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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Thailand in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. ANUMAN RAJADHON (Thailand): It is neither the wish nor the desire of the delegation of Thailand to seek the floor for the second time during the general debate or to disrupt the free flow of orderly proceedings in this Assembly; but the second intervention by the Cambodian representative [1139th meeting] has compelled me, not only to exercise the accepted right of reply, but also to discharge the duty of presenting truthful information to the Assembly in the hope that its record be kept with accuracy.

3. It is deplorable that the Cambodian representative has thought fit to use this august Assembly as an arena for indulging in futile oratory. In asking for the Assembly's time to present our reply, I would crave the Assembly's indulgence and shall be as brief as possible, dealing only with the points raised by the Cambodian representative.

4. In the first place, the Cambodian representative was at his best trying to justify the unjustifiable, namely, Cambodia's unilateral decision to break off diplomatic relations with Thailand for no valid reasons, or for some obscure or psychological reason of its own. In support of this attempt the Cambodian representative presented nothing new. A reference was made to Cambodian White Papers. It is sufficient for me, in turn, to refer simply to a booklet issued by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, entitled Facts about the Relations between Thailand and Cambodia, which gives all the relevant facts concerning the matter.

5. As to the charge made in this connexion that the Thais have violated the New York Agreement of 15 December 1960, the Cambodian representative cited a Thai newspaper of 13 January 1961. To this charge I can answer simply that it was Cambodia and not Thailand that was the first to repeatedly violate the

agreement on several occasions, dating from 29 December 1960, that is, two weeks after the New York Agreement was signed. If the Cambodian representative considers that the repeated violations committed by his own country against Thailand constituted sufficient justification for the decision to break off diplomatic relations with Thailand, then it is submitted that in his view nothing is unjustifiable.

6. Secondly, as regards the question of Phra Viharn, we all know that the Court has rendered judgement not in Thailand's favour, and that Thailand has respected the obligations incumbent upon it under the Charter of the United Nations. In complying with the Court's decision, Thailand has expressly reserved its rights, and it is perfectly within Thailand's right freely and frankly to express its own independent and considered view of the decision of the Court. I cannot personally see why or how a statement of a view held by a sovereign Government can be turned into a subject for malicious propaganda against that Government. It is true that Thailand raised preliminary objections against the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in the case concerning Phra Viharn; but such steps form an integral part of a normal procedure of the Court as laid down by the rules of court framed under its Statute, to which Cambodia itself became party when it was admitted to the United Nations.

7. In this connexion, the Cambodian representative accused Thailand of sending troops to occupy Phra Viharn, in 1954, in violation of the Charter—an accusation which ran counter to the Court's finding. It is common knowledge that Phra Viharn has been in continuous occupation by, and possession of, Thailand before, during and after 1904 and 1907. Thailand has complied with the decision of the Court within the shortest possible time. It was only natural that Thai public opinion was and still is critical of the decision, which in the freely considered Thai view is incorrect both in its appreciation of the facts of the case and in the application of the law. This public opinion was neither organized nor aroused by the Thai Government. On the contrary, it was a spontaneous expression of disapproval of the decision by the Thai people.

8. There is not a fraction of truth in the allegation that Thailand severed commercial relations with Poland after the decision was rendered because the President of the Court was Polish. The Polish trade representative was and still is carrying on his normal business in Bangkok, and Polish merchantmen still call at the port of Bangkok at regular intervals.

9. It was also alleged that Thailand did not attend the SEATO meetings and the Geneva Conference on the settlement of the Laotian question on account of this decision. This allegation is but another example of Cambodia's inexhaustible ingenuity in the realm of fantasy. It would be preposterous indeed if a sovereign nation is to be called upon to give, before this Assem-

bly, its reason why on such an occasion it is absent from such a meeting.

10. Thirdly, the Cambodian representative accused Thailand once again of taking some provinces from it in 1941 and having had to return them in 1946. This is a classic example of a suppression of the truth. Documented history clearly indicates that the 1904 Convention between Thailand and Cambodia's protecting Power guaranteed Thailand's border extending over these provinces, and that by a later Treaty of 1907, Thailand was forced to cede these provinces to a colonial Power. Both treaties confirmed the fact that the provinces were part of Thailand from time immemorial, that they remained so even after 1904, and that they were not under the sovereignty of any colonial Power until 1907. Thus in 1941 they were retroceded to Thailand as the result of the Tokyo Convention, although under the Settlement Agreement signed in Washington in 1946, Thailand had to give them up once again. It would appear therefore that Thailand, and not Cambodia, had lost its territory province by province to a colonial Power, although unlike Cambodia we have managed to retain our political independence and sovereignty.

11. With regard to the accusation that we have intruded into Cambodian territory and occupied its soil recently, I must say that apart from being a pure fabrication it is also contrary to the truth. Cambodian troops did enter Thai territory at Poy Pass on 12 August 1962, where they were encountered by our defence guards.

12. In the same connexion, the Cambodian representative has accused Thailand of carrying out blackmail under the claim that the United States is furnishing all necessary military means for threatening its neighbours. Any right-thinking person would understand the word "blackmail" differently from the meaning ascribed to it by the Cambodian representative. Generally, it refers to a crime known as extortion of money or other benefits from another person by a threat that he must either yield to the demand made or else he will be made to suffer other disadvantages at the hands of the extortionist. Accordingly, Thailand cannot be said to have blackmailed anyone. On the other hand, it does appear that Cambodia itself excels in the art of blackmailing.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk himself appears to be an authority on the subject, as may be seen from his various declarations, and as confirmed in this very Assembly by the Chairman of the Cambodian delegation in his statement at the 1134th meeting, when he said the following:

"It would, however, be a serious mistake to believe that the spirit of conciliation displayed by our Chief of State is a sign of hesitation or weakness. The Prince did not fail to give notice, without any possible ambiguity, to the Western Powers that he would not hesitate, if he did not obtain satisfaction as to substance, to ensure the security of Cambodia by appealing to the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union for troops to protect that security." [1134th meeting, para. 106.]

This is clearly a case of blackmail, properly so termed.

13. The usual Cambodian accusation that Thailand maintains a policy of expansionism is preceded by the statement that Cambodia is a small nation. It is submitted that a small nation can easily commit

direct or indirect aggression against its not so small neighbours. It is needless for me to reiterate that Thailand has never entertained any territorial ambitions or aggressive designs. On the contrary, the following statement of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, reported by Reuter on 22 June 1962, reflects a threatening and aggressive design. He was reported to have said:

"I do not fear the Thai gentlemen and I will ask my children to go to kill the Thais in order to prevent them from existing on an international plane."

14. In spite of such provocation, Thailand has consistently maintained moderate and restrained dispositions. I do not wish to dwell on this point at any length. Suffice it for me simply to give one final illustration of the traditional mythomania inherent in Cambodian political thoughts. It was reported by Reuter on 22 June 1962 that Prince Sihanouk made the following statement on Radio Phnom-Penh:

"The soul of a late Princess, member of the Cambodian Royal Family, reincarnated in the body of a sorcerer, predicted that Thailand would cause Cambodia more trouble in three or four months."

It would be sheer absurdity for a peace-loving country to adopt a course of conduct as dictated by such a fantastic prediction of a sorcerer. But nothing, it would appear, escapes Cambodia's imagination.

15. Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, I have a pleasant duty to perform in offering you my own sincere congratulations and those of my delegation on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. My congratulations are extended also to your country, towards which Tunisia has feelings of friendship and fraternity.

16. The trust our General Assembly places in you today is no more than a just tribute to your eminent qualities as an international jurist, imbued with wisdom and rectitude, qualities which you have shown within our Organization. Let me on this occasion express our gratitude to you for the stand which you took some years ago in courageously upholding the principles of law, justice and peace for the benefit of the Tunisian people.

17. I also have pleasure in extending from this rostrum my hearty congratulations to the four new Member States, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, and Trinidad and Tobago, which at the beginning of this session came to join the great international family. In joining the United Nations these new Member States will contribute greatly to our Organization, which in turn will give them the support which they need in order to face the new and heavy responsibilities which fall upon them as a result of their entry into the international arena. We are sure they will be able to assume these responsibilities courageously, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Their recent accession to independence with the co-operation of their former guardians, Belgium and the United Kingdom, to whom we are pleased to pay a well-deserved tribute, is a step forward towards the final liquidation of colonialism throughout the world. Their admission to the United Nations is yet another demonstration of the universal mission of the Organization.

18. On this occasion we cannot fail to hail the accession of Algeria to sovereignty and independence on 1 July 1962. This happy event, for which the way

was paved by the Evian Agreement,<sup>1/</sup> has closed a very painful chapter in modern history and has put an end to an absurd war which went on for no less than seven years. The forthcoming entry of Algeria to the United Nations, as also the anticipated entry of Uganda when it has achieved independence, will further enrich the contribution of the African continent to our Organization.

19. This constant influx of new Member States presents us with a number of problems of ever increasing urgency. Readjustments are urgently needed if we are to maintain and strengthen the efficiency essential to our Organization so that it may continue to co-ordinate all efforts for the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of healthy international co-operation and the development of friendly relations between nations, based on justice and equality of rights.

20. Since achieving independence, Tunisia, which has no prejudice against any nation, has sought to develop friendly relations with all States, establishing free international co-operation with them all in various fields.

21. Tunisia has paid particular attention to consolidating its recently recovered sovereignty, divesting it of any servitude resulting from a colonial past, freeing it of any trace of domination from outside which is incompatible with the territorial integrity of the country, and protecting it against any coercion or pressure likely to prejudice the normal exercise of its prerogatives.

22. In order to achieve this objective, Tunisia has made use of the means for which its own character and vocation had already prepared it: namely, peaceful means and friendly negotiation for the settlement of disputes. It has not resorted to other methods, although these are provided for in the Charter, except under duress; it has used its modest strength only in self-defence, and as soon as it has been possible to resume negotiations in an atmosphere of clarity and frankness, Tunisia has always hastened to do so with confidence and good faith.

23. Consequently, since the last session normal diplomatic relations have been re-established with France, giving grounds to hope for a final and fair settlement of all outstanding questions and a restoration of normal relations between our two countries, in respect for law and national sovereignty.

24. Tunisia has chosen a policy of non-alignment with any bloc. In a world in which ideological antagonism unfortunately continues to set two politico-social philosophies against each other to such an extent as to threaten the whole of mankind with a terrible cataclysm, we are unable to subscribe to the division of the international community into hostile camps, a division which is not always in accordance with the subtle and constantly changing reality of international life. We are convinced that our policy of non-alignment is best suited to our interests as a small nation and that it is also the most calculated to discourage the antagonism of the opposing camps and minimize its virulence while we are waiting for it to disappear.

25. This, however, does not in any way prevent us from being on the side of one or the other in relation to the great international problems, taking into account

only the specific nature of each question and the need to make our point of view conform to the most firmly established concepts of liberty, law and justice in the spirit of the Charter.

26. Our attachment to human values, to human rights and to the right of peoples to self-determination is all the greater because we belong to Africa, a continent which has for so long been deprived of its dignity and freedom and of which a large part is still suffering under and struggling against political domination and economic exploitation. This is what justifies the support and the solidarity which we extend particularly to all our African brothers who aspire to enjoy the benefits of independence. And this accounts for our untiring efforts, both within and outside the United Nations, to bring about rapid and peaceful decolonization in the interests of all.

27. As far back as March 1959 President Bourguiba launched an urgent appeal for concerted decolonization, to be arranged at a round-table conference of the Administering Powers and the qualified representatives of the colonized countries for the implementation of an accelerated programme to bring about the rapid realization of the legitimate aspirations of the colonized peoples, without conflict or ill-feeling, in friendship and mutual respect.

28. In 1960, at its fifteenth session, the General Assembly adopted the famous resolution 1514 (XV), embodying the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Then at the sixteenth session the Assembly set up the Committee of Seventeen,<sup>2/</sup> which was to study and implement that Declaration. True to its principles, Tunisia, a member of this Committee, made its modest contribution, an objective and realistic contribution free of any partisan spirit and immune from any excessive zeal or any exaggerated moderation.

29. The fact is that Africa, which has regained its place in the international community, is endeavouring to solve the problems which face each of its countries as well as the problems which confront it at the international level. In order to free its peoples from poverty and ignorance for all time, as well as to avoid any future disagreements, Africa aspires to unity in liberty and fraternity. Obviously a unity of this kind does not preclude regional groupings, which on the contrary could not fail to promote the widest possible co-operation and joint action. It seems to us, however, that the unity of Africa cannot be soundly built up by the strengthening of the antagonistic camps.

