

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1233rd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 8 October 1963,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

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*President:* Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)\*

1. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): Mr. President, although the Vice-Chairman of the Philippine delegation has already taken the floor to convey to you our congratulations on your election, you will permit me to add on this occasion the expression of my warm personal felicitations.

2. The eighteenth session of the General Assembly has so far been relatively quiet and even dull. As one who has attended fifteen sessions of the General Assembly since 1946, I can recall many far more exciting than this. Gone are the thumping of desks and the breaking of gavels, the angry words of challenge and the mutual threats of nuclear doom. Representatives seem to have grown tame, as though realizing at last that keeping the peace is much less a matter of winning debating points than of reaching, slow step by slow step, agreements in which humanity is the only winner.

3. We do not, therefore, miss the excitement of previous sessions. A quiet session this may be, but hardly an uneventful one. It is as if the United Nations, upon coming of age in the eighteenth year of its life, has decided to forswear the meaningless and often dangerous diversions of its youth. Having lost its taste for fireworks and the circus, it is now ready to come to grips with the serious business at hand before it is too late namely, the survival of the human race and the improvement of the human condition. In pursuing this two fold task, it has wisely chosen an attitude of calm but steadfast dedication.

4. The recent conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban treaty <sup>1/</sup> encourages in us a sense of sobriety and a feeling of cautious optimism. By itself, the treaty means a sharp decrease in the deadly menace of atmospheric pollution, a check on the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and a slow-down in the feverish race to improve them. More important, however, this treaty has already shown its potentiality for starting a chain

reaction leading to an ascending series of agreements. On 3 October 1963, barely two months after the initialing of the partial test ban agreement in Moscow, the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland announced that they had agreed in principle to ban nuclear weapons from space vehicles in orbit.

5. The Moscow Treaty is not a disarmament measure, but the new agreement to denuclearize artificial satellites in space, taken together with the two-year old agreement to ban armaments from Antarctica, <sup>2/</sup> shows that there exists among the great Powers a readiness to move into the field of actual disarmament under adequate safeguards. We look to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to capitalize on this receptive mood among the nuclear Powers and serve as an honest broker in negotiating further agreements in this field.

6. We have heard of war by "escalation". Let us hope that the Moscow Treaty represents the first step towards peace by "escalation".

7. This leads us to consider next the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. In the Congo, in West Irian, in Yemen, as earlier in Korea, Palestine and Suez, the United Nations has been able to undertake important responsibilities to curb aggression, prevent violence and maintain the peace. The Philippines contributed forces to the United Nations actions in Korea and in the Congo, and we provided civilian personnel to assist the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority in West Irian. We are prepared to pay our share of the costs of such operations to the extent of our financial ability and we have subscribed to the United Nations bond issue. We hope that equitable arrangements on a permanent basis will be worked out to ensure the success of current as well as future peace-keeping operations of the Organization.

8. Nobody wants to see an increase in United Nations responsibilities in this field. But in a period of nuclear stalemate, war ceases to be a safe instrument of historical change or for settling disputes or achieving national objectives. Only revolution remains in its several guises and variations. Whether we like it or not, the United Nations will increasingly be called upon to assume certain responsibilities in keeping such conflicts and upheavals under adequate control so that they do not spread or get out of hand and involve the great Powers. Realism requires that the United Nations be ready and equipped to perform these tasks.

9. It is fitting that we should pay a tribute to the decisive leadership exercised by the Secretary-General in this domain and we pledge to him our continuing support to the end that the United Nations may develop the requisite authority and capacity to cope with this responsibility.

\*Resumed from the 1231st meeting.

<sup>1/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow 5 August 1963.

<sup>2/</sup> Antarctic Treaty, signed in Washington D.C., 1 December 1959.

10. The rapid pace of decolonization in recent years is a matter of deep gratification to us. Eighteen years ago, fully one third of the population of the world were subject peoples. Today, more than forty dependent countries have gained their independence. However, the struggle is far from completely won. Neo-colonialism and communist imperialism are still trying to subvert the freedom of peoples. At the same time, we are witnessing bitter rear-guard actions designed to delay the liberation of the remaining colonial peoples.

11. The question of the Portuguese territories is of great concern to the Assembly, for unless immediate practical steps are taken the situation in these territories, particularly Angola, may explode into open warfare with ugly racial overtones. We plead with Portugal not to misread the writing on the wall and to recognize before it is too late that its own interests, as well as the interests of peace, would be best served by quickly coming to terms with the aspirations of the people of the territories.

12. The same warning applies with equal force to the Government of South Africa. We have repeatedly condemned the practice of apartheid. South Africa is not the only country in the world where racial discrimination exists, but it is the only country in the world that enforces and defends racial discrimination as the policy of the State. This is intolerable in any State subscribing to the Charter of the United Nations. We have, therefore, given vigorous support to measures designed to exert international diplomatic and economic pressure on the Government of South Africa to abandon its policy of apartheid. The Philippine Government has imposed a total embargo on goods from South Africa.

13. As regards South West Africa, we share the view that unless South Africa agrees to discharge its obligations in that territory in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, our only alternative is to revoke its mandate and transfer the administration of the territory to the United Nations. My delegation would support such a move.

14. Having dealt with some issues of universal interest, we would like to pass on to the serious problems of our part of the world, South-East Asia.

15. The people of the Republic of Viet-Nam are at present engaged in a valiant fight against communist subversion and aggression. They merit the support of the free world. In the discharge of their treaty responsibilities, some members of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization are rendering material assistance to the Government of Viet-Nam.

16. It is a matter for regret, however, that the capacity of the Viet-Nameese people to wage war against their enemies is being compromised by an internal problem which vitally concerns their freedom and national survival. The problem of Buddhism in the Republic of Viet-Nam deserves to be considered separately, by itself, outside the context of the East-West conflict.

17. The Philippines believes that the violation of human rights is a matter of international concern and does not fall within the exclusive domestic jurisdiction clause [Article 2, para. 7] of the Charter of the United Nations. Such violation becomes more serious when it is the result of governmental policy or action. We believe further that freedom of religion can be assured under any system, whether there is a State religion or complete separation of Church and State.

18. We find it gratifying that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam lifted martial law sometime ago and has now extended through the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, an invitation to some Members of this Assembly to visit Viet-Nam and see for themselves the true situation regarding the relations between the Government and the Buddhist community. It is rare for a Member State of the United Nations and rarer still for a non-member State to admit, let alone invite, United Nations observers or investigators within its borders. This is an earnest of the good faith of the Viet-Nameese Government and proof that it has nothing to hide. We should therefore accept the invitation at once, and in fairness decide to suspend consideration of the agenda item pending receipt of the report of our observers.

19. As regards Laos, it will be recalled that fourteen countries assumed special responsibilities for its independence, unity and neutrality in the Geneva conferences of 1954<sup>3/</sup> and 1962.<sup>4/</sup> However, this unprecedented action cannot be said to have relieved the United Nations, which transcends the personality of the fourteen States, of its duty to deal with any matter affecting international peace and security. We can readily understand why the Prime Minister of Laos reported the other day [1210th meeting] to this august body on the precarious situation obtaining in his country. He felt obliged to do so because his country is a Member of the United Nations, although he observed that its problems arose from agreements made outside the framework of the United Nations.

20. While the Charter encourages regional solutions to regional problems, the United Nations is not thereby absolved from its duty under the Charter to intervene or to use its good offices in the interest of peace. Moreover, the Geneva accords are not strictly regional in character. This is because the initiative was taken by the great Powers which have world-wide responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. Not all the countries of South-East Asia were represented at the Geneva Conference. On the other hand, nations from other continents which have no particular interests in South-East Asia participated in the meetings.

21. It should also be noted that the Geneva Agreement of 1962<sup>5/</sup> virtually excluded Laos from the purview of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, which has assumed certain responsibilities for the peace of the Treaty area. My delegation accordingly considers that the United Nations may deal with the problem of Laos either on its own initiative or at the request of a Member State.

22. The Prime Minister of Laos informed us here that there has been no progress whatsoever towards the unity of his country as envisaged in the 1962 Agreement, so much so that its very independence as guaranteed in the 1954 Agreement<sup>6/</sup> has been jeopardized. He ascribed this sad state of affairs to continued infiltration and subversion by foreign elements. The International Control Commission has proved to be ineffec-

<sup>3/</sup> Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, 16 June-21 July 1954.

<sup>4/</sup> Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, Geneva, 16 May 1961-23 July 1962.

<sup>5/</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, Geneva, 23 July 1962.

<sup>6/</sup> Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, 20 July 1954.

tual because of the obstructionist policy followed by one member, while the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conferences have not been able to accomplish anything beyond addressing a pious appeal to all concerned to observe the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements.

23. It may be that a change in its composition or the elimination of the built-in veto will render the International Control Commission more effective. It may also be that there is a fundamental defect in the coalition government called for by the Geneva Agreement of 1962. It should be noted that coalition is synonymous neither with unity nor neutrality. The Philippines has never believed that the "troika" system would work so long as one of the parties continues to receive orders from a foreign government or so long as its avowed aim is to subvert the established government by illegal means. That is why the Philippines chose to have nothing to do at all with the Geneva conferences or with the agreements reached therein. Nevertheless, we would like to see an improvement in the Laotian situation if only as a result of the relaxation of tensions engendered by the recent partial nuclear test ban treaty.

24. The Powers which signed the Geneva Agreement of 1962 should consider making a fresh effort to implement their decisions. Failing that, they should consider submitting the problem, the solution of which has eluded them for the past nine years, to the ultimate judgement of the United Nations. Laos is a Member of the United Nations and as such entitled to the full assistance and protection of the Organization.

