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AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (*continued*)

1. Mr. HUOT SAMBATH (Cambodia) (translated from French): My delegation is glad to associate itself with those which have already welcomed the delegation of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and to express to it the warm and friendly congratulations of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

2. On 27 September last I said from this rostrum [134th meeting, para. 125], that "we are in no doubt about our Organization's call to universality". The admission of the Algerian Republic to the great family of the United Nations has once again confirmed this call.

3. In the same speech I asked that the Algerian Republic should be admitted without further delay to this great Organization. That has now been done and Cambodia, which is bound to Algeria by close ties of friendship, can only rejoice.

4. I need hardly recall that we have always had the greatest understanding and sympathy, together with active friendship, for the aspirations of the Algerian people for independence. Cambodia many times requested the United Nations to take direct and effective action with a view to an immediate solution of the Algerian question. On a number of occasions Prince Norodom Sihanouk intervened directly in order to obtain satisfaction for Algeria's legitimate claims.

5. A little over a year ago, on 5 September 1961, at the opening of the plenary meeting of the Belgrade Conference,^{1/} our Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, announced Cambodia's *de jure* recognition of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. That recognition, which was soon followed by recognition on the part of other non-aligned countries, exemplified our desire to help the Algerian nation and France to find a way to peace and reconciliation which were necessary if there were to be genuine

negotiations based on reason. Great was the joy of the people of Cambodia when they learned of the Agreement reached at Evian between the Algerian Provisional Government and France, which terminated the war and recognized Algeria's independence. For the heroic people and the valiant fighters of Algeria this Agreement was the culmination of their sacrifices in defence of liberty.

6. I cannot refrain from mentioning the generous and noble gesture of General de Gaulle, who was personally responsible for the conclusion of the Agreement. I should like to recall what was written by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in a message addressed to General de Gaulle on the morrow of the Evian Agreement:^{2/}

"May I be allowed, on my own behalf and on that of my country, to pay a fervent tribute to the perspicacity, lucidity and nobility of the renowned leader of France, which is our friend. He has taken his place among the noblest and greatest statesmen of France, for he alone envisaged a just solution to one of the most complex problems that France has had to face in our time."

7. Once again we offer our congratulations to the Algerian delegation, which we are convinced will make a valuable contribution to the work of this Assembly, to the great benefit of international peace and security.

8. Mrs. SUPENI (Indonesia): It is indeed a great pleasure and honour for the delegation of Indonesia to join with other delegations today in welcoming the representatives of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria as the 109th Member of this august Assembly. The hearts of the Indonesian people are stirred with emotion and joy today, because it marks one of the important steps that the courageous people of Algeria have initially made in their glorious re-entry into the community of free and independent nations.

9. The United Nations has not only admitted a new Member State, it has also enriched itself in terms of ideas and trains of thought. We should congratulate ourselves on this auspicious occasion at having Algeria in our midst.

10. The people and Government of Indonesia take exceptional pride in supporting the decision of the Security Council [A/5251]. The reasons for this pride are obvious. It is a fundamental principle of Indonesia to dedicate itself to support the struggle for freedom of all people under colonial rule, and our struggle will not end until the evils of colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations will cease to hamper the progress of the world. We are deeply imbued with the conviction that the inevitable process of freedom will destroy all stubborn hindrances that

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

^{2/} Agreement between the representatives of France and those of the Front de libération nationale, signed at Evian on 18 March 1962.

are still being laid down in its way. One by one, in succession, despite relative slowness, the family of emerging forces is increasing.

11. Indonesia is equally proud of the fact that there are a large number of parallel ideas which guided and governed both the national revolution in Algeria and that in Indonesia. Their determination to regain a dignity lost as a colonial people, and the inhuman sufferings that had to be borne by the gallant Algerian people in the course of their heroic struggle to regain their dignity have deeply affected the Indonesian nation. We should like to take this opportunity to pay a solemn tribute to the hundreds of thousands of Algerian patriots who have given their lives for their beloved fatherland.

12. We also should not fail to give our respect and sympathy to the thousands of mothers and wives who proudly face their sorrows and bravely bear their sacrifices and sufferings, caused by the war in their country, by the loss of their beloved sons, or by husbands who are missing.

13. Recalling the tremendous sacrifices among the brave Algerian fighters for freedom, one cannot but remember Djamilia, whose name once stirred France because of her courage and dedication in the fight for her country's freedom. The hearts of all freedom-loving people throughout the world were thrilled by her unshakable courage. No wonder that the name Djamilia is associated with the fight for freedom. It is not the name as such, since we know there are many like Djamilia, but it is the spirit which went along with her fight which still continues to inspire all freedom fighters against the colonial yoke. It is that kind of spirit which will keep the flame burning in the hearts of the Algerian people.

14. That is why from the very start, we were convinced that, confronted with such an unextinguishable spirit, no foreign domination will prevail, however powerful and however well equipped with the most modern weapons. It is that burning flame which accumulated an irresistible strength and brought the Algerian people to this victory, and it will be also the same flame, upon which the future, the prosperity of our Algerian brothers and sisters will depend.

15. We share the deprivations suffered by the Algerian people in their fight for freedom and we also share their glory. Algeria has today become the newest Member of the United Nations, but the Algerian nation is one of the oldest nations in the world. The mere fact that it has survived the ravaging aftermath of years of militant revolution and the short-lived presence of a lurking disunity, has proved that the ideas of the revolution truly represent the genuine aspirations of the Algerian people.

16. Such an accomplishment, achieved during the initial growth of a newly re-emerging nation, should deserve our admiration. It represents a great calibre of statesmanship on the part of the leaders of Algeria. Indeed, a revolution without leadership means chaos, and leadership without clear ideas of nation-building cannot weather the storms of growth that inevitably will rage during the early years of a nation seeking its own identity. However, we are confident that the new Algeria will profit from the noble ideals of its leaders. We are equally confident of the future of the Algerian nation, a future that will illuminate the rank and file of those who feel that they have a common destiny with Algeria in this troubled world.

17. We trust that under the wise and dynamic leadership of Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella, the Algerian nation will have ample opportunity to consolidate itself further internally as well as externally. The road ahead for Algeria should be bright, considering the fact that it has successfully concluded a perilous journey, the longest in the history of modern struggles for freedom. Let us pray that out of the graveyards of those who earlier gave their souls the tree of unity and prosperity will grow and bloom. God bless Algeria and the Algerian people.

18. Mr. FAWZI (United Arab Republic): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Republic of Sudan, whose representative, Mr. Omar Adeel, has kindly desired me to do so, and also on behalf of the United Arab Republic.

19. Rarely has the General Assembly beheld as moving and memory-evoking an occasion as the one it is beholding now on this historic day. To welcome Algeria to the United Nations is a circumstance which puts immediately before one's mind's eye Algeria's people and leaders, with Ahmed Ben Bella at their head, carrying high, throughout their noble struggle, the torch of valour, the banner of freedom and the standards of the worth and the dignity of man.

20. For this and more the world is in debt to Algeria, to which it owes redress, too, for all the agony and the sacrifices it unjustly, unnecessarily, and for so many years, was made to endure. Nearly a million lives have been part of the price Algeria has paid, equivalent, in proportion, to nearly twenty million of the people of the Soviet Union or the United States, and also it has endured endless misery, destruction and sorrow. Yet Algeria paid the price ungrudgingly and never through it too high.

21. They who thus gave their lives, the heroes of the battle and the victims of the war, are all with us here on this day of rejoicing and of triumph. To them we pay homage and say: "You did not die in vain, you who have given the utmost you could give, your lives, though not your souls, your possessions, but not your honour, so that those who survive you could have their liberty, and so that the sacred values of life would not be debased. Blessed you will be today, tomorrow and forever."

22. All odds but one had pointed to a final sweeping victory for imperialism in Algeria and a crushing final defeat for liberation—all odds but one: the Algerian people's resolve to be free. Let this be, furthermore, a lesson to imperialism and a warning against its useless cruelty, hopeless futility and reckless wastage.

23. Algeria is with us now, no more a liability, an embarrassment, and a shame to those who could allow it to suffer, but a great asset and an added honour to the United Nations. It deserves fully our co-operation within and outside our Organization, technically, economically and in every other way.

24. The Republic of the Sudan and the United Arab Republic have done, and shall continue to do, all they can in this regard, bearing in mind the urgency and the staggering dimensions of the work of reconstruction and development which lies ahead and which has already begun, thanks to the alertness and determination of Algeria's leaders and of its Prime Minister, Ahmed Ben Bella, whom we have the great honour and privilege of greeting here today.

25. As a member of the Arab League, as a Mediterranean and an African State, and as a Member of the United Nations, Algeria, with its vitality, enthusiasm and rapidly growing economy, is bound to play an increasingly important role in all those spheres, and to contribute in abundance to humanity's prosperity and to the consolidation of world peace.

26. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): Yesterday, we were gratified to welcome the Republic of Algeria, one more African State, unanimously. Over the years we, of the Ethiopian delegation, have come to know and admire the leaders of Algeria for the tenacity they have demonstrated to the world in the pursuit of their objective, which was crowned here yesterday. Such is also our admiration for the gallant and disciplined people of Algeria who have over the years sustained great sacrifices and made possible a dream come true.

27. For almost eight years, the Ethiopian people have followed the senseless war that ravaged Algeria and brought untold and unnecessary sufferings, sacrifices and the loss of thousands of precious human lives. The sympathy and understanding of the Ethiopian people was the greater because Ethiopia itself had undergone a similar experience in its recent past and could therefore appreciate deeply the magnitude and the meaning of these sacrifices.

