaged in becoming a welfare State which will embody its efforts to achieve both social security and individual freedom. In its social legislation it often tries to venture into new paths.

155. We are very familiar with the problems of economic development from our own bitter experience. We are engaged in making our country a modern industrial State. Many of our technicians are at work today in several States of Africa and Asia. But even more important is the fact that approximately 6,000 students from developing countries are studying in Austria, including 563 from the United Arab Republic and 733 from Iran alone.

156. Development problems arouse particular interest in public and private circles in Austria. For example, in the summer of this year, a conference on such problems was held at Salzburg, in which eminent experts from thirty-four countries of Asia, Africa, America and Europe participated. I hope that the delegations will very soon be able to acquaint themselves with the interesting document that was prepared there.

157. If, therefore, Austria is honoured by being elected to the Economic and Social Council, it will carry out this task with devotion and respect for the purposes of that organ of the United Nations.

158. At its sixteenth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming a United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1710 (XVI)]. Member States are asked to intensify their efforts to mobilize and to sustain support for the measures required to accelerate progress towards economic growth in the developing countries, taking as the objective a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent at the end of the Decade. By this resolution, Member States and members of the specialized agencies are called upon to pursue poli-

cies designed to enable the less developed countries to sell their products at stable and remunerative prices and thus to finance increasingly their own economic development. They are also called upon to pursue policies that will lead to an increase in the flow of development resources and to adopt measures which will stimulate the flow of private investment capital on mutually acceptable terms.

159. As early as 1960, the Economic Commission for Europe prepared a very commendable study on this problem^{17/} and came to the conclusion that the estimated import requirements of the developing countries for 1980 would amount to approximately \$60,000 million. When one considers that, in 1960, these countries sold a total of \$19,000 million worth of goods, the full magnitude of this problem becomes apparent.

160. We are convinced that the modern, rich, industrial States must make considerable efforts and that all those that are in a position to do so must make part of their national income available to those nations which today are experiencing great difficulty in satisfying the most urgent needs of their citizens. But a real and lasting rise in the standard of living can be achieved only if the relations between the industrial States and the developing countries are based to a greater extent on a genuine economic partnership.

161. The developing countries require rich markets where they can sell their commodities at prices acceptable to them. Again, the industrial States must develop their production in such a way that their national income becomes ever greater and it thus becomes increasingly easier for them to make a corresponding part of this national income available to other peoples.

162. In this connexion, economic integration has a prominent part to play so far as Europe is concerned. In 1960, the Western European States alone absorbed as much as \$12,000 million worth of the developing countries' total exports of \$19,000 million. A larger consumer market is possible only through the economic integration of Western Europe. Such integration will strengthen the economies of the European nations and also enable them to participate to a greater extent in the development programmes of other States.

163. As the representative of a country which, while observing its strict neutrality, is desirous of participating in European integration, I wish to assure you on this occasion that the States which wish to create a large common market in Europe, in which the countries of the European Economic Community as well as the countries of the European Free Trade Association would participate, are far from pursuing objectives based on power politics or military designs.

164. Occasionally we hear it said that the United Nations finds itself in a crisis because the number of smaller States has become so great since San Francisco. It is my opinion that the principle of one State, one Member, one vote, must remain intact because it is a fundamentally democratic principle. The large States have many other possibilities of throwing their weight into the balance of world politics.

^{17/} Economic Survey of Europe in 1960 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 61.II.E.1), chap. V.

165. It is the obligation of all of us who hold by the principle of equality in the United Nations to do everything in our power to prevent the United Nations from becoming a field of manoeuvres for political propaganda. It is precisely the small States which must realize the significance of their responsibility in every vote.

166. I have already mentioned that the United Nations has a particular significance for the smaller countries. Thus Austria has been submitting during the past two years, in order to facilitate a solution, one of its most important problems—the South Tyrol question—to this forum.

167. Since the last session of the General Assembly, new possibilities of a development in the South Tyrol question seem to have emerged. The Austrian Federal Government has been endeavouring to avoid anything that could hamper a favourable development. It has, therefore, desisted from requesting the inclusion of the South Tyrol question in the agenda of this year's session. But I do not want to conceal the fact that this attitude has not found general approval in Austria at all.

168. The dispute over South Tyrol has not yet been settled, and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at the fifteenth session [resolution 1497 (XV)] and the sixteenth session [resolution 1661 (XVI)], in which the two parties were called upon to resume the negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences relative to the implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946,¹⁷ have not been fulfilled.

169. The Austrian Government, therefore, regards it as its duty to inform the General Assembly of the present status of this problem as it appears to it. This report seems all the more appropriate as in the Special Political Committee, forty speakers at the fifteenth session and thirty-four speakers at the sixteenth session took the floor on the subject. This great interest shown in the South Tyrol question has been and is undoubtedly of enormous influence for a favourable development of the problem. In the debates in the Special Political Committee the Austrian delegation explained in every detail the historical background and all the problems of the South Tyrol question.

170. In 1919, as a result of the First World War, South Tyrol was separated from Tyrol, and even today this loss is felt very heavily in Austria. On 5 September 1946, the so-called Paris agreement was concluded between the Austrian and the Italian Governments, which was supposed to bring about a system of measures to assure to the German-speaking South Tyroleans "complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants" of the Province of Bozen in order "to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element". This quotation from the Paris agreement was also inserted in the preamble of General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV).

171. Between Austria and Italy a dispute over the implementation of the Paris agreement has arisen—the Austrian side being of the opinion that only the granting of autonomy to the Province of Bozen, as proposed by the South Tyrol representatives in both houses of the Italian Parliament, would do

justice to the spirit and the letter of the Paris agreement.