25. In justice to the Powers which signed the Geneva Agreement of 1962, however, we should give them credit for the great service they have rendered the Laotian people in preventing the dismemberment of their country. As a result, Laos has so far escaped the fate of the divided States which have been denied admission to our Organization.

26. We should also like to note with satisfaction the report that two next-door neighbours in our region, Thailand and Cambodia, are hopeful of reaching agreement on a solution to their dispute and on the terms for the restoration of their friendly relations. The credit goes not only to the leaders of the two countries concerned but also to the Secretary-General and his representatives on the spot, whose patient diplomacy is helping to bring about a reconciliation.

27. South-East Asia, with its 250 million people, its bulging rice granary, its abundant production of copra, sugar, rubber, oil, tin and other minerals, lumber, tobacco and spices, is one of the richest and most strategic regions of the world. For centuries it has been the valuable prize coveted, fought over and exploited by the major Western colonial Powers. Most of the latter have now departed. But to the north of this region lies Communist China which, through its southern borders that run from the Himalayas to the China Sea, has the capacity to infiltrate, subvert and attack its neighbours. It committed open aggression against India, which over the years had loyally cultivated its friendship. It is responsible for subversion and guerrilla warfare in Laos and the Republic of Vietnam. Because of its ruthless pursuit of power, its contempt for the principle of peaceful coexistence, and its declared readiness to risk nuclear catastrophe for ideological reasons, Communist China has become the world's principal source and inspirer of the fear of war. But for the countries of South-East Asia, in par-

ticular, Communist China is the principal goad pushing them towards mutual help, co-operation and unity.

28. At this point, I trust I may be permitted to report with pardonable pride that Manila during the past year has served as a busy centre of regional diplomatic activity. The conferences held in the capital city of my country included the nineteenth session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East which devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of promoting economic development and improving living conditions in the region. The familiar slogan of "trade, not aid", acquired new significance as the members of ECAFE wrestled once again with the well-known contrast between the low, unstable prices of raw materials and the ever-increasing prices of consumer and capital goods from the industrial countries. It was clearly shown that the entire amount of technical and financial assistance which the developed countries had given to the under-developed and developing countries in any given year was, in fact, less than the loss suffered by the latter due to the depressed prices of their export products and the steadily higher prices they had to pay for their imports from the industrial countries. This stern statistical fact seemed to make a mockery of the entire system of foreign economic aid and exposed it as a tissue of noble intentions nullified by the realities of trade and profit. There was talk in Manila of an Asian common market, but we know that at this stage such talk is little better than whistling in the dark. The night is too full of the established ghosts of economic and financial power, and we need the benign spirit of the United Nations to exorcise them from the economic world of the under-developed and developing countries.

29. We also celebrated in Manila the second anniversary of the Association of South-East Asia, organized by Thailand, Malaya and the Philippines to promote closer economic, social and cultural co-operation among them.

30. But the principal diplomatic event of the year in Manila was without doubt the holding there from 30 July to 5 August of the summit meeting between Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, President Diosdado Macapagal of the Philippines and President Sukarno of Indonesia. On the initiative of the President of the Philippines, they met to resolve their differences about the formation of the new Federation of Malaysia. At the end of their meeting, they adopted the Manila Accord of 31 July 1963, which was the report of their Foreign Ministers; a Joint Statement, which set forth the details of the settlement of their dispute over Malaysia; and the Manila Declaration, in which they agreed to establish a consultative organization known as Maphilindo—Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia. This last achievement, which was hailed around the world, was described by President Macapagal as the reunion of triplet brothers who at birth had been placed under three foster parents—Indonesia under the Netherlands, the Philippines under Spain and the United States of America, and Malaya under the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—but who, having come of age, now need to discover anew their common origin and destiny. In effect, these three countries have a common Malay origin, and number together 140 millions.

31. This was the atmosphere in which the achievements of the Manila summit meeting were received amidst euphoria. The three Malay Heads of Government

had agreed to resolve their differences over Malaysia: Indonesia was prepared to welcome Malaysia provided it was purged of its neo-colonialist taint, and the Philippines agreed to welcome it on condition that the inclusion of the territory of Sabah or North Borneo in the new Federation would not prejudice our claim to that territory or any right thereunder. Both Indonesia and the Philippines were prepared to accept Malaysia, and thus subordinate their doubts and misgivings, "provided the support of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative"—to quote the words of paragraph 10 of the Manila Accord.

32. At our request, the Secretary-General was good enough to accept the task of ascertainment. He sent a mission of nine members to the two territories of Sarawak and Sabah; the mission submitted its report to him; and on 14 September 1963 he made public his conclusions on the basis of that report. He announced that his team had found a majority of the inhabitants of the two territories in favour of federation with Malaya. Two days later, on 16 September, Malaysia was proclaimed. That was the day before the opening of the present session of the General Assembly.

33. The Philippines and Indonesia had certain reservations about the findings of the United Nations Malaysia Mission, which they respectfully communicated to the Secretary-General. As of today, they have not welcomed or recognized Malaysia.

34. Before explaining our position, I wish to reiterate emphatically our confidence in the integrity of the Secretary-General, in his good faith and sincere intention to comply with the letter and spirit of the agreement reached in Manila. The ascertainment operation fell short of its goal because of circumstances beyond his control. The facts indicate that the main responsibility for the failure of the United Nations survey teams to fulfil the terms of the Secretary-General's mandate rests with the United Kingdom authorities.

35. The terms of the ascertainment operation represented a carefully balanced structure of understandings and compromises among the Maphilindo countries. There were three important conditions: first, that the task should be carried out with a fresh approach, meaning that the ascertainment should not rely on previous British procedures and findings; second, that there should be complete compliance with the principle of self-determination in accordance with the requirements of principle IX of the annex to General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), meaning that the ascertainment operation should be a genuine and thorough effort rather than a *pro forma* job; and, third, that observers representing the three countries should witness the ascertainment.

36. The Philippine Government went to great lengths to forestall any possible misunderstanding of these conditions, and to help facilitate the Secretary-General's task. Immediately after the meeting in Manila, we dispatched a special envoy to United Nations Headquarters to explain not only the agreements themselves but also their background, the compromises they represented and the understandings under which they were accepted—understandings which, though they were not in writing, were equally binding on the three countries in the Asian spirit of "mushawara".

37. One such unwritten understanding was that the ascertainment would take at least a month and that

Malaysia would be proclaimed about the end of September. Another was that the sending of observers would be an integral part of the ascertainment operation.

38. Thus we sought to obviate the possibility of an unintentional misreading of the terms of the ascertainment. Nevertheless, its three essential conditions were not fully complied with. For instance, the time-table of the operation, which had been envisaged to cover four to six weeks, was drastically reduced to ten working days. This, in turn, rendered impossible not only the "complete compliance" but also the "fresh approach" called for under paragraph 4 of the Joint Statement. Obligated to operate within these crippling restrictions, the United Nations working teams had to rely heavily on the previous United Kingdom procedures and findings. They had no choice. They were under heavy pressure of time, and they could hardly be blamed for doing so. This was, however, contrary to the intent of the Manila Accord. The report of our own observers, carefully prepared and documented, clearly shows the extent of that reliance.

39. The unreasonable obstructions to the complete witnessing of the ascertainment operation was also a clear violation of the Manila Accord. The fact that the Philippine and Indonesian observers were able to witness only the last three days of the operation was a substantive and unjustified modification of that agreement. The irony of the situation is manifest in the fact that the first two thirds of the ascertainment operation was witnessed exclusively by representatives of the United Kingdom and Federation of Malaya, the two countries already committed to the incorporation of the two territories into Malaysia.

40. The squabbling and quibbling about our observers were beyond belief. For two weeks we haggled with the United Kingdom authorities about the number, the rank and the mode of transport of our observers. First, they agreed to two observers, then to four observers, then to four additional assistants, and, to cap it all, they wanted to dictate how junior the assistants should be. Finally, the United Kingdom, which, as an ally of my country, may fly its military aircraft into Philippine air bases at any time on request, refused landing rights to the one aircraft which was to bring our observers to Borneo.

41. The crowning gesture, however, of disregard for the Manila Agreement was the United Kingdom announcement, in the very midst of the ascertainment operation, that the new Federation of Malaysia would be proclaimed on 16 September, irrespective of the outcome of the ascertainment; I repeat, irrespective of the outcome of the ascertainment. This announcement was plainly contrary to the Manila Accord which provided that the wishes of the people of Sarawak and Sabah should be ascertained prior to the establishment of the new Federation. The Secretary-General was so disturbed by this announcement that he later described it "as a slap on the United Nations".

42. In his statement here of 27 September [1219th meeting], Lord Home, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, challenged Mr. Palar, the representative of Indonesia, either to say that he impugns the integrity of the Secretary-General and his teams or to "keep quiet and accept the findings with good grace". Is anybody who deliberately obstructed the task of ascertainment, including the participation of our observers, and who himself showed such scant regard for the Secretary-General, entitled to stand here

as the defender of the integrity of the Secretary-General? Does anyone who had publicly announced that he would disregard the findings of the United Nations teams have the right to accuse somebody else of ignoring those findings?

43. The Government of the Philippines could not set aside the findings of its own observers or close its eyes to the failure of the United Nations teams to implement faithfully the terms of the Manila Agreement. The Secretary-General was obliged to draw his conclusions on the basis of the findings put before him by his survey teams. We do not challenge his conclusions. But we do take exception to the manner in which the survey was conducted and the report prepared. This was a case where the conduct of the survey was perhaps even more important than the outcome of the survey itself. It was important that the ascertainment should not only be honest but should appear to be honest.