28. We know too that great and costly as these sacrifices are, the Algerian people are today rich in all those intangibles that determine the character of an emerging State.

29. On this occasion, therefore, we wish to extend our sincere congratulations to the Government and people of Algeria. We wish them a happy and a prosperous future. We would also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to General de Gaulle, the Government and people of France, for accepting the emergence of the new State by agreement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of the two countries.

30. Mr. BUDO (Albania) (translated from French): On this memorable occasion of the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the United Nations, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania feels deep satisfaction and special joy. My delegation is happy and proud to have the privilege of offering the Algerian delegation, headed by Mr. Ben Bella, the sincere congratulations of the Albanian people and Government and the warmest welcome to our Organization.

31. The peoples of the world have followed with sympathy and admiration the heroic struggle carried on through many years of desperate fighting by the valiant and patriotic Algerian people to free themselves from the chains of colonialism.

32. The Algerian people, confident in the rightness of their cause, and resolved to fight to the end and to shrink from no sacrifice in order to regain the freedom and independence of which they were deprived over a century earlier, have always had unshakable faith in their victory. They have fought with a courage and fortitude which have become symbols of heroism and in the international circumstances of the present day, with the support of the peace-loving States and of all freedom-loving peoples, they have triumphed over the forces of colonialism and imperialism.

33. Mr. Mehmet Shehu, the President of the Council of the People's Republic of Albania, in his telegram

of congratulations to the Algerian people, said inter alia:

"The heroic people of Algeria have never submitted but have fought valiantly for over a century for freedom and national independence against oppression and the foreign imperialist yoke. In seven years the courageous Algerian people, united in the ranks of the Front de libération nationale, have written a new page in the annals of heroism. The brave Algerian patriots, arms in hand, have shown by their struggle against the formidable forces of colonialism that independence and genuine peace can be won even by a small people if it fights resolutely against colonial domination."

34. The independence of Algeria, bought at the price of heavy sacrifices and of the lives of hundreds of thousands of the best of its sons, is the well-deserved triumph of its dearest aspirations. By their victorious struggle, the Algerian people have not only liberated their country, they have at the same time made a great contribution to the cause of the national liberation of peoples and the total liquidation of the abhorrent colonialist system, a cause of suffering, of war and of international tension.

35. We are firmly convinced, as we have frequently said even during the debates in the General Assembly on the Algerian question that the determination of peoples to be free and independent can never be overcome by force. The struggle of the peoples against colonial domination in all its forms will inevitably triumph. That is the fundamental law of the irreversible process of the development of human society.

36. The Albanian people, who have themselves experienced foreign domination and know what heavy sacrifices have to be made to throw off the foreign yoke, have always sympathized with and unreservedly supported the Algerian people in their heroic struggle. As they always felt for the Algerian people during the time of suffering and sacrifice, so today they share with them the joy of victory. We offer to the Algerian people and to their Government, headed by Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, our wholehearted good wishes for the flourishing of free independent Algeria and the inauguration of a new, happy and prosperous life.

37. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania again offers its warmest congratulations to the representatives of Algeria and wishes them success in their future endeavours in support of our Organization, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

38. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): I have the honour to speak as Chairman of the United Nations group of the Union of African and Malagasy States. The delegations of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger and Upper Volta and, of course, that of the Central African Republic have done me the honour of asking me to speak for them from this rostrum to welcome the Algerian delegation.

39. This is a great day for the young Algerian Republic, a day which brings the supreme confirmation of its independence by admitting it to the United Nations this time as a Member following a unanimous and enthusiastic decision.

40. The long and bloody struggle of the Algerian people, their sufferings, and their heroism have long ago earned them our respect and admiration. Today we are particularly glad to note that the many promises of merit shown by the young Republic are beginning to be fulfilled. Algeria is binding up its wounds, re-establishing order, setting up new institutions and proving itself as worthy and resolute in peace as it was in war.

41. This is also a great day for France which, emerging triumphant from a harsh inner conflict, has ended this last and painful chapter in its history of African decolonization. Such bitterness as it may have felt at the loss of a department once regarded as part and parcel of its territory has somewhat abated, and henceforth its friends, who are happy to rediscover the true face of the "great Nation", the bearer of civilization and freedom, will be able to give free expression to their affection for it.

42. We wish to pay an admiring tribute to the great French statesman who, in this hour of trial, once again shouldered the responsibility for his country's destinies, despite violent opposition by a minority for which no crime was too heinous, and we are grateful to the French people who backed him solidly with their mass vote.

43. Finally, this is a great day for all the African States which are happy to welcome the new nation to their friendly group within the United Nations. Among them, the countries of the Union of African and Malagasy States have additional cause for rejoicing; as they see in Algeria's independence the outcome of a negotiated peace between France and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria which they had advocated all along, exerting a friendly but firm pressure on the two Governments. This process has led to the well-known agreement, which has laid a solid groundwork for co-operation and reconciliation between France and Algeria such as it might have been rash to expect from an imposed mediation.

44. On behalf of these States of the African and Malagasy Union for which I am speaking, I should like once again to congratulate the French delegation and assure it that Algeria's independence will earn for France and its President an even warmer friendship and fuller trust on our part.

45. I should like to tell the Algerian delegation that the nations of our Union desire and hope to establish close and fraternal relations with the new Algeria, and are confident that, under the guidance of President Ben Bella, its illustrious leader, the new Member State, enjoying a democratic form of government and respecting the provisions of our Charter, will make a most useful contribution to our work. From this rostrum may we wish it a prosperous future and extend to it our most cordial welcome.

46. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): It is my honour and privilege to extend the fraternal greetings of the Government and people of Nepal to the delegation of Algeria, led by its distinguished Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Bella. I need hardly say that we join in this universal rejoicing at the dawn of freedom in Algeria. The Algerian flag will stand aloft among the flags of other nations as a symbol of courage and patriotism, sacrifice and suffering, in the cause of freedom and of the dignity of man.

47. The emergence of Algeria into nationhood is a vindication of the principle of self-determination which

is enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. It is a triumph for the cause of freedom and justice. It is not only a vindication of the honour of the gallant Algerian people but also of that of France, whose recent attitude and action with regard to Algeria has been in keeping with the highest tradition and the true glory and genius of that country which have us the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and which has made lasting contributions to the world in the field of art and literature, science and technology, culture and civilization.

48. I have asked to speak merely to pay our humble tribute to the courage and wisdom of the Algerian people and their brave leaders at this historic moment. We in Nepal had always watched the march of events in Algeria with profound sympathy and concern. We always had nothing but admiration for the courage and heroism of the Algerian people and of their great leaders. The admission of Algeria to the United Nations not only marks the consummation of the long drawn-out struggle of the Algerian people for their birthright of freedom and independence, but also serves as an object lesson to those who are still trying to block progress towards freedom in other areas of the world.

49. We have no doubt that the Algerian delegation will have valuable contributions to make to the work of our Organization. May I be permitted to take this opportunity to offer the best wishes of the Government and people of Nepal for the stability, prosperity and growth of the new republic. My delegation cannot at this time also help praising the statesmanlike and foresighted gesture of President de Gaulle which has brought about such a happy settlement of the question of Algeria in a spirit of understanding and friendliness.

50. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): A ray of light has today pierced the heavy clouds which darken the stormy sky of the international situation. With their undefeated banners flying in the wind, and with all the prestige conferred on them by their deeds of prowess and their sacrifices, the people and Government of Algeria have taken their place in the United Nations, which was once the scene of impassioned debates about their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In those debates, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba always gave militant support, in speeches and in the exercise of their vote, to the Algerian cause. Their voice cannot therefore go unheard on this memorable occasion.

51. The Cuban delegation hails the admission of Algeria to the United Nations as one of Africa's most important victories in its determined struggle for unity, self-determination, independence, progress, the unconditional abolition of colonialism, general and complete disarmament, peaceful co-existence and world peace.

52. Algeria's conquest of independence, freedom and sovereignty will accelerate the disintegration of the colonial system of the imperialists and will simultaneously promote the advent of an international community where there are no exploited or exploiting countries. The faith and hope of millions of men and women for a rapid release from the colonial domination and imperialist oppression to which they are still subjected have been revived as a result.

53. Algeria's conquests of independence, freedom and sovereignty will act as a seed, as a mirror and as a lesson.

54. Not only did the revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba sympathize with and support the decision of the Algerian people to risk their lives in order to regain freedom, but they now understand and support the tremendous efforts for which the Government of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic is preparing itself in order to keep the road of national development chosen by its people free from obstacles and from foreign domination. This will undoubtedly prove an exceedingly difficult task. The same sinister forces which sought in vain and are seeking once more to break the Cuban people's steadfast determination to work out their own destiny may be led to interfere with Algeria's independent development and to seek to alter its course. But if by misfortune such a situation should arise, Algeria knows, as Cuba knows, that it will not find itself alone at that critical moment. All freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and Governments will close their ranks alongside Algeria's people and Government. In international relations there are crimes which can no longer be committed with impunity. It will not be easy to repeat the villainy which was perpetrated in the Congo without reaping the consequences.

55. The Cuban delegation extends a brotherly welcome to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, and the delegation of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic. In so doing we are giving faithful expression to deep feelings of sympathy, friendship, solidarity and support on the part of the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba, and particularly on the part of Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, the President of the Republic, and Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, the Prime Minister and leader of the Cuban revolution.

56. Firmly united as Algeria and Cuba were in the glorious days when the brave Algerian fighters and the daring guerrillas of the Sierra Maestra aroused the admiration of the world, they will be still more firmly united in the great battle for the consolidation of victory and for the conquest of the radiant future awaiting us.

