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**President:** Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY  
(Ghana).

## ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

### General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the general debate for this afternoon, I shall call on the representative of India, who has asked for the floor in exercise of the right of reply.

2. Mr. SWARAN SINGH (India): I am constrained to exercise my right of reply, as the representative of Albania in his statement this morning [1304th meeting] made certain wild and baseless allegations against India. It is not my wish to enter into a dialogue with him, but I shall say a few words to refute his false allegations and distortion of facts, in order to put the record straight.

3. The representative of Albania attempted to brush aside the inconvenient fact of Chinese aggression against India and sought to confuse the issue by placing before the Assembly the version of the case as presented by the People's Republic of China. As a close follower of the People's Republic of China, he has no option but to accept that version as gospel truth; otherwise it would be heresy on his part. Therefore I have no intention of replying to all the baseless allegations and distortions of fact contained in his statement.

4. The whole world, with very few exceptions, like Albania, is well aware of the fact that the People's Republic of China invaded India and forcibly occupied Indian territory. The facts of the Chinese aggression have been brought out clearly and lucidly in numerous letters and notes sent to Peking by the Government of India over the past few years. They fully refute the baseless claims on our territory made by the People's Republic of China. They are contained in published documents, and those who wish may care to study them in order to judge for themselves the truth of the matter.

5. As I stated in this Assembly on 14 December [1301st meeting], the People's Republic of China is "in occupation of 14,500 square miles of Indian territory"; it is surprising that the representative of Albania, in utter disregard of this patent fact, should make an utterly baseless accusation against India. India is not occupying even an inch of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

6. India accepted the proposals put forward in all sincerity by six non-aligned States: Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ghana, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic. On the other hand, it is China which, while proclaiming its readiness to accept the proposals in principle, took all possible steps to ignore them. Of late it has been ridiculing and criticizing those proposals. By continuing to enjoy the fruits of aggression, China has clearly refused to enter into negotiations except on its own terms. This is a position which quite understandably is unacceptable to India.

7. Albania can well afford to believe in the peaceful character of the People's Republic of China, secure in the knowledge that the vast Eurasian land mass separates it from China, and secure in the belief that the People's Republic of China has no interest in physically integrating it when ideologically it has already been integrated with China. We, too, had been led to believe in the peaceful intentions of the People's Republic of China—a country which we had always tried to befriend. The Chinese attack, therefore, caught us completely unprepared; it was all the more of a shock to us as it was least expected. While Albania is at liberty to hold any views it likes, it can hardly blame us if, as a result of our own experience, we can no longer believe in the peaceful intentions of the People's Republic of China.

8. The PRESIDENT: In exercise of his right of reply, I give the floor to the representative of Albania.

9. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): I apologize for taking the floor again, but I must exercise my right of reply in connexion with the statement just made by the representative of India. First of all I must say that for the Government which Mr. Singh represents, accusing China in its absence is not a new tactic. The same thing happened at the last Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo<sup>1/</sup> and was repeated here the day before yesterday [1301st meeting] and again today. Yet I believe that, even in politics, there is a rule of conduct which requires one to criticize only in the presence of those criticized.

<sup>1/</sup> Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held from 5 to 10 October 1964.

10. In attempting to be witty, the representative of India has insulted us. He said that we were ideologically integrated with China. In reply, I must say to the representative of India that the People's Republic of Albania is a sovereign and independent country pursuing an independent policy and also that it has friends; and loyalty to our friends is a characteristic of our people as well as one of the foundations of our policy. I betray no secret when I say—and I am proud of it—that our friendship with China is dictated neither by geography nor by economics, nor is it a matter of allegiance. It is founded on principles, on our common ideology, Marxist-Leninism, which unites communists, proletarians and progressive men of all countries. Perhaps this is beyond the comprehension of the Indian representative but that is not my fault.

11. Now, as for the facts. I shall again refrain from going into details. I can quite understand that the Indian representative is trying to justify his Government's policy, but it is a well-established fact, as we mentioned this morning and even last year, that it was not China which attacked India. The truth is just the opposite and nothing can change it.

12. The representative of India has tried once again to distort the truth by accusing China of attacking India and occupying a part of Indian territory some 14,500 square miles in extent, as he alleged, quoting from documents. But why should we believe documents intentionally prepared by India and not the actual facts? Why should we believe that China has occupied a part of Indian territory when the reverse is true, when it is India which continues to occupy 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory?

13. I do not wish to go into the details of this question. However, since the representative of India has again mentioned the Colombo Conference of six countries,<sup>2/</sup> and would have the General Assembly believe that while India has every intention of accepting the recommendations of that Conference, it is the Chinese Government which ignores them, I take the liberty of quoting an official document of the Government of the People's Republic of China, dated 9 October 1964, which throws full light on the question and places responsibility for both the present situation and the rejection of the recommendations of the Colombo Conference as a basis for negotiations squarely on the shoulders of the Indian Government. The document in question is a statement by the Chinese Government on the Sino-Indian boundary question, which was published in the Peking Review on 19 October 1964:

"Of late the Indian Prime Minister and the Indian Minister of External Affairs have made successive statements in Cairo attacking China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government cannot but regret that the Indian leaders should have taken advantage of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cairo to make anti-Chinese clamours. The Chinese Government firmly believes that such a line of action taken by India runs diametrically counter to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the States to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

"The Chinese Government has already published a large amount of documents concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question and has no intention of repeating them here. It will only make the following statement in refutation of the distortions and slanders made by the Indian leaders.

"1. The Indian Prime Minister's allegation that China has made no positive or friendly response to the Colombo proposals is a travesty of the facts. In order to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese side adopted a series of measures such as the ceasefire and withdrawal effected on its own initiative, which have far exceeded what was requested in the Colombo proposals. The Colombo Conference nations know, and the Indian Government is aware too, that had it not been for these measures all taken on China's own initiative, the Chinese frontier guards could not possibly have withdrawn in Chinese territory 20 kilometres from the line of actual control along the whole Sino-Indian border and the present relaxation on the Sino-Indian border could not have been achieved.

"While talking glibly about accepting the Colombo proposals in toto, the Indian Government has in fact not only done nothing to relax the border situation, but has incessantly intruded into Chinese territory for harassment and provocations in an attempt to create new tensions.

"2. The Chinese Government has from the very outset stated that it accepted the Colombo proposals as a basis for direct Sino-Indian negotiations. The responsibility for the failure up to now to hold negotiations lies entirely with the Indian side.

"The Indian External Affairs Minister asserted that in taking the position as it does, China wanted to benefit from aggression. This is turning the truth upside down. On the contrary the fact is that India is still illegally occupying more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line, whereas China has never occupied a single inch of India's territory. Is it not clear who has been committing aggression? As for India's demand for China's withdrawal from the seven civilian posts as a precondition for negotiations, it is utterly unreasonable. The land on which these civilian posts are situated has always been Chinese territory under effective jurisdiction of the Chinese Government, and no Indian troops have ever been there. What right has India to ask China to withdraw? China will not withdraw from any of the seven civilian posts. On the contrary, China has every right to ask India to withdraw from the more than 90,000 square kilometres of China's territory south of the illegal McMahon Line. However, in order to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations, China has up to now not raised such a demand as a precondition for negotiations.

"3. The Chinese Government always welcomes the efforts at impartial mediation on the part of the Colombo Conference nations in promoting direct negotiations between China and India without involving themselves in the dispute. And the Chinese

<sup>2/</sup> Conference held from 10 to 12 December 1962.

Government has no objection to any new consultations by the Colombo Conference nations to this end. But as is well known, the consent of both interested parties must be obtained before there can be effective mediation.

"And any proposal put forward by the mediators can only be a recommendation for the consideration of both sides and must in no case be an arbitral award to be imposed on either side.

"At present, exploiting the opportunity of his participation in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo, the Indian Prime Minister is making distortions and slanders about China over the Sino-Indian boundary question, and is doing his utmost to make use of the Colombo Conference nations to bring pressure to bear upon China. Moreover, the Indian Prime Minister is in Cairo while the Chinese Premier is not. The Chinese Government holds that in these circumstances to motivate consultations among the Colombo Conference nations behind China's back is unfair and therefore the Chinese Government cannot agree. Such consultations not only cannot be of any help to the promotion of direct Sino-Indian negotiations, but will place more obstacles in their way, making it more difficult for the six Colombo Conference nations to conduct mediation in the future.

"Any substantive discussion about the Sino-Indian boundary question must be held with China present. Any mediation or any proposal made without the agreement and not in the presence of China will be unacceptable to the Chinese Government.

"4. As a matter of fact, India does not really want to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. If it really has a desire for negotiations, it may raise in the course of the negotiations questions which it thinks necessary to raise, just as China may in the negotiations raise questions which it thinks necessary to raise. The Indian Government is fully aware that China will not agree to its unreasonable demand for China's withdrawal from the seven civilian posts as a precondition for negotiations. It also knows full well that the Colombo Conference nations will not agree that the Colombo proposals should be regarded as an arbitral award to be accepted by China in toto. And it knows equally well that China will never submit to any international pressure.

"In continuously calling for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals in toto, China's withdrawal from the seven civilian posts, etc., the Indian Government aims solely at opposing China, so as to divert the attention of the people at home, seek U.S. and Soviet military aid, and pursue its policy of double alignment under the cover of non-alignment. This practice of the Indian leaders is being seen through by more and more countries.

"The Sino-Indian border situation has on the whole eased. China does not feel threatened by India which has gained large quantities of foreign aid, it is the other neighbours of India that are really being threatened.

"The Chinese Government hereby declares once again that if the Indian Government really wishes

to hold negotiations, the Chinese Government is ready to start them with the Indian Government at any time and at any place with the Colombo proposals as a basis. Otherwise, mere talk about reconciliation will be of no avail."

14. I think the situation is quite clear to all the members of the General Assembly. Again I regret having to say that the Indian representative chose the wrong place to make unfounded allegations and slanderous statements about a peaceful country such as the People's Republic of China. They are part of a concerted campaign the aims of which are not altogether unrelated to the fact that the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will again come up for consideration at this session of the General Assembly.

15. Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (translated from French): Mr. President, your election at the nineteenth session of the General Assembly is a cause of particular satisfaction to the Tunisian delegation. This choice does honour to you and to the people of Ghana. It means that, for the second time, Africa at large has the signal honour of presiding over the work of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This choice places the experience and dedication of a citizen of the African continent at the service of the ideals of the United Nations. Allow me therefore to offer you Tunisia's congratulations on this happy occasion and to express the hope that this session, over which I am sure you will preside with distinction and efficiency, will be one of co-operation and of achievement of the objectives of the United Nations.

16. Were I not aware of your qualifications, Mr. President, I might doubt your ability to replace or succeed Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, who last year discharged with such distinction and efficiency the responsibilities which you now assume.

17. Allow me also to express the hope, as the Assembly has already done, that our Secretary-General will very soon be able to return to his place at your side and to resume his activities. He is greatly missed.

