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FOURTEENTH SESSION

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## CONTENTS

Page

## Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Diallo Telli (Guinea) . . . . .	323
Speech by Mr. Rapacki (Poland) . . . . .	328
Speech by Mr. Mokaddem (Tunisia) . . . . .	331

President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNIE (Peru).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Undén (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (*translated from French*): May I, at the outset, convey to the General Assembly the friendly greetings of the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea, and to Mr. Belaúnde, on behalf of the Guinean delegation, our warmest congratulations on his election to the important post of President of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The unanimous vote he received is sufficient evidence of the esteem and admiration of the international community for his experience and for the distinguished role he has constantly played in promoting the achievement of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations. To us it is indeed a comforting thought that, under his eminent leadership, the business of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be so conducted as to give complete satisfaction for all who have placed their faith in our international Organization and, in particular, to the smaller countries and to the oppressed peoples who are fighting for their independence.

2. I am happy to include in these congratulations Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the efficient and distinguished manner in which he is discharging the duties of his high office, and also the executive officers of the Assembly and Mr. Charles Malik, the President's distinguished predecessor, whose presidency during the thirteenth session was marked, it will be recalled, by events of capital importance to the African continent as a whole and, in particular, to my own country which, on 12 December 1958, became the eighty-second Member of the United Nations.

3. When Mr. Malik declared the session closed last March [794th meeting], he said that it had been primarily an African session. That is indeed true, for the General Assembly, at its thirteenth session, decided to grant independence to several African Trust Territories, namely Togoland, the Cameroons and Somaliland. It set up the Economic Commission for

Africa, which met for the first time at Addis Ababa in December 1958 and January 1959. It discussed at length the horrible war which has plunged the Algerian people into mourning for nearly five years, and a very large majority voted in favour of a draft resolution [A/4075] calling upon France to enter into negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic with a view to finding a negotiated, peaceful, democratic and just solution in accordance with the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. It also had to concern itself with disorders provoked by various colonial régimes which continue to perpetrate their misdeeds throughout the African continent and to shock the conscience of the world by their unending violation of the right of peoples to self-determination. After a recess, the Assembly then devoted nearly two months, namely, February and March 1959, to considering the future of the Cameroons under British and French administration. While the result of its deliberations sorely disappointed millions of Africans and is thus partly responsible for the continuing martyrdom of the Cameroonian people, we very much appreciated the willingness of the United Nations to give its special attention to a part of that continent which today remains the only victim of uninterrupted aggression by the colonial Powers. I say this because—and I shall return to the point later—we consider, and shall ask the United Nations to consider, that colonialism in any form constitutes deliberate aggression and a constant threat to international peace and security.

4. This brief summary has covered only a few of the aspects of the considerable work done on behalf of Africa at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. It is our hope that the fourteenth session will endorse the positive achievements of the thirteenth session in favour of the oppressed peoples of Africa and that it will seek to bring about the application in practice, in Africa as in other parts of the world, of the United Nations Charter, particularly the principle of self-determination.

5. It is already obvious that the opportunity to do so will not be lacking. Indeed, our agenda includes a number of items directly and vitally related to the evolution and emancipation of the African continent. Thousands of anxious eyes are turned towards the United Nations which, in our opinion, represents their last hope. From Algeria to the Cameroons, from Kenya to South West Africa, from Nyasaland to the Congo and Angola fervent hopes are being placed in the United Nations. May this distinguished institution end its current session by fully meeting the wishes of those who ask for no more than freedom, dignity and justice.

6. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea is taking part in the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly for the first time, and it is with a sense of deep feeling that I take the floor to restate

publicly the attachment of my country, its people and Government to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to state our views with respect to the important items included in our agenda.

7. A year ago this very day, our people, preferring "freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery", decided, in the name of Africa, in favour of national independence and proclaimed the independent and sovereign Republic of Guinea. That historic choice has had, still has and will continue to have a decisive impact on the henceforth ineluctable and irreversible evolution of an Africa determined, from North to South and from East to West, to regain its freedom. By choosing the path of independence and honour on 28 September 1958, the Guinean people, under the enlightened leadership of its great Democratic Party and its Chief of State, President Sekou Touré, was fully conscious of its duties and responsibilities towards Africa and the international community. It made its historic choice in order to put an end to humiliation, exploitation and domination. It proposes henceforth to be at all times a conscious, dynamic instrument in the cause of African independence and unity and the restoration of its early culture, in other words, of its total rehabilitation.

8. The Republic of Guinea has made great strides during the past year.

9. As far as domestic affairs are concerned, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the Government have undertaken the immense task of completely removing from colonial influence the various structures inherited from the colonial régime with a view to a drastic reshuffling of Guinea's administrative, economic, social and political machinery in conformity with the actual conditions in the country and the profound aspirations of its people. Henceforth, everything will be conceived and achieved by the people. A ruthless war against the vestiges of the colonial régime has been waged at all levels of the national life. In our view, this reorganizing of institutions, practices, customs and mental processes is essential to the rehabilitation of Africa. In every branch of activity, the Guinean people are replacing colonial structures by new ones adapted to the requirements of our evolution. The basic feature of the new, people's régime of Guinea is the unanimous awakening of the people at every social level and, in consequence, the elimination of the contradictions inspired and exploited by the colonial régime when it pitted region against region, tribe against tribe and clan against clan. The new demands made upon the people of Guinea and the privilege of responsibility have brought about a rapid and complete national reconciliation. It is today unanimously recognized that our people offer striking proof that independence is the only genuine solution to the problems of dominated peoples. Enthusiastically and with faith in the future, the entire population of Guinea is striving to overcome the enormous backwardness in all fields of endeavour that was imposed upon them by decades of foreign domination. Our people, to whom freedom is so dear, are actuated by a firm belief in work, peace and progress. To us, independence has not been an end in itself but a means, a powerful instrument in the cause of African liberation and advancement. By volunteering their labour, by investing man-power, our people have been able, in a few months, to achieve veritable miracles: 8,000 kilometres of roads, over 500 class-rooms, over

1,000 bridges, 3,500 community plantations and fields, 2,500 metres of canals and 8,000 metres of dikes for rice cultivation, 150 dispensaries and as many dwellings, 300 community stores, administrative buildings, markets, playing fields and ferries. These facts speak for themselves. As President Sekou Touré himself said a few days ago at the recent congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea, held at Conakry: "The results achieved in this regard by the people of Guinea are evidence of their firm, complete and conscious determination to assume the entire burden of their historic responsibilities and to use every means and resource as a sovereign people in order to improve their position. By contributing their labour, our fellow-countrymen have realized that they are worth more than money since without it they have been able to achieve a good deal of their social and cultural development programme."

10. The first three-year economic development plan will be put into operation on 1 January 1960. Its main feature will be a sweeping change in agricultural methods designed to increase production. A major task of our revolution is to better the living and working conditions of the peasant classes. Tractors, ploughs, harrows and small plants for the processing of raw materials will materially alter the lot of the Guinean peasant and will help to correct as quickly as possible the chronic imbalance between our needs and the level of national production. The establishment of co-operatives at every level has already replaced commercial trading practices and will henceforth enable the peasant fully to enjoy the fruits of his labour. The establishment of a Guinean foreign trade board will help to adapt our trade to the real interests of the Republic of Guinea. Drastic changes are being made in the major activities of the State such as education, the judiciary and general administration in order methodically to remove the influences of colonialism. Lastly, an essential objective of the Guinean revolution is the training and organization of youth and the liberation of women from the servile status in which the colonial régime made every effort to keep them.