57. Cuba, the first Spanish-speaking socialist country in a continent which is growing daily less willing to receive orders in English, dips its flags, which like Algeria's have never acknowledged defeat, in tribute to the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic.

58. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The birth of a nation and its admission to membership in this world Organization is always a significant event. But in the case of Algeria it is far more than that: it is the crowning glory of the Algerian people whose virtue and valour, coupled with their tenacity of purpose, won for them the independence and sovereignty of their country, together with the respect and admiration of the whole world. Their high degree of maturity has been demonstrated in the wisdom of the agreed solution and, moreover, in the preservation of their unity as one people.

59. The people of Cyprus have all along stood in brotherly solidarity by the side of the Algerian people in their just struggle for independence. The delegation of Cyprus has taken an active interest in promoting in the United Nations a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem through self-determination and independence, as it has now come about. We therefore heartily rejoice on this auspicious occasion.

60. We salute Prime Minister Ben Bella, the great leader of Algerian independence, and we warmly wel-

come him to the United Nations together with other members of his delegation. We are confident that their participation will make a constructive contribution to the work of this Organization and will prove a new force in strengthening the spirit of dedication to the United Nations as the collective human effort for world order and peace.

61. Before leaving the rostrum, I wish on this occasion to pay tribute to President de Gaulle, by whose imaginative and constructive policy France advanced with the moving times and recognized the full independence and sovereignty of Algeria in an honourable agreement with its people. It is true that this agreed and peaceful solution was regrettably delayed longer than we would all have wished. However, it should be realized that powerful opposition and extreme reaction in France and in Algeria had first to be overcome. Only a great world leader of the courage and international stature of General de Gaulle could have achieved it. Thus, twice in the course of recent history, General de Gaulle has saved France and upheld its honour and prestige by leading France on the road of freedom and dignity: on the first occasion, by bravely vindicating it for its own people; on the second occasion, by equally courageously recognizing it to other people in the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity—the spirit that France was first to proclaim to the world in its historic revolution.

62. In this spirit the great people of Algeria and France can now go forward together along the path of progress. In close co-operation with all other nations, a free Algerian nation can now bring a significant contribution to the global effort of the United Nations. In celebrating Algerian independence, we are celebrating a triumph of the spirit of peace in freedom, a triumph of the spirit of the United Nations.

63. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): It is a great privilege, on behalf of the people and the Government of Somalia, to express, through Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella, our warmest congratulations to the people of Algeria. We rejoice today in witnessing the achievement of independence as a result of a long and valiant struggle which does honour not only to the people of Algeria but also to those of the entire African continent.

64. We pay tribute also to the wisdom and intelligence of General Charles de Gaulle, President of France, who sought courageously to bring to an end an absurd and fratricidal war.

65. It is a privilege to repeat our warmest congratulations and to welcome the people and the delegation of Algeria to the United Nations.

66. Mr. KAREFA-SMART (Sierra Leone): The delegation of Sierra Leone which, providentially, won its independence without the loss of a single life, congratulates with undisguised admiration the gallant leaders and the people of Algeria who have paid so heavily with blood and toil for every step of the long seven-year road leading to this milestone of admission to the United Nations.

67. We offer these words in humble tribute to Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella and his delegation of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria: well fought, well done and welcome.

68. Mr. DIOP (Senegal) (translated from French): Senegal's spokesmen—Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, its President, Mr. Doudou Thiam, its Minister for Foreign Affairs, and myself—have come to this rostrum time

and again to plead the cause of Algeria's independence and national sovereignty. On each occasion we stressed that this independence was bound to come.

69. The awakening of national consciousness, a political tremor which travelled the length of Africa from Algeria to the Cape after the Second World War, spreading as it went to all the Negro lands from East to West, could not have failed to affect Algeria, especially as its first consequences had been the independence of Tunisia and Morocco, Algeria's brothers in the Maghreb.

70. Furthermore, as early as 1946—just before France began to decolonize—when the first National Constituent Assembly was in session, Mr. Ferrhat Abbas, an authentic elected representative of the Algerian people, called in that Assembly for a Republic of Algeria.

71. We still remember his arguments. He said that the Algerian people's request to France for a Republic of Algeria was not an act of secession but the normal culmination of French presence in that country for over a century. He recalled the sally of a deputy in the National Convention to the effect that, now that it had founded the French Republic, the revolution must travel the world over, planting republics everywhere.

72. Senegal thinks that there is a great truth in this remark. As Leon Blum put it, when France sets out on an enterprise of domination or colonization, it moves in bag and baggage. By its very presence, by its culture, it implants the political ethic of 1789 which never fails to strike root in the hearts and minds of men, regardless of their colour or of the geographical position of their country, a political ethic the essence of which is the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man.

73. That is why we are happy today to thank the French people and its leader, General de Gaulle, for having agreed through negotiations to Algeria's independence and national sovereignty.

74. Long before the talks at Melun, long before Lugin and Evian, Senegal had repeatedly come to this rostrum in connexion with the Algerian conflict to explain how, in its unwavering belief, international disputes should be settled. We have always said in this hall that words are more productive than the language of arms. We congratulate the Algerian people which, having heroically sacrificed its sons for over seven years, has now attained its independence and sovereignty on the international arena.

75. We also congratulate the French people on having agreed to silence the guns and to enter with the Algerian people's representatives into negotiations that have led to the peaceful and lasting settlement of this painful conflict. We witness today the supreme moment of international recognition, the heartening spectacle of Algeria's admission as a free and independent nation to membership in the United Nations with the support of France itself.

76. This is indeed a supreme moment for all African peoples, be they free or dependent; Algeria has ceased to be the arena of, for us, a most painful and severe international conflict, in order to become, at long last, the 109th member in the association of free peoples who, with indomitable faith and hope, are working for justice and the brotherhood of men, the only solid guarantee of international peace and security.

77. Mr. FREITAS (Togo) (translated from French): In my statement last week in the general debate [1144th meeting] I expressed our joy because our sister-country Algeria was soon to enter international life in full sovereignty.

78. It is now my good fortune to witness this solemn and unique moment in the history of a people and a State. When Algeria attained independence, President Olympio conveyed to its stout-hearted people Togo's congratulations and admiration, which are commensurate with the victory won over foreign rule.

79. Today Algeria is experiencing another great moment—one in which its entrance upon the international scene is officially recorded.

80. That is why it gives me so much pleasure to come to this rostrum once again and, on behalf of President Olympio and the Togolese people, to convey our fraternal congratulations to Prime Minister Ben Bella and to the whole Algerian people on its courage, determination and final victory.

81. At the same time we cannot fail to associate France very closely with the very joyous and happy event we are now witnessing. After seven years of struggle and bloodshed, Algeria has attained its national independence thanks to General de Gaulle's courage. When the time came, General de Gaulle was able to settle this painful dispute and put an end to this tragic situation, and through him the entire French people can take pride in this happy outcome. As I said in my last statement, my delegation is happy not only for Algeria but also for France.

82. For France too has won a victory, one which—another speaker put it from this rostrum—has consisted in agreeing, against all odds, to enter into the direct negotiations which have since put an end to so much pain and suffering and to a conflict which was nothing other than a colonial war.

83. In conclusion, may I express the hope that the happy outcome of events will allow Algeria and France to work together for the greater happiness of Algeria and the welfare of its people.

84. Mr. ARTHAYUKTI (Thailand): The delegation of Thailand wishes to associate itself with other delegations in congratulating with admiration the Republic of Algeria upon its attainment of independence and sovereignty and upon its admission to the United Nations.

85. This is indeed a special occasion for satisfaction and rejoicing for all of us. The long period of struggle through which the people of Algeria have untiringly fought for the principles of freedom and self-determination have happily ended. The toil and the efforts of the Algerians are now beginning to bear fruit.

86. On this auspicious occasion, I wish, on behalf of the people and Government of Thailand, to welcome the Republic of Algeria into the family of free nations.

87. My Government and people would like to express to the Republic of Algeria their sincere wishes for prosperity and success in the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Algerian people.

88. Mr. SWAI (Tanganyika): This is a session of rejoicing. At the beginning of this session, we saw the admission of four nations—the Kingdom of Burundi, and the Republics of Rwanda, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—as independent sovereign States. Yesterday, we witnessed the admission of Algeria to this

family of nations. I think it is fitting to mention in passing that a new nation—the nation of Uganda, in East Africa—was born yesterday.

89. My Government and people salute these new nations and peoples and pay special tribute to all those who gave their time and effort, even their lives, to the noble cause of liberating themselves from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism.

90. The history of the attainment of independence is a history of the triumph of the human spirit and will. It is a triumph for the once ruled and for the former rulers. For it is a triumph of freedom over tyranny; it is a triumph of social justice over exploitation and human degradation; it is a triumph of the recognition and the attainment of fundamental human rights, the rock base of the United Nations Charter.

91. This is indeed a time for rejoicing. Today my delegation feels privileged to have this opportunity to associate itself wholeheartedly with the chorus of congratulations and the good wishes that have been so ably expressed by other representatives on the admission of Algeria to this august Assembly.

92. The glorious victory of the Algerian people in their struggle for independence is a proof, if any were needed, that the cult of the master race has no place whatsoever on the continent of Africa. Their success should be an object lesson to all, particularly in East and Central Africa. Uganda's independence leaves Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia as Britain's greatest colonial area in Africa. The lesson of the success of Algeria is particularly relevant to the situation in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. We very much hope that we may have a de Gaulle in Great Britain.

93. We wholeheartedly welcome Algeria and we wish the Government and the people of Algeria happiness, success and prosperity.

94. The PRESIDENT: I invite the distinguished representative of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to come to the rostrum.