18. Another cause of satisfaction—of special satisfaction—to the Tunisian delegation is the opportunity given to me of welcoming two more sister African States, Malawi and Zambia, which have just been admitted to the Organization. Their admission is a sign of the progress—slow progress it is true, but sure—of decolonization. It strengthens African representation in the Assembly and lends support to Africa's efforts to find, with the help of the United Nations, the most fitting solutions to the many problems besetting it. These two countries, as eloquently stated by the heads of their delegations [1288th meeting], will not fail to bring to our work and to our deliberations sincere co-operation and a productive contribution.

19. The Tunisian delegation also takes special pleasure in congratulating Malta on its accession to independence and its admission to membership of our Organization. As is well known, Malta is more than a neighbour to Tunisia. The Mediterranean character and ethnic origins of its people and the presence and participation of its nationals, to this day, in the

economic life of my country, are basic factors in the friendly relations which bind our two countries and which, I am sure, will become ever stronger.

20. As in the past, we not only affirm the right of all peoples to be present here; we uphold that right without exception and without reservation. We fervently hope that international relations will be freed of exclusions and prohibitions, and that the Organization will be opened to all nations without discrimination. This can only strengthen the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations. It is only on these terms that we can aspire to institute a universal order and to build a better world, freed of hatred and prejudice.

21. It is time to recognize the rights of a country of 700 million human beings and to allow it to resume its rightful place in our Organization; I am referring to the People's Republic of China. It is unseemly to continue to prevent so vast and important a country from participating in our deliberations; we believe that to do so would be a very dangerous error at a time when all our efforts are directed towards strengthening world peace and towards general and complete disarmament. How can we make progress in that direction if we fail to display realism?

22. We also fervently hope that the nations now divided will find the way to unification and stability, so that they may join us and the United Nations family may be expanded. The United Nations would then be achieving its destiny, which is to be the instrument of universal co-operation and of the universal will to strengthen world peace, and would be playing its true role in bringing the peoples together.

23. If the Organization is to be capable of meeting its ever-growing responsibilities and accomplishing its historic mission in the circumstances of today, it is essential that it should achieve the most complete universality and that its structure should be adapted to the changes which have occurred in the world. It is not a sign of life to remain frozen in a cast which was devised at a certain time (now past) and in a world where there was not even one half of the present number of independent countries.

24. I should like to recall the great relief and gratification with which last year we hailed the adoption of the General Assembly resolution [1991 (XVIII)] providing for the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. We hope that nothing will hinder the attainment of those goals and the recognition of Africa's legitimate place in the new international order. We therefore appeal to all Member States, particularly to the permanent members of the Security Council, whose privileges are so great, to ratify the amendments which have been proposed to bring the Charter of the United Nations up to date; by so doing, they will help to wipe out an injustice and to right the wrong done, in particular, to the continent of Africa, which even today continues to bear the heavy legacy of the colonial era.

25. Since 1960, Africa, with the Democratic Republic of the Congo at its centre, has been beset with countless difficulties. The efforts of the United Nations to restore order and to maintain the territorial integrity of the Congo encountered difficult conditions

(to say the least) and stubborn resistance, the continuing effects of which are unfortunately still being felt to this day.

26. My country responded, within the United Nations framework, to the appeal made by the Congo at the time and did not hesitate, in particularly difficult circumstances, to give that country aid and assistance; it sent its troops and technicians, thus helping the Congo to overcome, in some small measure, the difficulties resulting from the void left by the former administering Power.

27. However, the recent tragic and bloody events in the Congo have aroused deep feelings in my country, which cannot remain indifferent to the fate of those thousands of innocent victims, Africans and others. While deploring the treatment inflicted on those held as hostages—a practice which cannot today be followed or contemplated—and condemning the massacre of innocent people, my Government is nevertheless of the view that such acts cannot be divorced from the general Congolese context; for it cannot be overlooked that the use of mercenaries, whose methods have brought them such sorry fame—they have even been referred to, in journalistic terms, as "monsters"—is at the bottom of a great many of these events which shock the conscience and the moral sense of the world. All these acts of interference, whose origins are so diverse but which have in common the characteristic of being alien to the Congo, and which have been condemned so often by both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, have brought about a situation of such complexity and gravity that the Security Council has been obliged, once again, to turn its attention to this tragedy.

28. The Tunisian Government, true to its tradition of plain dealing, will join in any concerted action, at either the African or the international level, which is aimed at putting an end without delay to all foreign intervention, in whatever form, and at devising any measure calculated to heal the situation, to restore peace and to introduce stability in that part of Africa.

29. The fact that the recent events occurred at a time when the whole of Africa, concerned at the situation in the Congo, was striving to find a solution and to restore order and security makes them all the more regrettable.

30. At the request of the Government of the Congo, the *ad hoc* Commission of the Organization of African Unity, of which my country has the honour to be a member, was seized of the problem and deliberated with a view to finding the most effective ways and means of preventing any explosion and, perhaps, of remedying the situation. My delegation, which reaffirms here its full support for the recommendations of the Organization of African Unity, believes that the solution to the Congolese problem must be found in an African setting; this is natural, since a regional solution must be sought before the problem is taken up in a broader setting. However, the Organization of African Unity and its organs could not seriously hope to work positively towards that goal unless foreign interference in the Congo ceases and unless, moreover, the Powers concerned give them their complete co-operation, without reservation and, most of all, without ulterior motives.



31. My delegation therefore appeals to all States, African and other, to refrain from any activities which might hinder the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to find a peaceful solution.

32. The restoration of peace and stability in the Congo continues to be Africa's primary objective. It will be achieved sooner and more effectively if all nations give their full support to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity towards that goal, in the sense not only of support for the decisions taken, but also of another kind of support in the form of any advice which those nations feel able to give and in promoting the implementation of the decisions.

33. Reverting to the United Nations more generally, I shall recall that the nineteenth session of the General Assembly opened amid pessimistic speculations. It is comforting to such obdurate optimists as we Tunisians are to see—or to glimpse—that the danger menacing the future development of the Organization now seems to have been partially dissipated, thanks to the co-operation shown by all Member States and their desire to avoid plunging the Organization into a crisis which could only end in the disintegration of the United Nations and in world chaos.

34. The United Nations remains more than ever the hope of the new nations and their last resort for the protection of their national integrity and political independence. Obviously, therefore, Tunisia is anxious to see a solution of the present crisis.

35. If, however, the Organization is to be able to discharge its obligations with respect to the maintenance of peace and security, it must be in a position to exercise its responsibilities under the best possible circumstances. To ensure this, the authority and prestige of the United Nations must at no time be impaired by financial or constitutional difficulties. We earnestly hope therefore that the difficulties encountered by the General Assembly at the beginning of this session, which have unfortunately not been completely removed, may be swiftly overcome, and that our deliberations may resume in the calm atmosphere essential to the productive progress of our work. We are sure that the goodwill of the parties concerned and the sincere co-operation of all Member States will in the end lead us to a final solution of the Organization's present financial difficulties and to a strengthening of the authority of the United Nations in future peace-keeping operations; for although we are optimists, we are also realists, and we can well imagine that there will unfortunately always be reason to fear disturbances, and even war.

36. In the world of today, an international organization for the maintenance of peace and stability is a prime necessity to all States. It is time that the United Nations, if necessary, through a constitutional reform, became an effective collective instrument for the strengthening of world peace and security, in accordance with the objectives stated in the Charter.

37. While reaffirming our adherence to the principle of our collective responsibility in this respect, I should like to stress the importance of recommending those measures which must be taken to obviate the drawback of haste and improvisation in peace-keeping operations and in the decisions that will set in motion

the machinery of such operations, and of finding a solution which will enable the United Nations to undertake such operations with maximum effectiveness, speed and vigour. The provisions of the Charter are our constitution, but it must nevertheless be borne in mind that any rigid and uncompromising application of a given provision, which might have the effect of paralysing the Organization, or of hindering its work—even if only temporarily—would be highly prejudicial to the cause of peace, and perhaps to the very existence of the United Nations. The establishment of a satisfactory and effective peace-keeping formula is most important, especially as it may be the prelude to general and complete disarmament.

38. The notable advances achieved by modern science and technology are such that the destiny of mankind is at the mercy of physical forces of a scale never before known in history which can only be described as terrifying when one considers that they may even outstrip the will of man. To harmonize and control these forces in the interest of peace and of better living conditions for mankind as a whole is the prime objective of the United Nations. Disarmament is certainly the most immediate and most urgent aspect of this task. The steps taken since the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty,<sup>3/</sup> although not decisive, nevertheless show a common desire on the part of the great Powers to continue to seek further progress towards the relaxation of tension. They allow us to hope that they will be followed by other equally important, or even more important, steps towards disarmament.

39. If we are to reduce international tension, to increase trust between States and to eliminate the danger of war, we must move towards a total prohibition of nuclear weapons and towards general and complete disarmament. It is true that the experience of the League of Nations offers no support for this statement, but we may still hope that reason will prevail among men. The mass accession of States to the Moscow Treaty would certainly appear to be a positive step in that direction. Any further progress which can be made in that respect will certainly help to clear the international atmosphere and will unquestionably reduce cold-war risks.

40. The great Powers have as great a responsibility in the liquidation of colonialism as they have with respect to disarmament.

41. The right of peoples to self-determination is one of the pillars of the United Nations Charter. Unfortunately, its application is still somewhat restricted. Millions of human beings throughout the world, in every clime, are still suffering under colonial domination and exploitation.

42. My country, which has always supported peoples fighting for their liberation, will likewise always condemn intolerance and oppression whatever their form and whatever the reasons invoked to justify them.

43. The survival of colonialism in our time is an anachronism and, most of all, a challenge to the

<sup>3/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

principles of the United Nations and a blow to its prestige. It is a matter of constant concern to those who have dedicated themselves to building a healthy and prosperous community of nations.

44. This hall still echoes to the General Assembly resolutions proclaiming the right of oppressed peoples to recover their dignity and freedom forthwith and the necessity of bringing colonialism in all its manifestations to an end. Moving appeals have been addressed to the colonial Powers from this rostrum and many approaches have been made to them with praise-worthy persistence, but mankind has still not been liberated from this evil.

45. In 1960, the General Assembly, in its historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations"; and declared that:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom." [Resolution 1514 (XV).]

46. A Special Committee, of which my country has the honour to be a member, has been made responsible for implementing the Declaration.<sup>4/</sup> Three years have elapsed since the Committee was established and, although it has not as yet been able to achieve the objectives assigned to it by the General Assembly, that is certainly not due to a lack of conscientiousness or of a sense of responsibility, or to a lack of enthusiasm for the task. The forces of inertia and obstruction have been such that, unfortunately, colonialism is today still rampant in vast areas of Africa and elsewhere and the principles of the Charter and the ideas of freedom and dignity still, to our great shame, remain for millions of human beings, distant ideals which are difficult to attain.

47. This deplorable situation has been a subject of constant concern to all the African peoples. Special attention was devoted to it by the African Heads of State and Government who met at the Cairo Assembly.<sup>5/</sup> It was also the subject of discussion at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. These African Heads of State and these Heads of State of non-aligned countries were all agreed on the danger inherent in the existence or continuance of such a state of affairs and on the threat which it constituted for the future of the subjugated countries and also, perhaps, for that of already liberated countries which suffer on account of their proximity to nations still not freed, even if only from the repercussions of events which occur there. These Heads of State recommended a number of measures designed to put an end to oppression in all its

forms. My country subscribes, fully and without reservation, to the decisions taken at these two conferences. It also associates itself with any measures taken to eliminate the threat which colonialism represents to the political stability and economic development of Africa.