44. As regards the report of the United Nations Malaysia Mission, the internal evidence shows that it was prepared with undue haste, with considerably less than the care and objectivity which one expects of a United Nations document. I have accordingly registered with the Secretary-General our reservations in respect of the report. We have, however, deliberately refrained from taking any further steps in regard to this matter out of our deep regard for the Secretary-General's position and the difficulties under which he himself acknowledges he had to discharge his mandate. He is satisfied that we understand his position, and we appreciate his understanding of ours. He is aware that we do not question his judgement by deciding to hold the recognition of the new State of Malaysia under advisement, for this is merely our way of saying, in effect, that we are less than satisfied with the way in which the ascertainment was carried out and the report prepared.

45. In referring to Malaysia, I have used the term "new State" advisedly. It was so conceived by its founders. It was envisaged as such by the Commission of Enquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962—the Cobbold Commission—which recommended its establishment in these words:

"We have examined the Federation of Malaya Constitution and have concluded that it could be taken as a basis for the purpose of the creation of Malaysia. With the necessary amendments to the Constitution, we envisage the entry of the two Borneo territories as States within the Federation. With their admission, the Federation of Malaya would cease to exist as a political entity, and would be succeeded by the Federation of Malaysia."<sup>7</sup>

46. For the Philippines, the question is not merely one of nomenclature or legal nicety. Vital national interests are involved, chief among these being our pending claim to Sabah or North Borneo, one of the territories which have been incorporated in the new State of Malaysia.

47. I shall not burden the record with a discussion of the legal basis and historical background of our claim. Our statement at the seventeenth regular session is adequate for this purpose. I only wish to point out that paragraph 12 of the Manila Accord states:

"The Philippines made it clear that its position on the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of

Malaysia is subject to the final outcome of the Philippine claim to North Borneo", and that "the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia would not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder."

48. The Philippine Government does not consider as adequate a simple statement that the new State of Malaysia accepts the commitments of the former Federation of Malaya under the agreement reached at Manila. What is required is a formal, explicit undertaking by the new State of Malaysia to co-operate in the peaceful settlement of the Philippine claim to North Borneo. It requires, further, that a mutually acceptable procedure for settlement be agreed upon.

49. It should be recalled that Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman signed the Manila Accord on behalf of the Federation of Malaya, a State which did not include North Borneo, and was therefore not directly involved in the dispute. Indeed, the commitment assumed by the Federation of Malaya consisted of a simple pledge to join Indonesia and the Philippines in requesting the United Kingdom Government to agree to seek a just and expeditious solution to the dispute. A statement, therefore, that the new Federation of Malaysia accepts the obligations of the former Federation of Malaya under the Manila Accord would result in an equivocation. The fact is that the new State of Malaysia has now, so far as control over North Borneo is concerned, succeeded to the United Kingdom Government. It is in this new capacity as successor to the United Kingdom Government in North Borneo that the new Federation of Malaysia has been requested by our Government to agree to a definite procedure for the settlement of our claim.

50. The United Kingdom Government, despite the fact that it considered our claim to be weak, nevertheless ignored our repeated requests to agree to any of the modes of pacific settlement mentioned in the Charter, and in particular to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice over the case. We hope that Malaysia will accept more readily than the United Kingdom our repeated appeals to the rule of law.

51. The record of the United Kingdom in the domain of decolonization is admirable in many ways. Among the great colonial Powers, it has acted sensibly and with deliberate speed to set its numerous dependent territories on the road to freedom. In the particular case of Malaysia, it is only fair to underline the fact that the United Kingdom, which had never before permitted United Nations personnel to enter and survey conditions in any of its Non-Self-Governing Territories, did agree to admit a United Nations survey mission in Sarawak and Sabah. But, having taken this unprecedented decision, the United Kingdom authorities either tried to nullify it or render it meaningless in the manner already described. It is a matter for regret that so hopeful a precedent was not permitted to develop fully and in good faith. The ridiculous dispute about our observers would seem to justify the suspicion that a trap had been deliberately set for Indonesia and the Philippines so that they would be compelled to question the findings of the United Nations teams and thus put our two countries at odds with the United Nations as well as with Malaysia.

52. This would be impossible to believe were it not that this is merely an example of the old imperialist tactic of "divide and rule". No colonial Power has ever of its free will and volition relinquished dominion

<sup>7</sup> See Report of the Commission of Enquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962. London, H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd 1794, para. 148.

over another country or people. When it does withdraw, under heavy threat or pressure, it tries to minimize the loss and to retain in some measure, under camouflage, its former power and influence. In certain cases, it plants booby-traps of suspicion, dissension and conflict among those it leaves behind. A perceptive commentary in this connexion is to be found in an editorial article entitled "Malaysia", in the issue of 19 September 1963 of the newspaper Dawn of Karachi, Pakistan. I quote:

"It is one of the lessons of post-war history that imperialism invariably leaves behind a legacy of strife and trouble in the lands it has controlled and misruled. Few in this country"—that is, Pakistan—"can ever forget that the British made a parting gift of the Kashmir problem to the two successors of the former British Indian empire, Pakistan and India, and sowed the seeds of permanent hostility between the two countries. With this memory of what colonialists do when they have to pack up and go back home still fresh in their minds, Pakistanis can well understand the motivation behind Britain's leave-taking policy in the North Borneo region. If colonialism leaves some trouble behind, there will be some scope for it to secure advantages which will otherwise be unavailable."

53. To say Kashmir and Malaysia, in this context, is to say Palestine, Indo-China and the Congo.

54. In the dispute over Malaysia, our choice was between a course which would have sown the seeds of enduring hatred amongst the three countries of Malay origin and completely destroyed Maphilindo, and another that might temporarily estrange the three countries from one another, while reducing Maphilindo to a state of suspended animation. More broadly, our choice was between a decision that would have made us a party to the act of confrontation, and a decision which enables us to help in moderating an explosive situation and discouraging outside intervention that could make South-East Asia the cockpit of a new war.

55. The role of the Phillipines in the diplomatic "tour de force" that gave birth to Malphilindo was that of a mutual friend, fraternal intermediary, and faithful interlocutor. That remains our role today.

56. We have made a choice not between Indonesia or Malaysia, but between either of these alone and both of them together. We continue to place our faith in Maphilindo.

57. Maphilindo was a glorious improvisation. Yet, in fact, it was the fruition of the dreams of many generations of Filipino and other Malay heroes. These dreams found in President Macapagal their predestined architect and builder.

58. The new and still unfinished edifice of Maphilindo has suffered some damage at the hands of those who do not like it and never liked it. But, with faith and patience, with vision and energy we shall rebuild Maphilindo stronger and more stable than before, a more stately mansion for our peoples in South-East Asia than we planned in the beginning.

59. The present crisis over Malaysia constitutes the first real test of the capacity of the three Maphilindo countries to overcome their differences and to prevent them from hardening into permanent hostility. Therefore, in conclusion, may I say to our Malaysian and Indonesian brothers: "Heed not the counsels of those who wish to divide us and who intend to keep us divided.

Too long have we listened to them. Too long have they profited from our division. They shall go away from here, but South-East Asia is our home, and here we shall live, stuck together, for all eternity. Here, then, let us make our pledge, in the face of all the world, by standing together as brothers and neighbours, erect and proud and unafraid".

60. Mr. LANGE (Norway): Mr. President, first of all, allow me to congratulate you on your unanimous election to your high office and to express satisfaction that we can all now enjoy the privilege of your wise guidance of our deliberations.

61. I have listened with keen interest to the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum. In my turn I venture to offer a few observations on the present world situation, as it presents itself to a small nation on the northern fringes of Europe.

62. Less than a year ago the world was on the brink of catastrophe. Today we meet in an atmosphere perhaps more relaxed and more hopeful than at any time during the preceding seventeen Assemblies. We are filled—and I sincerely believe justifiably so—with a strong feeling that the danger of all-out war is greatly reduced. The world and its leaders realize that general war under existing conditions cannot possibly be used as an instrument for furthering political ambitions or national interests or for solving international problems.

63. Faced with the destructive potentialities of modern warfare, responsible leaders have been forced to the conclusion that there is no alternative to peace. Here lies the great and decisive change in the international situation. We all hope that we have entered a period where negotiation, conciliation and ultimately co-operation will little by little replace the mutual recrimination and propaganda blasts characteristic of the cold-war period.

64. The Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water has been greeted with great satisfaction in Norway. It has allayed fears of an ever-increasing poisoning of our environment and, what may in the long run prove to be even more important, it has created a more favourable political atmosphere. Indeed, the positive psychological effects of the Treaty should not be underestimated. We are therefore glad to know that more than 100 nations have already signed it, and we hope that those nations which have not yet made up their minds will soon follow suit.

65. We realize, however, that the limited test ban treaty in itself has not solved any of the fundamental political problems with which the world is faced today. It is a first step in the right direction. It must be followed by other concrete agreements, for example, to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation and to reduce the risk of surprise attacks. I take it as a good omen that we can already express satisfaction that agreement has been reached in principle not to place nuclear weapons in orbit in space.

66. Now it is the task for all of us to conduct our debates during this eighteenth session of the General Assembly in such a way that they help to create a climate conducive to further fruitful negotiations on outstanding international issues and, in particular, on general and complete disarmament.

67. It may well be that in years to come, this year of 1963 and this session of the General Assembly will be

considered a break-through for constructive great Power negotiations. For us Europeans, a major test of the sincerity of the great Powers and of the durability of the improvement in the international situation lies right in the heart of our continent. The ability of the Powers responsible to solve the German problem or at least to create conditions where a solution in keeping with the principle of the right of self-determination will ultimately become possible, will be a proof of their genuine desire to reach a relaxation of international tension. And, while efforts towards a final solution continue, the freedom and the peace of the people of West Berlin must be preserved.

68. Until a reasonable and just peace settlement is arrived at in Central Europe the European continent will not come to rest. May the same sense of reality and responsibility that turned the Cuban crisis of 1962 into the hopeful situation of 1963 and brought agreement to stop nuclear tests in the atmosphere and under the sea also be applied to the inherently dangerous situation in Central Europe!