30. From this point of view the independence of Algeria cannot but facilitate the achievement of the ideal towards which the aspirations of the peoples of North Africa have long been directed: the coming of the great Maghreb, which has been patiently prepared and carefully worked out.

31. This preliminary account of the guiding principles of Tunisian policy in international affairs should clarify our position in regard to the main problems which are to be considered by the General Assembly at the seventeenth session. Our faith in the United Nations and our devotion to its principles make it our bounden duty to contribute to the strengthening of the Organiza-

<sup>1/</sup> Agreement concluded on 18 March 1962 between representatives of France and of the Front de libération nationale.

<sup>2/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples, established under General Assembly resolution 1554 (XVI).

tion and to the achievement of the objectives set forth in the Charter.

32. We are certainly delighted to note that the international atmosphere seems more relaxed today than at the same time last year. Some serious problems which have bedevilled the international situation in recent years, such as the problem of Laos and the Algerian war, have fortunately been solved in a satisfactory manner as a result of agreements signed by the parties directly concerned.

33. Nevertheless, decolonization continues to present the United Nations with numerous problems. As I pointed out at the beginning of my survey, the irresistible and irreversible march of the peoples to liberation has speeded up in recent years, bringing an influx of new Members into the United Nations, considerable both in number and in the potentialities for peace which they represent. In this connexion we may say that it is to the credit of certain colonial Powers that they have been able to accept in time the inexorable march of history by applying the principle of self-determination, thus helping to create new independent sovereign States.

34. In some cases, however, the circumstances in which independence has been achieved have been such that the young State has been subjected to severe trials from the moment of its birth. In the last two years we have witnessed a situation of this kind in the young Republic of the Congo. I shall not dwell on this question. The position of Tunisia has been explained repeatedly in broad outline, as well as in connexion with the different actions which the United Nations has taken in implementation of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. I should simply like to point out that events in the Congo have only strengthened the conviction of my Government that only a unified Congo, avoiding any form of secession, is capable of enjoying its independence and sovereignty to the full. We are truly sorry that some wavering in the Congo has been taken as indirect encouragement of the secession of Katanga. Big material interests seem to have been instrumental in spreading these rumours. We are convinced that a final solution establishing the Congo with the boundaries as defined at the time of independence and as presented to the United Nations when the country was admitted to the Organization will restore harmony and stability to that young State. Moreover, it would favour healthy economic development calculated to improve the lot of the Congolese population and to strengthen peace and security throughout Africa.

*Mr. Plimpton (United States of America), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

35. Two years ago my delegation had the honour to launch from this rostrum [860th meeting] a strong appeal for abstinence from any action from outside which might aggravate the situation inside the Congo. Since then a Central Government has been duly formed in accordance with the "Loi fondamentale" of 19 May 1960 and invested with the confidence of the Congolese parliament. We are glad to note an improvement in the situation in this respect. The Katangese secession, however, continues. The latest news to reach the United Nations brings fresh evidence of foreign intervention: it reveals that the Katangese "gendarmes" is still officered by European mercenaries and that supplies of arms, including fighter aircraft, are still reaching Katanga, contrary to the Security Council resolution of

21 February 1961.<sup>3/</sup> It is to be feared that the supporters of Katangese secession may go on vacillating in order to gain time, in the hope of strengthening their ranks. A plan submitted by the Acting Secretary-General, to whom I should like to pay a sincere tribute on this occasion, is an attempt to hasten the end of the crisis. It is hard to imagine, however, that a plan whose success depends ultimately on economic sanctions could alone enable us to overcome the secessionists, who enjoy the permanent, and indeed acknowledged complicity of neighbours determined to make Katanga an outpost of their system of colonial exploitation in Central and Southern Africa. The best use does not appear to have been made of the mandate laid down by the Security Council resolutions.

36. Tunisia, for its part, has acted in a disinterested and impartial manner in the interests of peace and the territorial integrity of the Congo, and solely within the framework of the United Nations and in keeping with the resolutions adopted by the Organization. It has not flinched before any sacrifices. Despite our own difficulties we did not hesitate to respond to the appeal made to us by Dag Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary-General, to support his action for the pacification of the Congo and the consolidation of its unity. We continued to act along these lines after the cruel blow which struck all of us in the death of Dag Hammarskjöld in circumstances which the inquiry conducted by the commission appointed during the sixteenth session has unfortunately not been able to explain. We are continuing and shall continue to give U Thant, the Acting Secretary-General, all the support of which we are capable. Despite its needs Tunisia has supplied troops and technicians as far as its meagre resources permitted. In response to the appeal launched last year by U Thant, it has bought United Nations bonds to the value of \$485,000, in accordance with the terms of the resolution [1739 (XVI)] adopted by the General Assembly during its sixteenth session.

37. Other problems connected with decolonization continue to preoccupy both the United Nations and world opinion. For instance, there is the policy which has become a principle of government in South Africa; there is also the persistent refusal of that country to honour its obligations as a State administering a former mandated territory; above all, there is Portugal's refusal to respect the terms of Chapter XI of the Charter concerning colonial territories, as also the critical situation in Angola and in the two Rhodesias.

38. The United Nations has been concerned with these problems for several years. Session after session, it has debated problems created by preposterous attitudes which are contrary to the Charter and incompatible with the modern conception of the right of peoples to self-determination and to enjoy equality of rights irrespective of their origin, race or religion. Such attitudes create situations fraught with great danger for international peace and security and for harmonious relations and friendship between peoples.

39. Nevertheless, we were inclined to think that the happy outcome of the Algerian war would dispel for all time ideas which had been used as a pretext by the colonial Powers in their efforts to slow down the

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1961, document S/4741.

natural progress of the peoples towards liberty, sovereignty and dignity.

40. It would be unjust not to acknowledge the merit of those Governments which, after pursuing a policy irreparably condemned by the course of history, have become aware of it in time, have taken a more realistic view of events and have firmly committed themselves to a policy of reason, law and justice. Unfortunately the persistence of some countries in following a colonial policy that can in no way be justified has led our Assembly to take various steps. The Special Committee of Seventeen on decolonization, and the Committees more particularly competent to deal with South West Africa, the Portuguese colonial territories and Angola, have submitted reports which will be examined during the present session. The Tunisian delegation will have the opportunity of expressing its point of view on these matters in due course. In this statement I should simply like to point out that this is a fundamental general problem affecting the very dignity of the international community. It is undoubtedly incumbent on the United Nations, after its initial hesitations, which can be accounted for only by the novelty of the problems, to find the appropriate dynamic means, in keeping with the Charter, to hasten the peaceful and harmonious liberation of these peoples.

41. Without betraying the obligations laid down in the Charter the United Nations could not endorse a situation created in defiance of law and justice in any part of the world where whole populations are condemned to live herded into reservations on their own national territory. It is intolerable that an alien population, perhaps fleeing from persecution elsewhere, should implant itself by force in a country, trample its inhabitants under foot and condemn them to live in conditions which are contrary to the most elementary conception of human dignity.

42. The situation in Palestine, right in the heart of the Arab world, is certainly no different. Here too, a foreign population fleeing from the intolerance and injustice to which it was subjected, particularly in the European countries, has created a real settlement colony, through the complicity of certain great Powers and the military superiority which that gave it. In order to establish this colony it was found necessary to emphasize racist ideas contrary to the modern principles which are the foundation of States and of relations between peoples and nations. As a result of this racist doctrine and the support which it has gained since 1948, more than a million of our Arab brothers in Palestine have been displaced and forced to live in conditions of which the international community can hardly be proud.

43. It would be extremely dangerous for the peace of the world and against the most elementary principles of peaceful coexistence of nations if in order to combat the intolerance and racialism of one people a new racialism exclusively directed against a third people were created.

44. No matter how or where they may appear in the world, colonialism and imperialism must be combated with equal frankness and determination, in accordance with the same high principles of the same justice and the same law.

45. The action undertaken in the field of economic development is augmented every year by the creation of new programmes and new institutions for aid to the developing countries. The United Nations Development Decade, the principle of which was laid down in resolu-

tion 1710 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly during the sixteenth session, now provides both the framework and the general guidance required to organize and harmonize the economic and social activities of the United Nations. Our efforts should be directed to giving the Decade a more and more practical aspect and including in it more and more specific and effective programmes of action so as to make it a real charter for development.

46. The industrialization of the developing countries is without any doubt the task to which we should give highest priority. The establishment two years ago of a Committee for Industrial Development under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council, the appointment within the Secretariat of a Commissioner for Industrial Development and the establishment of an Industrial Development Centre have produced the appropriate institutional framework within which the United Nations programmes for industrialization will be planned, worked out and implemented.

47. In Africa, more particularly, we think that the Special Fund could profitably extend its pre-investment activities by collaborating in survey and research projects in the industrial sector.

48. However, the industrialization of the developing countries is seriously threatened by imbalance in their balance of payments. The terms of trade continue to be unfavourable to the countries exporting non-manufactured products. The efforts made by a number of international organizations, particularly GATT, with a view to improving the terms of trade are of course praiseworthy; but these efforts are still inadequate, especially as the formation of economic groups in Europe and elsewhere tends to intensify tariff discrimination against other countries.

49. That is why—apart from the efforts of GATT, the study of compensation machinery, and the action requested of the International Monetary Fund—we believe it necessary to promote wider consultation among all States and among all national, regional and international organizations dealing with international trade, for the purpose of examining and solving the problems raised by trade exchanges and particularly the marketing of primary commodities.

50. Together with all the countries of Africa and Asia, the delegation of Tunisia requested the General Assembly last year to consider the advisability of convening an international conference on trade. The consultations held with Member States following the submission of this project<sup>4/</sup> showed that almost all the Member States felt the need of such a conference. That need was also clearly affirmed during the Cairo Conference<sup>5/</sup> and at the COMECON Conference.<sup>6/</sup>

51. It seems to me that we must all work together this year to make the best possible preparations for this conference and to ensure its success. The Conference should discuss and map out specific solutions for the various complex problems relating to trade in non-manufactured products, particularly the stabilization of prices of raw materials.

52. Underlying all these problems concerning development is still the great problem which we have to

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 12, 28, 29 and 30, document A/5056, para. 36.

<sup>5/</sup> Conference on the Problems of Economic Development, held from 9 to 18 July 1962.

<sup>6/</sup> Conference of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, held at Moscow from 6 to 7 June 1962.

resolve—that of putting an end to the arms race and reconverting expenditures on armaments to productive investment. Such reconversion was recently studied by a group of experts. Their report<sup>7/</sup> evaluates the economic and social consequences of disarmament and discloses the magnitude of the sums which could be applied to development thanks to disarmament. Such a study presents us all with a dilemma which no nation, great or small, can escape: development or armament. In other words: well-being or destruction.

53. At the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, we expressed our satisfaction that, despite the conflict of position between the major armed Powers, the General Assembly had been able to endorse a joint statement. That statement outlined ways for achieving a final agreement on controlled disarmament, general and complete. Hope was reborn in the world after the establishment, by unanimous agreement, of the Committee of Eighteen [see resolution 1722 II (XVI)] whose composition included, in addition to the representatives of the two conflicting standpoints, those of eight non-aligned States.

54. In my delegation's view, that hope was strengthened during the first meetings of the Conference of the Committee of Eighteen.<sup>8/</sup> Both sides submitted clear-cut and specific drafts which, despite their general character, dealt with the different stages of disarmament and prescribed measures for implementation and control; but it is deeply to be regretted that no agreement was reached, despite the praiseworthy efforts of the uncommitted nations to reconcile the different stands or to suggest compromise solutions.

55. This is a situation which deserves careful consideration by the General Assembly. The United Nations, which under its Charter has to work for disarmament, must clearly and courageously state its opinion on this lack of agreement. We cannot, without failing to fulfil our responsibilities toward future generations, shirk our fundamental mission on the pretext that we can accomplish nothing without the agreement of the two greatest Powers and that it remains difficult to bring them to a compromise with regard to the means. The welfare and security of mankind, and world peace and harmony, are objectives of such importance that they impose on all men the same moral responsibility, the same duty to work for the defence of peace with calm patience and inflexible courage.

56. For its part, my delegation cannot resign itself to the present deadlock. The meetings of the Committee of Eighteen at Geneva, the proposals of the two parties and the final memorandum submitted by the Eight<sup>9/</sup> contain seeds of hope that may prove sterile if the task is not pursued with expedition and perseverance. The Tunisian delegation will make known its views in detail when the problem of disarmament is discussed in committee. In this matter we shall support any draft resolution which we believe may ensure the achievement, as soon as possible, of controlled disarmament, general and complete.

57. The General Assembly is still considering the problem of the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests,

<sup>7/</sup> *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.X.1.