48. It rests with the colonial Powers alone to ensure that the transfer of power takes place by peaceful means through a process of evolution, without violence or resentment, and that every opportunity for fruitful co-operation and harmonious coexistence is safeguarded in the future.

49. United Nations resolutions on decolonization, both those of the General Assembly and those of the Security Council, must be implemented by the administering Powers in good faith and all States must co-operate fully in putting them into effect. Thus a source of permanent tension and threat to international peace and security can be eliminated and the authority of the United Nations may be preserved and strengthened. On this basis, all States can unite in helping to build a society conforming with the principles of the Charter and the aspirations of mankind.

50. Portugal keeps our African brothers under its domination and does not appear ready to acknowledge the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands freely to decide their own destiny. We ask Portugal not to remain blind to the demands of our age and to understand, before it is too late, that its own interests as well as those of peace would be better served by a wise and realistic policy, which would have as its objective the immediate satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the inhabitants of those territories. Portugal's present policy, which aims to perpetuate Portuguese rule in Africa by means of repression and persecution, it not only contrary to the United Nations Charter but also seriously compromises any chance of a negotiated solution.

51. We look to the United Kingdom to do what it has already done for Malta, Malawi and Zambia, to mention only the countries most recently admitted to our Organization, that is, to bring the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Aden, Oman, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland to self-determination and independence on the principle of "one man one vote", which would be no great innovation since it is the very basis of democracy.

52. It is in the United Kingdom's own interest to live up to its responsibilities by pursuing a realistic policy in Southern Rhodesia and to discontinue its support of the misguided interests of a racist minority. The conditions which allowed the establishment in Southern Rhodesia of a Government that represents only a heterogeneous minority must be eliminated. We would hope that the independence of Southern Rhodesia will be accompanied by the establishment of a Government which will truly represent all the people of that country. In this way, the United Kingdom can carry out, strictly but fully, its obligations towards that country and avoid, with the wisdom which we have come to expect from it, the unleashing of the forces of violence and confusion.

<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.

<sup>5/</sup> First session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held from 17 to 21 July 1964.

53. South West Africa, which is the subject of the annexationist designs of an unscrupulous administering Power, must be removed from South African domination and regain its freedom of self-determination and its independence.

54. Our Organization must act vigorously to accelerate the process of granting independence to peoples and must assume its responsibilities under the Charter in order to put an end to the colonial system, which represents not only a denial of fundamental human rights, but a threat to the cause of international peace and co-operation.

55. In the view of my delegation the survival of this intolerable and anachronistic system carries within it the seeds of destruction which would destroy any far-reaching action we might envisage or undertake and it jeopardizes any chance of fruitful co-operation. If the United Nations is to survive and to assert its authority, it can no longer tolerate the continuance of such a situation, which represents a challenge to its own authority and to the very principles of the Charter by which it lives.

56. Although they are so acute, the problems which I have just described and which the Assembly must take up at this session must in no way distract us from the human tragedy which continues to unfold, not on the borders of South Africa, but within South Africa itself. The question of apartheid has for many years been on the agenda of our Assembly; but the debate on the subject, which is now becoming a tradition, unfortunately in no way diminishes the present reality of the problem and cannot make us overlook its extreme urgency or the odious nature of apartheid.

57. To all the recommendations of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to all the resolutions of the regional organizations and to all the appeals by statesmen and world public opinion, the Pretoria Government continues to reply with a cynical and stubborn refusal. What is more, since the last session, the Pretoria authorities have steadily intensified their repressive measures against the black population and against all internal opposition to the implementation of the race laws.

58. The recent execution of three Africans whose only crime was to have rebelled against the unjust and inhuman racial segregation laws, shows once again that the blindness of the South African Government is total and appears, unfortunately, to be without remedy.

59. Faced with such a situation, we no longer think that it is permissible to live on hope and to continue to believe in the virtue of patience and in counsels of moderation. We are convinced that the only way remaining open to us is no longer that of intervention and diplomatic "démarches", but that already recommended by the African Heads of State and Government, as well as by the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and confirmed by the experts and economists at the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa.<sup>6/</sup> It is regrettable that the objective findings and important recommendations of this Conference were not followed

up, as the African countries and no doubt other countries wished, during the debate in the Security Council last June.

60. However, I should like to pay tribute to the important work done by the Special Committee<sup>7/</sup> which recommended in its conclusions the application of economic sanctions against South Africa.

61. Now, when our Organization needs more than ever before to recover the prestige and authority necessary to maintain peace and security, it is high time for it to undertake to rid the world of this cancer of racism and to apply without delay effective economic sanctions. We do not consider these to be the final cure for this evil. However, since advice is of no avail, it will certainly give pause to a Government, which prefers to turn a deaf ear to the voice of reason.

62. There is another tragedy in which colonialism appears no better than racism and for which, unfortunately, no immediate peaceful solution can be foreseen: the Arab people of Palestine, who are the victims of injustice and aggression and have been expelled from their land, remain scattered in poverty in the neighbouring countries. The Zionist invader has made of these people wandering refugees who live on the relief and charity provided by the United Nations and on the hospitality of the neighbouring countries.

63. The daily drama of more than a million Palestinian refugees is a painful chapter in the history of mankind; it also represents a present and permanent threat to the peace and stability of the entire region. Such a situation, which is as abnormal as it is inhuman, cannot be prolonged indefinitely. The Arab people of Palestine have no intention of renouncing their rights to the land of their fathers nor of continuing to pay for the crimes of others. They are at the end of their patience and if they were to lose their hope in the United Nations, no other alternative would be left to them but to resort to the use of force in order to recover their rights.

64. We believe that everything possible must be done, while there is still time, to avoid plunging Palestine, that Holy Land consecrated to tolerance and to the brotherhood of mankind, into misfortune, bloodshed and disorder.

65. In the economic field, the work of the United Nations during 1964 has been mainly dominated by the meeting in Geneva of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.<sup>8/</sup> This Conference, held within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade, proved to be of historic importance not only by virtue of the number of States represented at it and the complexity of the problems it considered, but particularly because it in fact defined a new order, better adapted to the development needs of the world of today.

66. International trade is still largely governed by principles laid down by the major trading Powers at

<sup>7/</sup> Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

<sup>8/</sup> Conference held from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

<sup>6/</sup> Conference held in London from 14 to 17 April 1964.

the Havana Conference<sup>2/</sup> following the Second World War. Those principles took little account of the interests of the countries dominated by colonialism or living in its orbit and the colonialists were not much concerned with the social and economic development of those areas.

67. All the African and Asian countries which have achieved independence over the last few years have immediately found themselves at grips with the countless problems of development. The present trends of international trade are particularly unfavourable to them and, if not soon altered, may impede the economic and social development of those countries. In the interests of all nations, suitable solutions must obviously be found, through international co-operation, to the problems of world trade and, particularly, to the urgent trade and growth problems of the underdeveloped or developing countries, as they are euphemistically called.

68. The United Nations, the specialized agencies and certain better-equipped countries have admittedly made praiseworthy efforts to assist the developing countries. However, the magnitude of the task, the immensity of the areas to be developed, the total population involved, whose growth only makes the burden daily more real, representing as it does more than two thirds of mankind requiring improvement of their standard of living, all call for an urgent re-examination of the economic situation throughout the world, practical solutions based on a better distribution of wealth and more effective combined international action.

69. That was why the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened at Geneva. Although the resolutions adopted at the conclusion of that Conference do not offer any immediate solutions to these problems, they do at least indicate the direction in which changes must be made.

70. My delegation hopes that the Assembly will give its full attention to the recommendations contained in the Final Act of the Conference and, in particular, that it will adopt the provisions regarding the constitution of the new Trade and Development Board, which should begin work as soon as possible in view of the immensity of the task awaiting it and the urgency of the measures to be taken if the hopes of developing countries are not to be frustrated.

71. I cannot conclude this part of my statement devoted to economic problems—a field which cannot readily be reviewed in a systematic manner, without expressing my Government's great satisfaction at the decision regarding the merger of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. My delegation believes that the combined action of these two important United Nations agencies will contribute appreciably to the efforts of the developing countries. My delegation pays special tribute to the work done by both programmes and expresses the hope that all States will continue to co-operate increasingly with them in view of the great needs which still have to be met.

72. Lastly, my delegation wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Economic Commission for Africa. We only have to take a look at the list of its accomplishments during its first five years to realize how much progress has been made in the fields of research, study and training—the training of cadres, the shortage of which constitutes one of the most serious problems afflicting the developing countries. The establishment of a number of agencies such as the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning and the African Development Bank, and the many useful statistical and economic studies made by ECA bear witness to its efforts in the field of regional integration and harmonization of the economic and social development plans of the African countries, particularly in the industrial sector. Within the framework of the activities undertaken since the beginning of this year by the sub-regional office at Tangier, the representatives of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Libya have asked ECA to carry out a series of studies, analyses and research projects in order to pinpoint the sectors in which a harmonious development policy may be followed and to ascertain the best methods of achieving this.

73. I should not fail to emphasize here the scope of this initiative taken by our Governments and the hopes placed by our brothers in Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia in a harmonized economic development of the countries of the Arab Maghreb. The Protocol signed at Tangier on 26 November 1964 has been rightly said to form the nucleus of the Maghreb Community. A permanent Advisory Committee had already been set up on 1 October last at Tunis to serve as a permanent liaison body and as a centre to provide the impetus and research for preparing future programmes in co-operation with ECA. The Tangier Protocol of 26 November delineates the fields in which the four countries will combine their efforts. These fields are very extensive indeed: co-ordination of development plans and of energy, trade and manpower policies, co-ordination of industrialization efforts, of transport and of telecommunications, co-operation in the field of tourism, financing of the expansion of tourism and of development in general. This is a very ambitious programme, but even modest achievements require great ambition.

74. This effort affecting all fields of economic activity falls quite naturally within the framework of international economic co-operation so that it must of necessity arouse the interest and encouragement of the United Nations. We are counting particularly on the assistance of the Special Fund in setting up a Centre of Industrial Studies, the need for which is being increasingly felt. We are of course counting on the co-operation of ECA, which is already taking part with us in an exciting experiment—one that we are resolved shall succeed in order to build a peaceful and prosperous Maghreb.

75. Tunisia voices the fervent hope that the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations will mark the end of colonialism and of all forms of oppression. Twenty years represent a milestone and we hope that this twentieth anniversary will herald the dawn of a new era for mankind, emancipated at last, and will see the

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, held from 21 November 1947 to 24 March 1948.



freeing of all peoples from the yoke of colonialism and the indignities of racism.

76. We shall thus be able to embark upon an era of honest and fruitful international co-operation and devote ourselves freely to the next step: the elimination of misery, poverty, hunger and ignorance and the economic and social advancement of the formerly enslaved or subjugated peoples. Any steps taken which do not take into account the mission we have assigned ourselves will prove sterile and will provide no real answer to the world's quest for peace.

