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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. JOOSTE (South Africa): A fact that has emerged most clearly from the general debate is man's fear of war—that is, a war which will involve the world in a thermo-nuclear holocaust from which no one on this earth, not even succeeding generations, will escape.

2. A number of speakers have made it clear that mankind cannot continue to live, with any sense of tranquillity, under this ever-present dread of impending disaster.

3. Speakers have, almost without exception, acclaimed the test ban treaty<sup>1/</sup> as a possible breakthrough, however limited, in at least one aspect of the nuclear threat. Some have welcomed the direct means of communication and contact between the leaders of the two major nuclear Powers. In both these developments they endeavour to see some glimmer of hope of a less dangerous, and therefore a more fruitful, form of international life.

4. This debate has therefore brought into clear relief how Governments and peoples are, as it were, clutching at every straw—and I do not use this word disparagingly—which may enable mankind to escape from the nightmare of complete destruction, which may lead to the conditions of international life that we would desire to hand down to those who come after us.

5. This fear must be heeded, and those directly responsible must now press on to the next logical steps in the field of disarmament—steps which would ensure, among other things, an effective system of inspection and control. The necessity of this was stressed by our Foreign Minister when he announced, on 17 September, that the Republic of South Africa had decided to accede to the test ban treaty.

6. But even if this fear should be removed, even if the fear of the employment of nuclear weapons and of pollution through tests, terrifying as that is, should be averted, mankind will still not have peace—that is, peace in the full sense of the word.

7. When it was announced that South Africa had decided to accede to the test ban treaty, my Government made this clear by indicating that there were also other threats to world peace, to co-operation and to the prosperity of mankind. In this connexion, mention was made of the continuation of ideological conflicts, with attempts by States to dominate and indoctrinate the minds of men, as well as intervention by States, in the prosecution of their ideological campaigns, in the domestic affairs of others under the guise of morality or service to humanity. These are everyday and ever-present threats which must be removed if we are to have real peace—a peace which would ensure the conditions of life for which mankind is so sincerely and deeply yearning.

8. And can it be claimed that everything that has been said from this rostrum during this debate has been designed to promote this kind of peace, that this kind of peace has really been promoted by all the previous speakers?

9. True enough, some speakers have made important contributions to this end. Many of them have put forward constructive ideas for promoting international co-operation in matters of common concern. And we have heard statements, some on controversial and delicate matters, which have been couched in language clearly designed to create and maintain a high and conciliatory tone, a tone which has been applauded as a happy augury for this Assembly. Yet it cannot be claimed that this debate has succeeded in bringing us back on to the road of real peace and harmony, the road which those who drafted the Charter at San Francisco had in mind.

10. The South African delegation has listened to all the previous speakers in this debate. We have listened with particular attention to the remarks of those who have, in the past, consistently shown hostility towards us. We have done so in the hope that we might detect an indication, however small, of some measure of goodwill, of a better understanding of our country's position and of the unique and delicate problems with which we have to deal, as well as of the principles according to which we are tackling those problems. We had hoped that, despite the attitude which had hitherto been adopted by some delegations, we should at least find less virulence in the feelings of those who have for so long sought to harm us and even to deny us our rights not only as a State Member of this Organization but also as a member of the community of nations.

11. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. We have heard from these speakers the same attacks, some more unbridled than ever before; we have experienced

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

the same invasion of our sovereignty; and we have listened to the same distortions and unfounded allegations concerning our affairs. In fact, the majority of previous speakers has found it necessary to refer, in one way or another, to our affairs—and many of them in very critical terms.

12. To all these speeches we have listened without any form of protest. The South African delegation did not come to New York in order to engage other delegations in a dialectic contest. In our view such an approach to international intercourse is a sterile one. It will get us nowhere, and can only harm all concerned, including the overriding objective of peaceful co-existence. However, no one can, or will, expect me as the representative of South Africa to remain silent on these attacks and allegations to which I have referred—and I do not intend to do so. We have often said in the past, and I repeat today, that national pride is not the prerogative of any one nation, or of any single group of nations. To this I would add that truth and justice are not expendable attributes of morality or fruitful international intercourse.

13. If we are to have world peace, and if the nations of the world are to live in harmonious circumstances which would enable each one of them to devote its full attention and apply all its resources and energy to the solution of its own peculiar problems, then we shall have to put into practice those concepts that are fundamental to the rules of propriety and justice which must govern the affairs of the international community.

14. It is true, of course, that many of the incorrect statements concerning South Africa's affairs were based, not on hostility, but on real misconceptions and misinterpretations of the facts. The reason for this may well be that the impact upon the speakers concerned of the often vicious propaganda against us has created an image which others could not but view with disapproval. Now so far as those representatives are concerned I would only ask them to take a fresh look at the South African scene, and to do so with a greater measure of objectivity and a more open mind.

15. On two previous occasions full facts concerning our policies to which others take exception were given from this rostrum by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>2/</sup> He gave these facts voluntarily—not because it was incumbent upon him to account to the United Nations for the manner in which we conduct our internal affairs, but because he sincerely believed that an explanation of our position would be conducive to a better understanding by at least those who have been our traditional friends. Unhappily these full and clear statements have apparently lost their impact, or their impact has been engulfed in the emotionalism engendered in this Organization by those who would seek to deprive us of our heritage.

16. Where I refer to representatives whose Governments bear us no ill will and who would sincerely welcome a solution of our difficult problems, let me assure them that we do not deny them, or anyone else, the right to hold views differing from ours with regard to any matter of whatever nature. We also have our views as to what is taking place in the internal lives of other nations. But I submit that before they come to any final conclusion it would be better, and certainly fairer, to ensure that they are in possession of all the facts. I

would also ask them once again, when they give expression to their views, always to consider whether they can properly do so in this forum in the light of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. They might also ponder the question whether what they say does not add fuel to the fire which already threatens to destroy the United Nations.

17. It is at this stage that I am obliged to refer to a matter which has been given some publicity and which I cannot therefore ignore. I refer to an invitation extended by my Government to the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries. The reason for the invitation was that some of those countries with which we have had long contact have in recent years shown a growing hostility to South Africa, a hostility strangely at variance with the attitude of many of their prominent citizens who know South Africa well and who are in a favourable position to judge our affairs.

18. According to our information, these Foreign Ministers were to meet and would discuss their countries' attitude toward South Africa, among other things. Our Government therefore decided that it should offer them the opportunity of, first of all, acquainting themselves with what was really taking place in South Africa, and an invitation was issued to each one of them to visit the Republic. They were invited as a group and at a time convenient to them, with every facility to go where they pleased and to meet whomsoever they wished. The invitation was extended to a recognized regional group of States which traditionally co-operate in international affairs, and for which South Africa is an important and expanding market, with notable potentiality for the future. The invitation had nothing to do with the United Nations.

19. In the course of this debate the Assembly has been informed of their refusal of the offer. To us it is a matter of regret that these Governments, although now apparently seeking to give a lead to the international community regarding its relations with South Africa, should have rejected an invitation which would have enabled them fully to inform themselves on the problems at issue, prior to any attempt on their part to formulate conclusions as to how these problems may best be resolved.

20. I need comment no further on this matter.

21. There are of course also the representatives of Governments who consistently seek to discredit us, and who are not prepared to view our affairs with any measure of justice, let alone any measure of goodwill. It is chiefly due to their remarks that I, as the representative of South Africa, am obliged once again to deal with certain aspects of our domestic life in order to ensure that the relevant facts are at least placed on the record. In doing so I shall endeavour to give only such information as is necessary, and I will, therefore, deal only with the most glaring cases of misrepresentation.

22. What are the main charges against my country—charges which have been made despite every effort on our part in the past to demonstrate the false assumptions upon which criticism of our affairs is based? I believe that I can summarize them in one single sentence, as follows: it is alleged that the South African people of European origin are temporary settlers with no right to a permanent homeland of their own in Africa; that we have taken the country which we claim to be our homeland from others and that our Government is therefore a "foreign" government; that we seek to maintain our position by coercion

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 811th meeting; and *ibid.*, Sixteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1033rd meeting.

and perpetual repression and that our policy, which has been described as one of inherent racial hatred and superiority, is founded on a denial of the right of self-determination—all of which constitutes a threat to the peace of the world.

23. This is not so. And I shall endeavour to demonstrate the validity of my denial.

24. Our main problem, the one which overshadows the whole of the South African scene and which must therefore be given the highest priority in our domestic policies, is the relationship between the South African nation of European descent and the Bantu nations who live under the sovereignty of the South African Government. This is the problem which we must, first of all, dispose of before we can give our entire attention to such residual problems as may still be left, which affect other but smaller population groups. This does not mean that these problems, which I have termed "residual problems", do not receive attention. They do. Indeed they receive our constant attention, but we will be able to deal with them much more effectively after we have dealt with the position of the great numbers of Bantu who constitute several distinct and separate nations.

25. Let me, however, first of all say this. In order to achieve a proper understanding of the whole position it is necessary to recognize the fundamental fact that Africa is not the exclusive preserve of any one race, whatever the general image abroad may be. Africa has over the millennia of recorded history been the home of many widely differing nations. There is thus no single African race—just as little as there is a single Asian race or a single American race, etc. This is a fact of history which must always be borne in mind.

26. Returning to our main problem—that is, the position in South Africa of the South African nation of European origin and the different Bantu nations—I would also like to begin by placing this problem in its correct historical perspective.

27. The European population established itself on the southern tip of Africa more than three centuries ago, without in any way settling on land occupied by others. As for the Bantu peoples, they were migrating southward down the coast of East Africa; and it was nearly 150 years after the first white settlement that these two main groups met.