11. As regards external relations, Guinea had declared, ever since attaining its independence, that it considers itself essentially a part of Africa, intimately bound to it for better or for worse. As a conscious and dynamic element of the Africa whose liberation it hopes to hasten, the State of Guinea has in its Constitution solemnly proclaimed its willingness to do the utmost to achieve African unity on a basis of independence. That is why article 34 of our Constitution envisages partial or even total abandonment of sovereignty by the Republic of Guinea in the interest of African unity. The people of Guinea are aware that their independence is fragile and incomplete so long as other parts of our continent continue under foreign domination. That is why we have openly declared that our chief objective—and that of all independent African States and all African peoples—is the complete liberation of our continent. It is in the context of our concern for reconstructing Africa over and above all the obstacles imposed from outside that we are resolved to campaign unrelentingly to achieve the only community viable on our continent: a community of independent African States. We believe that a Ghana-Guinea-Liberia Union is an essential contribution to the establishment of such a community.

Since the Bandung Conference, whose spirit has inspired our attitude and our struggle for liberation, all the recent African conferences—at Cairo, at Accra in April and December 1958, at Conakry in April 1959, at Sanokole in July 1959 and at Monrovia last August—have clearly propounded the need and urgency for the total liberation of the African continent. In this connexion, the Government of the Republic of Guinea, in concert with all African Governments and with all African peoples still under foreign domination, firmly declares from the rostrum of this Assembly that Africa is not and cannot be the extension of any other continent or of any Power, State or ideological system. It intends to be itself. Africa has known successive stages of colonization: first, a brutal and overbearing colonization which used and misused force; then, a colonization which clothed itself in a garment of moral, humanitarian and cultural justification; and, today, a colonialism or neo-colonialism that assumes various forms which are even more dangerous, because they are more subtle. As a matter of principle, we do not make any basic distinction between the various forms of colonization. We strongly reaffirm that we consider colonization *per se* to be a criminal practice, and, as such, contrary to the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the sacred principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is, then, Africa, and the oppression it suffers, the ideal which inspires it, and its profound aspiration to independence and unity, which are of central concern to the Republic of Guinea.

12. The historic All-African Peoples' Conference, held at Accra in December 1958, propounded the principle of total liberation for Africa in 1963, and we are firmly convinced that by that time Africa will belong solely to the Africans and will be responsible for its own destiny. We ask all non-African countries to take a stand, to choose. It is time for Africa to know which Powers favour its independence, and which favour colonialism. As President Sekou Touré has declared, "In this matter, Africa has an obligation to itself to refuse henceforth any expression of ambiguity or compromise capable of maintaining confusion for, in the final analysis, it is the African peoples who alone must suffer the consequences of such a stand".

13. An awakened Africa is determined to cease being the pawn of foreign whims, appetites, wishes and interests. Guinea understands, of course, that Africa must not be isolated from the rest of the world, since we want to make up rapidly for our technical and economic backwardness and shoulder our part of the responsibility in the conduct of international affairs. The Republic of Guinea does not choose any one country above another as its partner, or any bloc or ideology over other blocs and ideologies. It seeks the friendship and co-operation of all Governments and all peoples of the world on the sole condition that they respect its sovereignty. Its clear-cut programme of African emancipation is proposed to all, and its attitude towards non-African countries will depend essentially on their manifest attitude towards African aspirations to independence and unity. In order that the success of the campaign for African independence may not be jeopardized, our country's foreign policy is based on a rigorous attitude of non-alignment and positive neutralism with respect to the antagonistic

blocs whose influence at present dominates the world. Let me say very clearly that there is no feeling of hate or xenophobia in this struggle for the reconquest of Africa; there are no other claims except that its people should have the right to live, to repossess the soil and to exercise full control over property, and the right to free and unhampered self-determination.

14. We appeal to the understanding and the support of all peoples and all countries for the rapid achievement of these objectives, and we place the highest hope in the United Nations.

15. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea is happy to note the encouraging signs under which the work of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly has begun. The meetings and important conversations between the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union have been the first indication of a real relaxation of international tensions, and this has been heartily welcomed by all the smaller countries and peoples who wish to see the spectre of war disappear for ever, since they are always the first to pay its cost.

16. We hope that this relaxing of tensions will enable the great Powers and the international community as a whole to tackle the real problems of our time—such as under-development, technological backwardness, poverty, fear and ignorance—in order to build a better and friendlier world. We earnestly desire the coming of a time when the military expenditure of the large and small nations of the world will be used exclusively for works of peace, and we believe that the United Nations provides the most appropriate framework for the fulfilment of this great hope.

17. It is our hope, then, that the United Nations will do its utmost at the present session to accelerate this trend towards a relaxation of tensions. The best way to do this would seem to be to approach the discussion of the grave questions on the agenda in a spirit of understanding and tolerance so that the United Nations may serve more and more not only as a forum where the points of view of the various States are reconciled, but, above all, as the high place where equitable and just decisions of far-reaching importance are worked out.

18. It is this spirit, together with the constant concern to maintain and strengthen the great confidence of all nations in this international Organization, which will inspire the delegation of the Republic of Guinea throughout the present session.

19. Speaking more generally, we warmly hail and support any initiative or effort destined to reduce international tension. We are anxious that the fundamental problem of disarmament, which has an important bearing on the happiness of nations and on economic co-operation, should be effectively resolved at the earliest possible date. We shall fully support any measure which aims to achieve prompt and effective disarmament.

20. Without neglecting any of the problems submitted for our consideration, we should like, in defining our position, to give principal emphasis to those which concern the evolution of the African continent. Whether it is a question of Algeria, French nuclear tests in the Sahara, the future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons, the question of South West Africa, or the

policy of racial discrimination in South Africa, our position will be invariable. On all these questions, we shall support the resolutions arrived at by common agreement among all independent and unanimous African States. True to the spirit of Bandung, Cairo, Accra and Monrovia, we shall unequivocally repudiate any unilateral solution or dictation, or any attempt to impose a solution by force on any part of Africa. At Sanokole, the Chiefs of State of Liberia and Guinea and the Prime Minister of Ghana, and at Monrovia, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Africa clearly outlined the positions on these problems which we must uphold from this rostrum.

21. With regard to the Algerian problem, it is our view that only direct negotiations between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic can bring about a solution to the tragedy which has now been raging for almost five years. The United Nations should take it upon itself to put an end to the atrocious and merciless slaughter of a people whose only crime is that of wanting to live in freedom and independence and who, in any event, will achieve that aim regardless of the cost. It is incomprehensible that the former Chief of the Provisional Government of France, then in exile from the European continent, should today reject the inevitable dialogue with the Algerian Government, in other words, refuse to others now that which he himself claimed so firmly in the past and which was granted to him without bargaining.

22. We must denounce publicly and in advance any policy which would balkanise Algeria in the same way as the former West African federations, which today are divided into eleven embryonic States.