95. Mr. BEN BELLA (Prime Minister of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic) (translated from French): It is a great pleasure for me to express to the Assembly, on behalf of the Algerian people and its Government, our sincere thanks for the unanimous vote by which we have just been admitted into the great family of the United Nations.

96. Our joy and satisfaction are all the more intense today in that we have looked forward to this unique moment in our history throughout seven years of war and sacrifice.

97. May I therefore be allowed to say that our first thoughts at this time turn towards the martyrs who offered their lives so that Algeria might regain its place in the ranks of the independent nations.

98. The General Assembly's unanimous vote, the impressive solemnity of the ceremony of admission and the exalted terms of the welcome speeches which we have heard will be interpreted by our people as a special tribute to their perseverance in the struggle for freedom, their political maturity and their courage in the face of trial.

99. For seven years the Algerian question came up regularly at every session of the Assembly. The debates to which it gave rise marked out the changing

course of the conflict, and delegations were in a position to appreciate the dimensions of this conflict and to become familiar with its circumstances.

100. We were grateful for the foresight of those representatives who in this Assembly constantly pointed out the need for Algeria to accede to independence through the exercise of full and complete sovereignty by the Algerian people.

101. Events have proved them to be right. On behalf of the Algerian Government and people, I wish to thank them heartily on this solemn occasion for their efforts in support of our just cause.

102. We would express particular gratitude to our sister Arab countries, to the African and Asian countries, to the socialist countries and to all those who resolutely took the side of the Algerian people.

103. Turning to you, Mr. President, I should like to offer you my delegation's most sincere congratulations on your election to the seat of honour which you now occupy. We rejoice that the choice of the Assembly fell upon you, for the Assembly has thus honoured not only your competence and experience but also the Afro-Asian world.

104. At your side, Mr. President, we see another distinguished person whom we hold in esteem and whom we wish to assure of our constant brotherly support.

105. It is a true pleasure for the Algerian delegation to recall at this time that U Thant, formerly his country's representative to the United Nations, was appointed by the Afro-Asian group to be Chairman of its Standing Committee on Algeria and thus had occasion to become acquainted with our difficulties and to share our hopes.

106. Convinced of the justice of our cause, he was not sparing of his assistance or his sympathy. His presence at the head of the United Nations is a matter of rejoicing for us and our support in his delicate mission is assured, since in the minds of our people his name is associated with the principles of emancipation, liberty and peace which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

107. Our victory—that of our just cause—is also a victory for the United Nations. A war is over. A smouldering fire which was consuming a whole people has at last been extinguished. The community of nations, enriched by the entry of a new Member, may rightly regard the ending of this tragedy as strengthening world peace. This conflict, which pitted Algeria against a long-established régime of colonial domination, won universal attention as being the supreme and the most expressive manifestation of the great liberation movement which, after the Second World War, spread among the countries under foreign rule. The form of struggle which was forced upon our country was an authentic expression of the legitimate aspirations which the developments of our time had made inevitable.

108. Enduring countless sufferings and tragedies that were hidden from the world, and bearing all the weight of colonial violence and fury, our people waged their struggle for freedom with perseverance, borne up by their faith in the future and in the justice of their cause. Our fight was a fight for the advancement of mankind, for national emancipation and for progress.

109. The grim ordeal through which our country has passed will not leave us with hatred or resentment in our hearts. Within the framework of the international community, we intend to work for peaceful co-operation. With this end in view, we shall conduct ourselves as the representatives of an adult country, in a spirit free of all bigotry or prejudice, on a basis of mutual respect among peoples and in accordance with the ethical principles which guide relationships between countries in the world of today.

110. Rejecting any form of foreign tutelage, we shall endeavour to be equal to our responsibilities towards our country and the world.

111. On the morrow of its independence, our country has to face the consequences of a war of which it was the theatre for seven years. The destitution resulting from material devastation, the uprooting of people in the cause of repression, the aggravation of rural poverty, unsatisfactory public health conditions and a shortage of schools were a burdensome legacy which necessitated and still necessitates urgent measures.

112. The approach adopted in seeking an adequate solution to the existing problems will determine the future of Algeria. Economic and social imbalance, the consequence of a long period of colonial exploitation, has halted the evolution of the country as a whole and kept it in a state of under-development.

113. Political independence opens the way to a new stage in the progress of the nation. The transformation of outlook which will ensue from an accelerated economic development benefiting the whole people will make it possible for Algeria to emerge from the backward state into which it has fallen over the years and thus to win a decisive victory over time. The choice of methods adapted to the sociological conditions and in keeping with the country's material possibilities will necessitate a comprehensive plan worked out on the basis of these objectives and of the needs and interests of the people who will be called upon to support it.

114. The whole of our domestic policy will be inspired by the aim of transforming colonial man into a modern, productive man.

115. Our international policy will be the natural extension and confirmation of our domestic policy, the one and the other being dictated by the same needs and imbued with the same ideals.

116. It is worthwhile to recall that at the very outset of the struggle for liberation we chose a line of international conduct which we now wish to pursue and develop. The choice was by no means arbitrary. In the structure of the contemporary world, Algeria finds itself in kinship with a group of spiritual families which at Bandung^{3/} first became clearly aware of the common purpose uniting them.

117. The Algerian Republic has come into being as the result of a struggle for liberation which was not merely of national significance and will henceforth serve as a pattern for all peoples still under colonial rule. Our own experience has made us aware of the natural ties of solidarity which bind us to these peoples. The liquidation of colonialism, whether in its classical or disguised form, will be the guiding principle of our political and diplomatic activity. Whether it be Angola, Rhodesia, or South Africa and South

West Africa, Algeria will give them its unconditional support with a view to hastening their final and complete liberation. The Algerian delegation's first task will be to ask that the resolution embodying the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)] should be supplemented by provision for concrete action against the States which refuse to implement it.

118. In addition, our brother Arabs of Palestine must have their legitimate rights restored to them. It is dangerous for international peace and stability that this tragic problem, on which the United Nations has already passed judgement, should remain unsolved.

119. The disappearance of colonialism is one of the chief prerequisites for the establishment of relationships of equality which will facilitate true co-operation and solidarity in the building of an international community. It was in this same spirit that, even before the proclamation of Algeria's independence, we confirmed our policy of non-alignment when we took part in the Belgrade Conference.

120. This policy will not find expression in a passive attitude. In every concrete decision relating to the great international problems and having a bearing on world peace and security, we are preparing to play the role of a responsible country, in full freedom of conscience.

121. We are convinced that our world will prove able to overcome ideological differences and to regain its equilibrium. What is needed is a joint effort by both sides, no longer on a competitive basis, to reduce the vast gulf separating the few highly developed countries and that section of the world which is commonly described as the "tiers monde".

122. We consider, however, that the raising of the general level of living of the section of the world to which we belong depends primarily on our own determination and our skill in adopting methods and courses of action calculated to bring about rapid and harmonious development in all fields of life.

123. It is with this in view that Africa will embark on the road of progress and towards a unity in which particularism will be respected.

124. If scientific and technical discoveries are directed towards peaceful purposes it will be possible to proceed with the modernization of backward economies on a vast scale.

125. These developments will not, however, be possible except in an international climate free from tension, and for this it is necessary that every Power should adhere unreservedly to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and abandon all expansionist ideas. Such a relaxation of tension could be promoted by the peaceful settlement of the international problems which are making the maintenance of world peace precarious.

126. Algeria considers that negotiation should be resorted to for the settlement of international disputes. Our position has been constantly guided by this fundamental principle. During more than seven years of suffering, we never ceased to call for negotiations to solve the problem of decolonization. In the end, the facts showed our position to have been correct. This is the valuable lesson that the Algerian war has given mankind.

^{3/} Asian-African Conference, held from 18 to 24 April 1955.

127. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the Algerian people and Government to Switzerland, which, during more than a year of persistent efforts, helped to bring the French and Algerian points of view nearer and thus enabled the cause of peaceful negotiation to triumph.

128. Our people and Government firmly adhere to the principle of respect for agreements which have been freely entered into. The agreements concluded between France and Algeria will be all the more faithfully respected in that they bind us to a people the majority of whom disapproved of the war which was waged against us.

129. Excessive disparagement of the United Nations seems to us to be as undeserved as would be excessive praise for its past and present achievements. The United Nations is a useful instrument and one which is capable of improvement.

130. During seven years of combat, Algeria did not always see its hopes fulfilled in the calculated hazard of votes at the United Nations, but a few partial successes were enough to show it how important is the Organization's moral authority; we consequently know from experience both the strength and the inadequacies of this body.

131. It is the responsibility of all of us to make our contribution towards the improvement of this essential instrument for the peace, progress and well-being of the world. The world of 1962 presents a different aspect from that of 1945, and the United Nations must strive to present a face which is in keeping with its age and with the epoch.

132. Algeria welcomes the appearance on the international scene of a large number of African and Asian countries and their admission to the United Nations. While paying a tribute to the peoples concerned for their successful struggle, we express the hope—a hope which we shall do all in our power to see fulfilled—that other countries which today are still living in intolerable subjection, such as Angola and Rhodesia, or which are artificially excluded from the United Nations, like the People's Republic of China, may take their rightful place among us.

133. It is first and foremost by allowing our Organization fully to assume its universal character and by seeking to bring about a situation in which the legal world will accurately reflect the real world that we shall improve this indispensable instrument for international co-operation.

134. Then, by seeking the most appropriate organic adjustments to reflect properly both the rise of the young nations—the decisive phenomenon of our times—and the place of the older Powers, with all privileges abolished, we shall be able to equip the world with a fully effective international body.