28. When this happened, border clashes of course took place periodically—and that was mainly during the first half of the nineteenth century; yet despite this, the Xhosa nation of today, for instance, is largely resident in the same area as it had occupied at the end of the eighteenth century when it first came into contact with the European settlement. Similarly in the North of the country there was very little displacement of other Bantu peoples. On the contrary, there has taken place in the twentieth century what has always been accepted as a temporary overspill of Bantu into areas which had already been settled by Europeans. There is therefore no foundation whatsoever for the allegation so frequently made that the Europeans deprived the Bantu in South Africa of land which was traditionally theirs. In fact, for many years the South African Government has augmented the traditional Bantu homelands, which have been kept intact, by adding to them land which the Government had to purchase from Whites.

29. It is against this background and in this perspective that our problem, and what we are doing with regard to it, must be viewed.

30. The fact which emerges—one which I cannot over-stress, as it is fundamental in our position on the African continent—is that the South Africans of European origin have been forged into a single and a distinctive nation. It is no longer a European nation although it is closely linked with Western culture and civilization. It is a nation of Africa, with its roots and traditions deeply embedded in the soil of that continent. These roots cannot be destroyed; and the white South Africans claim for themselves all the inalienable rights of an autonomous and a separate nation. They further claim the right to live and to survive as a nation with its own distinctive identity—a fundamental right which, as will all other nations who wish to survive, they will defend by every means at their disposal.

31. It is true, of course, that today this nation of European stock has an over-all responsibility for promoting the welfare and progress of all those who live under the sovereignty of its Government. This has been the process of history. But it is essential that I reiterate what has been stated so often: in claiming for ourselves a distinctive destiny of our own, we do not deny to the emerging Bantu nations their right to achieve distinctive destinies of their own—each in his own homeland with its own culture, heritage, language and concept of nationhood. This is fundamental in our approach to the problem; and the Bantu are beginning, more and more, to accept the fact that the South African Government respects and will always endeavour to promote these rights of theirs, not only as moral rights but also as rights which we hold to be inalienably theirs.

32. In South Africa, natural differences—that is, the inherent different attributes and identities, and not the superiority or the inferiority of any one of these nations—which exist between the various national communities in the Republic have proved to us, over a period of centuries, that there can be no real and permanent solution in the circumstances which obtained in the past. A permanent solution can, therefore, only be found if each one of the nations concerned is afforded the opportunity of achieving full nationhood within its own traditional homeland with full political equality and not as a subservient people.

33. In this connexion, we of European origin are fortified in the pursuit of our aims by the lesson of history that the domination of one nation over another cannot afford a permanent solution.

34. These facts, as I have stated, have been proclaimed on many previous occasions. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs has clearly stated them from this rostrum, and I repeat them today.

35. But will you permit me in this connexion to quote from statements of our Prime Minister in which he outlined the fundamentals of South African policy. As far back as 1960, he stated as follows:

"The essential condition [to a stable and prosperous country] is that racial domination will have to be removed. As long as domination of one race over another exists, there will be resistance and unrest. Consequently the solution should be sought by means of a policy which is calculated to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect."

In March 1961 he said:

"We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we also seek a solution which will ensure survival and full

development—political and economic—to each of the other racial groups, and we are even prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings to ensure their future. The moral, as well as the political, problem is to find a way out of this extremely difficult and complicated situation, caused by the fact that no longer is the Bantu incapable or undesirous of participation in the control of his destiny. Nor are we any longer prepared to refuse the fulfilment of such ambitions in a form that is fair to everybody."

The Prime Minister went on to say:

"We want each of our population groups to control and to govern themselves as is the case with other nations. Then they can co-operate as in a commonwealth—in an economic association with the Republic and with each other . . . South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence."

In another statement the Prime Minister said this:

"I envisage development along lines similar to that of the Commonwealth. In other words, I perceive the development of a Commonwealth of South Africa, in which the white State and the black States can co-operate together, without being joined in a federation, and therefore without being under a central government, but co-operating as separate and independent States. In such an association no State will lord it over any other. They will live rather as good neighbours."

36. From what I have said and quoted it will therefore be clear that it has all along been our Government's objective to achieve the political independence of the various Bantu nations within their own homelands, and thus to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect, as well as to enable the Bantu homelands to develop into separate Bantu States.

37. I have quoted our Prime Minister's words on the aim of achieving an association based on the pattern of a commonwealth of nations, neither one subordinate in any way to another. This would, we are confident, forge a link which would establish permanent contact, as good neighbours, and co-operation with each other with regard to the many matters of common concern. In this connexion I shall again use his words. He said:

"... seeing that we want to develop those areas for them"—that is, the Bantu—"can you not understand that we shall bring discrimination to an end by coming together and consulting at a high level on the basis of equality, of human dignity, through the establishment, for example, of a Commonwealth Conference of our own?"

38. Here we now have my Government's policy in so far as the charge of perpetual domination is concerned, and the manner in which we are marching towards a future which holds out hope of survival, of complete political independence, and of realistic contacts and co-operation. Here we also have the essence of orderly and planned self-determination, each in his own homeland.

39. As regards the concept of economic interdependence, it will be realized that it is necessary to bear in mind that that concept already finds full expression in our present relations. Moreover, as experience in other parts of the world has tended to show, political independence without an economy which ensures a

reasonable measure of economic viability often leads to great hardship as far as the masses are concerned. Our policy takes this into account and accepts the fact that these Bantu States, as they emerge, will still for a long time to come require considerable economic assistance—assistance which we are prepared to give. What my Government therefore has in mind, as a prototype, is something along the lines of the economic co-operation provided for in the European Common Market. This affords a pattern in which there can be no question of political domination but in which it is sought to strengthen the economy of each partner in a manner which is neither derogatory to its sovereignty nor a basis for economic imperialism. To this, many of the delegates, representing Governments who are members of the Common Market, will, I think, be prepared to testify.

40. In passing, may I refer here to the charge that our Government is adopting a policy of imperialism towards the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. This charge is clearly based on a completely incorrect interpretation of what was actually said by our Prime Minister. This is not the occasion or the place to deal with this matter, but in order to demonstrate the incorrectness of the accusations made by certain speakers from this rostrum, I shall read only one paragraph—the relevant one—of a statement made by our Prime Minister on 5 September. That paragraph is as follows:

"I repeated very definitely that 'incorporation' was not sought, since this was against my Government's policy of separate development, which has as its objective the political independence of the Bantu nations. The reasons for this offer to inform the inhabitants of these territories ourselves were also clearly stated."

I believe that these words will serve to dispose of this particular accusation or impression.

41. It has often been stated that, however realistic and moral our policy may sound when it is described in the terms which I have employed, the question still remains as to whether we are in earnest in our endeavours to achieve the objectives which we proclaim. We have long since realized that, having regard to the image which has been created outside the confines of our own country—an image which I have already sought to summarize when I dealt with the various allegations from this rostrum—in the final analysis we will have to rely on practical achievements and produce concrete results in order to convince the world of our *bona fides* as well as of the realism and practicability of what we have set out to achieve.

42. Fortunately we have now advanced so far that our achievements are already becoming visible. Within a few weeks from today nearly a million Bantu will go to the polls to elect their own representatives to the Parliament of the Transkei, a Bantu country which is now becoming self-governing. This is the proof of our good faith, of the realism of our policy and of the speed at which we have moved.

43. While large parts of South Africa are arid, the Transkei is situated in the heavier rainfall belt and in one of the most fertile regions of the country; it is nearly 17,000 square miles in area, and the people who will exercise their full political rights as citizens of that country, namely, the Xhosa nation which comprises some 3 million people, constitute almost one third of our total Bantu population. The Transkei is the tradi-



tional and the inalienable homeland of the Xhosa nation. It is now a new emergent State, with its own flag, its own national anthem and its own citizenship, and it will, after the elections, enter upon the final and most important phase of its constitutional development towards full independence.

44. Moreover, this month the entire civil service for the new Transkei Government is being transferred to the Xhosa people, and members of the South African civil service, seconded to the new service, will work there under the direction of the Chief Minister and the Cabinet of the Transkei. In this connexion, it may interest the Assembly to know that some 80 per cent of the civil service establishment will be occupied by trained Bantu personnel at the time of the transfer of the administration of the Transkei.

45. Of particular importance is the fact that the Constitution of the Transkei was drawn up by the leaders of the Xhosa nation themselves and thereafter approved by a plenary session of their own Transkei regional government, before ratification by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. This Constitution is a blend of Western democratic concepts and the traditional Xhosa form of government, which in essence is also democratic. There is therefore no foundation for the charge that it is incompatible with true democracy. Furthermore, those who criticize the fact that a certain measure of authority is being withheld from the Xhosa nation by the reservation of certain governmental functions, which the South African Government will continue to exercise and administer, ignore the evolutionary nature of self-government, where the retention of certain powers by the sovereign legislature is normally regarded as a necessary, if temporary, transitional arrangement in the training of any people for the exercise of full and complete sovereign independence.

46. This evolution of self-government in the Transkei will provide a prototype for the development of self-government in other Bantu homelands in South Africa, but since the patterns in South Africa are so diverse the arrangements may not be identical and they will have to be adapted to the needs and the aspirations of each of the other emerging Bantu nations. Nevertheless, for every Bantu nation the issue of ultimate self-determination as set out by me remains a fully accepted objective of governmental policy.

47. Here, as I have stated, is real proof of what we are trying to do, and I leave it to all representatives of goodwill to judge whether our policy is inevitably doomed to failure, or whether the Government of my country should not be given an opportunity to proceed along these lines which, as must be evident, could well be the solution of a unique problem requiring a unique approach.