<sup>8/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, convened in Geneva on 14 March 1962.

<sup>9/</sup> *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962*, document DC/203, annex 1, sect. J.

which is closely connected with that of disarmament. Once again, we cannot but deeply deplore the fact that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States has been able to consent to even a provisional discontinuance of nuclear weapons testing, pending the conclusion of a general agreement prohibiting for all time the testing and use of such weapons and providing for the destruction of all existing stockpiles. The effort to "draw level"—whether or not a "gap" really exists—is one that may well be made indefinitely alternately by one side and the other; it increasingly threatens international peace and security, which will continue to be illusory until mutual confidence prevails among the parties principally concerned and peace is enthroned in the hearts of all other men. Furthermore, this kind of arms race is calculated to encourage other Powers to develop their own nuclear weapons or seek to obtain them in the foreseeable future. It is our Assembly's imperative duty to express itself on this subject clearly, with courage and determination.

58. Tunisia, an essentially African country, believes that in any case the denuclearization of Africa would be bound to contribute to general, and final, denuclearization—quite apart from the fact that it would simultaneously, in an atmosphere free of all fear and apprehension, promote the reconstruction of the African countries' economic potential. The Tunisian delegation will explain its position at the appropriate time; but I would not leave this subject without calling the Assembly's attention to the fact that the underlying cause of this arms race, whether in conventional or in nuclear weapons, resides primarily in the lack of trust between two conflicting political and social systems. Each should try to re-establish mutual confidence and to make such confidence lasting and complete. In any event, it seems to us that the non-aligned nations like Tunisia can, if not restore confidence, at least dissipate the mistrust and avert its highly dangerous consequences.

59. In order fully to assure the responsibilities incumbent upon it, the United Nations must adapt itself to the changes that have taken place, both within the United Nations itself and in the international community. The increasingly heavy tasks placed upon the Organization, and the growth in its membership, compel it to make urgent adjustments so that it can continue to be a body which is living, effective and dynamic.

60. My delegation's position has been made known on a number of occasions. I should therefore merely like to make a brief statement of our views on certain questions included in the agenda of the current session. Our delegation will revert to these questions in greater detail when they are discussed at a later stage.

61. The ever-increasing contribution made by the new Member States which have entered the Organization since 1956 and the growing number of items on the General Assembly's agenda have obliged the Assembly to hold longer regular sessions, the last of which involved twenty-four weeks of work. The President of the sixteenth session, in a memorandum [A/5123], drew the attention of Member States to this situation and to certain suggestions for the improvement of the General Assembly's methods of work. The Tunisian delegation requested the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the current session [see A/5165], in the hope that its early examination would make it possible for us to conclude our work expeditiously, without in any way restricting freedom of discussion. My delega-



tion is happy to note that this question has attracted the interest of many other delegations which, like our own, wish to see the General Assembly carry out its tasks in the shortest possible time and with maximum effectiveness.

62. I should like to stress that the suggestions we have made do not exclude other suggestions for the improvement of our work. They ought not, we believe, to have the effect of limiting the principle of freedom of discussion which is a sine qua non in this essentially democratic Organization. It would, however, be useful if at its seventeenth session the General Assembly could, with the co-operation of all, make practical recommendations in the matter. It has been suggested that the question should first be submitted to an ad hoc committee to be set up as soon as possible, or to the General Committee of the Assembly, before it becomes the subject of a broad debate in plenary meeting. On that point the Tunisian delegation will accept the majority view.

63. There are other, more important questions confronting our Organization as a result of the increase in the number of Member States, which has more than doubled since the United Nations was established.

64. It should be noted, first of all, that most of the new States come from Africa; African States now constitute almost one-third of the entire membership, whereas in 1946 they accounted for less than one-tenth of it. If, therefore, the spirit and the letter of the Charter are to be respected, it is a matter of simple equity that the number of seats allocated to Africa in the permanent organs of the Organization should be increased proportionately. We regard it as an urgent requirement that the composition of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council should be modified accordingly. This will of course entail a revision of the Charter, which unfortunately does not appear to be possible for the time being. Nevertheless, in my delegation's opinion, it would be easy to find an interim solution enabling both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to arrange for a more equitable representation of Africa, from this year onwards, within the present framework of the Charter.

65. In this connexion, a third organ of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Council, calls for special attention from our Assembly. The Council seems almost to have concluded its mission; and in any case we believe that its composition during the past two years has been contrary to the provisions of the Charter, and especially to Article 86. The Tunisian delegation drew the General Assembly's attention to this illegal situation at the fourteenth session [857th meeting]. It is high time to correct this state of affairs by means of a solution taking account both of reality and of the principles proclaimed in the Charter.

66. In this regard, the responsibilities devolving on our Organization as a result of the problems created by decolonization led the sixteenth session to establish a number of general and ad hoc committees. This situation is liable to lead to conflicts of competence between these different committees. The Acting Secretary-General has very wisely drawn the attention of the General Assembly to the major drawbacks of such a state of things. It is highly desirable that the Assembly should find an over-all solution to this question during the current session.

67. The universal character of our Organization faces us with the ever more pressing problem of the repre-

sentation of the People's Republic of China. The Tunisian delegation considers that it would be very useful, both for the life of the United Nations and for the fulfilment of the objectives of the Charter, if the People's Republic of China were able to take an active part in our work. That country would thus be obliged to assume its responsibilities as a Member State in accordance with the Charter, and would make its contribution to the efforts of our Organization. We sincerely regret that the antagonism between two blocs of conflicting political and social ideologies has not allowed a just and realistic solution to be quickly found for this problem.

68. For two years the United Nations has been faced with financial difficulties resulting mainly from the action which, by decision of the Security Council and the General Assembly, it has had to undertake in the Congo. At previous sessions, the Tunisian delegation has clearly defined its position with regard to this problem. In its view, Member States do in fact have an obligation to take part in the financing of these operations, in accordance with the Charter. However, since controversies had arisen as to the nature of this obligation, the General Assembly decided, at the sixteenth session, to consult the International Court of Justice. That Court has handed down an advisory opinion on the matter [A/5161],<sup>10/</sup> in which it expresses the view, based on the Charter, that the financing of such operations is incumbent upon all Member States. That opinion confirms the position already adopted by the Tunisian delegation. We propose, moreover, to say more about our point of view when the question comes up for consideration in the Fifth Committee. Here I would simply express the fervent hope that Member States which have voiced doubts about the nature of this obligation will, despite their reservations, abide by the opinion of the Court and make their valuable contribution to our Organization.

69. Another important question will call for the General Assembly's attention during this session—that of the Organization's Secretariat. May I briefly recall here the position of Tunisia. We have always advocated respect for Chapter XV of the Charter, because we are convinced that our Organization, if it is to continue to make progress, needs a Secretariat with one man in charge. The Secretary-General can and should be helped, of course, by collaborators representing all continents and all ideological trends. In that respect, and without departing from the framework of Article 101, paragraph 3 of the Charter, many improvements are possible so far as distribution of the highest posts in the Secretariat is concerned. It is at that level of the hierarchy, it seems to us, that it is important to reflect, in the distribution of the responsible posts, the geographical composition of the Organization.

70. Such is the Tunisian delegation's standpoint on the principal items of the agenda for the seventeenth session. There are of course other problems, also very grave and serious, which are of concern to our Organization and our Governments. I should prefer to avoid speaking about them for the moment, in the sincere hope that reasonable solutions in conformity with law and justice will soon be found for them.

71. The United Nations is the only international body which is able, despite its difficulties, to work towards

<sup>10/</sup> 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.

restoring confidence and stability in the world and establishing sincerely peaceful coexistence based on justice, mutual respect and brotherly co-operation. Despite its imperfections, which are inherent in its very nature and in its democratic structure, it has in large measure answered the hopes of the peoples. It has intervened directly to stop hostilities and to prevent others, and to correct situations in which international peace and security were seriously threatened. Directly or indirectly, thanks to the moral pressure exerted by its resolutions throughout the world, it has helped to promote the settlement of serious disputes or to find just and fitting solutions for problems which are often very complicated.

72. It is the image of our world, it is the reflection of our qualities as well as of our weaknesses. But it is also, and above all, the only international body capable, above the antagonisms which rend the globe, of bringing the peoples together and uniting their efforts and aspirations for a more equitable, freer and less threatened world.

73. Because it has a universal mission, it cannot become the instrument of any one policy or tendency. It is doubtless easy to decry it when it ceases to be in line with certain specific plans. But that would be a dangerous game to play, for our Organization remains the only barrier that holds mankind back at the edge of the abyss, the only hope of peace in a troubled world.

74. Mr. MALITZA (Romania) (translated from French): May I first of all, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, congratulate the President of the General Assembly on his election to the Presidency for this session.

75. The agenda of the seventeenth session includes questions of great significance for international life; but these questions, varied as they are, are closely linked with the fundamental problem of our times—the safeguarding and consolidation of peace, which is the principal task of the United Nations and the very reason for its existence.

76. Mankind has arrived, today, at a crucial juncture. The progress of thought, science and technology has opened up the noblest and most generous prospects for human life, and has placed at man's disposal the means of realizing them within the lifetime of the present generation.

77. On the other hand, while the urgent needs of economic and social development await their satisfaction over vast areas of the globe, the greatest and most important part of scientific and technological achievement is at present employed in creating means of destruction, the uninterrupted accumulation and perfecting of which threaten the whole of mankind with a catastrophe of incalculable proportions.

78. We reaffirm our strong conviction that there is undeniably a possibility of averting such a catastrophe and of ensuring peace, freedom and prosperity for mankind. But if this objective is to be attained, all our reason, resolution and courage must be devoted to it. The fundamental cause of the danger threatening us must be understood; it lies in the policy of force whereby the imperialist circles try to maintain or re-establish their privileges and domination in respect of other peoples.

79. It is precisely this policy which underlies the arms race. It is this policy which works against the peoples' liberation from the colonial yoke, which

hampers the employment of material and human resources for the improvement of man's life, and which keeps the world in a state of security that is precarious in the extreme and may at any moment be upset.

80. A particular and acute expression of this policy is the attitude of the United States towards Cuba. The aggressive acts and provocations organized by the United States against Cuba represent interference in the domestic affairs of a free and sovereign State, an attempt to contest by force the inalienable right of the Cuban people to build its life according to its aspirations and its national interests. In our day, when the maintenance of peace and the defence of national independence are indissolubly linked, such a policy is a source of grave and immediate menace to the peace of the world. Cuba, this little State in the Caribbean sea, has become the symbol of a great cause—the cause of the freedom and independence of all peoples, the cause of all those to whom peace is dear.

81. The Romanian delegation reaffirms, from this rostrum, the total solidarity of the Romanian people and Government with the heroic people and Revolutionary Government of Cuba which are defending their conquests and vital interests with courage and dignity.

82. It is the duty of the United Nations to use all its authority and to support Cuba against attempts to replace international legality and the principles of the Charter by the rule of force. We express the hope that firm action by the international community will make reason and lucidity prevail in the policy of the United States, thus putting an end to the present dangerous course of events.

83. The maintenance in Europe of the after-effects of the Second World War, seventeen years after its close, and above all the absence of a peace treaty with Germany, likewise create a dangerous situation for the peace of the European continent and the entire world. The seriousness of this situation is illustrated by the conversion of West Berlin, under the occupation régime, into a NATO outpost on the territory of a socialist country, into a base for activity against the socialist countries. The longer that state of affairs continues, the more the dangers increase. The recent acts of provocation against the German Democratic Republic, the ever-expanding range of West German revenge-seeking activities, and the greater efforts to secure the equipment of the "Bundeswehr" with rockets and nuclear weapons, either directly or through NATO, bear eloquent witness to this.

84. The position of the Romanian People's Republic on this matter has been clearly stated on numerous occasions. The interests of European security demand the conclusion of a German peace treaty formally recognizing the present boundaries of Germany and ensuring the dissolution of the occupation régime in West Berlin.

85. This vital issue has not yet been settled because of the negative position taken by the Western Powers, which have rejected all constructive proposals advanced by the socialist countries. In an attempt to justify their position, the Western Powers distort the meaning of these proposals and claim that to carry them out would create a danger to world peace. But it is the very lack of a peace treaty with Germany and the very refusal to recognize the present German boundaries and to respect the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic that encourage the



militarist revanchist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany and constitute the main threat to European peace and security.

86. The representatives of the West maintain that their position is dictated by concern for the freedom of the West Berlin population. But what a strange notion of freedom it is which leads to the rejection of proposals for the creation of a system of international guarantees, and to the endorsement of the occupation régime in West Berlin! It is this same notion of "freedom under the protection of foreign arms" which the Western Powers are trying to apply elsewhere in the world. But this notion in fact constitutes a denial of freedom and an infringement of the rules of international law; indeed, it has nothing to do with the interests of world peace and security.