135. The "gentleman's agreement" concluded at the birth of the United Nations has already undergone a few modifications, for it could not long survive the changes which have taken place in the political circumstances of the United Nations during the last sixteen years.

136. In his remarkable report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/5201 and Add.1], the Acting Secretary-General rightly stressed that the most explosive factor in the present-day world is not so much ideological rivalry between the blocs

as the excessive disproportion in economic and social levels between the richer and poorer countries.

137. It would therefore seem to be essential for the maintenance of world peace and security that the United Nations, learning from the experience of the Economic and Social Council, should organize that Council in such a way as to fit it for the role it must play in helping to remove the grave disparities existing between the countries of the world.

138. Algeria intends to assume unreservedly all its obligations and rights as a Member of the United Nations. It will spare no effort towards strengthening the authority and effectiveness of the Organization, to which it has become deeply attached as a result of seven years of struggle.

139. There are moments in the lives of peoples when destiny pauses to choose its path. Algeria is experiencing such a moment in your midst.

140. The Algerian people, who have known, lived through and suffered many wars want to do all they can to help to lay firm foundations for peace. By welcoming us among you you have proved your confidence in us. In so doing, you have granted us both rights and duties. We shall be jealous of the former and diligent in the latter. Today, we offer you the hand of brotherhood. Drawing upon the ancient wisdom of our peoples, we must unite in seeking means of securing for future generations the only worthwhile heritage for mankind in its peril: the peace of men of goodwill.

141. The PRESIDENT: Before resuming the general debate, I would like to remind the Members of the Assembly that the flag of Algeria will be raised during the course of a ceremony to be held at 2.45 p.m. today in front of the delegates entrance. I might also mention that His Excellency the President of Guinea has intimated that he will be pleased to be present during the flag-raising ceremony, and that thereafter he will proceed to the Assembly so that he may address the Assembly. Delegations should therefore note that the Assembly will reconvene precisely at 3 o'clock to listen to the address of His Excellency the President of Guinea.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)*

142. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): A short time ago [1138th meeting] the General Assembly rightly honoured the impressive speech by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium with enthusiastic applause. After that masterly exposé, anything I could say to endeavour to explain the position of the Netherlands as an active partner in the European Common Market would necessarily sound like an anti-climax. Let me therefore mention only that our position in that organization, and our attitude towards its implications for Europe, as well as for the rest of the world, are the same as those of Belgium—as is, of course, to be expected within the unity of Benelux.

143. In vivid and inspiring words and with convincing arguments, Mr. Spaak indicated the true meaning, political as well as economic, of the building of an integrated Europe. In doing so he answered the criticisms of those who genuinely feel that the new unity and prosperity we are creating might become detri-

*Resumed from the 1145th meeting.

mental to their own legitimate aspirations. I trust that he was even able to open up for them the prospect of better times coming and to free them from some of their fears and worries. Such sincere apprehensions and misgivings are of earnest concern to us. As to the darts of disparagement flung at the Common Market by the envious and the mischievous, we recognize them for what they are.

144. In this general debate, there are two subjects on which my delegation has something to say to the Assembly. They are, firstly, some of the consequences of the increase in membership of the United Nations, and, secondly, the demands to be made from all of us if the nineteen-sixties are really to become a development decade.

145. We welcome the steady growth of the United Nations, reflecting, as it does, the vigour of our era that is bringing so many new countries to the status of sovereign equality. And I take this opportunity to give a friendly salute to our most recent Members—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Algeria. We in the Netherlands particularly rejoice in the coming of age of the two countries in the Western Hemisphere, which have many good relations with the two parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in their vicinity, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. With Algeria, of course, our relations date back many centuries.

146. But our welcome would be lacking in sincerity if we did not take care that our Organization, now that it comprises more than one hundred Members, should be at least as good, and preferably a better, instrument for peace and progress for all, than it was when there were only half that number of Members.

147. One long overdue measure that would contribute towards the attainment of this end—and one which my delegation has been advocating since 1958—is the enlargement of the Security Council and, in particular, of the Economic and Social Council. In the latter we possess the one body in the world entrusted with the awesome responsibility of facing up to the problem of insufficient progress in the improvement of the human condition of all peoples beset by poverty and disease; and, as we all know, it is being seriously hampered in its work because it still has to make do with the same membership of eighteen, devised for the bygone conditions of 1945. That the efforts of this supremely important body should be frustrated by the refusal to give it adequate size and scope is shameful. It is hard to understand why the Soviet Union, by coupling the question of the expansion of the Economic and Social Council to the totally unconnected question of Chinese representation, insists on blocking the simple amendment of one word of the Charter, whereby the Economic and Social Council would become the central, significant, administrative body it should be, and needs to be.

148. To declare this a matter of cold war is a poor excuse. It is not the interests of the Western Powers that are at stake; the poor and needy countries are the sufferers from this communist intransigence. Another consequence of the increase in the size of the United Nations is the need for revision of our procedure. To the former President of the Assembly, Mr. Mongi Slim, great praise is due for having taken the initiative in raising this question [A/5123] which, having become item 36 on our agenda, will, we hope, be fully and seriously discussed.

149. It is the Netherlands view that, to make the United Nations more efficient and more capable of exerting the authority that is its due, a new working system is required. One of the proposals deserving of thorough consideration is the suggestion that the General Assembly should remain permanently in session, which would make it possible to spread out its activities over the whole year. Under such a scheme we could have a general debate, like the one in which we are now engaged, lasting for three or four weeks, during which time the Heads of State, Prime Ministers and Ministers for Foreign Affairs could meet here in the manner they do at present. After that there would be an opportunity to make arrangements for dealing with the various classes of subjects in such a manner that all of them would get due attention. Might we not, for instance, contemplate having the economic debate take place, say, in the month of January and letting the Second Committee meet at that time and be reinforced by the presence of Ministers of Economics and Finance? Then, in March, for instance, the Fourth Committee could meet to discuss questions concerning Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, and it might be efficient to convene the Committee of Seventeen⁴ at approximately the same date. Other periods could be assigned to the treatment of political questions in the First and Special Committees, social subjects in the Third Committee, legal items in the Sixth Committee and so on.

150. Such a *modus procedendi* would, of course, be more demanding for the permanent missions, but representatives *ad hoc* could be sent from the capitals, and it would seem that it would be much easier to provide good national experts for short terms of three or four weeks than to take them away from their work at home for the full period of three months, which is the minimum duration of the General Assembly session under the present procedure.

151. If one were to take all the speeches at face value, the impression would be gained that, apart from this question of procedure, the future and the growing strength of our Organization are assured. Still, it is sometimes difficult to know what intentions lie behind some of these statements. To my delegation it appears clear that when someone says that he wishes to strengthen the United Nations and then, in the same breath, goes on to advocate a "troika" build-up for the Secretariat, then the real intent can be no other than to destroy it by putting a stop to its effectiveness.

152. Now, this would be a really serious matter if the countries that have been announcing these contradictory aims played a significant part in the all-important work of the United Nations for the development of the less developed lands. As it is, we know that they do not. The Soviet Union regards the aid given to less developed countries as a means of infiltration and for that reason it prefers to give the aid bilaterally, and outside the control of the United Nations, and to skimp on its multilateral efforts. This is not just a loose statement; let me give you a few figures. Take, for instance, the contribution of the Soviet Union to the Special Fund. That contribution is only a fraction of what countries like Sweden and the Netherlands pay. Sweden's annual contribution amounts to \$5 million, that of the Netherlands to \$2.6 million. And how much does the great Soviet

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

Union pay? One million dollars! If the Soviet Union were to pay according to the scale of regular United Nations contributions, its annual share would have to be about \$15 million; if it paid at a rate equal to that applied by my country, its annual share would mount up to \$23 million.

153. For technical assistance the Soviet contribution is equally below par. If the communist countries wish to give convincing proof of the concern they express for the well-being of the less developed countries, then they will have to do a great deal more.

154. In spite of this indifference on the part of some Members, the work of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies in the field of assistance to less developed countries remains the most successful part of all United Nations activities, and the one that will have the greatest impact on the future. It is in the United Nations that the representatives of the more and of the less developed countries meet, discuss, exchange ideas and fashion policies on that vital problem of ensuring development and increasing its speed. My delegation regards the United Nations Development Decade as perhaps the most important item on our present agenda.

155. We are glad to note, during the debate, that we are not the only ones to hold this view. Some speakers, however, while stressing the importance of the subject, gave, in our opinion, too much emphasis to the great efforts made by the developed countries in the past, and to the duty of the less-developed countries, in the future, to do something about their own problems. Now, it is obvious that a great upsurge in prosperity in the less-developed countries cannot be achieved without sacrifices from the inhabitants of these countries themselves. Of course, they will need more economic prudence and ability, better planning, social reforms in some cases, and more savings. Naturally, they cannot solve their problems unless they become aware of the necessity for attracting investments of foreign private capital, investments which, like tourists, will come only if they are well treated and given adequate guarantees for their safety.

156. All these things are needed; but if they were the only aim, the organization of a Development Decade would really not be necessary. We must hope and trust that these improvements will come, but their importance is only slight in comparison to the special efforts and the special sacrifices which this decade will demand from the more-privileged peoples of the globe. I think we should try to see the various requirements in true perspective. In the picture we then behold, the dominant feature is the necessity for an increasing flow of knowledge and capital towards the less developed parts of the world—a flow which, needless to say, should leave their sovereign rights intact. I say knowledge as well as capital, because money alone will not satisfy the needs of the under-developed countries. The slogan "knowledge is power" is really applicable in this field, and knowledge gives a power that is more valuable than the famed "power of money". We are quickly gaining insight into the fact that training for human skills must play an essential part in the development programme. Without devoted, skilful and knowledgeable men and women to guide their peoples and run the economic machinery of their countries, the money the less-developed countries receive will not be put to the best use.