48. At this stage I would like to add that the suggestion that South African policy derives from, or is inspired by, racial hatred is one that does not bear even a superficial examination. The allegation emanates largely from those who are influenced by passions which may be familiar to them in their own environment but who know nothing about the South African scene. It derives also from the campaign conducted against us, in many cases by subversive forces whose activities inside South Africa we are obliged to combat by appropriate means, as is done in all other countries. No serious critic with full knowledge of the South African situation, however honest his criticisms may be in other respects, can legitimately subscribe to the thesis that the concept of separate development is

founded on hatred of the Bantu. On the contrary, every South African concerned with policy-making understands only too well that friendship and mutual respect provide the only sound basis on which to build a healthy relationship between the white and the Bantu nations.

49. Equally wrong is the charge that the white South African nation is endeavouring to entrench its position because of fear. Let me assure this Assembly that fear is not an element in the motivation of our policies. Our Government is confident that it will ultimately succeed in the task it has set itself. Had it not been for this absolute confidence, based as it is on our own knowledge of our own affairs, we could not have withstood for so long the incredible onslaught on us both in and outside this Organization.

50. Now I come to the most serious allegation with which I feel I must deal, one with which we are of course familiar, namely, that the manner in which the South African Government is endeavouring to solve its admittedly complex and delicate problems constitutes a threat to world peace.

51. This allegation is mischievous; in fact it is mischievous in the extreme, for not only is it entirely unfounded, but it is deliberately designed to clothe this Organization with an authority which is not conferred upon it by its Charter. Those responsible for this allegation know full well that the United Nations cannot concern itself with matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States—a principle not only enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but one which is often repeated at other conferences, such as the most recent one at Addis Ababa.<sup>3/</sup> The representatives concerned therefore seek to promote the view that in the case of South Africa certain aspects of its domestic affairs threaten the peace of the world, that is the peace among nations.

52. I have been obliged to call this charge a mischievous one. In fact it is also a dangerous one. It is dangerous because, should this "escape route" find favour and support in the United Nations, then it requires but little imagination to realize where that route is going to lead the Organization and the world. As I have already indicated in a previous intervention, many of the Governments represented here are violently opposed to the doctrines according to which other Governments deal with their domestic affairs. I do not think it is necessary for me to quote examples to demonstrate this fact.

53. If what I have said is true—and I believe that there are few who will dispute this contention of mine—then surely it must be realized that if the fact that the manner in which South Africa deals with its own domestic problems is not to the liking of others can be invoked to substantiate a charge that we are threatening the peace of the world, then a similar charge could be brought against a number of other nations represented at this Assembly—and perhaps with greater justification. It is for this reason that I have said that the charge is not only mischievous but also dangerous. We reject it absolutely—and I believe that the principles of our policies, as I have explained them today, will have demonstrated the hollowness of this charge.

54. It is with satisfaction that my Government has noted that the hollowness of this charge is openly

<sup>3/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa from 22 to 25 May 1963.

recognized also by a number of foreign spokesmen, spokesmen representing countries with a long tradition in international affairs and who can speak with authority on this matter.

55. But what is particularly strange about this charge is that it has come mainly from representatives of Governments that are continuously threatening South Africa with violence. Some of them have openly advocated aggression against our country—aggression, which is the greatest of all international crimes, and therefore in direct and absolute conflict with the Charter. Representatives need only refer to the various statements made and the resolutions adopted recently at Addis Ababa. And when those statements and resolutions are read, they should be read not only in conjunction with the Charter, but also with resolution 380 (V) adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of this Organization on 17 November 1950.

56. I shall read only the last preambular and the first operative paragraphs of this resolution, entitled "Peace through deeds". These parts read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"Condemning the intervention of a State in the internal affairs of another State for the purpose of changing its legally established government by the threat or use of force,

"1. Solemnly reaffirms that, whatever the weapons used, any aggression, whether committed openly, or by fomenting civil strife in the interest of a foreign Power, or otherwise, is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security throughout the world".

57. No, it ill becomes the representatives concerned to make the charge that it is South Africa whose actions constitute a threat to the peace. The aggressive intent is clearly directed against my country, a fact which Members of the General Assembly and the Security Council must certainly recognize. And I must reiterate here that our will and determination to defend and safeguard, by every means at our disposal, that which is ours is absolute.

58. However, it is not conflict we desire but peace—peace in order to proceed with our great task, a task which requires all our resources, all our energy and all our time.

59. Moreover, we want to live in peace and co-operate with all other countries, including those that are with us in Africa. In our relations with these African countries, co-operation in all matters of common concern was always a fundamental aim in South African policy. That this is so we have already demonstrated in a tangible way. They, however, have seen fit to deny us the opportunity of continuing the co-operation which proved so fruitful in the past.

60. This co-operation has covered a wide range of technical problems, and assistance has been rendered on a considerable scale; for example, by the world-famous veterinary laboratory at Onderstepoort, the South African Institute for Medical Research, the Bureau of Standards, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, and many other technical institutes. Millions of doses of vaccines have been dispatched to various African countries, and there has been a regular exchange of visits between technical experts. In the period 1960-1962 South African ex-

perts made forty visits to eleven different African States and territories, and in the same period experts from fifteen African States paid more than sixty visits to South Africa. Even now, South Africa contributes by way of financial aid and expert advice to combat, for instance, the breeding of red locusts in the swamps of Tanganyika and Kenya.

61. Although much of this technical collaboration has recently been rejected by the other African States, it is possible that as time passes, and as they achieve a clearer perception of our true aims, both in our own country and in our contacts beyond our frontiers, wiser counsel will prevail and co-operation in all fields of common concern may be resumed. For we are confident that, given the proper opportunity and atmosphere, we shall be able to make a material contribution in the pursuit of the orderly and peaceful development of Africa. In the meantime we continue to be prepared to render such assistance as we can in the circumstances prevailing in each case, when we are directly approached by the Government concerned.

62. I should like to conclude my statement by saying that I have not endeavoured to give a full picture of every aspect of our racial policies. Nor have I dealt with the considerable improvement in the well-being of the Bantu in South Africa. That was done, as I pointed out previously, on two occasions by our Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have given only such information as could serve to show up the hollowness of the charges against us—and this is what I set out to do.

63. I sincerely hope that, if criticism of our affairs is to continue in this forum, it will at least be expressed with greater moderation and in less hostile terms. Let us also at least receive credit for what we have achieved, under the most difficult circumstances—difficult not only because of the complexity of the problem but also because of the continuous misrepresentation and uncalled-for condemnation to which we have been subjected for so long.

64. We of course regard any discussion of our domestic affairs as improper, as contrary to the explicit terms of the United Nations Charter and also as contrary to the essential prerequisites for international harmony and co-operation. If, however, representatives allow themselves to be persuaded because of self-interest, or for any other reason, to invade our sovereignty, then let extravagant language be eschewed. Harsh words affect existing friendships and render potential friendships more difficult. In the complex and dangerous world in which we live, it is becoming increasingly important that all nations should seek to concentrate on the issues which unite rather than accentuate the differences which divide.

65. Mr. SYLLA (Madagascar): Mr. Chairman, I should like, if I may, to associate myself with the many speakers who preceded me in expressing to you, on behalf of my Government and the Malagasy delegation, the profound satisfaction we felt on the announcement of your unanimous election to the Presidency of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I am sure you will place at the disposal of the United Nations the eminent qualities which you have displayed in the course of a brilliant career in the service of your great country. Your experience of international affairs and your high competence will contribute greatly to the maintenance of that calm atmosphere which we all desire to permeate our debates in this chamber.

66. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan whose impartial attitude and extensive competence made it possible for the work of the seventeenth session and the fourth special session to proceed in a clear and orderly manner. I, personally, had the privilege of being able to appreciate his high qualities of integrity and honesty last year when I had the honour to lead the Malagasy delegation at the seventeenth session.

67. At the fourth special session the representative of the Federal Republic of Cameroon offered his felicitations to Kuwait on its admission to the United Nations [1203rd meeting]. Today I should like to add those of the present Malagasy delegation.

68. Kuwait's admission brings the number of Members of the United Nations to 111, and my dearest wish is that soon three more States may be admitted—Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These three countries will enlarge the African family in the United Nations, a family whose desire to achieve unity was shown at the historic Addis Ababa Conference during which we expressed our will to play an active part in international affairs.

69. International life, as we conceive it today—and in saying this we do not ignore other definitions which eminent specialists in international law may offer—is and should be governed by the purposes and principles set forth in the United Nations Charter.

70. True democracy, democracy which dares to show itself as it really is, should prevail throughout the entire world.

71. Fundamental human rights should be protected throughout the world, and their protection should not be subordinated to considerations which our conscience rejects all the more because those who use them as a pretext do not dare to state them openly.

72. Economic and social progress should be encouraged throughout the world in order to permit better living conditions for all peoples and particularly those whose development, for historical, demographic or geographic reasons, can only be achieved with the help and assistance of others who are more fortunate.

73. Every nation in the world, in its attitude towards other nations, should feel impelled to contribute to the effective maintenance of international peace and security rather than allow itself to lapse into self-satisfaction buttressed by empty declarations of principle.

74. Such a conception is by no means Utopian because it is the one which we, as a Member of the United Nations, are endeavouring to apply. It is the one by which we are guided in our relations with other countries. It is the one to which we must remain loyal if we wish to make an honest and effective contribution to international life.

75. Madagascar's modest contribution may be measured by the constant concern of the Malagasy Government—in abiding by the rules of democracy, in respecting the fundamental liberties and rights of its citizens, and in promoting social and economic betterment—to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and to base its opinions on the objective legal concepts which will continue to be our guide, since we formally reject all emotional reactions, the latter being unsuitable as the basis for any coherent external or internal policy.