87. A workable peaceful settlement of the German problems must have a starting point, the acceptance of the real situation, which is that the German Democratic Republic exists, that it is steadily developing and growing stronger, and that it represents an active factor in the struggle for peace and national security and independence. The recognition of the existence of two sovereign German States and their admission to the United Nations would be an important step towards the lessening of tensions in Europe and throughout the world.

88. The Romanian Government is convinced that a peaceful settlement of the German and West Berlin issues based on an agreement among all participants in the anti-Hitler coalition is entirely possible, and it for one will make its full contribution to that end. If, however, the efforts of the socialist countries to settle this problem continue to meet with opposition from the Western Powers, the Romanian People's Republic, along with the other socialist countries and other States ready to do so, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, whatever the consequences.

89. In examining the main sources of tension in the world, we cannot overlook the situation prevailing in Asia and the Far East.

90. In South Viet-Nam, the United States has engaged in direct military intervention in order to crush the people's resistance to a corrupt régime which remains in power thanks only to United States military support. Actions of this kind imperil the peace and security of the peoples of South-East Asia. The Romanian Government fully supports the request of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam addressed to the President and Members of the General Assembly that they should use their authority to induce the United States Government to honour its international commitments under the Geneva agreements on Viet-Nam.<sup>11/</sup>

91. The interests of peace and security in the Far East further require the ending of the military occupation of South Korea so that conditions for Korean unification on a peaceful and democratic basis may be established.

92. Another factor heightening the danger of war is the propaganda for preventive nuclear war being carried on in some NATO countries and the statements of some very high officials in those countries calling for the delivery of the first nuclear strike.

93. In our opinion the General Assembly can and must make an immediate contribution towards reducing the

danger of war and lessening world tensions by condemning propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war. The draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by the USSR delegation [A/5232] offers a suitable basis for the adoption of effective measures in that sphere.

94. Relations of peaceful coexistence among States having different social systems are not only an objective necessity but an indisputable reality of our time. The general debate at this session further confirms the viability of peaceful coexistence while clearly demonstrating the isolation of those who, blinded by passions and anti-communist prejudices, still refuse to accept this fact. The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic considers it essential that, through the resolutions it will adopt and the spirit of its deliberations, the General Assembly should vigorously promote the principles of peaceful coexistence, ward off the serious dangers which threaten the world and defend the rights of peoples to full freedom and independence.

95. Without doubt the main issue before the General Assembly remains general and complete disarmament—the sole means of averting the danger of war and of satisfying the peoples' desire for peace.

96. At its sixteenth session, the General Assembly helped to pave the way for fruitful negotiations on this subject. As a result of the proposals put forward by the socialist countries at the fifteenth session, the principles of general and complete disarmament were adopted and a new negotiating body, the Eighteen-Nation Committee, for the first time including neutral States, was established [see General Assembly resolution 1722 (XVI)]. The General Assembly asked this Committee to prepare a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

97. The fact that after five months of negotiations the Eighteen-Nation Committee is not in a position to report any concrete results to the General Assembly is due to the negative position taken by the Western Powers. This is clearly demonstrated by their attitude towards nuclear disarmament.

98. As a member of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, Romania takes the view, along with the other socialist countries, that to ban and destroy nuclear weapons, to take drastic measures to eliminate at the very first stage the possibility of nuclear war, is the first, the most urgent and the most important objective to be attained in the process of general and complete disarmament. It is, we believe, the prime criterion by which to judge the efficacy of any plan for general and complete disarmament. The essential feature of the USSR draft treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control<sup>12/</sup> is its complete consistency with this criterion.

99. Unlike the USSR proposals, the outline presented by the United States and supported by the other Western delegations does not solve the problem of removing the danger of nuclear war. There is no more eloquent proof of this than the refusal to agree even to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. This position is part of a general policy of speeding up the arms race, proclaiming the attainment and maintenance of military superiority as a prime objective and advocating a pre-emptive nuclear strike. In this light the requests of the Western Powers regarding arms control cannot be viewed as anything more than a part of NATO's strategic plans.

<sup>11/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

<sup>12/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, section C.

100. The socialist countries have demonstrated their continuing desire to negotiate in good faith, to meet the Western Powers part way and to examine carefully any constructive proposal, from whatever quarter it may come. That attitude is further manifested in the proposal submitted to the General Assembly by the head of the USSR delegation on 21 September 1962 [1127th meeting] to the effect that for a period of time a strictly limited number of missiles would be retained by the United States and the Soviet Union.

101. If progress is to be made in the disarmament negotiations, the United States and other Western Powers must adopt a position in keeping with the interests of peace and of the security of all peoples. When we consider the question of the suspension of nuclear tests, we realize how useful such a change would be for the settlement of the disarmament problem.

102. In the Eighteen-Nation Committee, the delegations of the socialist countries and the delegations of the eight neutral States made persistent efforts to bring about an agreement. But the Western delegations refused to negotiate on the basis of the constructive proposals submitted to the Geneva Conference and formulated conditions which would assure them definite military advantages. Such an attitude can hardly facilitate the reaching of agreement; indeed, it can only prevent agreement.

103. The Romanian delegation considers that the General Assembly must examine most attentively and responsibly the reasons why no progress was made in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament and on a treaty for the prohibition of nuclear tests.

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

104. It must adopt resolutions likely to contribute to a solution of these problems. The adoption of measures to encourage a reduction in international tension and to strengthen confidence among States is of great importance to the cause of general and complete disarmament. In this respect the Romanian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the establishment of denuclearized zones in Central Europe, the Balkans and Northern Europe, and also in Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world. As the debate at the present session has shown, this idea is gaining ground.

105. I should now like to turn to another question to which the General Assembly should devote great attention, namely, the economic programme for disarmament, a question placed on the agenda at the initiative of the Soviet Union [A/5233]. This proposal has the merit of placing the key question of international life, general and complete disarmament, in its over-all context. This context is the transition to a new era in the development of human society, an era in which wars will be a thing of the past and mankind will be able to use its own energies and the resources of our planet to build a world free from poverty and hunger, a world characterized by peaceful relations of friendly and fruitful co-operation among countries and peoples.

106. The normalization of international trade is another urgent task confronting the United Nations. As a result of the discriminatory policies practised by certain countries, negative phenomena are to be observed in this important field of inter-State relations. These negative phenomena have been accentuated by the emergence of closed economic groupings, particularly since the establishment of the European Common

Market. The multilateral development of world trade is being seriously hampered by the economic groupings of the Western countries, the application of discriminatory customs tariffs, the closing of markets, quantitative restrictions, etc. These groupings resort to economic integration either to maintain their former colonial privileges or to obtain new ones by taking advantage of the economic difficulties of countries which have recently become independent. Their economic foreign policy is being increasingly subordinated to political and military interests.

107. In its economic relations with other States, the Romanian People's Republic observes the principle of peaceful and multilateral co-operation based on strict respect for the interests of all peoples and on the equal rights of all States. The Romanian People's Republic is developing its external trade with an ever greater number of countries, irrespective of their social or political systems. Today our country is doing business with more than eighty States. Its economic development, characterized by a rising rate of growth, equilibrium and stability, augurs well for a continuous expansion of its trade relations.

108. With a view to basing world trade on peaceful co-operation among States, the Romanian Government supports the proposal for the holding of an international conference on trade problems [A/5219] and declares its readiness to take part in such a conference, which will discuss the creation of an international trade organization open to all countries, irrespective of their economic or social systems.

109. The period which has elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] has confirmed the historical significance of this document. During this period, new countries won their independence and are now playing an active part in international life, making a valuable contribution to the solution of the main problems confronting mankind today. That is why the Romanian Government and people support the just struggle of the peoples to throw off colonial domination, and sincerely rejoice at each success of the national liberation movement. We take this opportunity to greet the new States of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, which have recently acceded to independence and become Members of the United Nations.

110. We offer our warmest congratulations to the glorious Algerian people who, after long years of heroic struggle and enormous sacrifices, have won their freedom and national independence. The day when, in the near future, the representatives of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria take their seats in this hall will be an occasion of legitimate rejoicing for all those who, over the years, have defended the just cause of the Algerian people. That day will be a landmark in the life of our Organization.

111. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that two years after adoption of the Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism there are still more than eighty territories in the world under colonial rule. The colonial Powers are seeking to sabotage the implementation of the Declaration, using every means in their power to delay the liquidation of a system condemned by history. They are organizing joint action to repress the liberation movement by armed force, encouraging the racist policies of the Government of South Africa and seeking new ways of maintaining their

political and economic domination over the peoples they have held in subjection for years and in some cases for centuries. It is the duty of the General Assembly to take firm action to ensure that the provisions of the Declaration are respected and to take practical steps to remove the last vestiges of colonialism.

112. The Romanian people is devoting its energies to peaceful construction, to the rapid development of its national economy and to progressively raising its material and cultural level of living.

113. Expressing the will and the fundamental interests of the whole people, the Romanian Government consistently practices a foreign policy of peace, and resolutely champions the normalization of international life and the establishment of relations of fruitful co-operation among all States. Convinced that the consolidation of peace is an endeavour which demands the efforts of all States, the Romanian People's Republic is making its own contribution to creating a climate of international relaxation and peaceful co-existence, both in its own geographical area and in the world as a whole. Our country maintains political and diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, based on full equality and mutual respect, with many States in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and constantly seeks to develop these relations. Our country attaches particular importance to the development of multi-lateral collaboration among the States of the Balkan area.

114. The Romanian Government which, as early as 1957, put forward proposals for an understanding among the Balkan States, is continuing its active efforts in this direction so that the Balkans may become a zone of peace and co-operation. The conclusion of a treaty of understanding and collective security with a view to transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace, without nuclear weapons or rockets, would serve the interests of all the peoples of this area and greatly help to relax international tension.

115. At this session the General Assembly is going to take up the agenda item entitled "Measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples" [item 83] which, owing to the initiative of the Romanian Government,<sup>13/</sup> has been before the Assembly since 1960. We think this is one of the most important issues of the day, and we hope the Assembly will examine it carefully.

116. The Romanian delegation shares the concern expressed in the General Assembly for the strengthening of the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and co-operation.

117. From this point of view, the violation of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as a result of the hostile policy of the United States gravely jeopardizes the normal activity, prestige and authority of the Organization as well as the cause of international co-operation. The absence from the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, one of the great Powers and a permanent member of the Security Council, reduces the Organization's capacity to contribute to a settlement of major international questions. It is the Assembly's

duty to put an end to this unjust situation which is at variance both with reality and with the principles of the Charter. The legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored without delay and the Chang Kai-shek clique removed from all United Nations bodies.

118. While the principles on which the United Nations rests are consonant with the tasks with which life has confronted it, its structure has not been modified to take account of the great changes which have taken place in the world in the past seventeen years, that is to say, since the signing of the Charter. The Romanian delegation therefore considers that the structure of the United Nations must be brought into conformity with the situation in the world today, so that the three groups of States—socialist States, States belonging to Western military blocs and neutral States—are represented equally in the principal organs of the United Nations.

119. The financial difficulties now confronting the Organization are the consequence of acts of direct or indirect aggression by certain imperialist Powers. The Romanian Government will not be a party to measures designed to defray these expenses, whatever manoeuvres are employed in the attempt to give them an appearance of legality. In no circumstances can the principle of collective responsibility be applied to the costs arising from the consequences of aggression.

120. The questions before the General Assembly at this session are many and complex. We do not suppose for a moment that they will admit of easy solutions. But we are convinced that in this age, as a result of the changed balance of power in the world, these questions can be resolved peacefully, by negotiation, in the interests of peace and the progress of mankind.

121. The settlement by negotiation of the question of Laos is a conclusive example. Another is the agreement signed by Indonesia and the Netherlands regarding West Irian [A/5170, annex]. The Romanian People's Republic, which has always supported the legitimate rights of the Indonesian people, welcomes with satisfaction the agreement uniting West Irian and Indonesia.

122. However, if the possibility of ensuring peace is to be transformed into reality, determined efforts and actions are required on the part of all States.

123. As was stressed by Mr. Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the State Council of the Romanian People's Republic, what is needed is wisdom and mature reflexion in policy and the greatest care to strengthen peace and eliminate the dangers hanging over mankind; every Government, every statesman with a sense of responsibility towards his own and other peoples must act in the realization of this necessity.

124. The Romanian delegation will spare no effort to this end and will make its full contribution to bringing the work of this session of the General Assembly to a satisfactory conclusion.

125. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): Mr. President, in voting for you we were convinced that we were once again voting for the very principles of the Charter, of which you are one of the outstanding personifications. Can we forget the action which you have undertaken, with more than one of your colleagues, in order to ensure respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and for the sovereign equality of nations and to prepare the way for the independence of dozens of nations? The wisdom of your

<sup>13/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 76, document A/4442.

advice, the soundness of your judgements and your unflinching loyalty to the ideal of the United Nations allow us to predict that this year, which we enter confidently, will be one of the most fruitful in the life and achievements of this Assembly.

126. This happy portent is confirmed by the facts. Although it has only just started, this session has already witnessed more than one memorable event: the admission to the United Nations of four new Member States, the end of two great international conflicts, one in Africa—the Algerian conflict—and one in Asia, in the neighbourhood of Indonesia.

127. The admission to the United Nations of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Rwandese Republic and the Kingdom of Burundi was a source of satisfaction and joy to our Organization.

128. Lebanon's joy is all the greater and its satisfaction the deeper in that thousands of Lebanese who have for generations been living among the peoples of America and Africa and sharing their joys and sorrows have been the admiring witnesses and often the fellow combatants of these peoples struggling for independence and sovereignty.

129. For seven years we have followed Algeria's epic, struggle for independence. There is a place waiting here for Algeria, which has increased in stature as a result of its struggle and of the experience and maturity it has acquired through its ordeal.

130. We must also include France in the brotherly congratulations which we extend to Algeria. The struggle might have been longer and more painful, although there was no doubt about its outcome. It might even, to the prejudice of their interests, have separated two nations which enjoy a common heritage and were made to understand one another and to co-operate usefully. General De Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, who in the eyes of the world and of history already has to his credit the wise policy of decolonization in Africa, understood this and defended it unremittingly until success was achieved.

131. Moreover, the consequences of the Evian Agreement are felt beyond the borders of the two countries. In the Arab and African world, co-operation with France, a country of great civilization, can be pursued in friendship, peace and mutual respect.

132. The reception given by the General Assembly to the agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands [see A/5170, annex] shows how important it considers the agreement to be, from the point of view both of principles and of the development of relations between two great countries. It will not be forgotten that they were on the brink of war. The result of the settlement of the conflict, thanks to mutual concessions, will be to safeguard peace and to restore friendship. It will make the contribution of the Netherlands and Indonesia to the work of the United Nations and to human advancement all the more effective.

133. Truth obliges us to recognize, however, that to a great extent the life of the United Nations exhibits a disconcerting antithesis. War-like activities, exemplified by the frenzied arms race, are proceeding at an ever-increasing rate, while, to judge by its effects, action to promote the advancement and well-being of peoples is far from receiving the necessary impetus. Action on the one hand, quasi-inaction on the other: this is the tragic antithesis of our times, which is fraught with uncertainty for the fate of the world.

134. This life, so full of dangers for us all, this life so unhappy for most of us will this generation see the end of it? Each passing year brings us nearer to the catastrophe which lies in wait for us at the end of the arms race; similarly, each passing year further postpones the day when all peoples alike will enjoy the gifts which God, when He created man, created for all his descendants, without distinction, without discrimination and without preference.

135. For this reason, thirty-six nations, in whose economies an abundance of resources goes hand in hand with scarcity of means, nations of Asia, nations of Africa, nations of the New World, including those which sowed the first seed of corn and domesticated the first animal, invented the alphabet and paper, figures and counting which formulated the basic notions of chemistry and algebra and used the first techniques; which were the first to explore the earth and probe the sky, to measure space and divide time; nations which, however, as far as arms are concerned, invented only the spear and the javelin, Greek fire and gunpowder; these thirty-six nations met peacefully at Cairo, the capital of one of them where they made an inventory of their claims, which are the claims of any feeling and suffering man. Let me hasten to explain that these are not so much unilateral claims as an awareness of the mutual debts between economies, between societies and between civilizations.

136. This Cairo meeting was preceded by the creation, with the assistance of UNESCO, of centres where cultures and civilizations could meet, at Tokyo, at New Delhi, at Bucharest and in Lebanon, with the noble aim of bringing men together and sowing the seeds of a universal human civilization. Next year, the centre established in Lebanon will be the meeting-place of men placing their gifts and their knowledge at the service of this magnificent task of understanding and solidarity. Thus, in the cultural and economic fields we hope to progress from the stage of claims to the stage of mutual enrichment.

137. The General Assembly has had the happy though belated inspiration of launching the United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1710 (XVI)]. How will the next ten years be able to advance this project, which consists, as the Secretary-General has said, in mobilizing, "the accumulated experiences and resources of mankind in a full scale and sustained attack on 'poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy' [A/5201/Add.1, p. 3]?"

138. According to the results of an inquiry made by the commissions established for this purpose, the world population is roughly divided as follows: 1,000 million people are well fed, 1,000 million are underfed and 1,000 million are hungry. Each of us knows where he stands in this sad classification!

139. Will the United Nations Development Decade manage to bridge the gulf of poverty which separates the well-fed peoples from the hungry peoples? This aim was already embodied in the 1942 Declaration by the United Nations. It appeared in the United Nations Charter in 1945. Will the Development Decade, like the two previous texts, be no more than a historic document?

140. The Cairo Conference wanted to give it life. I need scarcely point out that the aim of this conference was not, as had been feared, to draw up an indictment against the various existing economic organizations;

on the contrary, what it had in view was co-operation with those organizations on fair terms. Indeed, did it not decide to appeal to the United Nations not only for co-operation within the Organization and its competent agencies but for the convening of a conference at which co-operation would be the keynote and which would be open to all countries of the world?

141. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [see A/5219] and the Economic and Social Council<sup>14</sup> both proposed the convening of a world economic conference. The General Assembly has combined the two proposals, which are directed towards the same end.

142. World economic and social co-operation, whether proposed by Cairo, Moscow or Geneva, is consistent with the objectives of the United Nations, objectives to which so far relatively little attention has been paid. All efforts, from whatever quarter they may come, should be combined to ensure that the proposed conference meets as soon as possible with a programme drawn up in advance and a firm will to succeed.

143. If the industrialized countries are called upon to change their economic institutions in order to adapt them to the needs of a new world economy, the countries with primitive or young economies wish to develop their economic institutions organically. Their aim is to make rapid strides towards an industrial economy that can meet their essential needs and raise their level of living rapidly.

144. If this aim is to be achieved, it is essential to begin with that world markets should not be closed to the manufactured goods of the countries in process of industrialization. The European Common Market, the British Commonwealth, the COMECON formed by the socialist Republics, and large economic entities such as the United States must not deny entry to the products of the small-scale industry of the developing countries; or to their agricultural products. Nor must they multiply the barriers to these countries' exports.

145. The members of the Commonwealth expressed their grave concern on this subject, with a voice that resounded throughout the world, when the Government of the United Kingdom applied for membership in the European Common Market. The same concern is felt by all the other developing countries, not only with regard to the Common Market but also with regard to the Commonwealth itself, and to any economic group showing the tendency to close itself into its giant shell.

146. The basis of economic relations, like that of political relations, is equality. In economic life, this equality is called the balance of trade or the balance of payments. Such equality must be the goal—or ideal—to be attained. There are no major problems in this respect so far as the COMECON countries are concerned, since trade with the socialist States is balanced on the basis of bilateral clearing agreements. The United States has just enacted legislation offering good prospects for the liberalization of trade. We shall have to wait to see how that legislation operates in practice. The European Common Market system provides for negotiations, and non-member countries are entitled to expect such negotiations to take place.

147. Having said this, I realize that this is not the time to go into greater detail on the programme of the future conference. It will suffice that I have stressed the im-

portance of balanced trade, which can unquestionably do much more to promote development than economic aid or technical assistance.

148. Nevertheless, I must here and now draw attention to one pitfall which might jeopardize the results hoped for. The purpose of economic development, in the final analysis, is to raise, as equally as possible, the standard of living of peoples. Must we assume that this objective can be attained only by restricting the growth of population? That would be a profound mistake.

149. Economic development depends on two factors: a material factor and a human factor. How, then, can an economy be developed while at the same time one of its component elements is destroyed? Far from ensuring prosperity, birth control leads to economic decline. That was the case, for example, with a great European country, whose economy stagnated when its birth-rate was the lowest in Europe, but which began to prosper as soon as its birth-rate rose and its population increased.

150. May I venture to cite my own country as another example? Lebanon is one of the most densely populated States in the world: it has almost 200 inhabitants per square kilometre of territory. Yet, its per caput income is \$400, a figure markedly higher than that of most countries in the world. Yet, Lebanon is not a rich country so far as natural resources are concerned. The rise in its level of living, therefore, has been due not so much to the volume of its material resources as to human effort, the multiplication of which has in turn multiplied the country's wealth. Additional factors have been the freedom allowed to individual enterprise and the facilities made available to international co-operation. For Lebanon's institutions have always been based on commercial, economic, financial, cultural and political freedom; and thanks to that freedom, capital, persons, enterprise and ideas circulate without hindrance in Lebanon and between Lebanon and foreign countries.

151. In any event, the world population, according to information published in 1960 in the United Nations Demographic Yearbook is growing at the rate of 1.7 per cent annually. Is that to be regarded as a catastrophic rate of growth, when we consider that according to a well-known scientist's estimate there is at present enough land available to feed, at a level equivalent to the American standard of living—an idea which we all find attractive—a population nine times greater than the existing world population? Thus the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development held at Cairo acted advisedly when it adopted, by the unanimous vote of the thirty-six participating nations, a motion which—after citing, incidentally, the encyclical Mater et Magistra—condemns any illegitimate measures of birth control.

152. It has not been sufficiently emphasized—because the question has never arisen as it does today—that we are all entitled, whoever we may be, to respect for our religious convictions as much as for our liberty, our personality and our political, social and ideological beliefs. Respect for individual rights and respect for international law are two essential conditions for the maintenance of peace. They are contained in the Charter, which is our law: the law of humanity.

153. We must admire the perseverance with which Ireland emphasizes at session after session, the importance of the rule of law, which it would like to see

<sup>14</sup>/ See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 917 (XXXIV).

extended to one area after another until it encompasses the world.

154. Last year the countries of Africa and the Middle East held at Lagos a conference of lawyers and scientists<sup>15/</sup> which made a notable contribution to our work by stressing the ideal of world peace through the rule of law.

155. The representative of the United States, too, referred to the rule of law [1125th meeting] in speaking of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice concerning the financial obligations of Member States [A/5161]. My delegation cannot but endorse that opinion, which is based on the law and which emanates from a body symbolizing the rule of law in the world. In accordance with that opinion, the Lebanese Government is determined to discharge its financial obligations with respect to the financing of the United Nations forces in the Congo and in Gaza.

156. So far as the Congo is concerned, we trust, like the States of Africa, whose concern we share, that peace and understanding will be established once and for all in that strife-torn country, so that it can at last devote itself to the task of economic and social reconstruction.

157. We are confident that our Secretary-General, U Thant, will pursue to its conclusion the work he has undertaken in this noble cause, just as we are fully confident that he will continue, during his new term of office, to discharge the mission that the General Assembly has unanimously entrusted to him.

158. As I have said, the Lebanese Government is ready to fulfil its financial obligations in connexion with the forces stationed in Gaza. It is prepared to do so despite the burden it has assumed on behalf of the Palestine refugees, whose numbers amount to 12 per cent of the population of Lebanon and whom it has wholeheartedly welcomed to its territory until such time as they can return to their occupied, devastated or destroyed homes.

159. As regards United Nations security forces in general, I should like to recall that in 1950, in the course of our general debate [288th meeting], Lebanon suggested the creation of an international force. Such a force would not only have ensured the security of the Congo, or of the armistice lines in Palestine; it would also have repelled aggression in the Holy Land, and, particularly, would have protected a territory which is legally under the jurisdiction of the United Nations—the city of Jerusalem, which was internationalized by General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948. It will never be too late to turn our minds to the fate of that eternal city, which is held sacred by more than one great religion, thus establishing the rule of law by the will of this Organization itself. We have heard appeals, and we shall probably hear others, for negotiations on the problem of Palestine and the Holy Places.

160. The conflicts which are echoed in this hall are numerous, and we all fervently desire to find solutions to them. But those who make such appeals or who support them must not forget that there is no peace without justice, and that our great Organization would be forsaking its principles and abandoning its objectives if it bowed—as did the League of Nations, which brought its death upon itself in doing so—to the fait

accompli, which is the embodiment of injustice and the very negation of law. We must not resort to force in the solution of conflicts. But neither must we endorse, through an unjust settlement, results obtained by resort to force. Let us bear this in mind whenever the martyrdom of Palestine is spoken of.