157. The Netherlands regards this Development Decade as an incentive to the more-developed coun-

tries to do more than they have been doing so far. With this in mind and as an initial effort, my Government has decided, subject to parliamentary approval, to increase the Netherlands contribution to the Special Fund, as from 1963, by 50 per cent; that is, from \$2.6 million, which I mentioned before, to about \$4 million. It has also decided to raise our contribution to the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance by 20 per cent; that is, from \$1.5 million to \$1.8 million. Furthermore, it has decided to contribute to the World Food Fund of the United Nations and to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) an amount of \$1.5 million for the first period of three years.

158. Finally, the Netherlands Government has decided to make available to the Secretary-General a gift of \$1 million. This amount is intended to be used by the Secretary-General, as a trustee, for the establishment of an international institute. The task of this institute will be to undertake intensive scientific research, during a period of five years, in a field where our present knowledge is still sadly deficient. The point is that so far, the science of development has been unable to gather knowledge about the criteria to be applied in deciding on plans for social development, and about the interrelation of the economic and social aspects of the development process. Here is a field for fundamental research which has remained unexplored but from which the essential data must be extracted as soon as possible, because without the knowledge of these data, improvement of the economic infrastructure based on responsible social planning is impossible. If a concentrated scientific effort is made, the required knowledge can be gained in five years. It is for this reason that we envisage that this scientific institute should operate for five years. The Netherlands contribution is sufficient to keep the institute in operation for more than half of that period. Agreement has been reached with the Secretary-General about the method of achieving the establishment of the institute, and I understand that he will inform the General Assembly of the steps contemplated.

159. It is by these means that the Netherlands Government has endeavoured to give expression to its conviction that the Development Decade should be more than a statement of good intentions. My Government and the people of the Netherlands consider that the world cannot afford to lose one single year in its global attack on the worst and most threatening phenomenon of our century: the lack of progress and prosperity in the lands of many hundreds of millions of people. If we can give to all of them the benefit of a healthy environment in which they can make full use of their natural gifts and abilities, the political problems of our world will become more easily amenable to reasonable settlement.

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

160. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): It is an auspicious omen, we trust, that the very first two substantive matters this session has had to deal with were both important steps towards the consolidation of peace: the admission of four new Member States, and the successful settlement of the question of Irian Barat. We fervently hope that when this session of the General Assembly adjourns it will have many more achievements to its credit.

161. My delegation greets the new Member States of this Organization and extends to them all a warm

welcome. We are particularly happy that we are able to include in this greeting the representatives of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, who only yesterday took their rightful places here. We offer them our heartfelt congratulations on the victorious conclusion of their country's long and bitter struggle towards independence. It was an independence hardly won. The people of Indonesia followed the progress of the Algerian revolution with anxious fellow-feeling, for the Indonesians too gained their independence only after a protracted revolution against their rulers, a revolution replete with blood and sacrifice.

162. This is indeed an era of revolution. Political revolution has brought forth numerous new and newly reborn nations, as subject peoples one by one rise up against foreign rule. The scientific revolution symbolized by the first "sputnik" whirling around the earth is rapidly extending man's dominion into outer space. Both revolutions are equally hallmarks of this second half of the century and both embody all that is finest in men's aspirations. We are proud to be able to say that Indonesia was in the vanguard of the political revolution, as the first country to wrest its independence from the grip of a colonial Power after the Second World War.

163. In its fight for independence and justice my country profited from the lessons learned in other revolutions of earlier times. We learned from the revolution for liberty, equality and fraternity in eighteenth-century France. We learned from the revolution for Sun Yat-Sen's principles of nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood in China in 1911. We learned from the revolution for Marxist-Leninist principles in Russia in 1917. Above all, we learned from the first colonial revolution of modern times, the great American revolution which, as Thomas Jefferson truly said, was "a revolution intended for all mankind".

164. On gaining its independence, Indonesia immediately addressed itself to the work of nation-building. For years our people have laboured at this arduous but rewarding task, and now we are beginning to see the fruitful results of our efforts. First and foremost we had to rediscover our own national identity and to forge a political philosophy that would successfully guide our way of life. In this we chose neither the road of communism nor the road of capitalism. Instead, we built our own road, the road of socialism, moulded to meet Indonesia's special needs and the rising expectations, nay, the rising demands of our people. Our socialism is based on five principles: belief in God, nationalism, internationalism, democracy and social justice. We call these principles the "Pancha Shila", the five pillars which sustain our way of life. Rather than contenting ourselves with imported ideas that would prove inapplicable to conditions in our country, we dipped into our own rich ancient civilization and extracted those ideas and customs that would help us to develop our nationhood.

165. During this work of reconstructing our State, we have naturally gone through periods of considerable turmoil. In a time of national reawakening, some turmoil is only to be expected. It should not be misconstrued by outsiders; on the contrary, it should be viewed with sympathy and understanding, for turmoil is an inescapable element in the process of nation-building. Its very occurrence is in itself a mark of the anxiety of a newly emerging country to attain a

dignified way of national life. Older States have only to look back at their own histories to see the truth of this statement. All countries have at some time experienced turmoil in their drive to hammer out the national identity that would best express the individual character of their peoples. Such a lofty aim is not to be won without struggle.

166. If this is an era of national revolution, then it is also an era of nation-building. Countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are all severally engaged in the task of evolving their own national patterns. For the process of nation-building, with all the struggle and turbulence it entails, is a necessary complement to decolonization; without this complementary process, indeed decolonization would be meaningless. Highly developed nations should take care not to obstruct a country engaged in the business of peaceful nation-building. It should be universally recognized that diversity in national, social and political systems and in national cultures is a characteristic of the world today. We must all respect the individuality of every country, be it large or small. For if we do not do so, we shall fail to honour a people's fight for independence. The primary task of the United Nations should be to work towards a world in which many different national identities can flourish side by side, a coexistence of different national identities.

167. In this regard, it may perhaps not be irrelevant to recall that in his State of the Union in January 1962, President Kennedy outlined America's basic goal as:

"a peaceful world community of free and independent States, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others, . . . a free community of nations, independent but interdependent."

Furthermore, we are reminded of the fact that prominent leaders of communist countries have at various occasions stated that neither communism nor revolution are commodities for export.

168. It may also be noted that the Republic of Indonesia comprises 3,000 islands which sustain many different ethnic and cultural groups. As a world in itself, it has in fact practised with great success the State motto of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika"—Unity in diversity.

169. Indonesia's experience in reconstructing its nation has demonstrated that newly emerging countries can survive all difficulties and crises when there is unity of purpose between a government and its people. One by one our difficulties have been overcome. We are proud of our national way of life with its philosophy of the "Pancha Shila", and also of our many practical achievements. We are pleased, for instance, with the large number of hospitals, universities and schools that have been built. We are particularly happy with the fact that illiteracy no longer presents a problem. After three and a half centuries of colonial rule 93 per cent of our population was illiterate; by 1964, after only nineteen years of independence, illiteracy will have been totally eliminated.

170. A great deal of our progress towards a full and satisfactory national life has only been recently accomplished. When President Sukarno personally took charge of the Government in 1959, he set for himself and for his people three goals: stabilization of national security, recovery of Irian Barat (West Irian), and an

improved standard of living. Today two of these goals have been attained.

171. Security has ceased to be a problem for us. The liberal tendencies based on imported ideas that were irreconcilable with the needs of our country have now been eliminated. One may now travel freely in any area of Indonesia, and the increasing number of tourists is sufficient evidence of this fact. Secondly, as everyone in this Assembly is fully aware, the Netherlands administrative authority over Irian Barat (West Irian) has at last been terminated as of 1 October 1962. As of that date the people in that territory will have joined with their compatriots and comrades-in-arms in the rest of the Indonesian Archipelago in the ranks of a free and liberated nation. With the recovery of Irian Barat (West Irian), Indonesia can consider its national unity to be finally complete. This could only have been realized with the unwavering determination and great sacrifices on the part of the 100 million people in Indonesia.

172. I would like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my Government for the overwhelming support of the Assembly for the resolution [1752 (XVII)] of which the draft was submitted jointly by Indonesia and the Netherlands. This affirmative vote is a strong demonstration of the general conviction on the part of the great majority of the Member States that our Organization possesses the capacity to overcome a bitter international dispute. However, we must express our disappointment at the fact that unanimity has not been possible. We listened carefully to the explanations of those who did not support the resolution and are constrained to reply that we are confident that future developments will prove their apprehensions to be unfounded. The peaceful conclusion of this thorny problem should be as much a source of gratification to the whole United Nations as it is to Indonesia, since it has eliminated a potential "hot-spot" of some importance in South East Asia. My Government is relieved that it at last finds itself in a position to say that it is no longer involved in a dispute with any other country. We have recovered our national territory and are not interested in territorial expansion.

173. Now that Indonesia is freed from this burdensome fight for Irian Barat (West Irian), our Government can concentrate its attention on raising our people's standard of living—the third task which President Sukarno set for himself to accomplish. And by the same token, the way is now also open to us to make a greater contribution to the efforts of the United Nations in the search for solutions to the many problems of the world today.

174. Our foreign policy is guided by our Constitution of 1945, which states that Indonesia's aims are:

"to contribute in implementing an order in the world which is based upon independence, abiding peace and social justice..."

175. We have systematically striven to implement this policy. Indonesia played an active role in the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in 1961 and the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development held in Cairo from 9-18 July 1962. We are now planning to make preparations for a second Asian-African Conference to take note of the greatly increased number of independent States in Asia and Africa.