23. This intolerable colonial slaughter cannot be stopped by any unilaterally imposed measure and that is why we, together with all the independent States of Africa, ask the French Government to enter into negotiations with the Algerian Government, the authentic representative of those who struggle, and to put an end to the conflict. We appeal to all the friends of France, its allies and, in particular, the members of NATO, to use the full weight of their influence with France to this end. The present session should, as regards this matter, devote its efforts to facilitating the contacts and negotiations which are indispensable if the war is to be stopped.

24. The nuclear tests planned by France in the Sahara, which have aroused considerable feeling throughout Africa, continue to be one of our greatest causes of anguish. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the untimeliness of such an undertaking at the very moment when the nuclear Powers have deliberately suspended their experiments and seem to be on the verge of reaching a general agreement on the final cessation of all nuclear tests. Africa, which, since the beginning of the colonial era, has so often served as a testing ground for all kinds of human follies, demands that it be spared this cruel ordeal that is completely unjustified. All political, trade-union and youth organizations, all the living forces of Africa, including the African leaders of the French Community who are aware of their responsibilities, have clearly expressed their complete disapproval to France. In almost all parts of Africa, vigilance committees have been formed to alert world opinion to the crime which is being planned. Faced with despair, they will not

hesitate, in self-defence, to take any measures which their security requires. Just recently, the independent States of Africa unanimously and solemnly appealed to France to give up its nuclear projects in Africa. France's only answer was to confirm its intention of going ahead with the projects as planned. Having thus exhausted every possible means of conciliation, we now lay this problem before the United Nations and urgently appeal to all the countries of the world to remove this nuclear threat to the very existence of the African continent.

25. The Assembly is once again called upon to take a decision on the future of the Cameroons under British administration. It is to discuss the future of the Southern Cameroons and to examine the results of the consultation already held in the North. In both cases, the principal question is whether there will be unification with Nigeria or with the Cameroons under French administration. The African position on this question must also be very clear—it is that true African unity, worked out by Africa in its own interests, will be possible only after independence. In our eyes, any regroupings which are instigated, encouraged or inspired by the colonial Powers are by that very fact suspect. We feel that any people is capable at any moment of taking its destiny into its own hands. Therefore, we hope that our brothers in the Cameroons will very soon achieve their independence so that, in the light of their interests and their desires, they can freely determine the type of association they wish to establish with other African States.

26. We know that economic and other difficulties likely to arise from the attainment of independence are not unsurmountable, but it will be the duty of all friendly countries and especially of the United Nations to afford the Cameroons all the assistance that may prove necessary.

27. We feel compelled to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the tense state of affairs now existing in the Cameroons under French administration. Since the last session devoted to the future of this Territory, a new and particularly serious situation has developed which we feel in duty bound to denounce from this rostrum. Solemn undertakings made in this very Assembly by the representatives of the Administering Authority and of the Cameroons Government have not been honoured with regard either to the amnesty or to public liberties. On the contrary, emergency legislation providing for special criminal courts with excessive powers and for the suppression of free speech has been imposed on the Cameroonian people. The ensuing bloodshed which, for some months, has thrown the people into mourning has, we are sorry to say, been connected with decisions taken in this very Assembly by those who refused to listen to our warnings or to our views on the true aspirations of the Cameroonian people, who are determined to reject at all costs an independence granted and permanently directed by the representatives of foreign interests.

28. In our view, the decision taken by the United Nations on the Cameroonian problem at the last session was ill-advised and fraught with the gravest consequences, and it is a decision which has saddened and which continues to disturb all the peoples of Africa. Suffice it to recall that all the vital forces in

Africa opposed to the colonial system unanimously appealed to the United Nations to defend the Cameroonian people in their rightful claim to independence. The All-African Peoples' Conference held at Accra last April, the Heads of State of Guinea and Liberia and the Head of the Government of Ghana, and the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Africa have all agreed on the necessity of holding democratic elections under United Nations supervision in the Cameroons under French administration before it is given independence. We have felt and still feel that a consultation of the people, provided it is fairly conducted, is the most effective and democratic method of dealing with the present serious crisis in the Cameroons. We appeal once again to all Governments and to the United Nations, which is responsible for the Cameroons until 1 January 1960, to put an end to the explosive crisis which is plunging the Cameroons into civil war. The United Nations must ensure the transition of that country from trusteeship to independence in peaceful conditions which can only be assured through a complete national reconciliation, and this in turn, in the view of all the African peoples, can best be achieved by an honest consultation of the Cameroonian people before the date fixed for its independence. In making this appeal we know that we are voicing the true feelings, anxieties and hopes of the Cameroonian people whose fate is our only concern.

29. I shall at the appropriate time give a detailed statement of my delegation's position on the situation in South West Africa and the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa.

30. With regard to the first point, I must say at the outset that we regard South West Africa as a United Nations Trust Territory which should be treated as such. We shall therefore support any effort that will enable the United Nations to fulfil its moral and legal obligations to the people of South West Africa, who have suffered and are still suffering from the most inhuman treatment imaginable. The United Nations should decide once and for all to fix a date for the independence of that Territory, whose plight represents one of the most shocking examples of defiance ever hurled at the United Nations.

31. As for the policy of "apartheid", which is a disgrace to present-day civilization, international opinion has been unanimously against it for a long time. Since, however, those who have been guilty of this continuous violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter and have flouted the solemn injunctions of those instruments still take their places in this Assembly, and even offer their co-operation to all the African Governments, it is our duty to point out to them they should be more concerned with observing some semblance of respect for the human being, for human rights and for the obligations incumbent on Members of the United Nations. We venture to express the hope, shared by the entire body of international as well as African opinion, that the United Nations will most energetically condemn the shameful and intolerable practices of racial discrimination wherever they occur, and particularly in the African continent. Such a course is imperative if we wish to save our own honour and that of the United Nations and to uphold the immense faith placed in the Organization.

32. The report of the Trusteeship Council [A/4100] and the information supplied by the Powers responsible for Non-Self-Governing Territories will give us some idea of the state of affairs in the different parts of Africa still under foreign domination. There will be, first of all, the succession of embryonic States of the so-called Franco-African Community, concerning which France has just announced that she will supply no further information; after that, the Territories vegetating under Portuguese administration and deprived of freedom by a reactionary system which does not even attempt to cloak its all-embracing colonialism; and, lastly, the tragedies being enacted in Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, Angola and the disturbances in the so-called Belgian Congo.

33. We shall not have to study the record long to discover the depressing results of colonial activity: repression in the so-called Belgian Congo and in Nyasaland, war in Algeria and in the Cameroons under French administration, ignorance and repression in the Portuguese territories, confusion and disturbances in the States of the so-called Franco-African Community, pursuance of a degrading racial policy in Rhodesia and Kenya, and hysterical exasperation among the partisans of "apartheid" in South Africa. We feel it our duty to draw the attention of the United Nations in a particular way to all these troubled areas where the will of the African peoples for freedom is in conflict with the colonial Powers.

34. As we bow our heads in remembrance of the thousands of victims fallen in battle for the just cause of African liberty, we hail with satisfaction in this Assembly what is in part the outcome of their struggle, namely, the future independence and the entry into the United Nations of the four African States of Nigeria, Togoland, the Cameroons and Somaliland, which will soon be joined by the Mali Federation, whose people and government are completing arrangements for total liberation.