161. It is our fervent wish that none of us should oppose a decision of this Assembly or a decision of the International Court of Justice. The authority of the General Assembly, the authority of that august tribunal of the Court, must be constantly expanded so that right and justice may be substituted, in international life, for force and unbridled violence. The rule of law must be complete; that is, it must be applied everywhere and at all times to all the principles of the Charter, to every sphere of international life and to all fields of human endeavour.

162. If the international situation does not at present permit us to revise the Charter so as to adapt it to the new circumstances engendered by its universal extension, then at least the Charter must be applied without reservation, in both its letter and its spirit. It is the duty of the United Nations, as one of the high places of the human spirit, to endow the international community, this great body which now extends to the uttermost ends of the inhabited world and which is called upon to carry its rule to space, with a soul worthy of it.

163. Mr. ALI (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation is of the view that the most important question before the Assembly is the speedy achievement of general and complete disarmament. The Geneva negotiations have made little progress. It is a matter of some satisfaction, however, that all the complex problems of disarmament are being examined in depth and the approaches of the two sides are becoming increasingly clarified.

164. The main problems remain what they have been, namely, the preservation of the military balance in the phasing of successive disarmament measures and the question of inspection of the armaments retained after the agreed reductions have been carried out. While a strict and comprehensive system of inspection and control must form an integral and indivisible part of any disarmament treaty, it would be vain to look for a perfect system. The aim must be to reduce to the minimum the risks of evasion of any control measures that may be devised, and then to make an act of faith in the honest intentions of the other party. This margin of risk must be accepted as inevitable, or else it would be humanly impossible to achieve the desired objective. In short, it must be emphasized that no disarmament treaty could be without loopholes. This fact must be recognized by both sides. As President Kennedy said here last year:

"The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race." [1013th meeting, para. 52.]

165. The President of Pakistan, Mohammad Ayub Khan, in his address to this Assembly [1133rd meeting], has set forth the firmly held view of the Government of Pakistan as to the urgent necessity of a permanent end to nuclear weapons tests. In this context, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the contribution that the eight-Power memorandum of 16 April 1962<sup>16/</sup> has made to narrowing the gap in the positions of the Soviet Union and the two Western nuclear Powers.

<sup>15/</sup> African Conference on the Rule of Law, held from 3 to 9 January 1961.

<sup>16/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, sect. J.



166. In regard to the clear and present danger of the dissemination of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their manufacture to States which do not now possess them, the President of Pakistan urged the General Assembly to give urgent consideration to the conclusion of a treaty to meet this grave situation without awaiting agreement on the other measures on disarmament.

167. We owe our gratitude to the Foreign Minister of Ireland, Mr. Aiken, who first alerted this Assembly [890th meeting] to the threat of an intensification of the arms race and to the increasing difficulties of avoiding nuclear war with every increase in the number of those countries which possess nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their manufacture. The Foreign Minister of Sweden, Mr. Unden, carried this line of thought a stage further, in bringing forcefully to the attention of the General Assembly in the First Committee last year [1178th meeting], the important part that non-nuclear Powers could play in the preparation and implementation of measures to prevent a further spread of nuclear weapons by entering into specific undertakings to refrain from the manufacture, or acquisition by other means, of such weapons and by refusing to receive them, in the future, in their territories on behalf of any other country.

168. The Pakistan delegation is aware that the question of preventing a wider dissemination of nuclear weapons is included in the first stage of both the Soviet draft treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control,<sup>17/</sup> as well as the United States draft programme for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world.<sup>18/</sup> However, the question of concluding an agreement in regard to the prevention of a further spread of nuclear weapons forms part of the whole complex of the much wider problem of general and complete disarmament as envisaged in the two draft plans. Therefore, its implementation will be dependent on the implementation of general and complete disarmament.

169. At present there is no reason to warrant the hope that this consummation can be achieved quickly. On the contrary, it is likely to take many years. In the meantime, non-nuclear States have the fullest freedom and opportunity to become possessors of nuclear weapons, thus compounding the danger of nuclear war.

170. It is, therefore, necessary that the Disarmament Committee should be instructed, without prejudice to the disarmament programme, to accord the highest priority to the conclusion of a convention to outlaw the further spread of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their manufacture and the implementation of such a treaty should not be made dependent on an agreement on the disarmament question. The Assembly will recall that this was precisely the procedure adopted in regard to negotiations to end nuclear weapons tests under effective control.

171. The Pakistan delegation believes that this suggestion is in full conformity with paragraph 8 of the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" of the United States and the Soviet Union issued last year which states that:

"...efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be

undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme."<sup>19/</sup>

172. The first essential step to outlaw the spread of nuclear weapons is for the nuclear Powers to reach the necessary agreement among themselves and they should then submit it for the approval of the United Nations and the accession of the non-nuclear Powers.

173. Great Powers and affluent nations spend, year after year, colossal amounts on the manufacture and stockpiling of infernal machines and weapons of destruction. The statistics of the armaments race in terms of appropriation of national resources for building up military striking power stagger the mind. The world today is spending approximately 120 million dollars annually for war purposes, or half of the total gross capital formation throughout the world. This figure is at least two-thirds of, or is of the order of the same magnitude as, the entire national income of the under-developed countries. The diversion of even a part of this expenditure to peaceful purposes could generate a social revolution and an economic upsurge which, in the course of but a few years, could put an end to the sub-standard level of existence of more than half of the human race.

174. The gap between the have and have-not nations is not being narrowed. It is being widened. For example, in the last decade, the rate of increase of per caput income in the industrialized countries was ten times greater than that in the developing countries. The less developed countries can now only purchase from the exports of their raw materials four-fifths of the manufactured goods, compared with the situation that existed eight years ago, and only two-thirds as compared with that of eleven years ago. The progressive worsening of the terms of trade against the developing countries would have made the task of their economic development a hopeless one but for the flow of foreign capital in their direction and the extension of economic assistance by the richer members of the world community. However, this flow has barely compensated for the decrease in export earnings of the developing countries resulting from the fall in prices of primary commodities, and a rise in those of manufactured and capital goods. The imbalance is further aggravated by the high rate of growth of population in the developing countries.

175. I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing our sincere appreciation for the continuing concern of the United Nations over the grave problem of growing disparity in the division of wealth between the nations of the world. Two of the resolutions recently adopted by the General Assembly envisage, to my mind, timely steps aimed at accelerating the economic growth of the less developed countries in the interests of world peace and prosperity. The first [resolution 1710 (XVI)] designates the nineteen-sixties as the United Nations Development Decade and calls for intensified efforts to accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economies of individual nations so as to attain in each under-developed country a minimum annual rate of growth of national income of 5 per cent at the end of the decade. The second [resolution 1711 (XVI)] expresses the hope that the flow of international assistance and capital for development, which at present is less than 1 per cent of the combined national

<sup>17/</sup> *Ibid.*, document DC/203, annex 1, sect. C.

<sup>18/</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, agenda item 19, document A/4897.*

<sup>19/</sup> *Ibid.*, document A/4879.

incomes of the economically advanced countries, should be raised approximately to 1 per cent.

176. The emphasis placed by the Secretary-General on the development process, as one with many facets and one to be based principally on industrial development and a highly productive agriculture, is in accord with the inflexible determination of the developing countries to do away, in the course of the current decade if possible, with the legacy of colonialism which had turned them into exporters of raw materials to feed the growing industries of the colonial Powers and then to provide markets for the manufactured goods. The prospects for the attainment of an annual rate of growth of 5 per cent by 1970 will, however, hinge largely on the rate of growth of population in the developing countries.

177. The annual rate of increase of Pakistan's population is 2 per cent per annum. We consider this figure to be too high, and have therefore launched a programme of family planning. Success in that direction can only come slowly as traditional attitudes towards social values cannot be expected to change in the course of a few years.

178. Pakistan shares the serious concern of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America at the emergence of trading blocs which may well pose a threat to the goals of the United Nations Development Decade. As the President of Pakistan stated in his address to this Assembly, the historical trend towards regional economic integration is an event fraught with such profound consequences to the future of world trade that the problems posed by it can only be approached in a world perspective. We believe that the time has come to meet this new challenge by concerted action within the framework of the United Nations on the vital questions relating to international trade and the entire range of economic relations between the industrialized and the developing countries.

179. Mr. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, in his address to the Assembly [1138th meeting], has clarified the purposes and principles of the European Economic Community. The question before the less developed countries, however, is whether major transformations in the pattern of world trade, which as yet we cannot visualize, are to be set in motion exclusively by the European Common Market or whether the entire world community, acting under the aegis of the United Nations, should also influence that process.

180. The question of holding an international conference on trade problems and the Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries [A/5162] will be discussed at this session. The Second Committee will no doubt also discuss the timing of convening the trade conference. In this regard, it is necessary to keep in view the fact that the European Common Market and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are still in their formative stages. International efforts to induce them to adopt outward-looking and liberal trade policies are likely to bear fruit only if they are exerted before these blocs are fully formed and assume final shape. For this reason the projected world trade conference should be held as early as practicable. In our opinion, the date for convening it could well be set about the middle of next year by which time it should be possible to complete the necessary preparatory work, if top priority is accorded to this matter.

181. The Economic and Social Council has decided to convene, in the spring of 1963, a preparatory com-

mittee of experts designated by Governments represented on the Council, to consider the agenda and documentation of the United Nations conference on trade. Should the suggestion to convene this conference by the middle of next year commend itself to the Assembly, it would follow that the preparatory committee should meet much earlier than the spring of 1963, in order that Governments may be afforded adequate time to prepare themselves for the conference in the light of the committee's recommendations. Furthermore, the membership of the preparatory committee must be enlarged in order to give more adequate expression to the principle of equitable geographical representation.

182. While it is for the preparatory committee to prepare the agenda and documentation of the conference, it remains the responsibility of the General Assembly to formulate terms of reference for the guidance of the preparatory committee. In our view, the terms of reference should take into account the major trade problems facing the under-developed countries, including the following:

(a) The need to ensure markets for exports of primary commodities and simple manufactures of the developing countries, with a view to the promotion of international trade as the primary instrument for their economic development;

(b) To devise compensatory financing measures, in order to mitigate the effects of short-term fluctuations in export earnings of primary exporting countries and to integrate them with measures for remedying the adverse long-term trend in the export earnings of the countries and the deterioration in their terms of trade;

(c) To enlarge and strengthen the scope and functions of GATT, with a view to making it a more effective organization for the removal of barriers to international trade, especially the trade of the less developed countries.

183. The role of the United Nations in the sphere of its economic activities, particularly in the economic development of less developed countries, has been a constructive one. The growth in the scope and depth of its programmes in the fields of pre-investment survey and technical assistance and, more recently, of industrialization, has greatly benefited a large number of Member States. The United Nations family of organizations has extended substantial assistance in their efforts to alleviate hunger, to reduce illiteracy, and to overcome disease. The agencies which provide special assistance to stateless refugees and underprivileged children throughout the world are rendering valuable service to humanity.

184. I shall now turn briefly to some of the other problems before the General Assembly which are of direct or special concern to Pakistan. One of these, in the field of human rights, is entitled "Manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance". In this context, I am constrained to refer to an issue which impairs friendly relations between Pakistan and its great neighbour, India, and which, of late, has assumed serious proportions. This is the mass expulsion of Muslims from India to Pakistan.

185. According to a Press release issued by the Government of India itself, about 90,000 Muslims have been deported from the three Indian states of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura during the last ten years. These evictions have been greatly stepped up since July of this year. Within a period of ten days in that month alone, 9,000 Muslims were expelled from the

State of Tripura. They were driven out of their homes and thrown bodily across the Indian border in a state of utter destitution. In most cases, no notices were served on them, no enquiries made, in regard to the legality or otherwise of their status.

186. It is the contention of the Government of India that all the tens of thousands of Muslims who have been so harshly evicted were Pakistan citizens who had entered India illegally. Even if this were a fact, which it is not, the Government of India should have had recourse to the procedure laid down in the agreement between Pakistan and India which deals with the specific problem of illegal immigrants from one country into the other. The method chosen by India not only violates this agreement, but is contrary to the rules of civilized behaviour.

187. The expulsion of Muslims in such large numbers and in such a cruel manner has naturally caused great indignation in Pakistan and intensified the existing tension between the two countries.

188. Only last week a body of Indian troops crossed into East Pakistan and have taken up positions in two different places within our territory. In order to avoid exacerbation of an already tense situation, the Pakistan Government has shown great self-restraint and has so far refrained from taking military action to eject the intruders. We are lodging a protest with the Government of India and we hope that its troops will be withdrawn immediately.