77. Mr. HANAN (New Zealand): Mr. President, first may I congratulate you upon your elevation, by acclamation, to the high post of President of this Assembly. This honour is a most appropriate recognition of your reputation and accomplishments within this Organization and of the liveliness, the vigour and the sense of purpose which the new States of Africa have brought to the United Nations. I should like also to express our appreciation to Mr. Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela, for the excellence of the standards he set in presiding over the eighteenth session.

78. It is, moreover, a source of pride and pleasure to a fellow member of the Commonwealth that this session has admitted three new Commonwealth States, Malawi, Malta and Zambia, to membership. I congratulate all three upon this international recognition of their independent nationhood, and extend to them the best wishes of the Government and people of New Zealand for a peaceful and increasingly prosperous future.

79. This year we are faced with one of those searching moments which, perhaps fortunately, occur but rarely in international relations. For years this hall has echoed with comfortable rhetoric in praise of our Organization. For years we have at critical moments been able to take refuge in generalities, evasive compromises or forms of words meaning all things to all men. Now we are suddenly required to declare ourselves on our deepest and most inward attitude to the United Nations. Without possibility of equivocation, we must now separate ourselves into those who want a strong United Nations and those who want a weak one. No disguise is possible. Our actions here at this session will proclaim far louder than our speeches how we really view the Organization to which we have pledged ourselves.

80. No one can be in any doubt. This is not merely a peace-keeping crisis. This is not just a financial crisis. It is a crisis of the future of the United Nations: a test of what we really want of international co-operation. There are no watertight compartments. Weaker powers of finance and peace-keeping mean a weaker United Nations. A retreat or loss of resolve at this session cannot but strike a severe blow at the powers and prestige of the Organization itself. The result must be a weakening and falling away of United Nations endeavour in all fields, from decolonization to development.

81. New Zealand was fully conscious in 1945 that not security itself, but the way to security lay in the Charter drawn up at San Francisco. We believe that the development of the United Nations during the past nineteen years has taken us some significant distance

along that way. And we believe that, if such progress has been made, it has been based on the determination of Member States—of most Member States—to develop the possibilities latent in the Organization set up in 1945 and on their refusal to see the United Nations as a static concept.

82. In the area of the Organization's prime concern, the maintenance of international peace and security, the Charter itself, as negotiated at San Francisco, was and remains an imperfect document. This is due in part to what New Zealand at the time regarded as a failure to give adequate expression to the positive aim of collective resistance to every act of aggression against any Member State. It is due also, and more excusably, to the fact that it was not possible, at San Francisco, to see the transition which would take place to what Mr. Stevenson has so aptly characterized as our present era of "cease-fire and peaceful change".

83. It was even less possible to make specific provision for the kind of peace-keeping operation which typifies this new situation. These operations, undertaken not to impose a view but to preserve peaceful conditions at the request or with the consent of the host State or States, are something quite different from the enforcement measures to which alone the Charter specifically refers. It is only if this simple fact is kept in mind that the basic weakness of the Soviet Union's case is realized. Then it is seen that the issue is not one of constitutional or unconstitutional acts, but simply this: is it our will that the United Nations, consonant with its responsibilities, should develop every useful technique?

84. It is the belief of my delegation that United Nations peace-keeping forces have become an essential means of action and have taken their place among the tools available to the Organization for the carrying out of its purposes. I believe that such a peace-keeping mission is exactly what world public opinion expects of the United Nations. It certainly corresponds to the hopes which the New Zealand Government and people have consistently placed in the Organization.

85. It is for this reason that New Zealand has supported the peace-keeping operations of the Organization by its vote, by financial contributions (including voluntary donations) to back its vote, and by readiness to participate if requested. It is because we believe that the United Nations deserves the full support of its Members, discharging the responsibility which falls on them collectively, that we have made available, at the request of the Secretary-General, a civilian police force unit for service with the United Nations force in Cyprus. This unit will remain available for a further period on the island should the Security Council decide to extend once more the mandate of the force.

86. It is because we believe that the United Nations should be guaranteed the means of speedy and decisive action that my Government recently informed the Secretary-General of its decision, in principle, to designate a stand-by unit, to be drawn from the armed services or civilian police, for service in future properly instituted peace-keeping operations of the Organization.

87. It is because we believe that the effectiveness of United Nations peace-keeping operations can only be enhanced by more thorough preparation that New Zealand gladly participated in the recent technical meeting held in Ottawa for an exchange of experience on past operations—a meeting held at the invitation of the Canadian Government, which has made so notable a contribution in this field. It is for the same reason that my delegation is prepared to give firm support to the Secretary-General's suggestion that a competent United Nations organ might be authorized to study means of ensuring better, more efficient and more economical peace-keeping operations.

88. Peace-keeping operations such as those carried out in the Middle East, in the Congo and in Cyprus are soundly based on certain provisions of the Charter, as the International Court of Justice has convincingly demonstrated. They are an outstanding example of the Organization's capacity to evolve, within the framework of its basic document, new procedures for meeting the demands placed on it by an evolving and expanding international community. Nevertheless, my delegation shares the view, put forward at the opening of this debate by the representative of Brazil [1289th meeting] that the time has come when we should consider the inclusion in the Charter of a new chapter making explicit what has been pragmatically developed on the basis of certain provisions of that basic document.

89. It would be essential to such an exercise, however, that agreement should be reached on methods of financing such operations. Since they may be considered to have become a normal *modus operandi* of the Organization, their financing cannot be allowed to continue on the haphazard basis which has shown such capacity for harm to the Organization. Basic to any settlement on this subject must be the principle that the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is one which must be discharged wisely and borne and shared by all Powers, great and small, in a measure to be agreed with proper regard to the capacity of each Member State.

90. A settlement allotting future responsibilities, and involving a proper balance of rights and obligations, would be incomplete, indeed, if a settlement were not made of past obligations. There is not only a pressing need to restore the financial equilibrium of the Organization, and thus remove the restriction placed on its ability to meet fresh demands; there is also a moral problem: what faith can we have in future arrangements if certain Members have been able to show that it is possible to refuse payment of just and proper dues? What faith can we have, indeed, in any undertaking if one so clear as that contained in Article 17 of the Charter is not honoured, even when its full applicability in the particular circumstances has been confirmed by the International Court of Justice? We must be conscious that ability to exercise a financial veto may be as damaging in circumscribing the healthy development of the United Nations as the veto constitutionally exercised in the Security Council.

91. But it is not enough that the Organization should have the ability to mount operations to keep the peace and enforce Security Council decisions. It must also

be able to have confidence in the will of its Member States to implement their Charter undertakings. The evolution of the United Nations can be measured in terms not only of its own capacity to act, but also of the extent to which its Member States feel bound to abide by the principles which it asserts.

92. Respect for national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all Member States are cornerstones of the United Nations system. The Charter lays down a code of international behaviour which, from the experience the world has derived in this century, is the best prescription that we have for the preservation of peace. It is therefore a source of deep concern to New Zealand, as a South Pacific nation, that the Charter has been flouted, openly, by another Member State in a region adjacent to us. The past two years have seen the growth of a lawless doctrine propounded by one Member State that every form of pressure, including the use of force—admitted openly in the Security Council—may be a justifiable instrument of policy to bring about the dismemberment and collapse of another Member State.

93. It is profoundly disturbing that such an assertion could be made, as though Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter was an obligation to be waived at will, when it has been demonstrated on numerous occasions—one of them a report by United Nations representatives, endorsed by the Secretary-General [see A/5801, pp. 27 and 28]—that the Malaysian Government has the support of a majority of its citizens. When we consider the principles on which the United Nations is based, there are very serious implications for all nations, particularly the smaller nations, in the policy of confrontation—a policy which flaunts the label of "crush Malaysia"—which Indonesia continues to pursue.

94. But when the question came before the United Nations, upon the complaint of Malaysia, the voice of the great majority of Members, through their elected representatives in the Security Council—all save one—and the permanent members of the Security Council—all save one—made clear their support for a resolution establishing the justice of Malaysia's cause [1152nd meeting].

95. I raised this question not only as an illustration of the need for respect for the basic principles upon which the Organization was founded, but because the real tragedy of the situation is that it benefits no one, least of all Indonesia. The so-called policy of confrontation embitters relations among nations, arrests urgently needed economic development, undermines the stability of a large part of a subcontinent, damages the livelihood of millions of private citizens who would prefer to live at peace with their neighbours, and could create a precedent which could threaten the peace in many parts of the world.

96. From the time when Indonesia achieved its independence in 1949, relations between our two countries have been characterized by a singular cordiality. When we voice our support for a peaceful solution to the problem of confrontation, we do so in what we believe to be the best interests of all concerned. The use or threat of force can achieve nothing. If there are differences to be resolved,

these can only be resolved by peaceful means and through negotiation and conciliation.

97. The proposal that an African-Asian commission should be established with the responsibility to reach a settlement is one which commends itself to us as a sound basis for permanent settlement. But most important, it is a proposal which has been accepted by both Malaysia and Indonesia. There is only one obstacle to further progress, and that is the failure of the Indonesian Government to accept the one condition rightly laid down by Malaysia, namely, that Indonesia should cease all acts of hostility. This is not a condition which places onerous burdens on Indonesia. It prejudices no issue to be discussed subsequently. It is no more than any sovereign State could or would expect before entering negotiations. It calls for nothing more than a return to observance of the obligations of the Charter.

98. We urge the Indonesian Government, therefore, to reconsider its policy and turn back from the policy of armed intervention which it is now pursuing. The interests of both parties and of the whole area—but also, to return to my theme, the broader interests of the United Nations itself—demand that Indonesia and Malaysia should compose their differences and that Indonesia should respect the independence and territory of Malaysia.

99. I have dwelt at some length on the central theme of peace and security laid down in the Charter, on the peace-keeping operations which derive from this over-all purpose and on a particular and related problem which at present deeply concerns us. I now turn to two other principal activities of the Organization—economic development and decolonization. As I do so I am reminded of the wise observation of Mr. Paul Martin of Canada: "World peace and world prosperity...are closely linked together. A climate of world peace is indispensable if the struggle against poverty, hunger and disease is to be waged effectively and with the full mobilization of all the resources at our command" [1294th meeting].

100. The capacity for evolution of the United Nations, the dynamic approach, has been evident in the economic and social field, as it has been in the field of peace and security. All fields of United Nations work are interdependent, and it seems obvious that if the dynamic approach were to be rejected in the central area of the Organization's concern—peace-keeping—the consequences would spread throughout its structure.

101. The Development Decade, the expression in the economic field of the dynamic approach to the United Nations, rightly emphasizes the co-operative endeavour needed to make the best use of the world's resources, and especially to reinforce the efforts of those countries which have been late in starting along the road of economic development. Older and wealthier countries can do much to supplement action taken by less fortunate countries to achieve more rapid rates of growth; but all countries, whatever their position in the long scale of development, are able to contribute to the aims of the decade.

102. The determination to enhance the economic growth of the world has found its most recent expres-

sion in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Geneva this year. Provision has been made for a further evolution of the United Nations, so that it can tackle more effectively those economic problems which hold back the development of great areas of the world.