35. We said earlier that we consider colonization in all its forms to be a criminal practice and a violation of the United Nations Charter, a practice, moreover, which constitutes a permanent threat to international peace and security.

36. We would add that, in our view, colonialism is no longer a matter which exclusively concerns the peoples of the colonies and the colonial Powers, but an international question which must be settled on the international level. Since only justice can ward off vengeance, we ask the United Nations to take up the problem and find the necessary solution with all possible speed. We believe that the only true solution is independence. Indeed, we venture to affirm that the question is no longer whether Africa will achieve independence or not, but whether it will achieve it peacefully or by the sword. The question is with the aid of whom, or possibly against whom, Africa will liberate itself, for there is no power on earth which can halt the forward march of the African peoples now that they are resolved to take their fate into their own hands and to organize themselves so as to be able to make their special contribution to the common effort of the nations.

37. That is the message which I have had the duty and honour to convey to you on behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of Guinea whose one great ambition is to remain faithful at all costs

to the cause of total emancipation of our African fatherland for the greater good of the entire international community.

38. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): I regret that, on the occasion of offering Mr. Belaúnde, the President of the General Assembly, my delegation's congratulations on his election, I am also compelled by the circumstance of his illness to ask your, Mr. President, to convey to him our sincere wishes for his speedy recovery; I hope that those wishes will soon become a reality.

39. During the year which has passed since the last session of the United Nations General Assembly there has been an appreciable change in the international atmosphere. There can be no doubt that in the widest circles of world opinion there is an increasing awareness of the need to seek and find a solution to the international problems upon which world peace hinges.

40. It is, in my opinion, a happy coincidence that the present session of the General Assembly should have opened simultaneously with the meeting of the Heads of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We have thus been the direct witnesses of an event which has initiated a new stage in the East-West dialogue and will have a lasting effect on the political thinking of millions of people in the world.

41. That fact should have some influence on the atmosphere in which our future debates will take place. But that is by no means all: the deep significance of this meeting is, *inter alia*, that it will enable us better to understand the important changes which have recently occurred in international relations and the prospects of their further evolution, and to consider in a new light the problems which have for many years been the subject of international discussions and of debate in our Assembly.

42. We have to our credit in recent years the progress made along the path of political realism and good sense in international relations. Awareness of essential contemporary historical facts is becoming general. The first of these essential facts is the development of the socialist system; that is an irreversible process which nothing can halt. The existence in the world of two different economic and social systems is an abiding characteristic of our time. The second of these essential facts is the ultimate crisis of the colonial system and that too is irreversible and final. The third of these facts is the development of twentieth century science and technology; this has made it imperative for our generation to make its final choice between war and peace. The logical conclusion is being more and more widely recognized: the only possible form of existence in our day is peaceful and lasting coexistence.

43. The very fact of the existence of two divergent social systems means that coexistence cannot but be a form of competition, but it can only be peaceful competition, competition in the matter of progress. Coexistence should also mean co-operation, for without co-operation it could be neither stable nor truly peaceful. The historical necessity of our time is peaceful and stable coexistence and not an armed truce. That means peaceful competition, international co-operation, disarmament and collective security.

44. We all know that the transition from the cold war to stable and peaceful coexistence is a process calling

for the elimination of many obstacles and prejudices, as also of many deliberate obstructions and objective difficulties.

45. We shall have to settle a whole series of key problems which have been familiar for years, which have hitherto been discussed without result and which are growing graver and are poisoning international relations. The solution was already there but the problems remained insoluble by reason of the application of a method, in fact of a doctrine, which consisted of pushing very grave problems to the point of crisis, in the hope of settling them from a "position of strength".

46. Such problems can be settled, and in the cases where settlement must be a gradual process we can at least make a start, provided we initiate our efforts from a position of peaceful coexistence, for that, after all, is the only possible solution. The policy of positions of strength is materially out-dated and morally discredited.

47. To build up this system of stable and peaceful coexistence, it is not enough to settle the most outstanding political problems by negotiation and agreement. International co-operation in all fields will have to be increased by persevering and steady efforts on the part of all countries, large and small.

48. The development of international trade and economic co-operation plays a central part in this field. The problem may be tackled either from a cold war position or from a position of peaceful coexistence. International trade may be considered either as an extension of the position of strength policy or as a means of bringing peoples closer together. Various formulae for the organization of international economic life can be applied either to divide the world or to unite it, to impede the normal development of an increasing flow of goods and services or to help in a rational international distribution of labour for the greatest good of all. Assistance to under-developed countries can become an admirable means to progress or it can serve to bring about the economic and political enslavement of peoples.

49. These questions of international co-operation should be dealt with from the angle of peaceful coexistence, not only as a matter of political necessity but simply from economic necessity.

50. It is in the interest of all countries, and in the interest of the economy of the whole world, to abolish discrimination in international trade and the other artificial barriers which date from the time of the cold war. It is not only in the interest of the economically under-developed countries but also in the vital interest of all nations and of world economy to make a persistent effort to close the steadily widening gap between the advanced peoples and those whose economic development has been retarded. The accelerated development of those countries, which have been retarded through no fault of their own, is an integral part of one of the fundamental historical processes of our age: namely, the elimination of the last traces of colonialism and of all other forms of oppression of peoples.

51. The United Nations is called upon to play an important part in the work of international economic co-operation; the task devolves primarily upon the regional economic commissions, to which we attribute

particular importance. At the international level, however, it should be our aim to establish a forum where it would be possible to discuss the key problems of the world economy and to create a permanent organic framework for international trade. Together we should seek out methods which would make it possible to develop economies by a continual increase in the volume of world trade.

52. By basing the development of future international economic co-operation on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual interest, we shall transform it into one of the most effective instruments for the stabilization of peace and one of the most powerful factors in progress.

53. The United Nations should be guided by these principles in all fields of its activity. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case. There are still many obstacles in the way, especially at the political level.

54. Once more, during this session, we are working without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Although it is only some of us who are responsible for this situation, the entire Organization will suffer the consequences.

55. That, unfortunately, is not an isolated case. At this very session, a session which we should have liked to be able to remember, as our President so aptly said, as the "session of peace", a proposal has been made concerning the so-called question of Tibet. That proposal is devoid of any legal basis, it is unjust and can only prove detrimental to the cause of relaxation of international tension.

56. These things are all the more regrettable in that, generally speaking, the improved atmosphere has already been given practical expression in renewed efforts by the United Nations and many of its organs. For instance, we see with satisfaction that amongst the specialized agencies there is more rapid and more effective exchange of experience and that more work is being done in the various social, cultural and technical fields. The regional economic commissions have been strengthened and we welcome the establishment and the first steps of the Economic Commission for Africa. We have also recently observed more harmonious and more effective co-operation in the Economic and Social Council. The United Nations could become a leading architect in the construction of a system of peaceful and lasting coexistence. That, moreover, is the very essence of the Charter and its reason for existence.

57. I now come to the most important question on the agenda of this session: that of general and complete disarmament. Progress towards disarmament, and certainly the role the United Nations will be able to play in solving this fundamental international problem, will depend largely on the manner in which the General Assembly deals with the question.