189. It is in the interest of both India and Pakistan, and indeed of the region in which they are situated, that they should compose their differences in an amicable manner and cease to wage a bitter and distracting cold war.

190. The great obstacle in the way of the creation of friendly relations between India and Pakistan has been and continues to be the unresolved question of Kashmir. Kashmir is not a simple boundary dispute between two neighbours, nor a territorial dispute in the usual sense of the word. It involves the question of the right of self-determination of four million people.

191. The history of the dispute shows that while India has appeared as the champion of self-determination all over the world and has paid lip-service to the United Nations resolutions conceding the same right to the people of Kashmir, in actual fact it has not only sought to avoid the implementation of these resolutions on one pretext or the other, but has been pursuing a course designed to bring about the complete absorption into India of the portion of the State occupied by it.

192. In the last few months, a movement has been initiated in India with the object of abolishing even the allegedly, special status the puppet régime in Kashmir has enjoyed up till now. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the head of that régime and the main prop of the Indian occupation, was himself constrained to observe the other day that if such a thing happened, "Indian capitalists would easily buy and own the whole of Kashmir".

193. Friendly relations cannot be established between India and Pakistan, nor can peace be secure in that region, if India continues to trample underfoot the right of the people of Kashmir to decide their own future, in defiance of the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in violation of its own word of honour and in disregard of

the international agreement undertaken by it in all solemnity.

194. The veto may bring the proceedings of the Security Council to a halt. It cannot silence the voice of a people determined to be free. We can only hope that respect for the law, the dictates of reason and considerations of self-interest, will prevail over false notions of vanity and national prestige and persuade India to follow a policy of co-operation and friendly coexistence with its neighbours. There can be no better way to begin a year for international co-operation than for countries to settle their disputes, in accordance with the peaceful procedures laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and in fulfilment of their international obligations. We want to live in friendship with India, we want to be friends with India, if only it can be done on honourable terms.

195. Much has been done by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to help alleviate the plight of Palestine refugees. Its efforts deserve our praise and support. This year the General Assembly will be called upon to consider the renewal of its mandate. We are strongly of the view that the Agency should continue in existence, until such time as the Palestine refugees have been enabled to stand on their own feet. This is the least that the international community can do to mitigate the tragic consequences of its decision to partition Palestine. The only lasting solution of the problem of Arab refugees lies in their return to the ancestral homes from which they were forcibly and violently ejected. This was recognized in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III), but that provision has not been implemented to this day. A solution of the problem of Arab refugees must be sought if peace is to be restored to that troubled part of the world. It is our duty to bend all our efforts in order to find a solution on the basis of justice and human rights.

196. Tremendous strides have been made, particularly in the last few years, by resurgent peoples in Africa and Asia in liberating themselves from the yoke of colonialism. We see the manifestation of this evidence in the hall of this Assembly. This year, four former colonies, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, have joined us as fellow Members of this Organization. We extend our greetings to them and to the Governments of the United Kingdom and Belgium for their wisdom and foresight in bringing these territories to freedom in a peaceful and orderly manner.

197. Unfortunately, colonialism still continues to hold sway in many parts of the globe. In Africa, in particular, the territories that remain under foreign rule present perhaps the greatest challenge to the collective wisdom of this Assembly and of the administering Powers. It is by now obvious to all, and admitted by most, that the days of colonialism are numbered. It should be abundantly clear to those who try to postpone its inevitable end that rear-guard struggles to maintain an anachronistic order can only exacerbate the situation and render more difficult the establishment of friendship and co-operation between peoples and nations. The whole process of decolonization has now gathered such momentum that the mood of the colonized peoples will not permit any feet-dragging or go-slow policy in the granting of freedom by the colonial Powers. Whether it be in Angola or in Southern Rhodesia, the will of the people to be master in their own home is inexorable. To resist this swelling tide of national self-expression is to invite disaster. The

true interest of the administering countries themselves requires that they cease to take shelter behind special pretexts, and transform the existing relationship of master and subject; tutor and pupil; mother and child; or whatever other fatuous descriptions may have been used, into a relationship between friends and equals.

198. The efforts made in the United Nations in this matter have undoubtedly assisted and encouraged the struggles of the colonial peoples. If the whole spirit underlying the Charter of the Organization is to have any significance and meaning, and if the provisions relating to self-determination and the equality of men and nations are to be given life and purpose, then the General Assembly cannot shirk its responsibility towards the struggles of peoples to be free from foreign rule. In recent years and in particular after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the efforts of the United Nations have been greatly intensified. The Special Committee of Seventeen on the implementation of that Declaration deserves our praise for the conscientious and painstaking work done by it in the short period of its existence. It is a tribute also to the good sense and sincerity of all its members that the Committee has performed its difficult work in a businesslike and harmonious manner.

199. Let me now turn to a subject which the Assembly might be called upon to discuss. It is a subject which transcends all other matters since it concerns the dignity of man. An important aspect of this subject was presented to the Assembly, at the 1128th meeting, by the Foreign Minister of South Africa from his point of view, a point of view which is utterly untenable and wholly repugnant to the very concept of man as the vicegerent of God upon earth.

200. The Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr. Louw, began by deploring the record of the world outside South Africa, as exhibited during the last year. He pointed out that in forty-five countries there had been revolutions, coups d'état, revolts, border clashes, internal unrest, riots and violence, serious racial clashes between whites and non-whites, and states of emergency. He appeared to take pride in the fact that the Republic of South Africa had been free from disturbances and unrest and that political calm in that country had been accompanied by conditions of financial stability and exceptional economic progress.

201. I will not question his statement as it stands, though, of course, it is subject to many qualifications and is utterly incapable of supporting the conclusion that the Foreign Minister of South Africa sought to draw from it. I shall make only a brief comment. The forty-five countries which he had in mind, and many others, are in ferment, which means that they are alive. They are striving to go forward. There is an effort to correct inequalities, injustices, discriminations, shortcomings and the like. The method chosen in each case may not be wise or appropriate, but the struggle towards freedom and better conditions continues. In South Africa there is none of this. Everything is, for the moment, static and frozen. According to the Foreign Minister, while there is disturbance in the rest of the world, there is peace in South Africa. But that disturbance is the effervescence of life. The peace in South Africa is the peace of the grave.

202. The Foreign Minister of South Africa then referred to the general international situation and to the United Nations and found the position in those spheres

also discouraging. He referred to the increasing membership of the Organization and threw down the challenge: "...will anybody be so bold as to say that the increased membership has brought fresh life and saner counsels to the Organization?" [1128th meeting, para. 7.] Sanity and wisdom are largely matters of the angle of vision. What may appear to be wisdom to the lion is pure savagery and brutality to the lamb. Nobody, however, would be so bold as to deny that the United Nations is much more alive today than it was fifteen years ago. Today it is within sight of universality. The very fact that Mr. Louw was compelled to advance his ill-conceived and ill-directed arguments with so much vigour and skill bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the United Nations is today vibrant with life, and is not a moribund organization as he would have the world believe.

203. The Foreign Minister then went on to complain that the United Nations has continued to interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs in increasing measure and that lately it has begun to interfere in the domestic affairs of one of South Africa's neighbours, namely Southern Rhodesia. It is easy to understand the relationship between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and to appreciate the anxiety of the Foreign Minister of South Africa concerning Southern Rhodesia. His particular complaint, however, is that his country "...has been singled out for calumny and vilification, in many cases by delegations whose own Governments are guilty of discriminatory practices and the oppression of large sections of their own populations" [*ibid.*, para. 72]. In putting the matter in that juxtaposition, he gives away his whole case. In effect, he complains that the kettle has no right to call the pot black. This does not, however, prove that both are not equally black.

204. Mr. Louw then sought to take credit for, and find comfort in, South Africa's record with regard to the fulfilment of some of its obligations to the United Nations, particularly in the matter of contributions. This does not, however, carry him very far. A well-to-do member of a club, who pays his dues punctually, but misbehaves in a manner utterly unbecoming to a member and inconsistent with his moral obligations, cannot derive much comfort from the fact that he is not in arrears with respect to his contributions. He tried to show that certain elements in the Western countries, and even certain Governments, are not completely satisfied with the United Nations. That is merely proof that the United Nations is seeking to achieve worth-while results in the service of humanity. If every Member of the United Nations were satisfied with it, it would be a condemnation of the United Nations as having utterly failed in its purposes and having degenerated into a well-run social and debating club.

205. There is too much of a tendency in certain quarters to condemn the United Nations and to predict its dissolution just because, with regard to some particular problem or other, the majority of the Members do not accept the views or policies of certain Members. That is an utterly untenable position. If the Organization is to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends", which are set out in the first three paragraphs of Article 1 of the Charter, and is to include "...promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion", all its decisions and activities cannot be in accord with the views of every Member State. In some cases it is bound

to press—and on occasion, heavily—upon delicate spots. Criticism of the United Nations in respect of such activities is another proof that it is seeking to pursue actively its purposes as set out in the Charter.

206. Again, one often hears and reads criticism of the United Nations which amounts, in effect, to the claim that he who pays the piper must be able to call the tune. The United Nations was not set up to become the instrument of the policies of any particular State or group of States, whatever may be their contribution towards its operation. It was set up to serve humanity and to secure the achievement of its purposes for the benefit of all mankind, not only certain sections of it.

207. We must recognize the truth that the United Nations, imperfect as it is and often as it meets with frustration in its progress towards the achievement of its ends, nevertheless stands between order and chaos and is the only international organization available for the pursuit and fulfilment of our common purposes.

208. Therefore, criticism of the kind to which the Foreign Minister of South Africa made reference in his speech, far from proving his case, furnishes proof that the Organization has not mortgaged its soul to any particular Power or group of Powers.

209. The Foreign Minister made only a very brief reference to what he described as "South Africa's policy of separate development, also known as apartheid", and that only for the purpose of emphasizing his plea that this is "essentially a domestic affair governed by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter". The Assembly has, however, uniformly, with overwhelming majorities, rejected that plea on the ground that the disregard of fundamental human rights on a vast scale by a Member State is a matter appropriately falling within the authority of the United Nations and is not excluded by Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

210. Mr. Louw again sought to take shelter behind a plea of extenuation on the ground that "some of the sharpest attacks come from the Members and from political leaders of countries where racial discrimination is openly practised and where serious clashes between whites and non-whites frequently take place". As has been rightly pointed out during the course of the general debate, States where such conditions still persist recognize the evil and are strenuously engaged in adopting measures for its eradication. They do not, as in the case of South Africa, claim these conditions as a virtue. South Africa glories in them as the concluding words of the Foreign Minister once more proclaimed. He stated:

"Let me assure the Assembly that South Africa will not be deterred by criticism and vilification, or by threats and intimidation, from moving forward on the road—let us say, to our 'New Frontier'—which it firmly believes is in the interests of all sections of our peoples." [*Ibid.*, para. 111.]

In other words, the Foreign Minister proclaims that South Africa will not listen to the voice of reason nor pay heed to considerations of fairness, justice and humanity. It is determined to persist in its course and to take the consequences. History shows what the consequences are bound to be.

211. An attempt to divide humanity into sections is in effect a denial of the unity of the Creator. Those who act as if men are not equal in effect deny the fundamental premise that we are all creatures and servants

of one God, the All-Knowing, the All-Hearing, the Almighty. His laws and His decrees are supreme. They may be contravened and defied for a time, but persistence in such defiance attracts inevitable consequences and penalties which are also part of the law of God.

212. In South Africa and in some of its neighbouring territories a section of the population, comparative newcomers to those lands, have set up the doctrine and have adopted practices which divide men into superiors and inferiors, the privileged and the unprivileged, the favourites and those out of favour, the strong and the weak, the oppressors and the oppressed. If these doctrines and practices are not speedily set right the inevitable must follow. Those who exercise power and authority in these territories today must take heed of the stirring and the ferment in the rest of that continent. Humanity is on the march, in Africa as elsewhere. It will not be stayed; whatever and whoever seeks to halt it will be swept away. This is not a new phenomenon, history furnishes many illustrations of it and one of the most striking was enacted more than three thousand years ago, at the other extremity of the continent of Africa. The outlines of that tremendous event are common knowledge. I shall draw attention to only one aspect of it, which is thus described in the Koran:

"We rehearse unto you a portion of the history of Moses and Pharaoh with truth, for the benefit of a people who would believe.

"Verily, Pharaoh behaved arrogantly in the land, and divided the people thereof into sections. He sought to weaken one section of them, slaying their sons and sparing their women. Certainly, he was of the oppressors. But we desire to show favour unto those who are considered weak in the earth, and desire to make them leaders and to make them inheritors of our favours and to establish them in the earth. Thus we desired to show to Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts that which they feared from them."