69. I now turn to an attempt at assessing the situation in which we, as an Organization, find ourselves. Most of our new Members turn to the United Nations when they need help to uphold their national integrity and they also seek assistance to develop their economies through the agencies of the United Nations family. My Government welcomes this gradual expansion of the functions and tasks of the United Nations. It has been, and remains, our policy to make our contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and prosperity.

70. At the same time we should not overlook the inherent limitations in the capabilities and possibilities of our Organization. There are situations which do not naturally lend themselves to the kind of assistance that the United Nations can offer. I have in mind problems and situations which directly involve the vital interests and special responsibilities of the great Powers, and where the discreet mechanism of traditional diplomacy may offer better prospects of success.

71. There are other international problems where the positions of the parties concerned may have hardened to such an extent that further endeavours through the United Nations or otherwise offer little hope of success. I have already expressed the deep relief of the Norwegian Government and people resulting from the easing of international tension. I add to that an earnest appeal from my Government to the great Powers to re-examine their positions in the unsolved international problems still outstanding, in the hope that they may find that their hardened positions are no longer of the same importance to them.

72. Likewise I wonder whether smaller nations, which may be parties to local conflicts of long standing, may not upon re-examination of their original positions find that they do not have the same validity or are no more of the same importance as they were when the conflict arose? There are also a number of such conflicts or situations—"hardy perennials" to use the apt phrase of the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Lester Pearson—pending before the United Nations. In these cases the Organization should assist the parties in taking a fresh look.

73. During the past year we have had further proof of the remarkable capacity of our Organization to take on tasks of a peace-keeping nature in limited inter-

national conflicts, and to carry them out in a practical and effective way.

74. The Secretary-General has acted promptly and competently in the spirit and the letter of the Charter. I would like to pay my most sincere tribute to his successful and self-sacrificing contribution in the service of the United Nations. His practical and dynamic approach to different problems deserves unqualified support from the Member nations.

75. I say this in particular against the background of the success of the United Nations in the Congo during 1963. It is our understanding, on the basis of the Secretary-General's latest report to us<sup>8/</sup> and the request from the Government of the Congo,<sup>9/</sup> that the military phase of the United Nations operation in the Congo may be brought to a successful conclusion by mid-1964 at the latest.

76. Notwithstanding the fact that this peace-keeping action has placed great economic strain on the United Nations, it is our view that the Organization should not turn down the request by the Government of the Congo for a continued United Nations military presence. The Norwegian Government is prepared to recommend to the Norwegian Parliament that Norway accept her reasonable share of the expenditures for the extension of the United Nations presence in the Congo during the first six months of 1964 on the basis of the system of financing now proposed by fifteen African nations in the Fifth Committee [see A/C.5/L.793 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2].

77. In Norway, as well as in Denmark and Sweden, the national military establishments have, for some time, been engaged in making the necessary preparations for a Nordic stand-by force which the United Nations could make use of in future peace-keeping operations. The force will be so composed, with medical and engineering units, that it could also be of value when international assistance is required in catastrophes such as earthquakes, floods or the like. It is a matter of great satisfaction to my Government that other countries such as Finland, Canada and the Netherlands, are now also setting up stand-by forces.

78. I should like to emphasize that the creation of stand-by forces naturally does not, and cannot, obligate the United Nations to make use of these forces wholly or in part in future peace-keeping operations. Nor does it mean that the United Nations can automatically make use of them. As has been the case ever since the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, it will be a matter of request from the United Nations in each case to the Governments concerned.

79. The value of stand-by forces lies in the fact that the Secretary-General and his military advisers know in advance, and can take into account in their planning, forces that are available. The nations setting up stand-by forces can prepare the units with regard to training, language courses, clothing, equipment, medical service, and so on. In short, in our view, the formation of stand-by forces means that use is made of the practical experience drawn from a number of peace-keeping operations, and suitable steps are taken to avoid the hazards and shortcomings of improvisation in future peace-keeping operations.

<sup>8/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5428.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., document S/5428, annex I.

80. In this connexion I also wish to associate myself with the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden [1222nd meeting], recommending that the planning capacity within the Secretariat with regard to peace-keeping operations be increased by making the necessary staff assistance available to the military adviser of the Secretary-General.

81. As a necessary corollary to better military planning for future peace-keeping operations, I should like to point to measures to improve and strengthen the financial position of the Organization. Naturally, unless Member States pay the amounts they are assessed in accordance with the Charter, decisions regarding peace-keeping operations cannot be carried out. It gives grounds for serious concern that some Member States do not fulfil the financial obligations which the Charter places upon them.

82. I should like to express our gratitude for the very important contributions rendered by the African and Asian Member States in finding solutions to the financial problems of the United Nations. We have noted with respect how the new nations, notwithstanding their limited resources and serious payment difficulties, have paid fully the amounts which have been assessed against them. A considerable number have also used their scarce financial resources to purchase United Nations bonds to alleviate the acute financial crisis of last year.

83. We sincerely hope that the small number of Member States that are in arrears because they object on political or legal grounds to one or more of the duly authorized activities of the United Nations, will make their payments. It would be most regrettable if the United Nations, at a time of general improvement in international relations, should be pressed into a serious constitutional crisis on the basis of Article 19 of the Charter, for reasons of non-payment of amounts which are certainly insignificant in relation to those Member nations' capacity to pay. I venture to strike a note of optimism in this regard, since a number of the States that are in arrears have lately indicated a more positive and co-operative attitude in general towards the work of the United Nations.

84. Norway's general position on colonialism and racial discrimination is well known. During the past few months we have stated our views in the Security Council on the problem of Southern Rhodesia and have been party to the decisions made with regard to the Portuguese territories in Africa and the policies of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa.

85. We deplore that there still are countries which have not realized the positive character of the process of decolonization. We believe that the United Nations should assist in completing the process of liberating the dependent peoples in Africa, and particularly in doing away with the inhuman policy of apartheid. It is to be hoped that the Government of South Africa in its own interest will not ignore the serious warning which the Security Council issued in regard to apartheid on 7 August of this year.<sup>10/</sup> We urge that Government to change its policies in a direction which gives the whole population of South Africa, regardless of race and creed, equal opportunities to live together in a free, democratic society. If, however, the Government of South Africa continues to pursue its abhorrent policy of apartheid with its concomitant measures of suppression, we fear that it can end only in international

catastrophe. We therefore believe that the main task of the United Nations must be, by taking suitable steps which can obtain general support, to continue its endeavours to influence the Government of South Africa to change its course.

86. In addition, I would stress that we think it incumbent of Member States individually, in their relations with the Republic of South Africa, so to act as to further United Nations principles of human rights and freedoms.

87. As was mentioned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden in his intervention on 1 October 1963, the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway were recently invited by the Government of South Africa to visit that country and to acquaint themselves with South African conditions. All five countries declined the invitation. To our regret, we felt that a visit at the present time would not serve the purpose of furthering progress towards a solution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

88. What is required of the Government of South Africa now is not invitations to study prevailing conditions—which are well known—but a change in policy away from apartheid, away from the forced establishment of "bantustans", away from eventual partition, and rapid moves in the direction of respect for human rights and fundamental human freedoms. If there were indications of such a change, invitations would be welcomed and accepted, and I feel sure that any reasonable request for assistance in the transitional period, either from the United Nations or from individual Member States, would be viewed with sympathy.

89. When the matter of apartheid again is taken up by the Security Council, the basic instruction guiding the Norwegian delegation will be to contribute to whatever further decisions by the Council may then appear to be proper and to have a reasonable chance of being adopted by the Council. We believe that any use of the Council for purposes of propaganda or demonstrations should be avoided. We could hardly conceive of any greater setback in the long struggle of the United Nations against apartheid than failure on the part of the Security Council to act.

90. I have already referred to the dramatic process of decolonization and I venture to hope that in the near future we shall see the fulfilment of this historic evolution. The process is not completed, however, on the accession of the former colonial peoples to political independence and freedom. The gap in the standards of living and human welfare between the rich and the poor countries is today the most appalling fact confronting us on the world scene. The shocking truth is that this gap is constantly growing. To narrow the gap and assure a more equitable distribution of world resources and income is no doubt the greatest challenge of this decade.

91. The United Nations has come to play a vitally important role in what has come to be known as the North-South problem of our times. Those of us who have reached an advanced stage of development in our economies should now in turn increase the resources of the United Nations in the battle against poverty and want.

92. In the light of the breathtaking scientific developments in our century, the pessimistic Malthusian estimates of world resources have given way to more optimistic appraisals. In this respect, the United Nations

<sup>10/</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/5386.

Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas has focused our attention on the inspiring possibilities for the acceleration of economic progress through exploitation of scientific and technological potentialities. Today I think we can affirm that world resources are so great that, if fully and rationally exploited, they should be amply sufficient to meet the needs of the rapidly growing world population. But for such a rational exploitation and equitable use of world resources, exact knowledge of the character and magnitude of these resources is a prerequisite.

93. It seems to me, therefore, that in approaching this problem, perhaps the first need would be to call for a major international effort for the systematic study of world resources. The success of the International Geophysical Year some years ago proved that major break-throughs can be accomplished when nations large and small pool their scientific resources. Why not organize through the agencies of the United Nations a world-wide study of world resources and requirements?

94. Economic growth and higher standards of living also require the development of human resources through education. Education is a field which deserves higher priority in international aid programmes. The report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on "World Campaign for Universal Literacy"<sup>11</sup> highlights the unsolved tasks in elementary education.

95. Even more critical for the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia is perhaps the lack of trained personnel for use as government administrators, technicians, professional men, industrial leaders and skilled workers—in short, people who can make effective use of physical resources.