76. For the past five years—since 14 October 1958, when the Republic was proclaimed—peace has reigned in Madagascar and stability has been the rule in our politics and government. We owe this peace and stability—conditions that are much sought after in the difficult and troubled world in which we live—to the fact that we have observed in our internal relations the rules of democracy of which President Philibert Tsiranana is one of the most ardent supporters. Liberalism, moreover, is one of the cardinal characteristics of our people.

77. Our parliamentary institutions, as provided in our Constitution and approved by our people, permit free expression of opposition views. Opposition to the Government exists by legal right, and opposition newspapers can criticize the Government without being arbitrarily prevented from doing so. The representatives of opposition groups and parties enjoy freedom of movement throughout Madagascar and are entirely free to go abroad to meet their sympathizers.

78. We cannot help feeling surprised that these sympathizers consider themselves obliged to believe certain allegations that democracy cannot exist in Madagascar when the evidence of it is so plain: all liberties are guaranteed by the Constitution and are respected in law and in fact.

79. We wish to show in our relations with other nations the same liberalism that exists in our internal relations. Since Madagascar became independent we have received visits from parliamentary missions, good-will missions and commercial and technical missions. They have come from countries with which we have traditional ties as well as from countries with a different economic and social system and they all bear witness to our desire to establish friendly relations with all nations. They have had an opportunity to see the efforts made by our Government to establish real co-operation, which we believe to be possible, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect for the interests of others.

80. Our economy is largely dependent on external trade, and our efforts at home would not get us very far if they were not supplemented by our efforts in the international sphere. The primary objective of the Government's economic policy is to increase the purchasing power and raise the standard of living of the population, to diversify our economy and to improve the terms of trade in order to consolidate our independence.

81. The Malagasy Government is aware of the need for international aid, which must be humanized by not imposing on it limited objectives or paralyzing conditions, and believes, as President Tsiranana said on 13 November 1959 in the Second Committee [620th meeting], that the final aim of investment must be, first and foremost, human welfare. That is why we want international aid—the forms of which should be worked out jointly and made applicable to every part of the plan we have drawn up—to concern itself not only with large industrial undertakings but also a number of small activities touching the masses of the population in order to permit "grass-roots" development.

82. It is because of this desire not to lose contact with the masses of the population and to try to improve their lot, particularly that of the less fortunate among them, that we have been striving for the past five years to establish true social justice.

83. The reforms which have been introduced in order to make the education system more democratic will make it possible to provide schooling on a practical basis for 70 to 75 per cent of the children by 1972, thus achieving a real system of mass education. Likewise, the development of secondary education—at the beginning of this year there were 50,000 pupils enrolled in our secondary schools—and in particular an expansion of the non-specialized colleges aimed at bringing secondary education within reach of children in rural areas, will make it possible in ten years to offer children of all social classes equal chances of admission to the University of Madagascar. In addition to conventional schooling, the Government has for the past two years been conducting a literacy campaign especially for the benefit of the rural community.

84. In the field of public health, it is worth repeating that free medical care is provided for all citizens of Madagascar. I would like at this juncture to thank the World Health Organization, UNICEF, the French Government's Aid and Co-operation Fund, the European Development Fund, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations for their assistance in the fight against certain endemic diseases, such as malaria, in improving and extending our network of hospitals and in setting up pilot areas in which nutritional education will play an important role.

85. Lastly, in the social field proper, the Government's policy is to help the workers first of all by establishing basic health services for them, by giving them a greater sense of security and by concentrating on the creation of a socially adequate wage structure.

86. This outline of the Malagasy Government's economic and social policy shows our deep concern to ensure better living conditions for our people and to promote economic and social progress in an atmosphere of complete freedom and democracy. It is thus possible for all to judge what sort of contribution my country is making to the attainment of the purposes of the Charter and, by the same token, our participation in international affairs.

87. Furthermore, the social, democratic and liberal orientation which we have given to our development efforts may justify the position we have taken with regard to certain general principles which we have always upheld in international organizations.

88. Among the fundamental principles on which all nations take a firm stand, those which arouse most controversy and have given rise in international organizations to often passionate but always fruitful exchanges of views are non-alignment, coexistence and co-operation among nations.

89. When the word "non-alignment" is mentioned, some people immediately associate it with a negative attitude reflected by a disinterest in international affairs, which in the world of today is inconceivable. Others regard it as a clever device for safeguarding one's own national interest, but do not take into consideration the often disastrous consequences of giving national interests complete precedence over those of the international community.

90. If we claim to be non-aligned, it means that we refuse to take part in the confrontation of two blocs and do not wish to participate in the cold war which has been waged for the past seventeen years.

91. It would be erroneous to believe that by adopting such an attitude we wish to evade a choice. We have

already made our choice in the light of the social, economic and political structures as I have just described them. Our attitude, which is not negative (since it implies a choice), nor selfish (since it places the good of the international community above all), is one which our Government feels allows us to take part in the improvement of relations between nations and so help the cause of world peace.

92. By adopting the position of non-alignment thus defined, we acknowledge that there must exist among all nations and groups of nations respect for the idea of coexistence, an honest and true coexistence extending to every possible field.

93. The Malagasy Republic, which is resolutely pacifist, believes that the implementation of the principle of coexistence throughout the world should serve to eliminate many of the obstacles to a lasting peace and the peaceful settlement of any differences that may arise between nations or groups of nations.

94. Demagogues often call for extension of co-operation among nations in all fields, as if by a miracle and at one stroke. Perhaps if we lived in an ideal international society it would be possible to attain that form of co-operation immediately. However, since we do not, rather than accept co-operation as something ready-made, we prefer to build it up ourselves within a flexible but effective framework while trying progressively to widen the areas in which it may prove most beneficial to all and sundry.

95. Thus, since 1961, Madagascar has been a member of the African and Malagasy Union and its specialized bodies. Then, after the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of States from 22 to 25 May 1963, my country signed the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

96. It is true that the ultimate aim we all pursue is to achieve international understanding. It is no less true that we must proceed by stages, taking into account political and economic reality, and we must see to it that we adopt a flexible approach. The existence of an ideal at the international level does not exclude our attempting to achieve it on a continental scale, and this in turn should not exclude efforts made on a regional basis, which, as the activities undertaken and the concrete results obtained show, have already proved their worth.

97. In the economic sphere, my Government has signed the treaty setting up the Afro-Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation composed of fourteen nations which seek to pool their experience so as to harmonize their economic, technical and social policies. Far from being a closed club, this Organization is open to all.

98. In accordance with the principle that it is desirable to try and widen the fields of co-operation, Madagascar signed, on 20 July 1963 at Yaoundé (Cameroon), the Convention of Association with the European Economic Community, which is a negotiated agreement concluded between equal partners. It is not, as some people would like to have it believed, a unilateral European act. Under this Convention the European Economic Community is helping us to build up our economy and accelerate our internal development in order that we may be able to play our part in world markets. We associated ourselves in full knowledge and complete liberty with the European Economic Community because we wished to promote the industrialization of our countries and the Community's



efforts are directed primarily to developing existing industries and establishing new units of production.

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

99. We are surprised that this economic policy has been regarded as a manifestation of neo-colonialism because we know that we became associated on a basis of complete equality and the Convention itself is a truly international treaty.

100. In addition to political and economic co-operation between nations there is another form of co-operation that should not be neglected, namely, technical co-operation which might be referred to as intellectual aid. We feel that co-operation of this type is essential if we are to participate in the development race, but it must be free from any political conditions. Our experience of such co-operation to date enables us to pay tribute to the disinterestedness of those who, bilaterally—such as France, in particular—or multilaterally have furnished no technical assistance personnel, without imposing political conditions which would have been incompatible with respect for our sovereignty.

101. It is paradoxical, moreover, that at a time when the merits and benefits of co-operation for reducing international tension or ensuring the development of less favoured countries are hailed on all sides, cases are to be found almost everywhere in the world, where understanding between peoples and races is far from assured. Here I am thinking of racial or religious intolerance, racial discrimination in all its forms, and the denial of civil and political rights to certain peoples and certain races.

102. As in the past, my delegation will support any action taken within the framework of the United Nations, which will help to remove obstacles to the establishment of real understanding founded on tolerance, equality and respect for the rights of man and peoples.

103. With reference to friendly relations and co-operation among States, my delegation attaches particular importance to respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States, sovereign equality of States, self-determination of peoples, and non-interference in matters within the competence of a State. These principles, proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, have inspired the Charter of the Organization of African Unity signed at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963. Madagascar's attitude towards other States has always been founded on these principles, and we firmly believe that it is by understanding and tolerance between peoples, co-operation among nations and friendly relations between States that we can effectively defend peace and preserve freedom.

104. Non-alignment—as I have defined it, coexistence and international co-operation are interdependent principles to which all nations, for whom peace and liberty are not empty words, are firmly attached. These principles, we believe, can bring about universal concord and promote a harmonious development of the world always providing that the developed and non-developed countries—on whichever side they happen to be—pool their resources in proportion to their capabilities and in respect for each other's sovereignty.

105. It might be thought that those principles, which we have purposely stated in moderate and realistic terms, could be manipulated at will and that our liberalism and spirit of conciliation could be interpreted as a leaning on our part toward compromise, if not surrender. Those who dare to think so are

gravely mistaken, because there are certain problems and certain principles which are no less important than the three which I have just defined and on these we would never accept any form of compromise. I refer to the self-determination of peoples, the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and respect for human dignity.

106. When I spoke at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly [1172nd meeting], I expressed the views of my Government on those three questions. Had the situation improved since then, I would not trespass further on your valuable time. But the grave events in Africa and elsewhere show that non-respect for these principles by nations which are Members of the United Nations constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

107. It is my duty therefore solemnly to restate our position which was recently confirmed by the representative of the Malagasy Republic in the Security Council [1051st meeting].