103. Priority must be given to solutions which will bring relief to countries afflicted by poverty and economic stagnation. It is the intention of the New Zealand Government to co-operate with others in ensuring that the United Nations economic activities bear fruit. We want to see the new machinery proposed by the conference used to promote solutions which correspond to the facts of a complex and inter-related world economy.

104. One of the United Nations greatest roles since its foundation has been as the guarantor and guardian of the right of self-determination of all peoples. Its success in this respect has been spectacular.

105. New Zealand long ago placed its faith in co-operation with the United Nations as the most effective instrument for a speedy and orderly decolonization. At San Francisco we strove to strengthen this concept in the Charter. In 1960, we voted for the declaration on colonialism [resolution 1514 (XV)] as a reaffirmation of the inherent right to self-determination which is implicit in the Charter.

106. In accordance with that declaration, we have continued and intensified the development of those Pacific Island Territories for whose administration New Zealand has been responsible. In January 1962, the Trust Territory of Western Samoa became a sovereign independent nation. The fifteen small islands of the Cook Group posed a different problem—not as to their right of self-determination, but as to the form that would take. The elected representatives of their 20,000 people weighed all the alternatives, and decided upon full self-government coupled with a freely chosen association with New Zealand. A constitution drafted along those lines, giving the Cook Islanders sole power to alter their future status as they think fit, will be submitted to the electors at a general election next year; and for the other islands of Niue and the Tokelaus, even smaller and more remote, the same guarantees of early self-determination have been proclaimed.

107. New Zealand has taken some pride in pioneering the application of United Nations principles to the situation of small and scattered islands. It has co-operated closely with the Committee of Twenty-Four in examining the practical means by which a genuine self-determination can be brought about. But one of the problems of small communities is their size. None of us can fail to recognize that the special problems of many Territories now remaining in dependency go beyond size and isolation to touch the very fundamentals of nationhood.

108. When a multiplicity of languages and peoples have been grouped by history within the boundaries of one territory, when age-old isolation and suspicions have not yet been fused into a sense of community—in these circumstances it is not simply a question of offering the means of self-determination. A common national purpose and a national consensus

have first to be created. As we recognize the need for urgency in implementing the declaration, we also must recognize the creation first of a sense of community. To do otherwise is not merely to raise more problems than are solved; it is a betrayal of our commitment under the declaration to offer real self-determination to all dependent peoples.

109. There is another class of dependent Territories whose problems are much more saddening because they lie much deeper. I mean those Territories whose advance is bedevilled by racial distrust. The declaration on colonialism applies to those people as much as to others. Yet such Territories cannot fruitfully be treated as simple problems of decolonization. They raise the whole complex and increasingly dangerous issue of race.

110. This issue is one which is now directly engaging the attention of this Organization. It is one which fully engages the interest of New Zealand as a multiracial society, conscious of the difficulties which multiracial societies may confront, but conscious also of the benefits which the harmonious development of a multiracial people may confer on all its members.

111. I have said that we are a multiracial society. Our goal is to become a non-racial society. We have moved towards that goal, but we have not reached it. We are grappling with some of the problems which face so many members of the United Nations. We do not claim to have solved them. Indeed, we shall look for guidance to the results of responsible and constructive discussion of race questions within this Organization. But if we do not claim to have answers, we do claim to have some knowledge, based on our own considerable experience.

112. We know that policies designed to eliminate discrimination must concern themselves with far more than just the law. To clear discriminatory provisions from the statute books may not be a difficult task; to clear away the prejudices from which discriminatory practices spring may be an undertaking of vastly greater difficulty and broader scope.

113. We are familiar with the paradox that the speediest way to eliminate discrimination against a minority racial group may be, for a temporary period, to discriminate in their favour. This we do in New Zealand in the case of our Maori people, particularly in the field of education. We are very well aware that, if efforts such as these are to succeed, the authorities who make them must have and retain the goodwill and have the support of the entire community. Special provision for education or guaranteed representation in Parliament may be entirely beneficial measures. Yet they may fail if their intent is misunderstood. They may even be repugnant if they are felt to diminish the dignity of the people to whom they are directed.

114. These are questions which warrant the most sober and serious examination. They affect us all, for racial discrimination is not just a problem for any one region or grouping in the world. And their discussion will be the more beneficial as the issues are squarely faced.

115. I come now to another most important question: that of disarmament. The Charter is relatively silent on this subject. Yet few issues so awaken the expectations of the peoples of the world, not least in my own country. The role of the United Nations in this respect is not an exclusive one, even though for many smaller countries it provides a unique opportunity to bring their views to bear on these momentous issues. But it is well to have very clearly in mind that the ability of the United Nations to shape and influence the really important decisions, which can be taken only by those primarily responsible, will in large measure depend on the character which we, the Member States, will henceforth wish the Organization to bear.

116. The part which the Assembly itself seems best equipped to play has perhaps been best demonstrated by its consideration of the question of nuclear testing. On this, more than on any other aspect of the complex which can loosely be labelled disarmament questions, it has acted as a representative of world opinion, translating the fears and anxieties felt in all countries; translating also the view that, perhaps more than any other, the complete cessation of nuclear testing, under effective guarantees, would be a step which could give the confidence needed to move closer to measures of real disarmament.

117. The partial test ban treaty has been signed by more than 100 Governments and *de facto* régimes, and ratified by many. For most, it is an act of moral significance, although it contains the very real undertaking not to encourage or in any way participate in the carrying out of a test explosion. But it is encouraging that this measure of self-restraint has been entered into by a number of countries which themselves have the capacity to produce nuclear weapons, and to those countries our gratitude for their courageous attitude is extended.

118. But two shadows are cast over this question. They are two reasons why my delegation believes firmly that the Assembly must continue to devote its close attention to it, and I am confident that it will.

119. The first is the explosion of a nuclear device by mainland China. We know, as my Prime Minister stated at the time, that possession of nuclear weapons by Communist China will neither immediately affect the world balance of power nor, more specifically, the military situation in South-East Asia; that there is a vast difference between a first test and achieving even a limited nuclear capability. But this Assembly cannot ignore the fact that this explosion is a deliberate violation of clearly expressed world opinion, justified in the most cynical terms. It cannot ignore the fact that it greatly increases the risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons. And once again, in this connexion, we have reason to welcome the restraint which the Government of India has shown to date in adhering to its stated policy, when its capacity to take similar action is well known. It would be incongruous, indeed, and would weaken the moral force attaching to its stand on the whole matter of nuclear testing, if this Assembly were not to record at the appropriate moment how deeply it deplores this Chinese act.



120. It is with regret that I refer to the second object of New Zealand's concern. Last year, both in the general debate and in the First Committee, the leader of the New Zealand delegation drew the attention of the Assembly to the preparations being made by France to conduct nuclear test explosions in our own South Pacific area. Concern within my country, long and consistently expressed about all nuclear tests, particularly those carried out in the Pacific, is only heightened by the fact that these preparations continue unabated. They continue in spite of the protests which the New Zealand Government and others, with regret, have felt obliged to make. I say with regret, because we are conscious of the extent of our friendship and co-operation with France in other fields. They continue in spite of the call made last year by this Assembly to all countries to become parties to the partial test ban treaty and to abide by its spirit and provisions [resolution 1910 (XVIII)].

121. Elaborate safety precautions, the assurance is given, will be planned. Careful scientific study of meteorological and other phenomena is being conducted. The presence of French populations close at hand is pointed out. There has been comfort in the view taken by New Zealand scientists that, given care, good meteorological advice and patience, an agency conducting nuclear tests in French Polynesia should be able to avoid significant contamination of inhabited islands by early fall-out; that any increase in inherited disease in the Cook Islands—only some 1,200 miles from the prospective scene of the explosions—and in New Zealand itself which might be attributable to fall-out from the proposed tests would be statistically undetectable. All that may be granted.

122. The fact remains that any test series must contribute to an increase in world radiation levels, and that it may well be that more than one series is contemplated. The fact remains that there must always be the possibility of accident or miscalculation, with resultant dangers to the Polynesian peoples of the area with whom New Zealanders have ties of kinship, and in whose welfare and future the United Nations has shown a close interest.

123. The fact remains also that such test explosions may weaken the restraint on others, less responsible perhaps than we know France to be and, unlike France, not already having a nuclear capability, not to engage upon their own programme of nuclear weapons development. This prospect, this most alarming prospect, that it may not prove possible to hold the nuclear club to its present membership, is one, indeed, to which my delegation believes the Assembly at its present session should and will wish to pay urgent attention. My delegation, for its part, is fully prepared to join in efforts which may be initiated at this session to take constructive steps to further the objective of a non-dissemination agreement as contemplated by resolution 1665 (XVI), adopted by the Assembly in 1961 upon the proposal of Ireland.

124. I conclude by saying that New Zealand has, from the outset, looked upon the United Nations as an instrument for peace and progress. But if it is to be an instrument adapted to the tasks which it is set in all its areas of concern, it is essential that the

Organization should be able to develop in a gradual and orderly manner, within the limits of a forward-looking implementation of its Charter, and with the willing consent of a broadly based majority of its membership.

125. We have always envisaged that it should so develop, in both its practice and its structure, and we have given consistent support to this process. It is for this reason, to cite one instance, that New Zealand promptly ratified the amendments to the Charter necessary to implement the decision taken by the General Assembly at its eighteenth session to increase the size of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council [resolutions 1991 B (XVIII)], an increase proposed—on a pattern which in our view was, and remains, very fair to all—principally by the newer Members which had been under-represented in the governing bodies.

126. The whole process of change and adaptation is, in our view, a necessary one. Where there is a broad consensus, it has been shown that the Organization is able to develop in directions which could not be foreseen in 1945. My delegation believes that it is the view of the overwhelming majority of Member States, and particularly the smaller and middle Powers, that this should be so.

127. The present session will put this belief on our part to the acid test. I repeat: this is a crisis of the United Nations. Weaker powers of finance and peace-keeping mean a weaker United Nations in all its fields. I repeat: we must now separate ourselves into those who want a strong United Nations and those who want a weak one. I repeat: our actions here at this session will proclaim far louder than our speeches how we in our hearts view the Organization to which we have pledged ourselves.

128. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait):<sup>10/</sup> Mr. President, may I congratulate you most sincerely, on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government and delegation, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. May I also express my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Sosa Rodríguez, for the wise guidance with which he presided over the eighteenth session of the General Assembly.

129. The sincere efforts of the Secretary-General and all the members of the Secretariat are indeed worthy of our appreciation and gratitude.

130. At the outset of my statement, I should like to welcome whole-heartedly three friendly nations—Malawi, Malta and Zambia—to our family, and express our sincere wishes for their prosperity and well-being.

131. This Organization has not yet completed the second decade of its existence. It has weathered many crises, as attested by its achievements in political, economic and social relations. It has proved to be an important factor for the promotion of friendly relations among nations and the most effective instrument for expanding the fields of economic and social co-

<sup>10/</sup> Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

operation, through the specialized agencies, the Technical Assistance Programme, and the Special Fund. However, this Organization can never live up to its ideals of maintaining world peace, nor can it meet its responsibilities satisfactorily in the fields of economic and social progress, unless it receives from every Member State the moral and material support which would facilitate the discharge of these responsibilities, uninhibited by factors of power politics.