58. It is the first time that the disarmament problem has been placed before the United Nations in such bold terms, and the very boldness of the Soviet proposal [A/4218] is, at the present stage in the development of the international situation, its greatest advantage.

59. General and complete disarmament has always been the ultimate goal of all sincere, effective and constructive efforts in that field. For many years, the

debates have dealt with partial solutions, owing to the serious difficulties which hampered all attempts at more complete disarmament. It is in this direction, and I think rightly so, that the constructive efforts of many countries and various shades of opinion have been tending. It was also in this direction that the research and proposal submitted by Poland in 1957, and amended in the autumn of 1958, tended. But today, the proposal concerning complete disarmament is in the forefront and that is the problem which we should take up first.

60. First and foremost, it should be understood that, in these new circumstances, the time has come for the disarmament problem to be considered from the point of view of peaceful coexistence in the broadest sense of the term; what might quite recently have appeared to be unattainable then becomes feasible. Basically, there is no other solution but to tackle the problem afresh and boldly.

61. If we admit that war would be a catastrophe of such proportions that it would be folly for anyone to engage in it, the idea of military superiority loses its whole point and the arms race becomes equally senseless. The question arises: how much longer, and for what reason, will this senseless armaments race continue? How much longer, and for what reason, shall we have to bear the burden of the exorbitant expenditure and the sacrifices which it involves? In the last resort, there are only two possible solutions: either the weapons manufactured at such great expense are consigned to the scrap-heap or, as the result of an incident or by some accident, the launching ramps will be put into operation and the greatest piece of folly in history will become an accomplished fact.

62. What, then, are we waiting for? There are some who advise us to wait for a radical improvement in the international situation, the advent of an era of mutual confidence. But how can it be attained if the intensive armaments race continues?

63. In our opinion, the surest way to bring about an improvement in the situation and to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence is in fact to make a start towards complete and universal disarmament. Obviously it will take some years to work out and carry through such a disarmament plan. It is with this in mind that we must now do everything in our power to prevent any deterioration of the present situation. That is why we hope that the negotiations on the permanent cessation of nuclear tests will be successful.

64. We must also take steps to ensure that we are not confronted with "faits accomplis" in the armaments field. This applies first and foremost to central Europe, the key area in so far as the easing of international tension is concerned. In any case, the manufacture there of nuclear weapons and rockets must be prevented, as must the equipment of armies which do not as yet possess them with such weapons. This would certainly make future disarmament efforts easier.

65. The proposal made here by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union has a number of important practical advantages. For example, the interminable discussions on the balance of the military forces of the two groups would become pointless, since with general and complete disarmament the problem would no longer exist. With the prospect of

complete and universal disarmament, the establishment and extension of the control system becomes much simpler.

66. The welcome and support which the Soviet proposal has already received in the two weeks since its presentation show how far it goes towards meeting the present needs and the peoples' aspirations. In the view of the Polish Government, the Soviet proposal is realistic, it takes into account the possibilities and the essential needs of the present international situation and it responds to the vital interests of our people. We think that it should be thoroughly discussed by the General Assembly.

67. While speaking about current political questions, I cannot ignore the German question, for it is of crucial importance for the maintenance of peace and security.

68. There are two views, two different policies on the German question. The first, represented by the ruling circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, consists in denying the facts, in denying the existence of two German States. It is a policy of remilitarization and nuclear armaments. It is a policy of territorial claims against other States. It is a policy of rejecting every realistic attempt to make a start towards the restoration of normal conditions and the gradual solution of the German question. It is a policy of aggravating the German situation in the hope of being able subsequently, from a position of strength, to settle it in its own way. It is a policy which aims at acquiring such a position in the Western Alliance as to enable the ruling circles in Western Germany to involve the other members in the execution of their own plans and the accomplishment of their own aims. Such a policy is dangerous not only for those against whom it is at present directed but also for all Germany's neighbours, for Europe as a whole and for peace in general.

69. There is another approach, another policy for the solution of the German problem. This policy takes realities into account. For some years now, there have been two German States. The only way in which the German question can be finally settled is through the gradual restoration of normal relations between the two States and through their co-operation. It is only in an atmosphere of reduced tension in Europe, of progress towards disarmament and of peaceful coexistence that such a course can be successfully pursued. That is the direction followed by the German Democratic Republic.

70. Poland is in complete agreement with this approach to the solution of the German question, which, in its view, constitutes the only sound method, the only policy which is realistic and in conformity with the interests of the German people and of European security. That is why, in its own interest and in the general interest, Poland attaches such importance to the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany. We also think that a satisfactory solution must be found for the position of West Berlin.

71. One of the lessons that Poland has learnt from its own unhappy experience is that German-Polish relations must ultimately be based on respect for the principles of peace, security and good neighbourliness. The German Democratic Republic, with which we are associated by close ties of friendship and co-operation

both on this question and on broader issues, has from the first day of its establishment drawn the same conclusions from its own past experience.

72. We well know that in West Germany there are many people and some circles and politicians who are anxious to see good relations established with Poland and we appreciate that fact. Up till now, however, their attitude has not affected the policy of the Government of the German Federal Republic. Despite the Polish Government's positive approach, there is no evidence whatsoever that the Government of West Germany wants to improve its relations with Poland. There has recently been talk of alleged conciliatory gestures towards Poland but in point of fact the real policy behind them amounted to nothing more than ridiculous attempts to weaken the ties between Poland and its friends. There again, as in other fields, the policy of the cold war will have to give way gradually, admittedly not without resistance but, in my opinion, inevitably. Time is working against those who are clinging obstinately to that kind of policy and in favour of nations which want to live in peace and friendship.

73. Poland is pursuing an active and constructive policy of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation. This policy is consistent with our past experience, the vital interests of our people and our position as a socialist State.

74. Our internal policy is based on the premise that the international situation will develop peacefully. We are drawing up plans for the development of our country for many years ahead. The reforms which we intend to carry out are attuned to the pace of economic development and the social conscience of the citizens of our country, in the hope that we shall be able to pursue this course free from the threat of war. We hope that all the efforts we have expended since our liberation and in recent years may yield results, if possible rapid results, so that the needs and aspirations of our people may be progressively satisfied. Our close ties with the other socialist countries, based on our common principles, make it possible for us to carry out our plans, to fulfil our historic duties and to safeguard the security and territorial integrity of our country. They enable us to do our utmost to work effectively for the relaxation of international tension and peaceful coexistence.

75. While we are constantly strengthening these ties, we are developing broad international relations. We are on friendly terms with many Asian and African countries. Our relations with the great majority of the western countries, with the Scandinavian, Western European and North American countries are steadily improving. We are strengthening and establishing relations with some of the Latin American countries. We welcome their efforts to develop their economies and we see in them the prospect of increased trade between us. We feel, too, that opportunities for closer cultural contacts have existed for a considerable time. On the whole, there has been a considerable increase in economic, scientific and cultural exchanges and in the number of visitors in both directions. We are increasing our co-operation with international organizations in the fields of culture, economy, social affairs, communications and technology. We are taking an active part in the political, economic and social work of the United Nations. We are devoting particular attention to the disarmament problem in the Disarma-

ment Commission and in the ten-nation Disarmament Committee. We shall maintain, and as far as possible increase, our activities within the United Nations.