108. We shall not cease to demand that the right of peoples freely to choose, themselves, their political, economic and social destiny should be respected everywhere in the world, without distinction of race or colour. It is also necessary to mention the neo-colonialism of those who, under the cloak of a principle generously accepted by all but to which the different systems attach different meanings, seek to perpetuate *de facto* situations and would even go so far as to impose by force a way of life and thinking that are unacceptable to those subjected to it.

109. Similarly, self-determination should not, in order to suit special interests, become pre-determination, but should result from freely negotiated agreements involving the accepted and genuine accredited representatives of the populations concerned. If true self-determination had applied in Korea, Viet-Nam, Germany, Berlin, China, West Irian and elsewhere, how many points of friction would have disappeared and how much easier it would have been to establish real co-existence throughout the world!

110. Our attitude in this matter is consistent: it does not depend upon the régimes of the various countries for which we ask that self-determination should apply, but upon our conviction that self-determination is the key to ending the state of incipient war which the world has endured for the past seventeen years.

111. Another aspect of the liberation of mankind is decolonization. At Addis Ababa, the Heads of African States and Governments adopted a fifteen-point resolution the substance of which has already been explained by some of the eminent speakers who have preceded me. I simply wish here to stress our full acceptance of that resolution, as well as our determination to implement the other resolutions adopted at that historic conference.

112. The active part played by the Malagasy representative in the Special Committee of Twenty-Four<sup>4/</sup> and our effective participation in the deliberations when the question of the territories under Portuguese administration in Africa and that of the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa were brought before the Security Council, are sufficient evidence that Madagascar intends fully to assume its responsibilities.

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

113. What we ask of the colonizing Powers is something which we have already asked on several occasions. However, in view of the ill will of some and the legal fiction invoked by others, we are obliged, at the risk of repeating ourselves, to affirm the principle that, once the Charter of the United Nations has been acceded to, one has certain unavoidable obligations, including that of applying not only the letter but also the spirit of the Charter.

114. Humanitarian considerations dictate that we ask these same Powers to safeguard the interests of the majority of the inhabitants of a territory which is still dependent, and to put an end to repressions against nationalists whose chief crime is their belief in the principles of our Charter. These same considerations lead us to reject, in the name of equality and justice, the policy of separate development, which is a policy of racial discrimination, all the more odious in that it has been given a semblance of legality. In view of the indignation felt by the conscience of the world, we appeal to South Africa to renounce that policy, for perhaps it is still not too late for genuine coexistence between Afrikaners and Africans.

115. Non-alignment as I have defined it, co-operation, the self-determination of peoples, liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism, respect for human dignity—these are the great principles which my delegation intends to uphold during the present session. With the co-operation of other nations, we shall endeavour, during the course of our deliberations, to ensure that these principles prevail.

116. A primary concern of the delegations attending the eighteenth session is, quite naturally, the question of disarmament, not only because it has been the subject of lengthy discussions for several years now, both here and at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, but especially because the signing, on 5 August 1963, of the limited test ban Treaty partially appears now to open new prospects of conclusion of a global and lasting agreement. Indeed, this Treaty, as has been repeatedly stated, is a great contribution to the strengthening of peace, for it improves East-West relations, and this cannot but be beneficial for Africa. It also indicates the desire shown by both parties to reach an agreement to reduce international tension.

117. It is regrettable, however, that certain Powers which already possess nuclear weapons or are likely to possess them soon did not participate in it. One might hesitate to regard this Treaty as a measure of effective disarmament, because even if nuclear tests are prohibited in outer space, in the atmosphere and under water, two very important problems still remain unsolved: the destination of the nuclear weapons already available to the Powers, and the measures which might prohibit the multiplication, manufacture and possession of all the means of their delivery.

118. That is one of the reasons why we are inclined to hope for the conclusion, as soon as possible, of a treaty that would permanently prohibit all types of nuclear tests, and for the concomitant signature of a treaty on general disarmament; for we wish to reaffirm that atomic disarmament can be achieved only as part of general, progressive, simultaneous and controlled disarmament, with special emphasis on effective control and inspection.

119. We cannot believe that the limited nuclear test ban Treaty will only strengthen the status quo. On the

contrary, we are convinced that it may be the starting point for further agreements dealing with some of the important problems which still remain to be solved.

120. Disarmament is of particularly vital interest to us, because it will release additional resources which will permit acceleration of the economic and social progress of the developing countries, assuming that those resources are not used for the manufacture or perfection of other means of destruction. We hope that those resources may be freed as soon as possible. We will then be able immediately to specify the action which should be taken, information which it is difficult to provide as yet, since no clear picture of the extent of these resources can be obtained at the present time.

121. We also hope that this project may be carried out within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade and—better still, perhaps—as part of the International Co-operation Year, thereby marking the opening of an era of peace, mutual aid and understanding.

122. I should like to add to this statement of our views on the major problems which we shall have to discuss at the present session certain other considerations which are also of some importance. They pertain to matters affecting the life and work of our Organization.

123. I should like to refer, first, to the question of improvement of our methods of work. My delegation has studied with considerable interest the recommendations and suggestions made in the report<sup>5/</sup> of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Improvement of the Methods of Work of the General Assembly, of which the representative of Madagascar was a member in his capacity of Vice-President at the seventeenth session. From this report, which was drafted in a clear and lucid manner, we may derive a number of principles to be observed if we wish our work to be conducted in a manner which is financially sound, impartial, efficient and representative. For example, if the Committees were able to deal substantively with the problems submitted to them, without becoming involved in lengthy discussions which are frequently of a political nature, there would appear to be no need for systematic recourse to the establishment of new sub-committees or ad hoc working groups, which, in any event, should be resorted to only when the differences arising in a Committee relate only to points of detail. In the discussion of an important agenda item, even the closest positions may be expressed with different nuances, and it is therefore desirable that delegation of the right to speak should be used only with circumspection.

124. Finally, with regard to any installations which might be required for the improvement of our working methods, and their possible financial implications, my delegation considers that no additional appropriation should be sought for this purpose. In this connexion, I should like to mention the serious concern felt by the developing countries at the steady increase in the budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. If, along with this increase, further international organizations and regional sub-commissions are to be created without any administrative reorganization aimed at using existing personnel, the small countries may well find it difficult to pay their ever-increasing contributions.

<sup>5/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 86, document A/5370.

125. Another point of considerable importance, particularly for the developing countries, is the technical assistance provided by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. My delegation notes with satisfaction the measures taken on behalf of the African countries, which form an increasingly important part of the various assistance programmes, in accordance with the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1527 (XV).

126. Our thanks go especially to the 102 Governments which have pledged contributions totalling \$50.3 million to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and a further \$70.5 million to the Special Fund.

127. International action is necessary if we are to achieve the goals we have set for our social and economic development programmes, and the various contributions pledged will help us to help ourselves.

128. Although we recognize the need for surveys, analyses, inventories and estimates in the formulation and implementation of projects, we have nevertheless noted that the number of experts is increasing steadily. It would seem to us that some of this work has already been done or is well on the way to virtual completion through assistance provided on a bilateral or multilateral basis. In our opinion, therefore, the preliminary work of the experts should be speeded up, in order to pass on to implementation and especially intensified direct action through increased provision of material, equipment and even funds.

129. We are at present witnessing a real acceleration of the process of development in all fields, and one of the principal aims of technical assistance should be to enable us to obtain the greatest possible benefit from this acceleration and also to permit us to participate in it to the extent of our means and of those made available to us, because the aim of all technical assistance should be to make the recipient a participant.

130. Our desire to make our own contribution extends also to the work of the United Nations, and that is why I now must speak of the part now played in it by Africa. At present, there are thirty-two African Member States of our Organization. This number will probably increase to thirty-five, perhaps even to thirty-six, in what we hope may be the near future. Surely it is only reasonable, in the circumstances, that, since we make up almost a third of the Organization, we should call for a more active and equitable participation in it?

131. We are aware that certain understandings were at one time reached concerning the geographical distribution of the higher, policy-making and executive posts in the Secretariat. Those understandings may have been justified at that time, but circumstances have altered since then and we ask that this distribution be made on another basis than the one created through those understandings. Our claim will be seen, on the whole, to be a relatively disinterested one if account is taken of the heavy sacrifices we are willing to make in seconding to the United Nations the most qualified among our own officials, whom we sorely need in our own public services.

132. Africa's demand for better representation, a demand which was embodied in a resolution adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of State, is connected with a possible revision of the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter

recently recommended [A/5487] that the General Assembly should consider the possibility of enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.*

133. We regret most sincerely that, just when the situation seems propitious for such a revision, certain States have set a prior condition for the satisfaction of our legitimate claims—a condition which we cannot accept either as to substance or to form.

134. The unanimous approval on 30 November 1962 of the appointment of the Secretary-General [1182nd meeting] was proof of our confidence in him. This confidence has been justified by the positive results of the Secretary-General's actions and mediation efforts to improve the international situation. We wish to congratulate him particularly on the implementation of the plan for national reconciliation<sup>6/</sup> in the Congo (Leopoldville) and the steps taken towards the administrative and economic reorganization of the country. We hope, however, that the United Nations action in the Congo (Leopoldville) will, enter as soon as may be feasible upon a new phase, involving a radical change of objectives. We still believe, in fact, that the primary objectives of the United Nations in the Congo should be in the field of civil operations and technical assistance directed towards the general rebuilding of the country.

135. We would like to assure the Secretary-General that we will always support his efforts within the framework of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

136. This year has been marked by events which have clearly influenced the development of international relations in the direction of a generally desired "détente" and greater solidarity among nations. First of all, there was the awakening of the African consciousness at Addis Ababa on the occasion of the Conference of Heads of State, at which the Charter of the Organization of African Unity was signed. By that Charter, thirty-two African States decided to strengthen the ties of unity and solidarity which already existed among them and to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation, with a view to ensuring a better life for the peoples of Africa.