132. The crisis with which the Organization is presently faced is fraught with dangers which might threaten its very existence. We pray that the seriousness of this crisis will serve as a warning to all Member States concerned, so that they will take, both separately and collectively, the necessary positive measures that will preserve and strengthen the Organization.

133. We look forward to the solution of this crisis, and we earnestly hope that the General Assembly, during one of its forthcoming meetings, and as soon as may be possible, will succeed in finding a basic and definitive solution to the question of peace-keeping operations, taking into consideration the positive observations and comments which were made by some delegations during the general debate. In doing so, the Organization will have preserved and strengthened the principles of the Charter dealing with international peace and security based on right, justice and freedom, and will have provided itself with the practical means for the fulfilment in this field of its fundamental responsibilities.

134. The problem of Palestine is a human and political tragedy rarely equalled in history. It is an example of injustice and aggression defying the right of peoples to freedom, self-determination, independence and sovereignty. I will not attempt to review the history of this tragedy, nor shall I go into details. My sole purpose is to put it into its factual, political context, which will underline the responsibilities of both the Zionist and imperialist forces.

135. The establishment of Israel in the Middle East is the cause of instability and confusion, and has given rise to crises engulfing the entire region. As a result of the aggressions repeatedly perpetrated by Israel against the Arab States, the peace and security of this area have been continuously threatened. It can even be said, without exaggeration, that Israel's aggressions in the past have brought the world to the brink of a major world conflagration.

136. The history of Israel has increasingly provided us with additional confirmation that the Zionists, who have established themselves in Palestine by aggression and usurpation, can continue to exist only through aggression and usurpation. The 1,200,000 Arab refugees who have been expelled from their homeland by force, and whose country has been unjustly occupied, are a living example of the cruel injustices which were inflicted upon them.

137. The representatives of Israel have repeatedly pretended before this Assembly, and through their propaganda, their alleged desire for peace, but this is only a falsehood and a vain effort to mislead world opinion. These claims have been continuously proven false by repeated Israel aggressions against

the Arab States, which have been condemned on numerous occasions by the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commissions, as well as by the Security Council.

138. We heard a lengthy statement by the representative of Israel from this rostrum [1296th meeting], in which he emphasized the obligations of Member States towards the Charter and the rules of international law. Likewise, he stressed the inviolability of the territorial integrity of sovereign States. He also pointed out the difference between aggression and the liberation of a territory for military occupation. It serves no purpose to sing the praises of the Charter and its ideals and principles. What is important is for every Member State to live up to those principles and ideals.

139. Kuwait for its part firmly believes in those principles, and abides by them in its international relations. For this reason, Kuwait feels entitled to appeal to this august body, and to all countries devoted to peace, justice and freedom, so that those principles will be applied to the people of Palestine, whose homeland has been unjustly occupied by force and violence. We should like to stress that lapse of time will never alter the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and will never provide any justification for aggression and usurpation.

140. The Arab people of Palestine have been living a miserable existence in refugee camps for seventeen years, looking through barbed wire—the symbol of occupation and aggression—to their homes and fields, their mosques and churches, to their historic heritage which has bound them to this land for centuries. These people have been living with the firm determination of standing by their rights to their homeland. They are now, more than ever, firmly decided to free their country from the Zionist and colonialist forces who have been attempting to alter their personality and to eliminate their existence as an historical entity.

141. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which was recently established by the National Congress of Arab Refugees held in Jerusalem, authentically represents the will of the Arab people of Palestine for the liberation of their country from the aggressors and usurpers. In their legitimate struggle, the peoples of Palestine are relying not only on the full support of the Arab peoples and Governments, but also on the support of the non-aligned countries, whose Heads of State decided at their Cairo conference to:

"1. Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination;

"2. Declare their full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism" [A/5763, sect. I].

142. It is therefore of great significance to note that an important group of nations, which now constitutes more than half the Members of this Organization, is supporting the people of Palestine, and has appealed to the United Nations to look at the problem not simply as a problem of assisting refugees or evaluating their properties, nor as a problem of sharing or

diverting the waters of the River Jordan, but as a question of restoring the rights of a people and of liberating their homeland.

143. From this point of view, the question of Palestine should be considered with realism and courage. This is the only way to initiate a solution based on justice, which could restore to the region the peace and security it so badly needs. By supporting the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine and condemning Zionist aggression, the United Nations will prove it is living up to the ideals of justice and standing by the principles enshrined in its Charter.

144. In their attempt to justify Israel's aggression against the Arab people of Palestine, Israel spokesmen have stated that, while the Arab States are numerous and occupy large areas in the Middle East, Israel itself is in possession of only a very small strip of land. This argument clearly displays Israel's lack of respect for the rights of other people and its reliance on the use of force. The Israel allegation that they were entitled to at least part of Palestine simply because that land was underpopulated has no legal or moral justification in international law or in the practice of international relations. The Arabs have lived in Palestine for centuries until, as a result of Zionist aggression, they were driven out of their rightful homeland.

145. The disturbing and serious events which have taken place in Cyprus this year were a matter of deep concern to the Government of Kuwait and its people, in view of the traditionally close and friendly relations between our two countries. While we in Kuwait follow with great interest the actions undertaken by the United Nations for the restoration of peace in that country, we should like to state our full support of the right of the people of Cyprus to preserve their national unity and territorial integrity. We also express our sincere wishes that Cyprus and its people continue to enjoy full prosperity, in peace and security.

146. The United Nations Charter provides that economic co-operation is one of the fundamental aims of the Organization, and it is most obvious that such co-operation can be achieved only in an era of peace and security based on right and justice, and on the principle of mutual respect of States for their respective rights and interests. This makes it imperative for all Member States to mobilize their full potential in the service of collective action for the success of all programmes of economic development and social progress.

147. The economic conditions so far prevailing in all parts of the world determined the limited nature of that co-operation and directed its flow in one direction. The initiative always remained in the hands of those who possessed both financial and technical resources, while the role of the less favoured nations was limited to a passive one, leaving little chance for the development of their full potential. The developed countries concentrated their efforts on exploring new markets for their products and investments, thereby exploiting the natural resources of the developing countries.

148. The initiative, therefore, which has been taken by the United Nations in planning and co-ordinating the different programmes of technical assistance through the various United Nations specialized agencies, and the establishment of a permanent organ for international trade, will result in restoring international trade to its proper pattern, and will prevent the use of international trade as an instrument of economic exploitation or political influence.

149. To divide the world into two groups, according to criteria of wealth and levels of production, does not reflect political reality, and leads to under-estimating the human and cultural values of the developing peoples. Furthermore, the developing countries are blessed with tremendous human and natural resources which, if properly utilized, will assist them in realizing their full capabilities, and at the same time can contribute substantially to the development of the world's economy.

150. The Government of Kuwait, fully convinced of the validity of this view, is desirous of turning its territory into a field study for the most productive experiments in economic and social development by mobilizing all available technical and scientific capabilities, not only for the good of Kuwait, but for the common good of the region as a whole.

151. That is why the Government of Kuwait is actively participating, through the Kuwait Fund for Arab Development and the Kuwait Investment Company, in the various economic and social development programmes in the developing countries. The total amount of loans and financial assistance it has extended during the past two years amounted to more than \$300 million, representing approximately 25 per cent of its national income for that period. This assistance from Kuwait was not limited to the Arab countries alone, but was also extended to other developing countries. Accordingly, Kuwait has subscribed to one third of the capital of the Arab-African Bank, and, in association with other countries, it has provided capital for the financing of development projects.

152. It is also my pleasure to announce that the Kuwait Government has established a national company for foreign trade, contracting and investments, with a capital of \$60 million to execute development projects in the developing countries. We hope that this company will start its activities by early 1965.

153. The United Nations Trade and Development Conference held at Geneva this year may be considered an important turning-point in the history of international commercial and economic relations. The conference indeed laid down fundamental principles and introduced new concepts which will assist the developing countries in achieving their programmes of industrialization, raising the levels of their production and exploring new markets for their raw materials and manufactured products. These principles also offer more guarantees for stable and equitable prices for raw materials, which will permit developing countries to maintain their balance of foreign exchange payments and provide them with the necessary flow of capital for their development.

154. We, as a participant in that conference, are happy to affirm our support for its resolutions and

recommendations, as well as for the declaration of the seventy-seven developing countries. We are aware that these resolutions and recommendations fall short of our expectations; but we consider them as positive and promising steps towards a future to which we look with optimism and hope.

155. It is most gratifying to note that the group of non-aligned countries has proven once again, through the historic resolutions it adopted at its recent conference in Cairo, that it has become an important factor in international life, both within and outside the United Nations. These States have come to the conclusion that non-alignment is a truly positive policy which does not *per se* mitigate their interest in international developments; rather, it aims at active participation in international co-operation with a view to establishing a permanent and stable balance between the major political forces in the world. The Government of Kuwait, which believes in this policy of non-alignment, reaffirms here its support of the resolutions adopted at the Cairo Conference.

156. The maintenance of world peace and security is the *raison d'être* of this world Organization. All Member States have solemnly declared their acceptance of the Charter; and, by so doing, they have undertaken to respect faithfully its principles, and specifically to abstain from the use of, or the threat of the use of force for the settlement of international differences. They have thus accepted the principle that the maintenance of peace is the collective responsibility of all Member States.

157. However, the role of the United Nations is not limited to the prevention of war and armed conflicts. It has a positive function, too—to build the world in this new era on a basis which would ensure mankind a better life, compatible with human dignity and free from poverty, ignorance and disease.

158. The question of general and complete disarmament is, in the view of my Government, the most vital problem that faces the United Nations and the world at large. In fact, the survival of mankind and also the prospects of any substantial economic development depend basically on the solution to be achieved in this field, especially through the conversion to peaceful uses of the resources now devoted to military purposes. My Government supports all efforts made in this direction, and approves of every step taken by the great Powers and the United Nations towards this end.

159. The period of highly dangerous tension which the world has recently passed through has been a bitter and most difficult experience. Nevertheless, it has led to the confirmation of two fundamental realities: first, that the peoples of the world earnestly desire peace and are keenly determined to preserve it; secondly, that different social, political and economic systems call for not only passive peaceful coexistence, but also for active, constructive co-operation for the benefit of mankind, which will divert effort from the arms race to a positive competition for the promotion of a better future for all the peoples of the world.

160. The realization of such a concept is the ultimate hope of mankind; and, if adopted by the Member States

and supported by the General Assembly, it will generate enough vitality and dynamism to make it possible for us to withstand the dangers inherent in the various problems facing the world, and ultimately to solve those problems effectively.

161. The struggle of colonial peoples for their freedom and independence and the great victory they have realized over the colonial forces is one of the most significant events of modern history. The United Nations has played an important role in leading this struggle to a successful conclusion. It has been the forum where nations suffering under colonialism have raised their voices and claimed their right to independence and self-determination. This battle, however, is not yet finished; many peoples, still suffering under colonial rule, are determined more than ever to continue their struggle with faith and courage until they achieve final victory.