76. We firmly believe that Poland's efforts on behalf of peaceful coexistence between nations will be effective, for in making such efforts we are not alone. We know that the United Nations will fully satisfy the peaceful aspirations of all peoples.

77. Mr. MOKADDEM (Tunisia) (translated from French): I should like first of all to join with the preceding speakers in extending to Mr. Belaúnde, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, our warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. The unanimous tribute of the Members of this Assembly is addressed at one and the same time to the man who has won respect and esteem for his great experience in international affairs, and for his exquisite courtesy in his relations with his colleagues of other delegations, to the great jurist, who is a worthy representative of South American tradition, and to the man who proudly accepted exile and banishment rather than endorse any infringement whatsoever of freedom or any violation of justice. My delegation is sure that, under his high authority, in this particularly decisive phase of international life, the debates of the Assembly will be conducted with clear-sightedness and efficiency.

78. I should like also to pay a warm tribute to the untiring devotion of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, our distinguished Secretary-General, who has been successful in his efforts to strengthen the moral authority of this Organization and to gain it an increased audience among nations and peoples.

79. The fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is opening under favourable auspices, which give us reason to hope for a relaxation of international tension and to anticipate a consolidation of peace and a strengthening of international security in the near future. Although the international conferences held at Geneva in the last few months have not succeeded in solving the problems dominating international life—the Berlin question, German reunification, disarmament, the cessation and control of nuclear tests—they have nevertheless opened up some hopeful prospects and have made it easier to find a constructive approach towards the stabilization and normalization of international relations.

80. These hopes are confirmed and strengthened by the visits exchanged between Heads of State and Heads of Government, particularly by the visits that have taken place or are planned between the leaders of the two greatest Powers in the world, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. The warmth of direct human contact and the appraisal at first hand of the living conditions and activities of each people will open the way to better understanding and will produce the constructive elements that will make for a thaw in the cold war and a relaxation of international tensions.

81. Although these conferences or meetings have not actually been held under the auspices of the United Nations, the latter can nevertheless claim to have created the psychological and political conditions for their development and to have contributed to a large degree to their success. In so doing, the United Nations is putting into effect the precepts of the

Charter and is working for the triumph of its principles and the attainment of the purposes which it has set for itself.

82. The peace-loving nations, desirous of establishing an international order in which good understanding and co-operation in justice and equality prevail, cannot but applaud and encourage such initiatives. This peace, which is the hope of millions and millions of human beings, is, however, very fragile and requires constant vigilance and the most attentive care on the part of all.

83. This peace is threatened in several parts of our planet. The anguish that wrings mankind is as great as the unprecedented catastrophe which threatens to overwhelm it if, by misfortune, all the means of destruction which man's genius has been able to conceive were to go into action and remove from the face of the globe not only every trace of civilization but also every trace of life. That is why all efforts should be united to achieve a reduction and controlled limitation of conventional weapons and the absolute prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

84. Various projects have been submitted to the Assembly and to the committees concerned. My Government considers that all these projects deserve careful consideration in that they may lead to the preparation of an agreement on disarmament acceptable to all the Powers.

85. Everything possible has been said—and by the most authoritative voices—about the dangers which nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons harbour for mankind. It would be idle and presumptuous to recall them to this great Assembly. I should simply like to stress the welcome which was given to the decision of the Powers possessing nuclear weapons to suspend all tests until the completion of the work of the Geneva Conference on the discontinuance of nuclear tests. That is an important step, a prelude to the decision for the final cessation of such tests, which would be fervently and gratefully welcomed by all mankind.

86. Unfortunately, in this encouraging context a discordant note has been heard and has aroused anxiety in a number of countries, particularly the African countries. The French Government is persisting in its intention to carry out nuclear tests in the Sahara.

87. My country is directly involved, as are all the other African countries, in the project announced by the French Government. At the last two conferences of the independent African States, held at Accra in April 1958 and at Monrovia in August 1959, the resolutions adopted protested vigorously against any nuclear tests in Africa, particularly in the Sahara.

88. Mr. Ako-Adjei, my good friend and eminent colleague from Ghana, has quoted at this rostrum the main parts of these resolutions [807th meeting]. I wish to affirm solemnly that the Tunisian Government and people, like all the African Governments and peoples, wish to live in peace and to keep the African continent free from atomic contamination and poison.

89. An attempt has been made to interpret the consent of some Heads of State within the French African community as a moral guarantee of the projected experiments. With your permission, I shall mention the public stand taken by a number of these leaders.

90. The Head of the Mauritanian Government made a strong protest against these experiments in an interview granted to the Paris newspaper Le Monde, on 6-7 September 1959, and I quote:

"The possibility of French atomic experiments is also causing us a great deal of anxiety."

And he added:

"I have already made my views known to the responsible parties."

91. The Government of the Mali Federation, comprising Senegal and Western Sudan, instructed its permanent delegation in Paris to issue a statement affirming that the Mali Federation had never agreed to a nuclear test in the Sahara. That statement was published in the same Paris newspaper, Le Monde, in September 1959.

92. These are the leaders of African countries bordering the Sahara which are directly affected by the French Government's projects; in spite of their situation, they have felt it their imperative duty to express publicly their concern and anxiety with regard to the grave danger threatening the life and health of their people.

93. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the delimitation of frontiers in the Sahara, far from being exact and final, is the subject of disputes and claims, particularly on the part of Tunisia and Morocco.

94. My Government, for its part, has made two solemn representations to the Government of the French Republic to inform it of its serious concern and to persuade it to give up the projected tests in the Sahara. It is most regrettable that the French Government has not seen fit to take the representations made by my Government into consideration and has treated them in exactly the same way as it treated the representations made by other African Governments.

95. May I add that this threat, far from being limited to the African continent, may be of concern to other territories, which might receive some atomic fallout: for example, the islands of the Mediterranean, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia. The anxiety felt by the people of these regions and the concern of atomic experts in these countries are highly significant.

96. It is essentially against the choice of the Sahara as the site for the explosions planned by the French Government that my Government strongly protests, in complete agreement with all the other African States and in the knowledge that it is expressing the anguish of all the African peoples.

97. In any case, at the very moment when the atomic Powers are deciding to suspend their tests and are negotiating an agreement for their complete discontinuance, it is very distressing, to say the least, to see another Power seeking to enter into nuclear competition and thus giving rise to serious disturbances and creating an unprecedented danger for the populations of the area involved. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent in the face of such a danger and should earnestly recommend that these projects should be abandoned.

98. Instead of being expended dangerously in the field of nuclear armament, these gigantic technical and financial efforts would be of much greater value

if they were diverted to peaceful ends, thus contributing to the progress of human civilization, to the betterment of living conditions and to the prosperity of mankind. That is the wish expressed by my Government and I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the action taken by the International Atomic Energy Agency, under the stimulus of this Organization. The Agency is showing us the path of wisdom and reason and it constitutes the best guarantee for the protection of mankind, for the true values of human civilization and for the possibilities of peaceful co-operation among peoples and nations.

99. At a time when human genius has been able to cross interplanetary space with devices of its own manufacture and to reach other planets, it is our duty within this Organization to do our utmost to ensure that the competition in this field is solely peaceful and contributes to the advancement of human knowledge. We should also organize, under the sponsorship and control of this Organization, the utilization of this new triumph of human genius.