96. The task of wiping out illiteracy is an immense one but it is not enough. Secondary and higher education and vocational training are equally important. We are here faced with a new challenge which calls for greatly increased efforts and resources.

97. Another essential and highly urgent aspect of economic development is the complex of problems connected with trade between industrialized and developing countries. With the decision to hold a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, our Organization has assumed new responsibilities. We welcome this development as there is need for constant search for new ways in which to correct the anomalies which are manifest in the present system of international trade to the detriment of the economic interests of the developing countries. We share the hope that the forthcoming Conference will bring about fuller international co-operation and pave the way for greater progress towards the attainment of collective economic security. It is in the enlightened self-interest of the industrialized countries to co-operate in a positive and constructive manner to achieve that goal.

98. For more than a decade the major Powers have felt a need to concentrate a major part of their material and human resources on upholding their interests which were at stake in the East-West conflict. The improvement in the general international climate, and even more so, the explicit desire of both East and West to continue dialogues and negotiations, offers hope of savings of resources, both human and material. It is

our view that a major part of such savings should be concentrated in an attack on the North-South problem.

99. Mr. SPAAK (Belgium) (translated from French): Allow me first, Mr. President, to add my congratulations to all those already tendered to you on your election. Permit me to say that we are happy to serve under your orders this year, and I hope that your star, which appears to be a good star, will enable you to direct the deliberations of this Assembly in an atmosphere of harmony and understanding throughout.

100. In the statement I made from this rostrum at the seventeenth session [1138th meeting], I spoke mainly on three topics—East-West relations, the remaining problems of decolonization, and the problems of the Common Market. I shall not display any originality this year, but rather—with apologies for repeating myself—I intend to address you on the same subjects. I propose to discuss what has transpired since last year, but I shall take up my subjects in a different order, because it seems to me that their importance has changed. Less is heard of the Common Market these days, but infinitely more of East-West relations, and I am therefore going to begin with the Common Market, leaving the problems of the relaxation of tensions until the end.

101. I do not propose to give you a lengthy account of the internal history of the Common Market during the past year, nor shall I speak to you of the crisis through which we passed, of the break down of negotiations with the United Kingdom. I shall simply tell you that, despite that break down, and despite the difficulties we have encountered, the life of the Common Market continues almost as usual. We have made further reductions in internal tariffs, we have signed an Agreement of Association with Turkey, we have finished drafting and have signed the important Agreement of Association with eighteen African countries and, despite difficulties, we have made some progress with regard to agriculture.

102. Our success is reflected in the figures. Between 1958 and 1962, trade within the Community—that is, trade among the partners who make up the Six—increased by 97 per cent. I know, however, that that is not your main concern. Last year, many representatives expressed their fears of a selfish and protectionist Common Market, and I tried in my statement to show that I understood those fears and misgivings but that I also considered them groundless, at least for the time being.

103. This year, I can confirm that diagnosis, which I think was an optimistic one. The fact is that, despite—or perhaps even because of—the spectacular growth of our internal trade and the high standard of living which has been achieved by the countries of the European Six, our development has not harmed international trade—quite the contrary—and our trade with the outside world has increased by 39 per cent, which is more than the average increase of international trade.

104. A point which may be of greater interest to you, and which in any event appears, to my way of thinking, to be a decisive argument showing—I think I may say proving—that the European Economic Community is not at present pursuing a protectionist policy, is that imports into the Community have increased a good deal more rapidly than exports. I said a moment ago that imports had increased by 39 per cent; exports, however, increased by only 29 per cent, and the most striking fact—in my view, the decisive fact—is that the

<sup>11</sup>/ Document E/3771, mimeographed only.

deficit in the Community's balance of trade with the rest of the world is still growing. In 1958, the deficit was \$245 million. It increased to \$1,700 million in 1962, and for the first six months of 1963 it reached \$1,574 million—an impressive figure, which shows decisively that the Community is at present confronted by the problem of a deficit in its terms of trade and that thus far, as I have said time and again, outside countries have no grounds to complain of our policies.

105. I will not deny, however, that there is perhaps one shadow in this picture, or, to be more precise, that there is perhaps one anxiety which might justifiably increase. Like many other countries, Europe today has agricultural problems. Perhaps the most important sociological phenomenon in our region is the present insistent mood of the farmers; quite properly, they are demanding a decent life and calling for the same advantages as are enjoyed by the working class. This is a great economic problem, but, first and foremost, it is a social problem.

106. There is a way of entertaining their demands and meeting them fairly easily; all that is needed is to fix remunerative prices for farm products. That would be a satisfactory solution if, at the same time, output could be restricted; but such a policy of restriction is wanted neither by the farmers nor by Governments, with the result that, in our countries, the farm surplus problem is now becoming acute. The danger of farm surpluses is that they lead, almost inevitably, either to subsidized exports or to protectionism. We cannot deny that all these dangers exist; but they are not dangers peculiar to Europe. The same features of agricultural policy are found in almost every large country, and I therefore believe that we must seek a world-wide solution. Besides, a world-wide solution is essential in a world where some countries have surplus problems while a great many are still grappling with the more difficult, formidable and cruel problem of finding how to feed their peoples properly. A solution worthy of this age can be found only at a major world conference, at which agricultural problems will be studied by all.

107. The success of our Common Market must not impair our will to study and solve the other problems. I personally am in favour—strongly in favour—of the world trade Conference<sup>12/</sup> to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. I hope that Conference will not be confined to a discussion of certain tariff problems and technical matters. What is needed is for the conference to tackle—and to tackle courageously, boldly and imaginatively—the main problems facing, in particular, the under-developed countries.

108. The three main objectives, in my view, should be to find solutions to the vital problem of stabilizing the prices of certain agricultural products, to the problem of progressive industrial development in the developing countries, and to the problem of reducing considerably the financial burdens which weigh too heavily on those we have helped in the past. In any event, it is in that spirit of sincere co-operation that the Belgian Government expects to participate in this great world conference.

109. I now turn to African problems, and I note that the restrained optimism I was able to express from this rostrum last year has been confirmed. I think I may say—and I hope that the Prime Minister of the Congo, who will be speaking shortly, will confirm my

view—that during the past year relations between Belgium and the Congo have continued to improve, although there are still major problems to be resolved and some difficulties to be overcome.

110. Since the last session, we have settled what was the main crisis in the Congo; we have put an end to the secession of Katanga. In that connexion, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General and to declare before this Assembly that the solution which finally prevailed could not have been found without him. At one time or another, it is true, we exchanged many cables; at times we engaged in controversy by communiqué. What I wish to say is that we had the same good will and the same good faith, that we were seeking the same thing, and that, in the end, the operation was concluded as well as could be hoped. I was then glad to be able to resume the co-operation with the United Nations which, in my view, is one of the basic elements of my country's policy.

111. Belgian assistance to the Congo has continued. We are still providing technical assistance, and we have been confronted with the problem of providing some military assistance. I believe that the Prime Minister of the Congo was quite right to come to the United Nations, to explain his problem and his difficulties, and to indicate his desire that a number of countries should give more direct assistance in the reorganization of the Congolese national forces.

112. For my part, while I can appreciate some of the reasons that were advanced, I regret that the Advisory Committee on the Congo was unable to authorize the Secretary-General to take over the direction of and assume responsibility for that operation. I believe it would have been preferable for it to be carried out under the auspices and responsibility of the United Nations.

113. Since agreement could not be reached, however, Belgium did not feel that it could fail to respond to the direct request made to it by the Prime Minister of the Congo. We are therefore participating, cautiously and on a moderate scale, in the reorganization of the Congolese forces. So far as I am concerned, at least, I keep the Secretary-General regularly informed of everything we do; for I would not wish the slightest possible doubt to prevail regarding the spirit in which we have undertaken this task, which is not without difficulties internationally and psychological difficulties domestically.

114. As you are aware, we also supported in the Fifth Committee [1010th meeting] the request which was made by the Congolese Government. We believe it would be wise to allow the United Nations to continue its military effort in the Congo, at least for six months more. In taking this position, of course, we had to accept the logical consequences and naturally we decided—reversing a policy we had pursued since 1960—to assume our share of the costs; thus, for the future, our position has been regularized. With regard to the past, there are still a number of financial matters which we have to discuss with the United Nations. I hope, however, in view of the present relations between the Secretary-General and the Belgian Government, that we shall soon find a solution and be able to reach a full and final settlement of past problems, thus resuming our rightful place, which we were forced to leave only on account of unhappy events.

115. I should like, in passing, to say a few words on behalf of Rwanda and Burundi. When we were discussing

<sup>12/</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

the necessity of granting independence to those two countries, the Belgian Government and I myself repeatedly warned the Assembly of the economic and financial difficulties with which the two countries, over which Belgium had exercised trusteeship, would be confronted after independence. We knew that they were poor countries, we knew that they could not live by their own resources. I should like to pay a most sincere tribute to the Government of Rwanda and the Government of Burundi. I may say—I truly believe—that they have governed prudently and economically and that they have tried, in a situation that was by no means easy, to apply right principles. Prudence, however, has not been quite enough and their economic and financial situation remains difficult. I cannot but note with some regret that so many cordial promises made to them when they were seeking their independence, so many promises of financial and economic assistance, have not been fully kept. I believe that Belgium has done what it could. It has continued its technical assistance and its financial aid to Rwanda and Burundi, but it cannot shoulder alone the burden of the budget deficit and of economic difficulties. Allow me to say that I do not think it would be right for the countries which formerly exercised trusteeship to be the only ones to give effective aid to countries which have now achieved independence. I believe that it would be much better if there were international, multilateral assistance, which would give those countries the fullest protection from any undue political influence. For that reason I should like the United Nations to remember that this is a problem which they promised to consider and to settle. The problem is not a tremendous one. It is primarily a question of a foreign currency deficit. The amount involved for the coming year will be, at the most, \$15 million. This is a vital problem for the two countries; but it is really not too great a problem for the United Nations as a whole. I hope, therefore, that it may be solved.