137. The Charter also provides that one of the objectives of the Organization of African Unity is to foster international co-operation. We believe that these objectives, which are compatible with those of the United Nations, will make possible the achievement of better understanding among our peoples, notwithstanding national differences.

138. Another important development—still within the context of Africa—was the implementation of the plan of national reconciliation through which, in spite of political vicissitudes, the unity of the Congo has been preserved and a gradual return to normal life made possible.

139. Finally, the Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests will, we hope, help to remove the spectre of total war.

140. Nevertheless, alarming situations still exist in many parts of the world. These situations are the re-

<sup>6/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Seventeenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1962, document S/5053/Add.13, annex 1.

sult of seventeen years of cold war; of the refusal of certain parties to abandon the outmoded system of colonialism; of the refusal to grant peoples, despite the provisions of the Charter, the right to self-determination; and of territorial disputes which could be settled peacefully by negotiation.

141. However, there are also signs of a relaxation of tension which can only become a reality if there is mutual sincerity. We hope that the improvement in the international situation is not the result of ephemeral enthusiasm, and will not be used by some as a pretext for strengthening their political and economic hold upon countries and nations whose people also have the right to self-determination.

142. Solutions to the alarming situations may be found in the application of and respect for the fundamental principles to which I referred at the beginning of my statement: sincere and friendly coexistence, co-operation without any ulterior motives. I also wish to emphasize strongly that bilateral negotiations are the most effective means of settling some of those problems. We hope that these solutions will be motivated by respect for the freedom of peoples and for human dignity, so that the world may finally live in peace and freedom.

143. Mr. FAWZI (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, please allow me to join my colleagues who have preceded me at this rostrum in congratulating you on your election to preside over our present deliberations.

144. May it be given to this Assembly to rise to the needs of the great historical moment at which it convenes. This is indeed a time when a most careful appraisal and the wisest of decisions are particularly called for.

145. The principal nuclear Powers were previously blamed for failing to agree on positive steps towards banning and eliminating nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. It is now the pleasant duty of all to thank them for their determined and successful efforts, which have resulted so far in the recent Moscow Treaty banning all but underground nuclear tests and the more recent understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States relating to a ban on the orbiting of atomic arms in outer space.

146. It would be a mistake either to over-estimate the importance and significance of the agreement reached or to underestimate it and overlook and bypass the opportunity it affords of being used as a new impetus for further accomplishments in the vast field of disarmament and the maintenance of international peace. Although, in this regard, by far the longer distances to our goals remain to be covered, it could not be contested that the Moscow Treaty and the following understanding—whether by themselves and from the point of view of their immediate effect, or as a small window looking out upon clearer vistas and wider horizons—are among the most welcome and hopeful events of recent years.

147. These and related considerations were naturally taken into account when the Government of the United Arab Republic announced its almost immediate adherence to the Moscow Treaty. My Government, furthermore, readily agrees to the proposal of the Soviet Government that leading statesmen, at the highest level, representing States participating in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should meet in the first quarter or first half of 1964 to discuss both the question of general and com-

plete disarmament and special measures to achieve the further alleviation of international tensions. It also welcomes the statement by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, that further steps should be taken towards disarmament, including a ban on underground nuclear tests. It considers that a stop should be put immediately, as has been suggested, to the dissemination of nuclear weapons, pending their ultimate destruction.

148. My Government shares, at the same time, the determination that Africa should be declared a denuclearized zone, as affirmed by the Heads of African States and Governments at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963. It looks favourably on the proposal for the denuclearization of Latin America, as recently reaffirmed by the declaration of 29 April 1963 signed by the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico [A/5415]; and also on the similar proposals of the Governments of Poland and the Soviet Union relating to parts of Central Europe and to the Mediterranean, respectively. Finally, like all the other Governments represented here, my Government is anxious to see the day when the whole world will be denuclearized.

149. The position of my Government regarding most of these matters has been expressed repeatedly and in detail on previous occasions, whether here or at Geneva. I shall consequently confine myself at present to the expression, in this connexion, of my Government's earnest hope that the adherence to the Moscow Treaty and the related understanding which followed it will become universal and that France will refrain from any further nuclear experiments, in the Sahara or anywhere else.

150. A number of other important steps relating both to disarmament and to international security have been suggested by various speakers; they include the Soviet Government's suggestion that a non-aggression pact should be concluded between the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. My delegation finds many of these steps well worth considering; and it thinks that, for example, to those who consider that the non-aggression pact which has been referred to would be superfluous in view of the clear stipulations of the Charter against any aggression, it could be answered that, as the French say, "si cela va sans dire, cela ira mieux en le disant". For our part, we see no harm at all, and the possibility of good, in the reaffirmation that all shall keep the peace and that no aggression shall be committed.

*Mr. Tarabanov (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

151. Let us hope that the spirit which inspired and the determination which marked the recent nuclear negotiations will equally inspire and mark the policies of all concerned in other aspects of international, interracial and interreligious relationships.

152. I come from the continent of Africa; and I ask leave to evoke here some parts, at least, of the moving picture of that continent as it has been recently unfolding.

153. At the first Conference of Independent African States, which was held at Accra in 1958, only eight States were present, as virtually all the rest of Africa was still under the yoke of colonial rule. In 1963, the Addis Ababa Conference rallied thirty-two independent African States. It will be further to the glory of both



the African fighters for freedom and those who, from outside Africa, understand, sympathize with, and help their struggle, when the coming Conference of Independent African States will rally, as we wish and trust, an all-independent Africa, still willing and more able to contribute to the prosperity and the peace of the world.

154. Meanwhile, no less than thirteen African nations are stubbornly and short-sightedly still held under colonial rule, and apartheid and racial discrimination blemish parts of the African scene and retard Africa's complete rehabilitation and freedom.

155. The independent States of Africa have expressed themselves in clear terms when they proclaimed at Addis Ababa their determination to eradicate those evils and help, by all means, the remaining dependent peoples of Africa to regain their independence.

156. We trust, furthermore, that we shall see in the immediate future a change in British policy. We wish and trust that the United Kingdom will end its persistence in allowing such conditions to prevail in Southern Rhodesia as those which have resulted in the imposition there of a government representative of only a small heterogeneous minority; and that the attaining of independence by Southern Rhodesia will be concomitant with the setting up of a government which would be really representative of its people at large. Thus the United Kingdom will have properly discharged its obligations toward that country, and will have wisely avoided the recurrence in Southern Rhodesia of such a state of confusion and of strike as that which it allowed to materialize in the wake of its mandate on Palestine.

157. We wish, at the same time, that Portugal would, even if reluctantly, wake up to the new dawn of this day and discover that we are already in 1963, and no longer a century or more before, and we earnestly urge that the African territories which are at present under its domination regain their independence in a peaceful way, without the need to resort to force.

158. It will, moreover, be a day of wisdom and of good cheer when apartheid and racial discrimination disappear from South Africa, where a government of a small minority subjects to those humiliations the original inhabitants of the country who make up 80 per cent of the population. That minority government has been, for this reason, condemned rightly and justly by the United Nations, by the African States at their various conferences and by the world at large.

159. As far as we are concerned, we are all determined in Africa to do everything possible, and the well-nigh impossible, so that such worthy aims will be soon attained. In this connexion we have heard and read in the newspapers during the last few days that the Government of South Africa is again wielding with the utmost brutality against the African nationalists and their sympathizers arbitrary laws and measures for detaining political suspects for successive ninety-day periods, beyond the reach of courts of law or lawyers. Among those victimized by those laws and measures are eleven nationalists who are at present facing the danger of being tyrannically sentenced to death or life imprisonment, without their having the civilized guarantees of the law and of human rights. This is obviously a most disturbing and a most urgent matter which the Assembly should take up immediately if it is to act in time and to discharge its obligations properly in this regard. The Assembly's actions

should, in our view, aim at the immediate release of the political leaders and prisoners in that unfortunate country whose only crime is to take a stand on freedom, on human rights and on the worth of the human person. We wish and hope that such action by the Assembly will not be delayed and that at long last in this connexion we shall see an application of our recognition, since the inception of the Charter and the United Nations, of the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

160. Looking around throughout the Arab world, we find it a source of constant and deep grief that the Arab people of Palestine have been, until today, denied their political and human rights. While world political Zionism holds their homes and their homeland, its leaders and representatives go on spreading, here and elsewhere, one smoke-screen after another of false professions of goodwill.

161. The Arab people of Palestine, like their Algerian brothers have done before them, will, for sure, as their delegation will tell us again soon, spare no effort and begrudge their cause no sacrifice until justice is done. As we have been with our Algerian brothers, we are one with our Palestinian Arab brothers in their noble struggle for the restoration of all their rights.

162. The Assembly, as well as the Security Council, has been made to listen for many a year, in relation to Palestine, to an endless amount of argumentation by the representatives of Israel, whose cavil in the face of facts, law and morality has known no limits.

163. For our part, we choose not to play that kind of game; and I therefore take leave instead to put before the Assembly some straightforward questions.

164. Does the Arab nation of Palestine have political and human rights, to the restoration of all of which it is entitled?

165. Are these rights largely recognized and confirmed by United Nations resolutions?

166. Are we all, without dissension, ready eventually to abide by the choice of the Arabs of Palestine to return to their homes and their homeland, a choice to which their title is recognized by United Nations resolutions and which would be made freely through a plebiscite, organized and supervised by this Organization?

167. Are we all equally ready to see to it that a stop be put to the Jewish influx into Palestine, which has by now reached the most disturbing and most unjust extent of nearly a million and a half in the last fifteen years?

168. These and related questions clearly have reference to the rights of the Arabs of Palestine, rights which are their own, and which no one else has any warrant whatsoever either to detract from or to forfeit.