162. My country, which believes in the right of all peoples to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, supports the struggle of all colonial peoples suffering under the yoke of colonialism, whether they be in Oman, in Southern Arabia, in the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia or South West Africa. My Government stands by the colonial peoples in their struggle, and it condemns, at the same time, the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa against the majority of its people. My Government, in adopting this position, complies with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The principles proclaimed in those resolutions are enshrined in the Constitution of my country, which is based on human dignity and the right of peoples to self-determination.

163. This session opened in an atmosphere which caused great apprehension among many delegations regarding the future of the Organization. Despite this pessimism, they have all exhibited their faith in the Organization and their deep concern to preserve it as the living symbol of international co-operation and as the guardian of world peace and security.

164. Kuwait, as a small nation which firmly believes in the United Nations and stands by its principles, expresses its sincere hope that this crisis will be solved and that a new era will be inaugurated, in which the United Nations will be enriched by the necessary vitality so that it may perform its duties in promoting freedom and justice in a world where peace and security prevail.

165. Mr. MAYAKI (Niger) (translated from French): Mr. President, the Niger delegation whole-heartedly associates itself with the congratulations extended to you on your election by acclamation to the high post of President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. In your eminent person, not only your beautiful country, Ghana, but all Africa has been honoured by your election. Your many years spent in this Assembly, the experience which you have acquired here and your outstanding qualities as a diplomatist made you the natural choice to fill the high office to which you have been appointed. My country welcomes this appointment and wishes you every success in a task which has now been made a delicate one but to which we know that your talents are equal.



166. My delegation wishes also to pay a warm tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez, of Venezuela, for the competence, great distinction, objectivity and dignity with which he conducted our often difficult and sometimes heated debates.

167. Next, we wish to welcome our three new sister nations upon their admission to the international family. For Africa, this marks another step towards its complete liberation and the total elimination of foreign rule. The presence of Malawi, Malta and Zambia in our midst today represents not only a victory for a noble and just cause—the liberation of men—but, above all, a tangible pledge of the radiant future awaiting all oppressed peoples.

168. Since the opening of the General Assembly's last session, international life has been rich in events; some of these events have been tragic, like the dastardly assassination of President Kennedy, while others have been unexpected, such as the sad death of Prime Minister Nehru. Important changes of government have also taken place elsewhere. There has been no lack of areas of friction; in many parts of the globe armed conflicts have arisen, or have, alas, continued, with the danger that at any moment they might degenerate into a conflagration which it would be impossible to control.

169. The Government of the Niger has been happy to note that on each occasion it has been possible to avoid the worst, and that there has been no question of any change in the policy of "détente" which was initiated some years ago and confirmed last year by the partial nuclear test ban treaty. While we welcome that situation, we remain conscious that this timid beginning is still a long way from the attainment of true peace based on justice and mutual respect among nations.

170. The dissemination of atomic weapons and the fact that, little by little, further Powers are acquiring nuclear arms are a cause of serious concern to us, as to others. Let us only hope that from an excess of evil will come forth good, and that the dangers inherent in the proliferation of these terrifying weapons will lead finally to the realization that a complete and controlled ban on nuclear arms is essential for the world's survival. Pending the achievement of this goal, the Niger will support any initiative aiming at progressive and controlled disarmament, and hopes to see an agreement at once on the denuclearization of vast regions which are and must remain outside the sphere of great Power rivalries, and in particular the African continent.

171. Unhappily, that continent is still troubled by grave problems: problems which the independent States of Africa are unanimous in wishing to solve, at whatever cost. As an African State, my country has been profoundly concerned by recent developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Unswervingly committed to the principle of non-interference, we roundly and unequivocally condemn all forms of intervention, regardless of their origin.

172. We consider it absolutely essential that the Congolese and African peoples should be given a chance to settle this problem in an African context, with the wisdom of which Africa has repeatedly

shown proof. We are sure that the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, which has already given its attention to this distressing problem, will always be guided by the sole desire to find a sound, just, African solution.

173. This leads me to another thorny question, that of the active support given by certain States to subversive movements aiming to overthrow by force the lawful Governments of other countries. This systematic policy of undermining the foundations of other independent States in time of peace is completely intolerable and, in the long run, jeopardizes any true policy of "détente". We therefore fully support the inclusion in the present session's agenda of the item proposed by Madagascar concerning "observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities" [A/5757 and Add.1]. Although these principles are implicitly at the basis of all international relations, we think it useful, when they are being systematically ignored, often with tragic consequences as in the Congo, that they should be explicitly reiterated and that their non-observance should be categorically condemned by our Organization.

174. Vast areas of the African continent remain under colonial rule, despite the condemnation of colonialism by the world conscience. Every year large majorities in the Assembly have branded and condemned the colonial policies of Portugal and the apartheid policy of South Africa. However, these fine resolutions have thus far remained a dead letter. What is worse, the two States concerned have further hardened their policies, as is evidenced by the recent executions carried out in South Africa notwithstanding the flood of indignant protests to which these measures gave rise. Furthermore, powerful interests have so far prevented many countries, particularly certain great Powers, from implementing the resolutions of the United Nations. We exhort these Powers to reconsider their attitude in this regard.

175. In addition to the problems posed by the Portuguese colonies, by South Africa, and by South West Africa where the Pretoria Government is still refusing to implement United Nations resolutions, another cause for concern is the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Naturally, should the present minority Government decide, in defiance of world opinion, to proclaim the country's independence without first granting equal rights to those who constitute the vast majority of the population, we should regard it as our right and duty to support by every means the just struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia. However, we place our confidence in the United Kingdom Government, which has clearly defined its position, and trust that the United Kingdom, in virtue of the responsibilities which it still has in that Territory, will provide for the drawing up of a new constitution establishing universal suffrage and ensuring the free functioning of democracy.

176. We call for recognition of the right of self-determination not only for the African peoples, but for all the peoples of the world who are not permitted

to choose freely the régime under which they wish to live. Both in Asia and in Europe there are nations which have been divided in two as a result of the political fanaticism and rivalries of the great Powers; the abnormal situation in these countries is not only an intolerable hardship for their peoples but also a permanent source of danger to peace.

177. We are thinking particularly of Germany which, nearly twenty years after the end of the war, is still not allowed to achieve reunification through the free choice of its population. While we welcome the modest signs of an easing of tensions to be found in the recent measures to facilitate movement between the two halves of Berlin, my delegation associates itself with the efforts of the people of the Federal Republic of Germany, by every means in their power, to bring about self-determination through free negotiations, and the disappearance of the wall of shame, so that the German people, reunited forever, may live and prosper in brotherhood.

178. We are sorry to note the continuing deterioration of the Palestine problem and regret that the States directly concerned have not heeded the various resolutions adopted on the question by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Nevertheless, we remain confident that this painful story will have a just and happy ending.

179. With regard to the situation in China, south-east Asia, Viet-Nam and Korea, our position, which was clearly defined at the eighteenth session remains unchanged.

180. I shall not hide the concern of my Government at the grave situation resulting from the failure of certain States to pay arrears owed to the Organization. We African States are more aware than anyone of the need to sustain, at all costs, the constructive activity of the United Nations and its role in preserving peace. We therefore consider, in view of the findings of the International Court of Justice regarding certain expenses of the United Nations,<sup>11/</sup> that there is no room for doubt as to the obligation to pay the arrears owed to the Organization for the operations aimed at restoring peace in the Congo and the Middle East. Any stubborn refusal to bow to the decisions of the General Assembly would not only make it impossible for the United Nations to continue its manifold activities but would represent a serious set-back on the road of international co-operation. We therefore believe that the Powers with major financial responsibilities in respect of the United Nations should do their utmost to prevent this question, which is now political in character, from becoming a question of prestige and leading to a dramatic rupture which would be sadly reminiscent of the fatal errors of the League of Nations. Every avenue should therefore be explored in the quest for an honourable and just solution that will enable the United Nations to continue its work for the greater good of the international community.

181. For we still expect a great deal from the efforts of the United Nations, particularly in the

economic field. I need only to recall the hopes placed by so many States in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held this year at Geneva. Even if the results fell short of our hopes, my country considers that the Conference represents a first step along a new road, and hopes to see new international machinery established for harmonizing trade relations between the industrialized powers and the developing countries.

182. The Niger commends this Conference for proposing the establishment of a committee on the preparation of a draft convention relating to transit trade of land-locked countries. This step, which we consider very timely, has my country's unreserved support.

183. The United Nations has an essential role to play in connexion with the grave problem of economic inequality among nations, a problem underlying all the other issues now dividing the world. Unless a determined effort is made today to reduce the gap separating those peoples which have all that they need from those which have little or nothing, we will move inexorably towards a more and more explosive situation between rich and poor nations. There is still time—although barely enough—to reflect on this situation and to remedy it.

184. These are the thoughts of my country on some of the problems listed on our agenda. This year as always, the Niger will give unswerving support to any plan or action that will enable the nations of the world either to settle their difficulties or to work in peace for the development and prosperity of all, and, because we know that these objectives and this hope are the permanent concern of the United Nations, this Organization will always enjoy the resolute and unshakable support of the Government and people of my country.

185. Mr. MBAZUMUTIMA (Burundi) (translated from French): The delegation of Burundi joins with the delegations which preceded it at this rostrum in congratulating you on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election is a cause of great satisfaction to my country, which shares with you the honour done to Africa, and particularly to your country, Ghana. My country also has another reason for welcoming your election: namely, the cordial relations between our two countries. Your personal qualities have made you a man of exceptional worth, not only to your own country, where you have long held one of the highest and most responsible posts, but also to Africa as a whole, for you have won the confidence of the entire continent. I have no doubt that you will show yourself worthy of the confidence we have shown in you and that you will conduct our debates with wisdom and competence and will make all the necessary efforts to solve the many problems facing the world today.

186. I am sure that your election will generate greater confidence in the United Nations, since it further emphasizes the Organization's universal character; this is necessary in order to overcome certain prejudices which are at the basis of apartheid and racial discrimination in general, prejudices which

<sup>11/</sup> *Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter)*, Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I. C. J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

are encouraged by some demagogues who seek to justify colonialism, neo-colonialism or imperialism.

187. Your election is a sign of the new era in which the under-developed countries are called upon to play an important role in international relations. The time is now past when any race could claim the right to dominate another, or any nation arbitrarily to control another, or any continent to be superior to another.

188. My delegation is also glad to welcome three new Members of the great United Nations family. We extend to the Governments and peoples of Zambia, Malawi and Malta our best wishes for peace, prosperity and progress. Those countries can rest assured of our deepest understanding and sincere co-operation, particularly in the strengthening of their newly acquired independence or in protecting it against any attempts at subjugation, some of which can almost be predicted.

189. The United Nations will be for them the surest guarantee of respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Like the other Member States which entered the United Nations family before them, they will no doubt have to face both internal and external difficulties. All the Member States of the United Nations are bound by an imperative duty, particularly the great Powers which are responsible for providing these States with the international assistance which they need to overcome their problems, without infringing their sovereign rights.

190. In that connexion, we were deeply impressed by the moving statement made by Mr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi [1288th meeting], whose country is faced with many dilemmas because of its geographical position. In his masterly exposé, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda [1291st meeting], President of the Republic of Zambia, voiced similar anxiety about the geographical encirclement of his country by the neo-colonialist forces.