116. I should now like to say a few words concerning African problems, in which Belgium is no longer directly involved but which still persist. Fortunately, colonialism no longer gives rise to many problems in Africa. Great and rapid progress has been made, but the last of these problems are certainly the most difficult to solve. I refer to the questions of Angola and South Africa. It is my hope that the resolutions we adopt on these two questions will be strong resolutions, but at the same time temperate and wise. If the resolutions resulting from our deliberations are resolutions that can be adopted unanimously, thus showing the countries involved in those problems that the whole world—European, African, Asian, communist, and the rest—thinks as one, I am confident that these temperate, strong and wise resolutions, adopted unanimously, will have more effect and greater impact than certain resolutions which might go too far and create differences, when the time comes to vote, even among those who share the same feelings.

117. Having made this appeal, which I believe can be heeded by the Assembly, whose spirit of wisdom and moderation cannot be questioned, I would say that Portugal and South Africa must understand that there are some policies which cannot prevail and some principles which cannot be accepted. The issue in Angola is not a question of law, but a question of right. The question is whether the general process of liberation and independence for the countries of Africa can stop short at the borders of Angola. I do not think that this conception of history can possibly be accepted, and that

is why I say that certain policies, even if backed by legal arguments, cannot stand.

118. The problem of South Africa is even more serious, for here we are not concerned simply with a policy that is probably doomed to failure; it is a question of the United Nations making clear its disapproval of principles that run counter to the fundamental principles of the Charter. In this connexion, I endorse everything that was said by my distinguished predecessor at this rostrum, my friend, Mr. Lange, the representative of Norway. I believe that there is positive action which the United Nations can take. We must realize that there are two great problems to be solved, but that the United Nations, acting unanimously, can play a part in their solution, and it is to be hoped that it will play its part, as it is in duty bound to do.

119. I now come to my last topic, the one which this year I regard as the most important, namely, East-West relations. I myself am somewhat surprised to note that, to a certain extent, this subject, which ought to have been the easiest, is actually the one presenting some difficulty. At the seventeenth session, I ventured—although this is always dangerous for a diplomat and a speaker—to make a cautious forecast. I said:

"Nevertheless, as regards East-West relations, there are a few signs—a few glimmers of light, as yet still faint—which would seem to indicate that the situation is in the process of being settled. It seems to me that the two groups have indeed shown a greater desire for understanding, a greater desire for agreement." [1138th meeting para. 135.]

120. I was being cautious; but I am happy to see that I was not mistaken and that the situation in which we find ourselves today confirms what was both a prophecy and a hope on my part. The Moscow Treaty and the undeniable atmosphere of "détente" and of attempts to reach understanding which exists in this Assembly are, it would seem to me, clear proof of what I am saying. Yet I must admit, with some dismay and some surprise, that this policy of "détente" does not seem to me to be welcomed with the unanimity I had expected. Indeed, there are in the western world important voices, authoritative voices, warning us against what they term undue optimism or the hazards for us in a policy of relaxation of tension. To them I should now like to reply from this rostrum.

121. Some say: "There is no relaxation of tension, since the main issues have not been resolved". I find this a strange argument and a grave error. I do not believe that, in international politics, the relaxation of tension should be an end in itself. The relaxation we seek, the relaxation in which we mean to co-operate, is essentially a method, and probably the only method that can lead to a solution of the main problems; for who can believe that a solution of the main problems which divide us could be found in an atmosphere of mistrust or rigidity?

122. Others tell us: "Be cautious; communism remains true to itself, its fundamental objectives have not changed; the communists still hope that the whole world will one day be subject to their rule and that their principles will become universal principles". I do not intend to dispute whatever truth there may be in this argument. I do not, in fact, believe that peaceful coexistence and the policy of "détente" mean that the communists have renounced their ideal or their profound convictions, any more than I have renounced

what I believe is just and good for all men when I defend such a policy. What must be said and repeated is that the spokesmen of the communist world—and of the Soviet Union in particular—have not tried to deceive us; we must read once again the definition given by Mr. Gromyko, following Mr. Khrushchev, in his speech the other day in this very hall, of what he considers peaceful coexistence to be. He said:

"The Soviet people are imbued with the unshakable belief that the example given by the Soviet Union and other countries building socialism and communism is convincing and will increasingly convince nations that this is the system which offers man the best opportunities to develop his abilities and be completely free from any kind of exploitation and oppression, want, or fear for this future.

"However, this does not mean the imposition of one's own system on other States, but peaceful competition, competition by example and by force of conviction, competition which completely excludes the use of force to affirm one's own views. It is on this foundation, according to the profound conviction of the Soviet Government, that relations between States should be built." [1208th meeting, paras. 111 and 112.]

123. As far as I am concerned, there is nothing in this definition to which I am opposed. I accept such a definition of the field. I never thought that, by accepting peaceful coexistence, the communists would forsake their convictions any more than I am prepared to forsake mine. But there was a time when we had reason to fear—whether we were right or wrong is something that I no longer even wish to consider—that communism would establish itself in the world through the cataclysm of a war or by subversion. We are told today: "That is not the case". An experiment is proposed to us. Mr. Khrushchev proclaims himself the apostle of peaceful coexistence and of the idea that war is avoidable. In taking a stand on these two points, he assumes enormous responsibilities, even in the communist world. It seems to me that it would be a terrible and unforgivable mistake to give him the lie or to discourage him; it would also be an obvious sign that we are wavering in our own convictions if we did not accept this sincere challenge.

124. This policy of "détente" has found its expression in the Moscow Treaty. The Belgian Government unreservedly approves the Moscow Treaty and the policy affirmed in that instrument. The Belgian Government thanks the United States and the United Kingdom—as also the Soviet Union—for having desired this policy and for having concluded the Treaty. For its part, the Belgian Government is ready in its relations with the countries of the East, to do everything in its power to contribute to the success of the policy of "détente". I hope to be able, before the end of the year, to conclude cultural agreements with the Governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and I am prepared to widen the scope of this policy in other fields and with other countries.

125. "But there is nothing substantial in the Moscow Treaty", say the sceptics. Well, they are only partly right. It is true that if one studies closely the precise terms of the Treaty, one would become convinced that it is not a definitive step on the road to disarmament, that it is not a powerful additional guarantee that peace will be maintained. But the way in which the Moscow Treaty was discussed and concluded, and the assistance which the three signatories requested from all the

countries of the world—assistance which has been willingly given—all this has created a certain atmosphere and invested the Treaty with symbolic importance. As far as I am concerned—and I should like to make this quite clear—the Moscow Treaty is only a beginning. Since it is only a beginning, the policy which it endorses must be continued, for a policy of "détente" cannot be stopped. If it were to be stopped, it would be a serious and a dangerous mistake and a great victory for the sceptics. It now appears, however, that further progress can be made along the road we have taken. The work begun must of course be continued at Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. It is to be hoped, with an improved atmosphere and greater confidence in general and controlled disarmament, important decisions or solutions can be reached and important steps taken. However, we must not seek to solve problems all at once or too hastily. Building the peace—as it has often been said and quite rightly so—will be a long-term task, and one that will require patience. We must therefore also work unceasingly to find solutions to certain more specific and more limited problems. Numerous ideas have already been advanced, and we have only to choose from amongst them.

126. One very important idea is that of fixed observer posts located in Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada, which would probably make impossible any conventional war by surprise—and perhaps any surprise war. There is the possibility of crowning our efforts with a non-aggression pact. I will be told: "That would add nothing; we already have the United Nations Charter". That is true. But it is never useless to reaffirm, for the benefit of certain parts of the world, principles which have already been accepted in international relations.

127. I firmly believe that every idea—any idea—must be explored, that we do not have the right to let the situation remain as it is without seeking in all good faith and sincerity to understand one another, and thus gradually, and perhaps definitively, to improve a situation which has recently undergone a change.

128. Lastly, I should like to say that the spirit of "détente" should not be limited to relations between the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Pact, between communist and non-communist countries. A policy which is good for Europe is also good for the rest of the world; and if, after having so often given the world cause for concern and apprehension, Europe today adopts the course of wisdom, other continents should follow this good example. We must emphatically reaffirm that this policy of "détente" is a normal and natural application of the principles of the United Nations Charter, according to which all conflicts can and must be resolved by peaceful means, and that these are the principles we wish applied throughout the entire world. I should like to see all vestiges of the cold war disappear from the speeches made here. I should like to see what applies in Europe apply, in particular, in the case of the Middle East where the most injurious language of the worst moments of the cold war appears still to be fashionable.

129. I have the feeling that this is an important period. The policy of "détente" which is the expressed will of the most powerful countries in the world and is supported by the overwhelming majority of other countries, reflects a very important transformation in international life. The old divisions are about to be abolished. Tomorrow the line of demarcation will no longer be drawn between communists and non-communists, be-

tween countries which were colonized and those which colonized them. No longer will ideology or race place us in one or the other camp; but we shall witness a struggle between the sceptics, the opportunists, and the inhuman doctrinaires on the one hand, and, on the other, those who have kept their faith in progress and have not been ashamed to hope; the sceptics and the doctrinaires do not wish to believe or cannot believe that the world will one day be different from what it has always been, that the old quarrels—almost always the result of selfish nationalism—are now obsolete and that the new problems confronting those who have mastered the atom and conquered outer space require solutions which have never been envisaged or even imagined. Let them therefore repeat their abstract formulae in which we find no trace of the realities of life and none of the hopes of mankind. Let us, on the other hand, show some audacity and even take some risks, if need be, to defend the cause of peace. Realism does not lie in an obstinate attachment to the past, but rather in a continuing confidence in the future.