169. Casting a glance at this point around the Arabian Peninsula, we note to our regret that the United Kingdom still denies several peoples in that area their right to self-determination and independence. This includes in particular the people of Oman who, for quite a long time now, have risen in revolt against such denial, and the people of the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, which was arbitrarily severed from Yemen by the United Kingdom, on whom the United Kingdom has imposed a fictitious federation and whose right to self-determination has, nevertheless, been recognized and supported by the Committee charged

with implementing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

170. A word is due here about the situation which has been developing recently around Yemen. It is well known that the people of Yemen, in the exercise of their undeniable right to choose their own Government, have established a new régime aiming at progress and at bringing the country in line and in pace with modern times. Since last year, shortly after its establishment, this Government has been represented here as an honoured Member of the United Nations. It has also expressed its desire to the Government of the United Arab Republic that the latter extend its co-operation in the economic development of Yemen, and in safeguarding it against hostile foreign intervention. Our colleague, the Chairman of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, has already spoken on this and related matters, clearly and in adequate detail. It remains for me therefore to say how ardently the Government of the United Arab Republic, together with many others, desires to see an end to all outside hostile intervention in the internal affairs of Yemen, and a full measure of peace around that noble and ancient country which is doing its best to step into modernity and to be able, as it is willing, to make increasingly an abundant contribution to sound international life and the prosperity of the world. With all this in mind, we are happy to recall the role in this respect which the United Nations, the Arab League and some other well-wishers have been playing, so that the remaining difficulties besetting the road to constructiveness in that direction should be soon overcome.

171. As everyone is aware, a matter which deserves particular attention is the rapid growth in the membership of this Organization, a growth which is both a natural parallel to the coming of age of many countries which had been hitherto deprived of their independence, and a reminder that a new assessment and a new readjustment are due in some respects, including the equitable distribution of the membership of various organs of the United Nations. In this connexion, my Government shares the feeling that the continents of Asia and Africa should be more adequately and equitably represented in those organs.

172. I should also like to reiterate my Government's view that the Government of the People's Republic of China should promptly occupy its seat in this Organization.

173. Before closing, I take the liberty of referring to the economic aspect of present-day international life. I shall limit to mere references the few words I am about to say in this connexion, and shall refrain from dealing with this aspect at any great length. My colleague, the Minister of the Treasury of the United Arab Republic, has already done so yesterday in the Second Committee [888th meeting].

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.*

174. I therefore merely express the hope that the realities of international economic relations will live up to the already widespread convictions relating to them, convictions which are clearly and definitely for the superseding of exploitation by co-operation, and for ending the division of the world into nations which are poor and lagging behind and nations which are opulent and far ahead. Full expression will thus be given to the sound and sane reality that, just as world peace is indivisible, so is world prosperity, and utmost advantage will thus be obtained from modern

science and from the greatest thing which God has ever created, the mind of man.

175. May I, at this point, submit, in all humility, on behalf of my country, that it is doing its part as much as it can in this regard, refashioning and reinvigorating its spiritual and physical life, sending to other countries many thousands of its educators and technicians, and welcoming within its borders also many thousands of educators from abroad.

176. In the meantime, and among other things, the Suez Canal is running smoothly and its service to international navigation is functioning increasingly well; the High Dam, near Aswan, is steadily nearing completion; and the Nubian monuments, thanks in good part to the generous technical and financial help from the United Nations, and from many countries and individuals, are now assured safety from disappearing forever under the floods of the Nile. Still carrying well their thousands of years, they will be saved for an ever-grateful Egypt and a graciously helpful world.

177. Mr. KONE (Upper Volta) (translated from French): The delegation of the Upper Volta wishes to add its own congratulations and compliments to those already addressed to you from this rostrum on the splendid election which has made you President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, a session which some approached hopefully and which started its work quite serenely—unlike many other past sessions, the announcement and opening of which had been marked by the use of such terms as anxiety, nervousness, tension and scepticism.

178. Indeed, after the agreement on the emergency telecommunication link between the capitals of the two great nuclear Powers; after the acceptance of a number of basic principles on disarmament; after the decisions taken by the United States of America and the Soviet Union to extend cultural exchanges, to co-operate in outer space, and to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to diminishing the Cuban crisis; after all these manifestations of goodwill, admittedly somewhat limited in scope, a new development, of considerably greater substance as a generator of hope, has supervened to clear the threatening sky appreciably. All the preceding speakers have already described this development very eloquently; and I must take good care, in reverting to it, not to claim the time and attention of this august Assembly unreasonably. I refer to the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The Upper Volta signed this Treaty at once, because, as I said, it is a generator of hope. It also signed the Treaty because, the greater the number of countries placing confidence in those who initiated the Treaty, the more will the latter be morally encouraged and committed—perhaps even compelled—to view the partial nuclear test ban simply as a milestone and not as the millennium, as President Kennedy so well expressed it.

179. We pay unanimous tribute to the efforts of all who worked to achieve this first practical result. We take note of the addresses recently delivered from this rostrum by the President of the United States of America [1209th meeting] and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting]. But at the same time we say, to all the men of goodwill who have helped to give us this foretaste of international "détente", that they are far from the end of their labours. Not only does the ban still have to be completed and every possibility of war eliminated by

means of a thoroughgoing destruction of nuclear and conventional weapons, but a genuine reconversion having the immediate effect of allocating to peaceful needs the resources released by abandonment of the myth that one must at all costs possess the most improved and therefore the most destructive machinery of war has still to be undertaken. For mankind's vocation, that which has always constituted the beauty of its mission on our planet, is not destruction—everybody knows that—but rather all the patient endeavours and operations to ensure for man ever-increasing prosperity and the full development of his whole self.

180. In this context the Upper Volta, a weak country which is not yet developed and is far from cherishing dreams of hegemony, wishes to pay a tribute to the United Nations for having decided to place development problems at the centre of its concern.

181. The meeting to be held at Geneva early next year represents one of those efforts which cannot but open up encouraging prospects for the developing countries. The preparations for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will start on 23 March 1964, are already, if not completed, at least well advanced. And in 1965 the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations will be graced with the fine emblem of the United Nations Development Decade.

182. Indeed, it is essential for the sufficiently developed, secure and favoured nations to understand that man's real reason for living has never been the cult of egoism. They must realize that the aid granted to the developing countries is neither an encouragement to laziness, unconcern and waste, nor alms to be distributed in a resigned, indifferent, ill-tempered, suspicious or mocking mood.

183. To aid the poor countries is an act of faith in the destiny of mankind. All mankind is one; and no part of mankind can either boast of or ever carry alone the torch of the advances achieved by all peoples together, or presume that it alone can ensure the slow increase in our common patrimony. Attacked by imperceptible but quite irresistible and persistent erosion, a forest which today is flourishing, full of vitality and teeming with life will in the end slide slowly but irrevocably down the slope of gradual degeneration and annihilation. At that moment a seed, casually cast, it may be, on this wild and apparently unfruitful land, will sprout unexpectedly, grow vigorously and succeed to the declining forest. And life will go on.

184. Thus all mankind, which willy-nilly is in the same boat, has a duty to show foresight by caring equally for distant lands and for the small family garden. It is a question of the optimum development of the human condition. It is a question of human dignity in general. The United Nations should use its force and influence to popularize throughout the world principles whereby all the organizations concerned, all countries and all levels would see to it that those with excess food shared it with their hungry brothers, those with surplus medicine considered those dying for lack of care, and those with "brain capital" enabling them to fiddle-faddle in some intellectual sector clearly more superfluous than essential realized that illiteracy ruled elsewhere and that immense resources remained unexploited for lack of educated people.

185. A man becomes ridiculous and contemptible when he is self-satisfied and proud of himself while another, made in his own image, struggles desperately in physical poverty and intellectual bankruptcy, his

dignity flouted daily. If this man is responsible for or accessory to the infliction of such poverty and the continuance of such bankruptcy or flouting of dignity, he becomes a monster.

186. That naturally brings us—although the preceding speakers have already discussed this problem very ably—to the ideas persisted in by Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, which lead those countries to treat men as if they were not men or as if they were less than other men.

187. As we in the Upper Volta prefer to believe that Portugal and South Africa are not peopled by monsters who take pleasure in maintaining poverty and intellectual bankruptcy and in flouting human dignity, I shall not repeat what has been said about Portuguese colonialism and about apartheid, these problems having already been excellently dealt with by other speakers. Nor shall I repeat what has been said concerning Southern Rhodesia, for this problem too has been eloquently discussed here. Moreover the United Kingdom, which has always displayed realism and a spirit of appropriateness, will—I am sure—listen attentively to the voice of wisdom and opt for the solution which will establish in Southern Rhodesia, at the same time as independence, the best forms of true democracy and the law of the genuine majority.

188. The Upper Volta is fully confident that the influence of the United Nations, and of all nations having some hold on Portugal and South Africa by reason of strategic, economic or other interests, will bring to an end as soon as possible the conditions under which our brothers of Angola, Guinea, Mozambique and South Africa now live. The Upper Volta will unconditionally support any action designed to satisfy at long last the aspirations of our 50 million brothers who, with every justification, are asking for their fair share of freedom and dignity.

189. Why should Portugal not learn from nations such as France, the United Kingdom, Spain and the Netherlands, which in bygone ages also had their "conquistadores" and were proud of them, but came to realize that their best course was to abandon the magic of the past and to learn to live with their century? Why should the present leaders of the Republic of South Africa not learn from the Government of the United States of America, which has deliberately chosen a "fight to the finish" against backward elements steeped in outworn prejudice, even though the Government's popularity should suffer, in the struggle, from the desperate thrusts and pressure of certain groups? The colonialist spirit and the segregationist spirit, which are in grave violation of the spirit of the United Nations Charter, must be banished for ever not only from Africa but from everywhere else, for they are lasting threats to world peace and harmony.