176. In his address to the General Assembly on 30 September 1960 [880th meeting], President Sukarno isolated three basic causes of world tension: the continued existence of colonialism, the gap between the rich and poor nations, and the forcible division of national States. We consider these issues to be a more fundamental source of tension than the ideological split dividing East and West. Whenever a specific international dispute arises, one or another of these three issues is usually an underlying cause. Their very existence creates potential trouble spots throughout the world which the two blocs with ideologically opposed political systems are then able to exploit for their own ends in the cold war struggle for power. If the basic causes of tension were to be removed, however, this power struggle would immediately constitute far less of a danger to peace. Our task in the United Nations is to work unremittingly to eliminate the underlying causes of tension on which the cold war thrives. In view of their importance, I would like now to examine each of these issues separately.

177. The right of every people to national freedom and independence is today hardly a matter of controversy. Disagreement is chiefly over the process of implementation: the timing, procedures and methods of granting independence. That this disagreement can lead to grave conflicts was recognized in the General Assembly's resolution 1514 (XV), and last year the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was established [resolution 1654 (XVI)] in order to accelerate the implementation process. Although much remains to be done, we would like to commend the work which this Committee has already managed to accomplish. It is no reflection on the Committee that my Government greatly regrets that Indonesia, having long been an ardent foe of colonialism, is unable to actively and directly participate in its important tasks.

178. I said just now that the right of peoples to independence is today hardly a matter of controversy. I wish I could have said simply that it was no longer in dispute. But there are, as everybody knows, a few remaining bastions of colonialism. This is a situation which the United Nations cannot and should not continue to tolerate. The Governments of Portugal and South Africa have by their colonialist policies succeeded in completely isolating their countries from the rest of the world. Their attempt to use the most modern machinery of propaganda, insinuation and calumny to bolster up an obsolete concept has deceived no one but themselves. It is incredible that these two Member States have learned nothing from the experience of others. Have they not watched one colonial Power after another bowing to the inevitable since the end of the Second World War? The evidence is before their very eyes in this Assembly, where delegations from dozens of newly independent and sovereign countries are proudly sitting. Many of these countries are living on terms of friendship and co-operation with their former rulers. A number of the colonial Powers, wisely, if belatedly in some instances, decided to grant independence through peaceful negotiation. Unfortunately, the recent statements of the representatives of both Portugal and South Africa do not encourage us to expect that any attempt will be made to reach a peaceful liquidation of their colonies in the near future. Indeed it may be too late today for Portugal or South Africa to achieve a peaceful settlement of their colonial problems. Yet we are confident

that should, either of these Governments now make a genuine offer to negotiate with the leaders of their subject peoples, even at this stage the offer would not be rejected. Only a few days ago, the Foreign Minister of Norway, Mr. Lange, warned us that the final choice in the achievement of independence by dependent territories was between peace or violence [1126th meeting].

179. I would like to conclude my remarks on the subject of decolonization with a note of warning. Colonialism is dying, but there is a danger that it is reemerging in new forms. The United Nations must not ignore the very real threat to the process of successful nation-building inherent in what has now been termed "neo-colonialism". The economic dependency of many newly re-emerged nations upon those highly developed countries which once ruled them politically can make a mockery of decolonization. For in some of these countries political power is, in fact, allowed to remain in the hands of puppet régimes, instead of where it belongs, in the hands of the true representatives of the people. True political independence is rarely possible without economic independence. We should perhaps bear the relevance of this fact in mind as we come to consider the second great cause of tension in the world: the gap between the rich and poor nations.

180. In the introduction to his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/5201/Add.1] this year, the Acting Secretary-General rightly placed great emphasis on the dangers of the present economic division of the world into rich and poor nations. This unjust disparity of wealth between the highly developed and the developing countries is a cause of great discontent amongst the newly re-emerging States of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? Prosperity is not the prerogative only of the highly developed countries. It is not surprising to find the peoples of the developing nations are now beginning to insist on their due share of the world's vast riches.

181. The developing countries fully realize that the only way of narrowing the economic gap between nations is for them to reach a stage of self-sustained economic growth, and they accept primary responsibility for their own economic and social progress. It was in recognition of the need to exert and co-ordinate maximum national efforts that they called the Cairo Conference in July of this year, in order to work out a practical approach that would be effective in solving the problem of economic development in all its ramifications and in securing eventual economic emancipation. The Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries, which embodies this approach, is on the agenda for the current session [agenda item 84]—sufficient testimony of its great importance for the entire international community.

182. Although the developing nations desire to finance their own economic growth as far as possible, their efforts in this direction are considerably hampered by the fact that the prevailing pattern of international trade does not ensure them the steady flow of increasing revenues which development requires. Foreign exchange for the import of needed capital goods can only be earned through the sale of primary commodities on the world market. But the market is still plagued by excessive fluctuations in primary commodity prices. Moreover, protective or discriminatory practices on the part of economically advanced nations

or regional economic groupings serve to further curtail expansion of exports from the developing nations.

183. Another matter of great concern to the developing countries is the measures now being taken by the industrialized nations to revise their own trade relations. These revisions will have far-reaching repercussions on the whole international trade pattern and will substantially affect the trading interests of the developing countries. My Government believes the developing countries should be included in the determination of policies, which vitally concern their economic welfare. We trust that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has been endorsed by the Cairo Conference, will provide a forum where the international community as a whole can examine these crucial issues and take steps to expand trade between the industrialized and developing nations. The importance of this Conference lies in the urgent necessity to introduce policies which will complement and not nullify the results of assistance programmes.

184. Trade is a primary instrument of development. It must be emphasized that it is largely because the developing countries are prevented from securing all the resources required for their growth through normal trade channels, that extensive external assistance has proved necessary. Since the Second World War much assistance has already been rendered, both by international bodies and by individual industrialized nations. Yet, living standards have in many countries obstinately remained at a bare subsistence level. The resources needed for the economic growth of developing nations require a sizeable inflow of capital, both public and private, and so far the supply has simply not been adequate to meet the demand. My Government therefore welcomes the General Assembly's recent decision in principle in its resolutions 1521 (XV) and 1706 (XVI) to establish a United Nations capital development fund, which would ensure the entry of the United Nations Organization itself into the vital area of public capital investment. We trust that the draft statute for the fund, which is before the Assembly at the present session, will be approved, so that an investment agency of a truly international character will at last be at the disposal of the developing countries.

185. With regard to the question of private foreign investment, we believe that it can make a positive contribution to development, provided that it is operated on a basis of genuine partnership and co-operation. The Indonesian Government has recently evolved what it considers to be a satisfactory formula for co-operation with private foreign investors. This is a combination of capital investment and credit which we have termed "production sharing". Under a production sharing arrangement a foreign firm contracts with an Indonesian enterprise to construct a facility and receives a return on its investment in the form of the product manufactured or produced in the new plant, the ownership and management of the facility remaining in Indonesian hands from the very outset. Several such production sharing arrangements are already successfully under way, and my Government believes that this new formula is not only practical but also truly expressive of a relationship between economic partners that is in keeping with the dignity of a developing nation as a sovereign and independent State.

186. In view of the fact that living standards have not substantially improved over recent years in a number of countries, it has now become evident that various assistance programmes undertaken in the past by the United Nations and other international bodies have not proved sufficient. However, my Government feels that there is reason to hope that the measures now under consideration by the Assembly may well bring about a great improvement in the situation. Our increased understanding of the problems and nature of the development process has at last indicated that an entirely new and altogether more comprehensive approach is necessary for really effective action. The spirit of the new approach is expressed in last year's proclamation in General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) of the United Nations Development Decade, by which the whole international community has undertaken to mobilize greater human and material resources to meet specific development projects.

187. We come now to the forcible division of national States, the third major cause of tension in our world. The division of Germany, China, Korea and Viet-Nam is a potential threat to international peace and security. The Berlin issue, in particular, which is at the heart of the problem of a divided Germany, can at any moment plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust. My delegation expresses the hope that the leading statesmen of the great Powers will not let any opportunity go by to make a supreme effort to ease the dangerous situation prevailing in these areas. It would be more desirable if a meeting between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kennedy could shortly be arranged, preferably at the United Nations while the Assembly is in session. Such a meeting could pave the way for future contacts between the representatives of the divided States, so that they could negotiate reunification.

188. There is, of course, no magic cure for the basic ills of our world. However, we should perhaps draw comfort from the fact that the international situation since the Second World War has, despite all existing tensions and recurring international crises, in a way been more encouraging than in the period following the First World War. We tend to forget that in those "good old days", as some persist in calling them, the 1931 aggression in Manchukuo by militarist Japan was followed in 1935 by the aggression against Ethiopia by fascist Italy and in 1938 by Hitler's conquest of Czechoslovakia and Austria, with the League of Nations standing pathetically by. In the years since the end of the Second World War, on the other hand, peaceful coexistence between nations, if often uneasy, has been interrupted only once by a full-scale war—in 1950 in Korea. We all know that the action taken by the United Nations succeeded in halting the military hostilities. The nuclear stalemate has made us all realize the impracticability of war.