130. In our Organization, which is now happily almost universal, we have lived through great hours of hope, but also through grave hours of doubt. We have been engaged in desperate struggles, in fights that were as violent as they were often sterile and useless. Can we really not do better than that? Today our Organization is presented with a great opportunity to become what it hoped to be when it was born and what we proudly named it: the "united" nations—united in the same ideal of international justice, understanding and human brotherhood. Gentlemen, do not let us miss this great opportunity.

131. Mr. TARAZI (Syria) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me to associate myself with all those who have congratulated you on your election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. The eminent qualities you have already shown as representative of your country to the United Nations and the friendly personal relations you maintain are a guarantee of the success of our work.

132. The eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is opening under favourable omens. During the period since December 1962, the world has witnessed many events which point to a better future for mankind as it continues its upward and triumphal struggle and seeks to lay the foundations of a durable just and lasting world peace.

133. It has always been the desire of the Government which I have the honour to represent to pursue and carry out the policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment initiated at the famous and historic conference held at Bandung in 1955.<sup>13/</sup>

134. Some of the principles which emerged from the Bandung Conference were endorsed at Belgrade in September 1961.<sup>14/</sup> The group of non-aligned countries has spared no effort to bring about the "détente" which is ardently sought by the peoples of the world because they want present and future generations to escape a thermonuclear holocaust. The aim of positive neutralism is to work in the service of peace. It makes its contribution to reconciling opposing views so that the foundations of peaceful coexistence may be strengthened.

135. The most vital problem we must tackle if we want peaceful coexistence to continue and develop is that of

banning the use of weapons of mass destruction. The Committee on measures leading towards disarmament has already considered this. Authoritative voices have called for concrete results in that direction. What is more, the Cuban crisis showed, in October 1962, that the confrontation of the two greatest nuclear Powers could lead to the extinction of all life on our planet. The world was happy to see, therefore, that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were able finally to spare mankind that tragic fate.

136. During this summer, a major step forward was made in this direction. Following laborious negotiations, the United States, the USSR and the United Kingdom succeeded in signing, at Moscow on 5 August 1963, the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater. Although a total ban on the use of these weapons has not yet been achieved, the signing of the Moscow Treaty has been hailed and acclaimed by all peoples as an important milestone in contemporary history. The majority of States, both Members and non-members of the United Nations and including Syria, have affixed their signature to the Treaty, which shows the importance attached to it by world public opinion.

137. However, that is only a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament. It must be followed by others. The trust just established between the great Powers should stimulate every possible effort to create a favourable climate for future progress along the arduous road to peace.

138. The statements made earlier from this rostrum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [1208th meeting] and the President of the United States of America [1209th meeting] are, we feel, encouraging. They are promising signs for the future. We have come a long way from the days when incomprehension between the great Powers was the rule. If a meeting of the members of the Committee on Disarmament were convened at the highest level, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR has proposed, it would undoubtedly contribute to ironing out the remaining difficulties. Many world problems are still unsolved and it would be quite unrealistic to think that solutions to them can be found quickly. On the contrary, we must be patient and wait until all the issues dividing the East and the West are settled in due course in a spirit of mutual understanding and trust similar to that which resulted in the historic treaty partially banning nuclear weapon tests.

*Mr. Thor Thors (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

139. The peoples of the world are awaiting the ending of what has been termed the cold war. Vast resources have already been diverted from normal channels for use in the manufacture of weapons of total destruction. While hunger and poverty are still felt over a large part of the globe, thousands of millions are swallowed up in armament costs. We must therefore move ahead with the study of measures relating to the economic consequences of disarmament. The militarized economies face a crucial point in their development; we believe that their adaptation to a general peace programme is essential if they are not to hamper any evolution towards disarmament.

140. The great Powers, freed from the burden of military expenditure, could and should then devote themselves to assisting the developing countries. The

<sup>13/</sup> Asian-African Conference, held 18-27 April 1955.

<sup>14/</sup> Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held 1-6 September 1961.

latter have suffered enough, over whole centuries, from foreign domination and oppression. Their resources have been used for the industrialization and development of their former masters. When these left them, their independence, gained, alas, at the cost of blood and sacrifices, was stamped with the seal of poverty, hunger and ignorance. My Government wishes to pay tribute to the work done by the United Nations, in conjunction with the specialized agencies, in the field of technical assistance. However, this work would be more useful and more effective if the resources of the economically strong powers were mobilized to improve the lot of the peoples instead of being used for the creation of devices capable of destroying them.

141. The question assumes particular gravity and importance when we consider that the United Nations Development Decade is still in progress. It would be unfortunate were we to find that scientific development and social development could not keep step. In describing the present period, since the end of the Second World War, we would have to mention a hitherto unknown historical phenomenon. Whereas in the past social changes took place slowly and gradually, sometimes requiring whole centuries, we have seen, in the space of twelve years, the birth of two decisive eras, or even ages, which distinguish the time in which we live.

142. In 1945, the United States of America exploded the first atomic bomb. The secrets of the atom were revealed, and it could now be used as a weapon of total destruction or as a tool for the emancipation of all mankind.

143. In 1957, the Soviet Union initiated the exploration of space by launching its first satellite and later by sending the first man into space. Thus a new barrier was crossed. No scientific marvel since the day when Christopher Columbus discovered America could be compared to that exploit.

144. Thus, with the twentieth century not yet over, man has succeeded in splitting the atom and navigating in space. The two ages have helped to bring men closer together, as Lamartine was already prophesying in the nineteenth century in the following lines which I feel are topical:

"Seas, rivers and degrees no longer limit the sharing of man's heritage; the only frontiers between men are the limits of the spirit, so that the world, once enlightened, will rise to unity."<sup>15/</sup>

It would therefore be altogether anachronistic and contrary to the laws of history, in this age of the atom and of space, for entire peoples to remain in a state of misery, while the amazing achievements of science and technology have made possible human progress at a dizzying rate.

145. A world rid of the terror of weapons and concentrating on peaceful achievements could create in any event more favourable circumstances for the development of those countries which are seeking economic and social advancement. In this connexion we are in full agreement with the Secretary-General who said, in his Introduction to the Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, that "The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology was a milestone in the Development Decade" [A/5501/Add.1, sect. I].

146. Science and technology in the service of development; what could be better to bring about the rehabilita-

tion of the backward regions of the world and thereby ensure a lasting peace based on justice? Such action would be incomplete, however, if not accompanied by measures to promote international trade. A feature of the present age is the trend towards the establishment of economic groupings, which vie with each other sometimes to their own detriment, but often to the detriment of countries recently freed from the chains of colonialism and imperialism.

147. These economic groupings, by trying to monopolize to their own advantage trade with non-member States, may, at the present stage in their development, create problems which, far from reducing international tension, may in fact heighten it. Bearing particularly in mind the interest of the developing countries, there is reason to believe that some economic groupings may considerably retard the industrialization of these countries, simply because of the channelling of trade through European markets and the need for association with the grouping, without which such countries are deprived of all outlets. Consequently, in the interests of peace itself, we welcome the convening of the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which is to be held during 1964. We hope that it will be able to alleviate the present situation and that the new nations will be able to express their views quite frankly on measures which will not hamper their harmonious and peaceful development.

148. With regard to the new countries, we note with pleasure that the number of African States which have completed the steps leading to independence has increased considerably during recent years. The membership of the United Nations has thus been enlarged and we must agree with the Secretary-General that this widening has "brought the Organization nearer to its goal of universality" [A/5501/Add.1, sect. IX].

149. With a view to achieving that goal in a more specific manner, the General Assembly, acting on a proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted its famous Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples of 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)]. The aim of that historic Declaration was to put an end once and for all to the colonial system. It alone should have led both the colonized peoples and the Administering Powers to bring about the final liquidation of that system. Thus far, it has unfortunately not done so, notwithstanding the creation in 1961 of a Special Committee to implement the Declaration of 14 December 1960.<sup>16/</sup>

150. The Committee has taken on an impressive task. It has already met in 1962 and 1963 and has painted a complete picture of the territories which still labour under the colonial yoke. But the colonial Powers which persist in maintaining their supremacy do not intend to let go. We must therefore salute the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Southern Rhodesia and other colonial territories to obtain their final liberation. In the interest of peace and in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations Charter, they must obtain it as soon as possible, and in any case before the twentieth session. It is impossible to understand Portugal's stubborn maintenance of its rule. We venture to hope that the resolution on the territories administered by Portugal adopted by the Security Council on 31 July 1963,<sup>17/</sup> following the complaint which the

<sup>16/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>17/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5380.

<sup>15/</sup> From a poem entitled "La Marseillaise de la Paix".

African States decided to draw up during their historic meeting at Addis Ababa last May, <sup>18/</sup> will not remain a dead letter.

151. It is equally necessary that the policies of apartheid pursued by the Republic of South Africa should come to an end. That is a special form of colonialism which has continued for more than fifteen years. In spite of the constant efforts of the United Nations, the European minority continues to oppress the African majority. This situation cannot be allowed to continue. The General Assembly and the Security Council have decided on measures to be taken with a view to compelling the South African Government to discharge its obligations under the United Nations Charter. My Government endorses here and now any action that may be taken to that end.

152. My delegation has also considered the situation of Gibraltar. It believes that that territory, being a part of Spain, should by right be returned to the Spanish people. The arguments adduced in support of the United Kingdom's position in the Committee of Twenty-Four [208th meeting] are not convincing.

153. The Arab nation also is still suffering from the throes of imperialism and colonialism. The United Kingdom continues to obstruct the emancipation and liberation of many peoples and of immense vast territories extending from the Arabian Gulf to Yemen.