190. The Upper Volta is therefore deeply concerned, not only about the Portuguese colonies and the practice of apartheid in South Africa, but about the Congolese problem, which is connected with these vestiges of colonialism still defacing Africa's soil. It cannot reasonably be contended that the United Nations should brutally cut off its benevolent assistance before stability, so greatly desired by all in the Congo, has been achieved. A report by the Secretary-General recently raised the problem of the termination of United Nations action in the Congo on 31 December 1963.<sup>2/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5428.

The Congolese Government earnestly requested the maintenance of this United Nations effort until the end of June 1964, so as to facilitate the conduct of the elections to be held at the beginning of the year.

191. The Upper Volta considers that the United Nations presence should be maintained as long as the Congolese leaders deem it necessary, in order to avoid endangering the relative calm which has been so early secured. How distressing is the sight of these countries torn by hatred and chaos, divided against themselves, and even divided in fact! The United Nations, supported by the goodwill and the good works of various countries, has succeeded in countering the process which, by a chain reaction, would have ended by turning the Congo into a place which nobody would have wanted even to imagine.

192. Why, then, is the problem of Germany's reunification presented to us as insoluble? Why should it not be possible so to act that we have but one China, whereas it has now become a sort of rite—not to say a dogma—to bring up the question of the two Chinas at each session of the General Assembly? How can we agree that the question of Palestine and the Arab refugees could be frozen, or set in a mould, for ever? And what can we say about divided Korea or divided Viet-Nam?

193. No, the United Nations—the supreme forum in which both great and small countries can come to an understanding, the concrete realization "par excellence" of everything that the words "negotiation" and "dialogue" mean—should be able to do something. And each one of us, who have pledged full and reasoned support of the United Nations Charter, should make his contribution. We can do this individually, or—certainly with greater effect—we can do it in groups. A sincere, devoted and dynamic helper of the United Nations—that is what each of our countries should strive to be.

194. That is what makes the independent African States' recent decision to combine in the Organization of African Unity so commendable. Is it not true that "together we stand, divided we fall", and that what cannot be done by one person alone becomes remarkably easy when all combine and bring their separate wills and efforts into line? The Organization of African Unity, set up at Addis Ababa in full harmony with the Charter, is a valuable auxiliary for the United Nations, since it can lighten and facilitate the Organization's task in many respects.

195. We wish to warn the Assembly and world opinion generally against the insinuations made by a certain sector of the Press, which has more or less admitted its perfectly obvious aims and recently thought that it could present the Organization of African Unity as a greedy partner, indeed as a dangerous rival against which certain States Members of the United Nations would be forced to unite for the checkmating of some imaginary enterprise hatched by the Organization of African Unity, to give the view halloo and stand shoulder to shoulder in expectation of some pitched battle supposed to be imminent. If we did not take care, this sector of the Press might insidiously contaminate the propitious atmosphere characterizing the opening of the eighteenth session and welcomed by everyone because it may enable us here to move mountains and work miracles.

196. Let there be no misunderstanding: the Organization of African Unity is not an aggressive organization

distilling discord and hatred and seeking imaginary enemies as a pretext for making war because it is full of expansionist plans. On the contrary, the Organization of African Unity is at the service of the United Nations to facilitate contacts, approaches and the inevitable negotiations, which it is much harder for a country to effect alone than as a member of a group.

197. The African countries, which deeply appreciate all the achievements standing to the credit of the United Nations, wish to express their gratitude to the Organization and, at the same time, to prove their readiness and willingness to participate in joint action for the greater good of all. For this reason the Upper Volta, which is fully aware of all the good in the United Nations, would like to see it becoming ever stronger, better constructed and more effective.

198. However, if the United Nations is to become stronger and more effective, we must have the courage to envisage changes in its present structure and methods of work.

199. Since 1955, with the increase in the number of African and Asian Member States, there has been growing support for a revision of the Charter with a view to ensuring adequate representation for Africa and Asia in the main bodies of the United Nations—that is, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council—in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution of the seats in the various organs established by the Charter.

200. The achievement of independence by a great number of African States from 1960 onwards, and their admission to the United Nations, have helped to make such revision imperatively necessary, and urgent. The urgency can escape no one, and any delay now would only make the injustice more obvious and the wrong against which the African States have protested even more revolting. If a solution were to be postponed, a quite unjustifiable inequality would be maintained, to the prejudice of the African States.

201. That is why the Upper Volta supports the Economic and Social Council's recommendation regarding the enlargement of its membership,<sup>8/</sup> to ensure adequate representation for all geographical regions, and particularly for Africa. This change is justified on logical grounds alone, for its sole aim is to adapt the membership of these bodies to the growth of our Organization.

202. Because of this impetus towards growth, the Upper Volta believes that any redistribution of the seats without an increase in their number would be unnecessarily difficult as well as ineffective and unjust, and would create resentment which it would be unwise to minimize. It is to the interest neither of the Organization nor of Africa that the participation of some Member States should be restricted to the advantage of certain others. On the contrary, the participation of all States should be increased, so as to provide our Organization with a more rational structure, better adapted to present circumstances.

203. We should like the coming changes to result in the permanent reservation of a definite number of seats for Africa, under a gentleman's agreement taking account of the African States' share in the membership. Thanks to an appropriate system for the

<sup>8/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 974 B and C (XXXVI).



rotation of these seats, Africa would be able to appoint to them, every two or three years, whichever States were in the best position to defend African interests.

204. It goes without saying that, if these changes are to be effective, there should—indeed, there must—be an abandonment of the principle of the right of veto, which is a real violation of the principle of the legal equality of Member States and of international justice. The veto was a trophy of victory, a recompense for contribution to the war effort. Our concern, today, is rather to contribute to peace.

205. At this time, the Upper Volta would like to suggest the following for the Assembly's consideration:

(1) Let us decide to fix a target-date for the announcement of a review of the Charter. The present slackening of tension in international relations is the best guarantee for the success of such a project.

(2) Let us ask the Secretary-General to proceed forthwith to consultations with the Governments of Member States, so as to ascertain their views and wishes and to draw up an exhaustive list of the Articles which most Member States think should be amended or replaced, and of the new provisions they would consider desirable. Such consultations should enable the Secretary-General to submit a preliminary report in the very near future.

206. I do not want to go into too much detail in the general debate. The Secretariat and the committees are there to perform the task of providing the United Nations with a more suitable structure, with the best tools and with the most rational methods of work; they will do so with the necessary thoroughness, care and competence. We leave it to them.

207. But something must be done to give to the United Nations more strength and vigour, greater vitality and a longer expectancy of life, so as to confound those prophets of doom who say that its days are numbered and cherish the hope of dancing at the funeral of this great and splendid human enterprise, although it has proved, over and over again, that it is needed.

208. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Guinea, who has asked for the floor in order to exercise his right of reply.

209. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): If the representatives of the African and Asian countries and of many States which are opposed to the policy of apartheid have listened quietly this morning to the spokesman of the racist minority in South Africa, it is mainly in deference to you, Mr. President, and to the other Members of this Assembly; it is also out of a desire not to impede the normal progress of our work. But we wish to make clear that such an attitude on our part does not reflect the slightest change in our position in regard to apartheid and the *de facto* authorities imposing it on the majority of the population of South Africa.

210. Our position remains unchanged; and we think that the present Government of South Africa is totally unqualified, morally and politically, to be seated among us here or in any other international organization based on the principle of respect for human dignity.

211. Indeed, not content with having continually violated the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and defied the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the most responsible leaders of this Government formally declared, only a few weeks ago, that the United Nations was their main enemy and that they hoped that this monstrous Organization would soon fall apart, for the greater satisfaction of the leaders of South Africa.

212. How can we any longer tolerate the presence among us of the representatives of those who torture Africans and Asians and glory in the name of enemy of the United Nations? This is a very grave question, to which a clear answer should as quickly as possible, at this session, be given.

213. In our view, adequate steps should be taken without delay. Let me say again that it is only in deference to you, Mr. President, that we have agreed to listen in silence this morning to the criminal minority's spokesman, who cannot, in our opinion, be the legitimate spokesman of the majority of South Africa's population.

214. In conclusion, let me add that our determined opposition to apartheid continues, as we shall soon have occasion to prove.

#### Organization of work

215. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I wish to inform the Assembly that we have only two more meetings for the general debate—this afternoon and tomorrow morning. The general debate will therefore close, as I announced before, on the date planned. I feel that this is an appropriate time to remind you briefly of our programme of work for the next few days.

216. As I told the Assembly on 26 September, we can begin our consideration of agenda item 83 tomorrow afternoon. On this item, forty-eight Member States have submitted a draft resolution [A/L.426].

217. Thereafter we might take up the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 75 [A/5564], which deals with the question of Southern Rhodesia.

218. If we are able to complete our work on these two items tomorrow afternoon, we can begin our consideration of agenda item 80 on Monday, 14 October. We might devote both the morning and the afternoon meetings of Monday to this item. In addition, on Monday afternoon at 3 p.m. sharp, the Assembly will be addressed by the President of Mauritania.

219. On Tuesday, 15 October, there will be no plenary meetings. That day will be devoted to the 1963 United Nations Pledging Conference on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. I understand that the First Committee also proposes to meet on Tuesday, 15 October, in the morning and in the afternoon.

220. The plenary meetings will resume on Wednesday, 16 October, when we shall continue our consideration of agenda item 80. As soon as the debate on this item is completed, the Assembly can proceed to the elections, beginning with those of members of the Councils. These can be held on the afternoon of Wednesday, 16 October, if we have finished with the previous item by then.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*