213. It is the divine purpose that those who are deliberately reduced to a position of weakness in the earth shall be uplifted; they will become the recipients of God's favour, they will become leaders in their territories and God will make them inheritors of His favours. Let him who has ears hear and let him who has eyes see and take heed.

214. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of India for the exercise of his right of reply.

215. Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): I very much regret the necessity for this intervention, but since the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, who also happens to be a personal friend of mine, has chosen to refer to certain points, I have to explain and to clarify those controversial points.

216. Listening to the speech of the Foreign Minister, I marvelled at his courage and, if I may say so, at the somewhat audacious criticism of our policy towards our minorities. I was reminded of a quotation from Mark Twain to the effect that if lies were lilies, this would be a beautiful landscape.

217. I must first of all take this opportunity to deny categorically the facile allegation made by my friend the Foreign Minister of Pakistan regarding the so-called expulsion of Indian Muslims. He has, unfortunately, raised religious issues to which, since we are a plural society, we are particularly sensitive. We

are a multi-religious society, containing persons of all faiths and all races, including 50 million Muslims and about 12 million Christians, as well as several millions professing other faiths. We are particularly proud of the fact that ours is a secular State and that under our laws any citizen, irrespective of caste, creed, religion or race, can enforce his fundamental rights in a judicial court of law.

218. Since partition, what has happened is that a large number of Pakistanis from East Pakistan have infiltrated into the neighbouring areas of Tripura, Assam and West Bengal. The infiltration was at an almost alarming rate and took place because of the comparatively better economic opportunities—I say "comparatively better" because it is a question of one poor country and another—in these areas because of the development projects there in hand.

219. As may be known, the Indo-Pakistan boundary between East Pakistan and the adjoining Indian States of Tripura, Assam and West Bengal is thousands of miles in length, and the artificial dividing-line cuts across provinces, towns, and villages and sometimes even houses. You can therefore well understand that in these circumstances border check forces cannot control illicit immigration. So what we have been trying to do is to deport illicit immigrants from Pakistan. We are doing so after the most careful verification of antecedents. Doubtful cases have been completely disregarded; only proven Pakistan nationals were served with notices under the Foreigners Act of 1946—and incidentally, this Act is a legacy of our British days and probably still applies in Pakistan as well—and they were given ample time and opportunity to dispose of their possessions before deportation and were permitted to carry proceeds of sales with them and provided with transport up to the border.

220. Pakistan is carrying on a campaign to misrepresent the deportation of proven cases of Pakistan infiltrators, with a view to covering up the widespread stabbing, rioting and looting in different parts of East Pakistan which took place a few months ago. These disorders and killings were the result of irresponsible and inflammatory statements made by Pakistan leaders, including the Foreign Minister himself and the Law Minister of East Pakistan. They have completely misrepresented the perfectly legal deportation of proven Pakistan nationals under the Foreigners Act. These deliberate misstatements and incitements to disorder and violence may be contrasted with the extremely moderate statements repeatedly made by the Prime Minister of India in Parliament on the most serious communal incidents in East Pakistan. One of these was the dastardly attack by Pakistan armed police on Santhal refugees who were trying to run away from Pakistan.

221. There has been an allegation that we have been brutal in turning out these people and that the methods used were extremely uncivilized. Here I crave your indulgence to read an extract from a speech by Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal in the National Assembly of Pakistan on 19 June 1962. This was soon after the basic democracy started to function. Incidentally, I may say here that Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal has now been put behind bars. I quote from this speech:

"Through you, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this House to what happened in Baluchistan. This is a matter of such vital importance that it has invited the hatred of the Baluch. After the 8 October

1958 so-called 'bloodless revolution', the Government ordered the Army to invade the privacy of our homes and for six months 15,000 'jawans'—"jawans" means the privates—"of our army had been engaged in testing out the weapons of the American military aid open-heartedly on the hungry and miserable Baluch people. They, the Army, were using bullets, shells, cannons, bombs and aircraft without any hesitation or second thoughts ...

"But this was not all. After this military operation wholesale arrests were made."

The following was the condition of the prisoners:

"They were hung by their hair and a fire would be burnt under them. For twenty days and nights at a stretch they would be kept standing until their legs were swollen to such an extent that their 'shalwars' would have to be torn off them".—"Shalwar" means a tight pajama—"Many of them due to blood pressure and other causes had their flesh burst open around their loins."

This is the statement made by one of the elected members of the Pakistan House.

222. I would now refer to certain other factual things, instead of making statements which are not supported by indisputable evidence. Pakistan claims to be an Islamic State where non-Muslims are at best second-class citizens who are statutorily debarred from holding the highest office in the State. It is Pakistan's policy to squeeze out non-Muslims from the State by political and economic discrimination and by creating a sense of insecurity among the minority community. In the western wing they have succeeded in getting rid of practically all non-Muslims; in the eastern wing, even after the initial mass migration of the minority community, some 9 million non-Muslims were left. They are, however, continuously being squeezed out. If by arousing communal passions the minority community in Pakistan suffers, that Government could not care less. I am not asking the Assembly to take my statement without indisputable evidence. The evidence I offer is the Pakistan census figures.

223. The 1951 census figures show about 9.24 million Hindus in Eastern Pakistan. The 1961 census figures show about the same number, although the increase in population of Muslims in Pakistan during this decade was 26 per cent. Why has there not been this natural increase in the number of non-Muslims, which would have led to an increase of well over 2,250,000? The answer is that they have all been squeezed out during this period. If the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has any other answer let him come out with it.

224. Now I have also to talk a little about Kashmir. I very much regret that this matter has been brought up again so soon after the prolonged deliberations in the Security Council. Immediately after independence, Pakistan put economic pressure on Kashmir by cutting off essential supplies even after signing a standstill agreement. When that failed, armed invasion by tribal people from Pakistan followed. There was no talk then of self-determination. How can anyone take Pakistan's solicitude for self-determination for Kashmiris seriously when, as late as December 1959, President Ayub said that:

"Kashmir is vital for Pakistan, not only politically but militarily as well. Kashmir is a matter of life and death to us."



What is Pakistan's right in Kashmir anyway? It is perhaps not known to many people that the partition of India that created Pakistan was confined to the old British India. The British Government made it clear that this partition was of British India and that it did not apply to those States, such as Kashmir and several hundred others, which were ruled by Indian Princes. These Indian Princes had entered into treaty relations with the British Crown which exercised suzerainty. The British Government took the view that, with the withdrawal of the British from British India, paramountcy lapsed.

225. The *status quo ante* having been restored, the Princes were given the right to accede to either Dominion and the founder of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, himself agreed that the accession should be decided only by the Prince ruling the State. This decision was incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935 as amended by the Indian Independence Act of 1947, an Act of the British Parliament, which created the Dominions of India and Pakistan. None of the provisions of that Act can be questioned, least of all by India, Pakistan or the United Kingdom. In fact, that Act of the British Parliament has the same validity as an international treaty, as the provisions of the Act were the results of agreement between three Member States.

226. India went to the defence of Kashmir only when the Ruler of Kashmir acceded to the Dominion of India. After accession, Kashmir became an integral part of India and it had not only the right but the obligation to defend it. It was India which brought the Kashmir case to the Security Council in 1948 requesting it to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to giving assistance to the tribal invaders coming across miles of Pakistan territory. When the Security Council took up the matter for consideration, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan said that the Pakistan Government emphatically denied that they were giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or had committed any act of aggression against India.

227. When the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan went to visit India and Pakistan, the truth could not be concealed any longer, and the same Foreign Minister had then to admit that not only were Pakistan nationals fighting in Kashmir but that regular units of the Pakistan Army were also fighting there. Pakistan thus came to Kashmir clearly as an aggressor since it had no other right to be there.

228. In accepting the United Nations resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949, the Prime Minister of India made it quite clear that if Pakistan did not act upon these resolutions, by withdrawing its troops and tribesmen from Kashmir, the Government of India's acceptance of the resolutions should not be regarded as binding in any way. Despite this clear reservation, Pakistan chose not to comply with those resolutions. These facts have been forgotten with the efflux of time and Pakistan is now talking about respect for law. Where was this respect for law when Pakistan illegally moved into the territories of Jammu and Kashmir by force? Why did not Pakistan comply with the United Nations resolutions promptly? They tried to stall then because they knew that the memories of arson, plunder and rape were still fresh with the Kashmiris and a plebiscite at that time would have been especially disastrous for them.

229. Now we come to this question of self-determination. We all know and we have all been talking about self-determination, which is, no doubt, a very good principle. But it ought to be applied to all those countries where by force of arms, by the vicissitudes of history, people are held under an alien Power. It is not, however, applicable to sections of a people. If the policy of self-determination were to apply to parts of constitutionally created States, most of them would be broken up. The plea of self-determination in a plural society could mean disruption. And may I add that most of the new States in Asia and Africa fall into this category. That is why, I venture to suggest, the United Nations is trying so hard to prevent the secession of Katanga on the plea of self-determination. Even the older States would not be safe. For example, must the United Kingdom allow self-determination to Wales and Scotland, France to Brittany, the United States to some of the Southern States, Canada to the French community or Belgium to the Walloons or to the Flemish population? Numerous other cases could be cited. If religion is the criterion for self-determination, are we to separate Catholics from Protestants in Europe and in America, or Muslims from Christians in the Near East or in Africa? Self-determination cannot be merely a process of disintegration or fragmentation. When self-determination is applied to minorities in a nation, after new minorities are created,

230. It is interesting that Prime Minister Suhrawardy of Pakistan declared in 1956 that the creation of Pakistan, despite the presence of 9 million non-Muslims in the country, put an end to the two-nation theory on the basis of which Pakistan was created. He said: "All of us, Muslims and non-Muslims, are Pakistanis first and last." This illustrates that now either Pakistanis do not believe in the two-nation theory or that self-determination is not the right of a new minority.

231. Now, we do not wish in any way to interfere with the internal affairs of a neighbouring State, and I would take this opportunity to reiterate the policy of the Government of India, which is to seek all possible ways of making our relations with Pakistan not only friendly but truly neighbourly and fraternal. I am glad to see that the same expressions were made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan when he assured us: "We want to live in friendship with India, and we want to be friends with India, if only it can be done on honourable terms." Yet, he raised these issues. And may I crave your indulgence, Mr. President, to draw the attention of the Assembly to certain facts relevant thereto? Did Pakistan permit the people of the Princely States in Pakistan to exercise the right of self-determination after their Ruler had acceded to Pakistan? As was disclosed in the West Pakistan High Court a few years ago, the accession of Bahawalpur had been forced on the Ruler of that State. The Khan of Kalat revolted against accession and was arrested and detained in 1958. In neither case was the principle of self-determination applied. When Pakistan purchased the territory of Gwadar from the Sultan of Muscat, what happened to Pakistan's solicitous regard for people's right to self-determination? No opportunity was given to the people of Gwadar to say whether in the second half of this, the twentieth century, they wished to be bought like chattel. Is Pakistan prepared to grant the right of self-determination to the Pakhtoons?

232. Self-determination is a democratic process. There has not been a single general election in

Pakistan itself since its creation in 1947, even on the comparatively limited franchise which was obtaining in the British days. The President of Pakistan has repeatedly said that the people of Pakistan are not fit to exercise such democratic rights, and after fourteen years of independence the people are now being educated in basic democracy. It is gratifying to find that Pakistan considers Kashmiris to be fitter for the democratic right of self-determination though its own citizens are not yet considered fit for such democratic self-expression, even though they had experience of it in the British days.

233. It is indeed a sad commentary on Pakistan that, during these fourteen years, the Pakistanis have forgotten what they had learned in British days, while Kashmir during the same period has learned to practise democracy, though Kashmir had none of it in the pre-independence time. Pakistan having blocked a plebiscite, the people of Kashmir framed their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on a universal adult franchise and ratified the Ruler's accession. This is certainly a much more widespread exercise of democratic rights than has ever been practised in Pakistan.

234. The solicitude of Pakistan for the self-determination of Kashmiris might have been much more appreciated had self-determination been practised by Pakistan in regard to territories under its own control. It is indeed ironic that a Government that has denied the democratic rights of universal and direct suffrage to its own people, a Government that says that democracy is not suited for the genius of its own people, should advocate self-determination for the people of a neighbouring country which has had elections on a universal adult franchise at least three times since its independence.

235. One may well ask why Pakistan, if it sincerely believes in the principle of self-determination, had to invade the State in the first place. The demand for the self-determination of Sudeten Germans was followed by an attack on Czechoslovakia. Pakistan chose to follow the reverse procedure: only when aggression in Kashmir failed did Pakistan become a champion of self-determination for the Kashmiris.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*