154. The people of Oman are continuing their heroic struggle. In spite of the fact that the United Kingdom is denying them their legitimate aspirations, we are certain that they will win and that their struggle will not have been in vain. Similarly, the establishment of the Federation of South Arabia, of which Aden forms a part, does not constitute a just and sound approach to the independence and unity that is the aspiration of all Arabs, particularly of those of the regions concerned. However, far from adapting itself to the needs of the time, the United Kingdom Government has refused to co-operate with the mission appointed by the Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on colonialism to investigate the claims of the peoples of Aden and of Southern Arabia. The report of the Sub-Committee on Aden [A/AC.109/L.63] alone constitutes a clear indictment. The Sub-Committee was unable to visit Aden, and, strange to say, the Aden immigration authorities warned the airlines and shipping companies not to permit the entry of the permanent representatives to the United Nations who were chosen by the Committee of Twenty-Four to visit Aden. Those representatives were thus regarded by the Aden authorities as malefactors. This is how the United Kingdom intends to fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter. If you refuse to receive the Committee at Aden, do you believe it will deign to go to you? Having been unable to visit Aden, the Sub-Committee heard petitioners at San'a, Taiz, Jeddah, Cairo and Baghdad. The petitioners unanimously denounced the actions of the Administering Power. That Power intends to subordinate the interests of the peoples to the requirements of its strategy and its petroleum policy. The political organizations of Aden and South Arabia have clearly expressed their desire to achieve unity with Yemen, but the United Kingdom will not grant independence to those vast territories unless they consent to remain under its control. That is the explanation for the repressive measures mentioned in the report. The

nationalists are persecuted and imprisoned because they call for implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

155. We wonder whether this situation is not a remnant of some imperial nostalgia which was fitting in Rudyard Kipling's time but is completely inconsistent with the needs of today. In that connexion, I should like to emphasize one of the Sub-Committee's conclusions, in paragraph 177 of its report, which reads as follows:

"In making these recommendations, the Sub-Committee has in mind the rapid implementation in this Territory of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It feels, however, that it is also its duty to draw the attention of the Special Committee to the need to put an end to a dangerous situation the continuance of which is likely to threaten international peace and security."

New developments have taken place in the Arab world, which intends to achieve unity, for it is driven in that direction by an implacable historical process. The first task of the Arab liberation movement is to break the chains of imperialism and colonialism wherever they exist. We are fighting to liberate those Arab countries which are still in chains, just as we are fighting for the emancipation of all our Asian and African brothers.

156. I should also like to refer to a matter which is close to the heart of every Arab because it constitutes the most flagrant injustice in contemporary history, namely, the "Palestine question". The Zionist movement, which has long served the cause of imperialism, by deceitful acts induced the United Kingdom to grant it on 2 November 1917 the famous and unjust declaration known as the "Balfour Declaration". Not content with having decided the fate and future of a territory which was not its own, the United Kingdom Government, during its Palestine Mandate, proceeded to carry out a policy whose harmful consequences were evident to Arab eyes from the very first.

157. The resolution [181 (II)] which was adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947 and led to the assumption of power in Palestine by the Jewish minority—a minority, incidentally, which came from Europe—had the most fateful and unjust consequences for the destiny of the Arab nation. One million Arabs were expelled from their homes and have been living since 1948 in difficult and precarious conditions.

158. Successive resolutions of the General Assembly have already decided that the refugees should return to their homes and be compensated for the loss of their property, but nothing has been done to implement these resolutions. The sufferings of the refugees are continuing, because the Israel authorities will not bow to the law and persist in their defiance of international opinion. The armistice agreements they signed with the Arab countries created obligations which they do not intend to honour. Acts of aggression, continual violations of the armistice agreements—this is the coin in which Israel deals.

159. Israel's activities enjoy constant immunity. Israel remains unaffected by criticism. It has good friends that sustain and protect it, especially in the Security Council. The friends in question do their utmost to make Israel appear the victim, when its actions have already placed it in the ranks of usurpers and aggressors. Since the Arabs were driven from the land of their ancestors, the history of Israel has been one long series of actions undertaken in the service of

<sup>18/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, 22-25 May 1963.

imperialism. The world has not forgotten the role Israel played in the attack on Egypt in 1956. Whenever imperialism wished to exert pressure on certain Arab countries, Israel was there to lend a hand. Each time imperialism wanted to exert pressure, Israel was there to help it, for Israel is an extension of the West into the Middle East. It is clear that so long as this state of affairs lasts, it will be our duty to think of our future and that of our children. In view of the expansionist aims of Israel, we must defend ourselves against it and we must continue to be vigilant. Our very existence is at stake.

160. Palestine having been usurped, and its people having suffered the injustice I have mentioned, it is up to that people to decide its own fate. Reference is often made, wrongly, to Arab-Israel relations. No such thing exists. There is only the question of Palestine. It is the Arab people of Palestine that have the primary right to settle it.

161. In her statement, the Israel representative, Mrs. Golda Meir, lamented the absence of peace in the region. She thus wished to make herself appear the victim, claiming that the Arabs harbour aggressive intentions in order to conceal their internal dissension. Let me refute this false allegation briefly and vigorously by the following arguments.

162. First, Mrs. Meir and those who support her cause know very well that the Arab peoples never consented to submit to the injustice committed against them. It would therefore be fallacious and mendacious to attribute this state of affairs to the conditions prevailing in the Arab world, which the latter regards as entirely its own concern.

163. Secondly, the Arab countries cannot watch Israel's aggressions impassively while the legitimate nationals of Palestine are languishing in refugee camps. No Government, whatever its tendencies and its political orientation, could subscribe to a status quo based on injustice, for all the Arab masses would then be hostile to it. I regret to say these words, which certainly will not please Mr. Spaak, but that is the situation in the Middle East, which he saw fit to mention in his otherwise very eloquent statement.

164. Thirdly, the hostility of the Arab masses is not the result of a mere mental speculation. It results from an anomaly that is obvious to the most untrained eye. While the right of self-determination is proclaimed everywhere, in the case of Palestine it has been denied to the Arab majority of the population, and granted to a Jewish minority, which had come, moreover, from abroad. Would our African friends and brothers accept, for example, a General Assembly decision favouring the European minority currently governing the Republic of South Africa or upholding the domination of Sir Roy Welensky in Rhodesia? I am sure they would not.

165. Fourthly, Israel was, moreover, a product of the machinations of imperialism, which has joined forces with the Zionist movement. There is no need for me to give the history of this permanent conspiracy. I shall take as my proof what was written by the late Chaim Weizmann in his book which is known in the French version as Naissance d'Israël and which first appeared in English under the title Trial and Error. Speaking of Mr. Leopold Amery, the former British Colonial Secretary, in very touching terms, Mr. Weizmann says:

"Of larger stature and superior abilities was Leopold Amery, later Colonial Secretary. Amery

got his enlightened imperialist principles from Milner. He was the most open-minded of all that group. He realized the importance of a Jewish Palestine in the British imperial scheme of things more than anyone else."<sup>19/</sup>

I repeat: "He realized the importance of a Jewish Palestine in the British imperial scheme of things more than anyone else". I feel that this statement needs no comment. Nevertheless, in order to fit contemporary history, the last sentence should be replaced by the words—and here I quote myself—"Jewish Palestine is important in the scheme of Western strategy and tactics". I submit this last thought for the consideration of those willing to profit by the lessons of history.

166. It appears therefore that the Palestine question is sui generis and does not fall under the rules which nowadays govern international relations. Just as the African countries could not consider accepting rule by Europeans either in South Africa or in Angola or Mozambique, so the Arab peoples could in no way submit to a colonial situation dictated by imperialism and its agents, especially when those who hold the reins of power in Israel today are mostly immigrants from Europe.

167. Thus, the Arab countries measure the friendship they feel for other countries in the light of the Palestine question. Those who wish to take the side of Israel should not forget that they are offending the feelings of the entire Arab nation. That point was made clear by my delegation during the recent debates in the Security Council. On that occasion we appreciated at its true worth the position taken by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in upholding the cause of right, justice and equity and voting accordingly.

168. In spite of the feelings aroused in us by the Palestine question, we continue to assure the United Nations of our confidence in it, for it must pursue its task in spite of the difficulties with which it is confronted. On the subject of difficulties, the financial situation which the Organization faces today as a result of the operations in the Congo inevitably comes to mind. We agree with the Secretary-General when he says to us:

"While good reasons have been put forward for the continuation of the United Nations military commitment in the Congo, I sincerely believe that the time has come when, for various reasons, it is necessary to envisage the early withdrawal and winding-up of the United Nations Force in the Congo." [A/5501/Add.1, sect. V, p. 3.]

We are inclined to believe that the wise measure recommended by the Secretary-General would lead to a substantial reduction of the heavy expenses now borne by our Organization. In any event, whatever may be the outcome of the problem, we should not lose sight of the fact that any decision the General Assembly may take in the matter should be based on a proper appreciation of the interests of the Organization and of its Member States. There can be no question of adopting vexatious measures against anyone, nor of invoking Article 19 of the Charter merely from a desire to cast a shadow over our work.

169. Similarly, the People's Republic of China cannot be kept outside the fold. The Chinese people has suffered from imperialism since the day when, following

<sup>19/</sup> Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 182.

the Opium War, it was placed at the mercy of the greed and whims of those known at the time as the "Treaty Powers". The establishment of a régime which is not to some people's liking cannot constitute a pretext for preventing the Government that holds effective authority over all of continental China from taking its place among us. This anomaly should be ended, for its continuance tends constantly to retard a genuine and complete "détente".

170. It is in the spirit of the principles I have had the honour to express on behalf of my country that my delegation intends to take part in the work of the present session of the General Assembly. It will make every effort to ensure the success of all endeavours that may safeguard peace and security, put an end to colonialism and promote a better understanding among peoples.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*