189. If some countries originally entertained great doubts about peaceful coexistence, it is now encouraging to be able to detect signs of a more positive attitude. For instance, only last week the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Lord Home, was reported to have acknowledged the urgent need to explore and exploit opportunities for genuine coexistence. Again, in his general statement to this Assembly on 1 October, Mr. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, used these words:

"... peaceful coexistence is better than a hot war, it is even better than the cold war—but, in my eyes, it is still far from being sufficient. Indeed, the relations between the East and the West will definitely be improved when the concept of peaceful coexistence, as described and defined today, is replaced by the concept of necessary co-operation. In order that the great problems may be solved, it is not sufficient for us to live in peaceful coexistence. One day, it will be necessary for us to arrive at voluntary co-operation..." [1138th meeting, paras. 142 and 143.]*

190. Although we do not necessarily endorse the line of reasoning behind the arguments of either Foreign Minister, we are nevertheless pleased with the conclusions that they have reached. Such comments indicate that the West no longer flatly rejects the concept of peaceful coexistence. Mr. Spaak singled out greater international co-operation as the condition for the acceptance for peaceful coexistence. My Government has no objection, certainly, to such a condition. It is this very co-operation which Indonesia has always advocated.

191. Indeed, international co-operation is the key to the eradication of the present evils and is also the basis for building the future. Concrete deeds of international co-operation are contingent on mutual understanding. The Acting Secretary-General has recently said that firm belief in the rightness of one's political and social convictions should not blind one to the fact that hundreds of millions of people hold on equally firmly to quite different beliefs. We should like to add that an understanding of the ideologies and aspirations of others in no way entails a renunciation of one's own ideologies and aspirations. Contests of ideologies must be replaced by contests of achievements in the cause of peace.

192. In a world where distance is consumed, all countries grow increasingly interdependent. No nation today can withdraw into a splendid isolation. International co-operation based on mutual understanding has therefore become a foremost necessity in all areas of human endeavour. The only alternative would be an international "free-for-all", which is something the world cannot afford. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest is clearly outmoded. Equally inapplicable today is the motto: "There are no permanent enemies or friends, but only permanent national self-interests". No matter how justified the national self-interest of a State may be, the survival of the State itself can be permanently secured only by breaking down all obstacles to genuine and fruitful international teamwork. Indeed, it is not without reason that the principle of international co-operation has been firmly anchored in the United Nations Charter.

193. I should like to dwell briefly on the Indonesian approach to co-operation. Our way of life is governed by "Gotong-Rojong". This system of "mutual help for mutual benefit" has provided a harmonious and balanced pattern of human relations in village communities for over 4,000 years. It is consistently applied in the administrative process throughout our country, and it is also the basic philosophy underlying our foreign policy. This spirit of co-operation which aims at securing the interests of all has accounted for the great strides in Indonesia's national reconstruction.

*Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

194. It is our firm belief that in the world of today, a world in desperate need of international co-operation, the principle of mutual help for mutual benefit could well be considered the *conditio sine qua non* for the realization of the fruitful interdependence of nations. For "Gotong-Rojong" is specifically designed to accommodate "unity in diversity". As evidence of its practical applicability we can quote the opinion of Arnold Toynbee, who wrote that in Indonesia all religions are good neighbours. If one country can thus successfully achieve a harmonious coexistence of several different religions and even political ideologies, there is hope that a time will come when the same can be obtained on an international plane.

Mr. Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

195. We are not suggesting that "Gotong-Rojong" is a panacea for all world problems. We do feel, however, that it can help to bring opposing interests to co-operate in finding a *modus vivendi*.

196. We must realize that international problems cannot be solved overnight. It is much more realistic to be content with gradual improvements, step by step.

197. A problem for which a solution seems now to be within the bounds of possibility is the cessation of nuclear tests. Indonesia's position on this issue has been quite clear from the very beginning. We are against nuclear weapons testing in any form, in any part of the world and in any environment—irrespective of which country is conducting them. Like the majority of the other non-nuclear nations—one might almost call us "outsiders"—we do not consider that the power struggle between the nuclear countries justifies the awesome risks involved in the present nuclear test competition. Indonesia stands fully behind the memorandum submitted by the eight Non-Aligned Powers on 16 April at Geneva.^{5/} We also support the initiative of Mexico in suggesting 1 January 1963 as the cut-off date for atmospheric testing. My Government considers negotiations for an immediate test-ban treaty to be of paramount importance, demanding priority in debate over all other problems related to disarmament.

198. We do not agree with those who say that there has been virtually no progress made at the Geneva disarmament meetings. Our attitude is, of course, not one of blind optimism. What we are urging on this session of the General Assembly is the adoption of a positive approach which concentrates on those aspects of the Geneva negotiations that offer genuine cause for hope, in order to build constructively upon them. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada said in his statement to this Assembly: "We are living in a world in which it pays to be optimistic." [1130th meeting, para. 51.] I would add that indeed we have little other choice.

199. Last year the Assembly passed resolution 1652 (XVI), which called for the denuclearization of the entire African continent; in 1959, the Antarctica Treaty proclaimed the demilitarization of that vast land mass, and therefore, by implication, its denuclearization as well. We urge the General Assembly to follow up these inspiring initiatives towards world peace by examining the possibility of introducing similar measures in Asia, the Pacific, Latin America and also perhaps in some areas of Europe. We wel-

come the statement of the representative of Brazil in his very thoughtful speech before the Assembly on 20 September, when he said:

"Brazil is also favourable in principle to the establishment of denuclearized areas on our planet ... Latin America could well be one of these denuclearized areas." [1125th meeting, para. 25.]*

200. We would also remind representatives that the People's Republic of China has repeatedly expressed strong support for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific. My own Government is considering submitting a draft resolution which would call for the denuclearization of Asia and the Pacific.

201. A complementary initiative furthering the process of world disarmament could be taken by whole groups or nations, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, declaring themselves to be "areas of peace". By using the term "area of peace", I intend to express a wider concept than that of nuclear-free zones, which has already gained acceptance among many Members of the United Nations. "Areas of peace" call for the total exclusion not only of nuclear weapons but also of all foreign troops and military bases of any kind. The establishment of such regions could well be a primary contribution of the non-aligned nations to the attainment of general and complete disarmament.

Mr. Campbell (United Kingdom), Vice-President, took the Chair.

202. Permit me now to say a few words on some other specific issues which demand our close attention.

203. We greatly deplore the deteriorating relations between the United States and Cuba. In this respect I would like to repeat here what I said on this subject at the 1237th meeting of the First Committee on 12 February 1962 that while it was no easy task to re-establish old ties once they had been severed, my delegation was convinced that, given the encouragement of all Members, both nations had the wisdom and restraint necessary for the accomplishment of that task, a vital one for peace.

204. To turn to another matter, it should by now be self-evident that the composition of principal United Nations organs does not correspond to the membership today. The composition of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the specialized agencies and the Secretariat has hardly changed since 1946 as regards the geographical distribution of seats. At that time, the number of Member States was 51—only three of which were African nations—and the number of Asian countries was nine. We trust an improvement of the international atmosphere will make a review of the United Nations Charter feasible in the not too distant future, to remedy the inequitable distribution of seats.

205. In this connexion, I must add that my Government considers it essential for the effective functioning of this Organization that the People's Republic of China take its rightful seat in the United Nations as soon as possible.

206. Indonesia is one of the many Member States which have taken upon themselves the obligation to help sustain the costs of the United Nations peace-

^{5/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, section J.

* Provisional English version taken from the interpretation.

keeping operations. In the course of the previous session, Indonesia made it quite clear that it believes the idea of collective responsibility for peace-keeping operations of the United Nations should be upheld. However, my Government was not in favour of the Assembly's resolution [1731 (XVI)] to request the opinion of the International Court of Justice, since we entertained some doubts as to the usefulness of this step. Now that the Court's opinion [A/5161] is actually before the Assembly, we wonder whether an uncompromising attitude on the part of those who would like to see it enforced can help to bring about a desirable solution of this difficult issue. Should the Assembly be persuaded to pass a resolution supporting the opinion, would it then also be prepared to deprive several Member States of their right to vote? My delegation feels that such action would only create ill-feeling, without in fact taking us anywhere near our objective. We do not presume to offer the Assembly an answer to the problem. But, as we have an open mind and are fully aware of the urgency of the financial difficulties confronting our Organization, we will support any effort that seems to promise a just solution.

207. The next issue I would like to touch on is the obstinate question of Palestine, which has long been a source of much human misery. It should be of the gravest concern to all Member States. An early solution would not only be in the interest of the peoples directly involved but would also promote international stability in the area. We hope that this session will see positive progress in the solution of this serious matter.

208. Finally, the Indonesian delegation, on behalf of its Government and people, wishes to pay warm tribute to the Acting Secretary-General for his effective and skilful stewardship of United Nations activities. As we have had the fortunate privilege of working very closely with him, we have had ample opportunity to appreciate his great qualities of heart and mind. If

the protracted dispute over Irian-Barat has now been peacefully settled, that is in no small measure due to the painstaking efforts, the diplomatic tact and the deep understanding of the Acting Secretary-General and of his staff. Today, the work of the United Nations needs more than ever wise leadership and efficient administration. U Thant has provided both during the past year. The General Assembly and the Security Council should give him the tools and the time to continue a job well done.

209. President Sukarno has said that Indonesia is a fighting nation. Indeed, there is no doubt that it is. Having unceasingly fought to attain a real and complete national independence, we will not spare ourselves in the fight for the same objective for all the dependent peoples of the world. Indonesia has always been an uncompromising foe of colonialism in all its manifestations.

210. We are also fighting for social justice both within our own nation and on an international plane. We are marshalling all the resources at our command to build a just and prosperous society for ourselves and for the world. We do not seek prosperity for some while others remain poor. Justice and prosperity are, in our opinion, inseparable. This is a task which is part of what President Sukarno recently described as the "outbreak of the social conscience of man".

211. Finally, Indonesia is engaged in a struggle to establish a world peace that is something more than a mere absence of war. Genuine peace can only be attained by practising international co-operation as called for by the United Nations Charter. Effective and sincere co-operation between countries with different ideologies and different standards of living, requires mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual help for mutual benefit.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.