172. This opinion seems to the Austrian Government to be all the more appropriate since this autonomy should apply to a territory exactly circumscribed in the Paris agreement. The fact that special autonomy was also granted to other regions in Italy, such as Sicily, shows clearly that such a solution is in accordance with the principles of the Italian Constitution without impairing the integrity of the Italian State.

173. Since it proved impossible to agree on this problem through diplomatic channels, the Austrian Government decided to submit the question to the General Assembly's fifteenth session.

174. I would like to recall that already on 21 September 1959, I had announced in my speech before the General Assembly at the fourteenth session [800th meeting] that Austria would be compelled to take this step should it not be possible by other means to achieve satisfactory living conditions for a minority of 250,000 living closely together in a country of 50 million inhabitants.

175. Today I would like to spare you a description of the bilateral negotiations between Austria and Italy, conducted during 1961 in accordance with the mandate in General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV); and I shall therefore confine myself to informing you why we believe that in the past year a certain development in a favourable direction has emerged.

176. In the fall of 1961, the Italian Government, obviously under the impression that a solution of the problem of the South Tyrolean minority had become more and more urgent, decided to appoint a special committee which was instructed to study the question of South Tyrol and to submit the results of these studies to the Government. This committee, finally established by Government decree of 1 September 1961, consists of seven South Tyrolean members, one Ladin and eleven Italian representatives. Originally the composition of the committee had been envisaged on the basis of parity.

177. Although fully aware that this step constituted an internal Italian measure, the Austrian Government has sincerely welcomed it, since it represents the first attempt by an Italian Government since the incorporation of the South Tyrol into Italy, in 1919, to arrive at a solution of the problem in direct consultations with the elected representatives of the minority. The special committee embarked upon the substance of its task in the late autumn of last year. Since then it has been possible to arrive at a compromise in a number of questions. However, many questions, and among them the most important ones, still remain without solution. As far as I know, recommendations of the committee require the consent of the Italian Government in order to be implemented, and in so far as their implementation necessitates legislative measures, also the consent of the Italian Parliament. You will thus understand that the establishment of this committee is only a beginning—but surely a beginning which deserves our favourable comment.

178. Approximately at the same time, an encouraging development in the South Tyrol question took place within the Council of Europe. The Political Committee of the Consultative Assembly decided to establish a

¹⁷ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of the President of the Belgian Senate, Mr. Paul Struye. In January 1962, Mr. Struye went to Vienna and to Rome on an information trip, and during his visit to Rome he also established direct contacts with the representatives of the Trentino-South Tyrol Region.

179. The Austrian Government, on its own initiative, has done everything to promote the favourable development which was taking shape, and it was only after no final result emerged in spring 1962 that the Austrian Government, on 8 March 1962, proposed to the Italian Government that bilateral negotiations be resumed, in pursuance of the resolutions of the General Assembly. This proposal was reiterated on 19 April 1962. On 13 June 1962, the Italian Government finally expressed its readiness for a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in July of that year.

180. In the negotiations which were held at Venice on 31 July 1962, it was agreed not to request the inclusion of the South Tyrol problem in the agenda of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in order to enable the Italian study committee to complete its task. The result of the committee's work is to be considered, after the Italian Government has stated its position on these results, at a further meeting of the Foreign Ministers later this autumn. Furthermore, it was agreed that in the meantime both delegations would report to the Assembly, during the general debate at the seventeenth session, on how the South Tyrol resolutions had so far been implemented.

181. The Austrian Government trusts that it will be possible to resume the bilateral negotiations within the shortest possible time, and that by then the essential points will have been settled within the Italian study committee. The solution of all questions which might then still be open would be attempted in negotiations on the substance of those questions.

182. The meeting in Venice has led to an improvement of the climate of the negotiations, a fact which the Austrian Government acknowledges with satisfaction. The Austrian Government trusts, however, that this development will also have its influence on the situation in the Province of Bozen and will lead to those

alleviating consequences which the South Tyroleans desire.

183. The General Assembly in its resolution 1497 (XV) has included provisions for the case in which the negotiations do not lead to satisfactory results. I do hope, however, that it will not be necessary to have recourse to paragraph 2 of the operative part of that resolution. The Austrian Government acknowledges with satisfaction that sincere attempts are being made on the Italian side, also, to arrive at a solution of the problem. However, the Austrian Government feels obliged to stress that only a comprehensive solution can be the basis of an enduring settlement.

184. The Austrian Government has no interest whatsoever in seeing the South Tyrol problem remain the object of further disputes between Austria and Italy. The Austrian Government is interested in a settlement which will make such disputes superfluous. Over the past years the spirit of European co-operation has brought the peoples of Europe much closer together--and this is particularly true of those peoples which had been separated by century-old quarrels. The Austrian Government is convinced that this same spirit of European co-operation will also show its beneficial influence in the near future for those people who live on both sides of the Austro-Italian border.

185. The fact that the General Assembly at its fifteenth and sixteenth sessions adopted resolutions recommending a solution of the differences existing between Austria and Italy; the establishment of the Italian study committee; and finally the initiative taken by the Council of Europe; all these facts are viewed by the Austrian Government as encouraging signs which prove that it has been possible to attract universal interest in the South Tyrol problem.

186. If we succeed in finding a solution of the South Tyrol problem satisfactory to all concerned, we shall have created new and improved political and economic conditions for a quarter of a million people. But beyond that, Italy and Austria, in their determination not to deviate from peaceful and unbiased negotiations, will have acted in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.