100. The United Nations is the chosen form for exchanges of views and for efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputes, particularly through negotiation. My Government, for its part, has always been careful to abide by this principle, even in the most crucial and decisive phases of its national life. It is glad that it has always advocated negotiation and has seen that method produce satisfactory results. For that reason, while solemnly reaffirming its fidelity and loyalty to the principles of the Charter, my Government will work unremittingly for the triumph of the principle of settlement of disputes between nations and peoples through peaceful negotiation. Imbued with these principles and conscious of its responsibility as a member of the international community, my country has, since the beginning of this year, entered upon its duties as a member of the Security Council, a responsibility which the Assembly has entrusted to it for two years.

101. In the same spirit, and with a view to consolidating international peace and security, my Government agreed, together with the Governments of Argentina, Italy and Japan, to serve on the Sub-Committee on Laos established by the Security Council at its 848th meeting on 7 September 1959.<sup>1/</sup> My Government hopes that this Sub-Committee will help the Security Council to perform its task in the delicate question brought to its attention and to eliminate the threat of an armed conflict in that part of the world.

102. The international situation is weighed down by the tragic problem of the refugees, a source of anxiety and concern to many Governments in many parts of the world. Masses of human beings, driven from their homes and their countries by war or persecution, are living in conditions degrading to human dignity and incompatible with the moral and spiritual principles of all faiths and all civilizations. The United Nations has made the most praiseworthy efforts to lessen the sufferings and misery of these refugees, but international solidarity, no matter how broad, cannot solve this poignant problem, and the deterioration of a situation which, in some cases, has lasted for more than ten years increases international tension and constitutes a major obstacle to the restoration of

<sup>1/</sup> S/4216.

understanding and harmony among nations. Nearly a million of our Arab brothers, driven from their homes and their property in Palestine, are stagnating in tragic and poignant circumstances, waiting year after year for an appropriate settlement of their situation.

103. After reading the Secretary-General's report [A/4121], my delegation feels that UNRWA should continue its humanitarian work for the time being and that the repatriation of these refugees and the restoration to them of their property is the only basis for an acceptable settlement and the beginning of a much-desired relaxation of tension in that particularly sensitive area, the Middle East.

104. It is the duty of the United Nations to ensure that its decisions and resolutions calling for the return of the refugees to their homes are carried out. Pending the rapid implementation of those decisions, conservatory measures could be enacted. For example, the property of the Palestine Arab refugees could be temporarily placed in international custody. In that way the United Nations would be taking a most constructive step and creating an international jurisprudence for a legal problem which might arise elsewhere.

105. My Government notes with satisfaction the positive suggestions in the Secretary-General's report regarding the continuation of United Nations assistance and the need to avoid any steps unacceptable to the refugees themselves, but it cannot agree that the economic development of the area should be linked with the refugee problem, for that development is within the exclusive competence of the countries concerned.

106. On that subject, my Government is at one with its brother Arab States and unreservedly supports the joint plan for the settlement of the Palestine Arab refugee question [A/4236].

107. In North Africa, nearly 300,000 Algerians have abandoned their homes and property and have taken refuge in the two neighbouring countries, Morocco and Tunisia. My country is now sheltering nearly 180,000 of them. With the help of national and international agencies it is endeavouring to provide for their needs and to alleviate their suffering, in strict conformity with the provisions of the International Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. The end of the Algerian war and its settlement on a basis acceptable to the parties will be the dawn of hope for those tens of thousands of old people, women and children who have been uprooted from their native land and their homes and will enable them to return to their homeland.

108. It has been rightly said that the past year has been an African year. I think I may add that Africa remains the focus of international concern owing to the profound changes which have taken place or are about to take place and which will alter its whole aspect as well as its political and economic structures. The African peoples, desirous of recovering their individual and national dignity and of attaining sovereignty and independence, are being swept by a great wave of emancipation. That is a phenomenon characteristic of this second half of the twentieth century and it is to the credit of the United Nations that it has included among its principles that of self-determination and respect for the natural desire of

peoples held under colonial or imperialist rule to determine their own future. It is a particularly telling illustration of the universality of the Charter principles, which can be of one dimension only, a moral dimension that applies to all peoples on all continents, in all latitudes, regardless of their faith, the colour of their skin or their social system.

109. That is why we await, with sympathy and keen interest, the forthcoming admission of Nigeria, the Cameroons, Togoland and Somaliland to membership of the United Nations. Those States will strengthen the side of freedom and will, I am sure, make a valuable contribution to the activities of the United Nations. While we may feel pleased with the progress achieved in this respect, we should also draw a lesson from it and appreciate its high significance. The accession of these States to independence and sovereignty is part of an irreversible historical process and represents the triumph of the principles of justice and freedom over the law of the jungle, domination and hegemony. It definitely eliminates a cause of discord and conflict between nations and thus helps to strengthen international peace and security. It also opens the way to free and fruitful co-operation among the peoples and nations of the different continents, and, strangely enough, between erstwhile colonial Powers and their former colonies. Together they can rediscover the road to understanding, co-operation and friendship by rejecting any idea of hegemony and exploitation and by establishing relations based on equality and mutual respect.

110. In that connexion, I should like to recall that, on 2 March 1959, our President, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, appealed to all nations to hold a round-table conference for the purpose of discussing decolonization. That initiative was prompted by altruism and an ardent desire to help to strengthen peace. The appeal evoked a favourable response and was given careful and sympathetic consideration quite recently, at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference held last August.

111. Africa comprises vast areas and many peoples still living under an obsolete colonial administration out of pace with modern times. Of the 180 million who inhabit the continent, only 60 million are at present free and independent, 40 million others are in the process of becoming so and will achieve independence and sovereignty between now and the end of the next year, but the remaining 80 million are still held under colonial rule. There are equally disturbing situations in Asia and elsewhere. For example, the situation in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula and the incidents that have occurred in Oman have caused serious concern in my country and in world public opinion. A courageous people devoted to its traditions was forced in an armed struggle to defend its national dignity and its national entity. The aspiration of all these peoples to dignity, sovereignty and independence cannot be ignored or frustrated; the colonial Powers should take account of present-day realities, adapt themselves to the course of history and determine, together with the peoples concerned, the stages and time-tables which may prove necessary for the attainment of those objectives. Negotiation or any other appropriate means might have brought about a just and equitable solution without arousing resentment, violence and hatred, for violence engenders grief, tears and rancour, and everything should be done to prevent the colonial peoples from being driven to

resort to violence in order to recover their dignity and independence.

112. Moreover, the African continent is outraged by the practices of racial discrimination and segregation which still flourish in many territories. They represent a continuing defiance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, in short, of morality. Whoever he may be and wherever he may be, a man is entitled to respect and cannot be made subject to other laws than those applicable to all. The United Nations has consistently and forcefully denounced these shameful practices and has time and again called upon the Administering Powers to put an end to them. It is lamentable that all its appeals have remained unheeded. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to take appropriate action to eradicate these degrading practices.