191. How can these eminent leaders carry out their responsibilities as African nationalists? Although we are faced with apparently insoluble problems, we are convinced that with wisdom and patience, victory will be ours. In the cases I have mentioned, all that the two leaders need do is to show the same dynamism as they revealed when struggling for the independence of their countries.

192. The entry of three former colonial territories into the United Nations family is a victory for the United Nations, which in 1960 adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

193. We address our warmest congratulations to the Committee of Twenty-Four whose efforts to free the Non-Self-Governing Territories have continued to produce worth-while results, increasing the number of free States each year and thus contributing to the cause of decolonization, which is essential if our Organization is to attain one of its major objectives: understanding between all the world's peoples. I should like here to express to Mr. Coulibaly our great appreciation of the competence and devotion to duty he has shown as Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-Four.

194. The phenomenon of decolonization is an encouragement to all the nations still struggling for independence, such as Mozambique, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and so-called French Somaliland. It is also a grave warning to the colonial Powers which are still clinging to an out-dated system and are reluctant to withdraw from their colonial possessions, despite the pressing demands of the subjugated peoples and the constant appeals from a shocked world public opinion. Do we not have reason to fear an explosion of the wrath of the outraged peoples, an explosion which might start a world conflagration of apocalyptic proportions?

195. I myself remain optimistic and continue to believe that mankind can forge its own destiny since it was able to lay the foundations of prosperity and peace by establishing the United Nations nearly twenty years ago. May the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations mark the end of the colonial era and the opening of an era of greater co-operation between peoples, without discrimination or exploitation, without domination or hatred, without rancour or "arrière-pensée"—an era in which the only victors will be those who fight for a peace founded on the economic advancement of peoples, the eradication of illiteracy and poverty, and the disappearance of economic, political and ideological antagonisms.

196. Obviously, if this wish is to become a reality, the colonial Powers will have to move with the tide of history; the Powers which have made a practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other States will have to refrain from so doing and learn to respect the sovereignty of other peoples; the discriminatory régime in South Africa, which is a direct insult to the United Nations, will have to end; the gap between the rich and poor countries must be closed immediately; and, lastly, there must no longer be any question of blocs, whether of the East or of the West, but only of the survival of the world community and its Organization.

197. It is scarcely necessary to explain that this aim cannot be achieved until all the nations of the world, including those comprising the hundreds of millions of people who are now outside the United Nations family, are taking part in the dialogue. The United Nations must aim at universality, as has so often been said, and its membership must reflect that fundamental requirement. That is the only way to make Organization more effective and enable it to carry out its mission of safeguarding the future of mankind.

198. Earlier, we stigmatized the interference of Powers in the internal affairs of other States as a threat to world peace. Let me repeat that it is absurd to claim to work for the maintenance of world peace and at the same time to indulge in acts which are so contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter.

199. For the last five years—since July 1960—we have had constantly before us the question of the Congo, which is always front-page international news. As I speak to you, thousands of Congolese are being

shot down by unprincipled persons, and thousands of others are crushed by fear and anxiety regarding the fate awaiting them. I do not myself believe that the Congolese are the victims of a few Congolese cannibal anarchists. My view is that the responsibility for the crimes committed in that unfortunate country lies with the Powers which are constantly intervening in the Congo and cynically complicating the political solution of a problem which, although complex, is by no means insoluble.

200. Since 1960, appeals have been made to the highest bodies of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, which at that time was seized of the problem of the Belgian military intervention in the Congo. Now the Council has again been seized of a similar complaint against certain obdurate States which can count on the complicity of other States in their criminal activities.

201. After 22 May 1963, the African peoples believed that they had seen the end of interference by foreign Powers in African affairs. Since that memorable date, Africa has set up suitable machinery to guarantee the peace of the continent and ensure absolute respect for the sovereignty of all African States—I am speaking of the Organization of African Unity. Henceforward, any intervention in the affairs of Africa by a non-African Power may be harmful to Africa, for such an intervention can only complicate the international situation and involve a threat to world peace.

202. When will certain Powers finally realize that the awakening of the peoples of Africa and their ability and determination to build their future in independence is an historical and immutable fact? As long as these imperialist Powers persist in their interventionist policy the peace of the world will be in constant jeopardy.

203. The Government of Burundi, taking an objective view of the Congolese question, has repeatedly asserted that the solution to the Congolese crisis can be found only by the Congolese themselves without any foreign interference, other than the rightful mediation of the Organization of African Unity, which certain circles dare to term "interference".

204. At the explicit and legitimate request of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, the Organization of African Unity considered the Congolese question at the third extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers,<sup>12/</sup> which appointed an ad hoc Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, then Prime Minister of Kenya and now President of the Republic of Kenya, to supervise the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Council. The sudden intervention at Stanleyville of paratroops transported in aircraft provided by the United States State Department from Ascension Island, which is under British control, undid the work which had been begun by the ad hoc Commission and ruined the prospects for Congolese national reconciliation, which was at that time in sight.

205. When non-African intervention in the affairs of the Congo has ceased and the mercenaries have left

the country, the settlement of the Congolese problem will present no further difficulty. It will be easy to ask the combatants to lay down their arms on terms which can readily be decided with the help of the Organization of African Unity. A round-table conference for the purpose of reconciling the rival factions in the Republic could usefully precede elections following which members of Parliament and a Government having popular support would be appointed.

206. All that the African countries ask of the United Nations and the Security Council is to take steps to prevent intervention by non-African Powers in the affairs of Africa and to ensure that foreign troops and mercenaries leave the Democratic Republic of the Congo. More specifically, they ask the United Nations to give firm support to the Organization of African Unity.

207. It is now five years since the Assembly adopted the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. What is the situation at present? We see the people of Southern Rhodesia in revolt against a sham independence designed to perpetuate the rule of the white minority on the basis of the apartheid principle which is so esteemed in the neighbouring Republic of South Africa. We are grateful for the honourable stand taken by the United Kingdom Government in not yielding to pressure from Mr. Smith's group and we hope it will maintain and strengthen that stand, which is an indication of an historic change of attitude.

208. The attitude of Portugal to its colonies, on the other hand, gives us no cause for rejoicing. That country seems to have chosen to defy Africa and international opinion. We are obliged, however, to warn that Member of the Organization that such action is unworthy and is likely to cause us much suffering.

209. The problem of decolonization has been dealt with by respected and well informed speakers and I believe that we shall have to revert to it at a later stage. I shall confine myself to stating that my Government is determined to give unconditional support to any resolution calling for the immediate emancipation of all non-self-governing peoples, for I am convinced that it is to the advantage of all peoples to administer their own affairs in full sovereignty and that this will promote world peace.

210. Let us turn for a moment to the problem of racial discrimination. Whether it occurs in the form of nazism, apartheid, xenophobia or tribalism, racial discrimination is one of the phenomena which have done the greatest damage to humanity and have most impaired human dignity. It is necessary only to recall the evils of nazism, which caused the Second World War, and the atrocities of apartheid which, unless we take care, will seriously endanger the world's future.

211. In Africa, perhaps more than elsewhere, we fear racial discrimination because it represents a disintegrating force in society and conflicts with the attainment of the goal of international co-operation, which is stated in the United Nations Charter and in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Unless racial discrimination is abolished, many international organizations are liable to disintegrate, thus

<sup>12/</sup> Session held at Addis Ababa from 5 to 10 September 1964.



seriously imperilling the human species. The law of natural selection may, of course, be invoked in support of an optimistic view of the situation, but there can be no doubt that if there is an atomic war all races will be destroyed without discrimination. It is high time for pride to give place to reason and for all peoples and all races to learn to respect one another and to co-operate in building a better world for all.

212. With regard to disarmament, my Government is working for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. At the last session of the General Assembly, my country welcomed the signing of the Moscow Treaty as a step forward for humanity, because we hoped that that event was the precursor of similar measures which would bring about a speedy solution to a problem with which we have been concerned ever since the United Nations was founded.

213. Although the People's Republic of China is not a Member of the United Nations, Burundi supported that country's proposal for the convening of a summit conference of all States to consider appropriate measures to avert the nuclear threat and bring about disarmament. We should like all States which possess nuclear weapons to undertake, as China has, never to be the first to use them.

214. We have heard several speakers stress the importance of the disarmament problem. We agree that it is a vital question for humanity, in view of the accumulation of destructive weapons by certain Powers. Nevertheless, it would be foolish to believe that any progress can be made towards disarmament while certain contentious issues that are a source of discord in various parts of the world, remain unsettled.

215. The crisis in the Caribbean is a striking example of such a situation. One State, the Republic of Cuba, has adopted a constitution which does not find favour with another Power, the United States of America. In spite of Havana's repeated appeals, the United States will not agree to evacuate the Guantánamo base and is continuing the economic blockade against the Cuban people.

216. Let us now turn from Latin America, where nations are struggling to secure recognition of their right to exist, to Cyprus. Here, too, a racial conflict conceals foreign influence which is seeking to preserve the control of certain Powers over that island.

217. The cold war between the great Powers keeps alive the most explosive problem of all—that of the divided nations such as Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam.

218. All these problems will have to be solved quickly before we can reasonably hope to achieve general and complete disarmament.

219. I hope you will bear with me if I refer to another problem that can prevent harmonious international relations which are the foundation of a firm and last-

ing peace: namely the problem—considered by the recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development—of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor nations. We hope that the Organization will take advantage of the work done at Geneva and that it will expand and implement it, for example, by setting up an international trade conference as an organ of the United Nations.

220. My statement would be incomplete if I were to make no mention of positive neutrality, which is the line followed by my Government in its foreign policy. At the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964, Mr. Albin Nyamoya, Prime Minister of my country, declared:

"...the idea which Burundi has of non-alignment is a positive and constructive one. It is aimed at the promotion of peace, security and prosperity in the world. It is bound up with the familiar notions of co-operation, peaceful coexistence—which implies fair play—tolerance and courtesy; it is exclusive of all exclusives and of all ideologies, recognizing that in the case of legitimate defence this principle is a difficult one to apply to the letter."

221. Because we have chosen to policy of non-alignment, certain States are endeavouring to pin on us labels which are as fantastic as they are unkind, with the intention of misleading international public opinion in order to mask their own criminal plots. We can be sure that the day is approaching when the group of non-aligned countries will have grown so large that certain prejudices which now handicap this new political attitude will disappear, to the great benefit of humanity. In this connexion we hope that the voice of Cambodia will be heeded when that country's representative calls on the United States of America to respect Cambodian neutrality.

222. In conclusion, I would ask you to turn your minds to the fundamental problem of the Organization's survival and consolidation, which necessitates a revision of the Charter. The Organization of African Unity has already stressed the need to enlarge the membership of the principal organs of the United Nations, such as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. My delegation will unconditionally support any proposals to that effect. I must point out, however, that all these reforms will be fruitless and will definitely not produce a better international climate until the representatives of the People's Republic of China again occupy the seats now unjustly held by the Chinese representatives from Formosa. My delegation will never support the new strategy of accepting the existence of two Chinas. Burundi regards Taipei as a province of China, occupied illegally as a result of imperialist tactics. Let us hope that this nineteenth session of the General Assembly will produce a satisfactory settlement of all the problems I have mentioned and let us express our confidence that the United Nations will survive.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*