113. The situation in South West Africa, too, is still causing us serious concern. The international status of this territory should be defined and the Mandatory Power has no right to alter it without the consent of the United Nations. Did not the International Court of Justice reaffirm in 1956<sup>2/</sup> that the obligations of the Mandatory Power remained in full force, the only difference being that the supervisory powers exercised by the Council of the League of Nations must now be exercised by the United Nations? The Mandatory Power should set a date for the termination of its trust and should make preparations, in close collaboration with the United Nations, for the evolution of the Territory towards self-determination or independence. The arguments put forward by the Union of South Africa are a serious violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter, and the refusal of that country to co-operate with the Good Offices Committee is highly regrettable. It is the duty of Member States to put an end to this outrageous situation and to place this Territory under the relevant provisions of the Charter.

114. The Algerian war, which has been going on for nearly five years in the heart of Africa, on the very frontiers of my country and at the gateway of the Mediterranean, is the most acute and dangerous problem of the hour. This implacable war, with the resentment, hatred, tears and mourning which it brings, is taking a high toll of human life on both sides and causing widespread destruction and depredation. Hundreds of thousands of Algerians are being uprooted from their homes and confined in concentration camps known as "regroupment centres". Instead of allowing itself to be forced into the impasse of war, France could have anticipated the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people and could have settled the problem through peaceful negotiation, in honour and dignity.

115. The war has been a matter of constant and most serious concern to my Government. Tunisia has suffered and is still suffering the consequences of the overflow and extension of the war. I need not recall certain incidents and certain facts which are still fresh in everyone's mind. Nevertheless, my Government has always endeavoured to keep passions down and to induce the French leaders to take the path of negotiation and agreement. The President of the

French Republic has now taken a stand. The declaration of 16 September 1959 must be closely and carefully studied in all its aspects. From the outset, my Government is happy to note the intention, solemnly proclaimed by the Head of the French State, of enabling the Algerian people freely to determine their future.

116. The recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination is a decisive and important step. My Government sincerely hopes that this decision will be speedily and faithfully put into effect. It is all the more pleased to note this decision in that more than two years ago, speaking through the most authoritative voice in the country, that of President Bourguiba, it upheld the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, in a speech made over the National Broadcasting Corporation on 17 August 1957:

"Recognition by France of Algeria's right to independence, or at the very least to self-determination, is still the only way in which an agreement may be reached between France and Algeria. France should take the initiative with a sort of political declaration. I am sure that, if France made a statement to that effect, the Algerian nationalists of the National Liberation Front would agree to negotiate the stages and details of the way leading to self-determination, which should be given theoretical recognition in a definite statement."

117. How many human lives might have been spared, how much devastation and destruction avoided and how much hatred and bitterness saved, if the path of reason and wisdom advocated by President Bourguiba had been followed at the time. There would have been no vain attempt to stem the tide of history, and no drifting, for months and years, along the blind path of war.

118. There are, however, many points in the French declaration which are still obscure and need clear and precise definition. First of all, the pacification of hearts and minds, the cease-fire which is essential for a return to conditions in which a valid and authentic vote can be carried out, should be negotiated by the parties. Logic and common sense demand that the adversaries still locked in combat should negotiate between themselves the conditions for the restoration of peace, the essential prelude to a genuine consultation of the Algerian people. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, guardian of the interests of the Algerian people now fighting for their dignity and emancipation, is the obvious partner in any negotiations on the conditions for an immediate restoration of peace in Algeria.

119. In addition, the necessary safeguards for the authenticity and validity of the proposed consultation must be likewise discussed and decided upon by the two partners. The same is true of the transitional period which is to precede the voting, during which the psychological and political conditions for a true expression of the will of the Algerian people must be brought about.

120. If the decision is for independence, there can be no question of secession or of an abrupt and final rupture of all the ties that bind two equally proud and valiant peoples, who have lived side by side through so many vicissitudes for more than 130 years and could never part finally from each other. On the con-

<sup>2/</sup> Admissibility of hearings of petitioners by the Committee on South West Africa, Advisory Opinion of June 1st, 1956: I.C.J. Reports 1956, p. 23.

trary, with independence constraint will give place to free co-operation, hatred to friendship, and bitterness to reconciliation. Fruitful relations based on sincere mutual respect in equality and honour must be established between two adult and sovereign peoples brought together by so many affinities.

121. From the wider point of view, the continuation of the war in Algeria is a tremendous obstacle to the realization of the regional association of the great Arab Magreb, responding to the profound wishes and aspirations of the people of the region and in conformity with the dictates of history and the requirements of modern times. In this respect, a settlement of the Algerian conflict would hasten the establishment of the great Magreb and would open the door to fruitful co-operation, rich in promise, between France and the States of this region of Africa.

122. In my speech to the General Assembly at its thirteenth session [760th meeting], I drew attention to the effect that the Algerian situation was having on relations between my country and France, and I emphasized the difficulties to which the persistence of such a dangerous situation in North Africa was giving rise. There again, a happy settlement of the Algerian conflict would clear the horizon and remove a heavy threat. It would enable France and Tunisia to establish normal and stable relations and to find a solution, in friendship and co-operation, for the problems which are still pending between them.

123. Thus everything militates in favour of a peaceful and just settlement, and my Government hopes that the two parties concerned in the settlement of the Algerian affair—the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic—will establish contact and agree jointly upon the arrangements and safeguards necessary for the implementation, as soon as possible, of the principle of self-determination which the Head of the French State has solemnly proclaimed to be the right of the Algerian people.

124. My Government, which noted with satisfaction the positive step taken by the Head of the French State in recognizing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, notes with equal satisfaction the proclamation published by the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic on 28 September 1959 and the reaffirmation of its intention of entering into conversations with the French Government with a view to establishing the military and political conditions for a cease-fire and the methods and safeguards for the implementation of self-determination.

125. This is a most encouraging development and it is not unreasonable to hope that very soon the two parties will approach each other and agree on a settlement of all the points raised in the respective declarations of the two Governments.

126. In the speech he made scarcely twenty-four hours ago, President Bourguiba analysed the phases of the Algerian problem and made a pathetic appeal to both sides to overcome the difficulties and resentments of the moment and to come together in constructive and fruitful discussion, with their sights set firmly on the future.

127. President Bourguiba, for his part, reaffirmed his constant readiness to join in any effort to bring the

two sides together. I should like to quote a few words from this important speech. Speaking of the respective French and Algerian positions, President Bourguiba said:

"Where does the difference lie? What is it that prevents contact? It is all a matter of guarantees and suspicion. It is suspicion which justifies the demand for guarantees. The French must be able to understand this concern and to regard it as reasonable and legitimate."

He added:

"To sum up, we have General de Gaulle, on one side, saying that he is ready to accept the wishes of the Algerian people if they opt for independence, and, on the other, Ferhat Abbas and Krim Bel Kacem declaring themselves willing to withdraw, if the Algerian people choose integration. But is this enough without guarantees, and, first and foremost, a guarantee that General de Gaulle's policy will be accepted and carried out by those who have the power and who openly oppose it, regarding it as a policy of treason, and maintain that nothing can be done without their consent?"

Further on, he said:

"Suppose that an agreement is reached on these guarantees and that the Algerian people are able to make their wishes known by means of a consultation. That important operation would alter the terms of the problem so much in the eyes of the world that the partial difficulties involved in the movement would be solved within the same framework because they too depend on the new situation."

He ended with these words:

"All the peoples of the world demand that this chance for peace shall not be neglected or lost for reasons of prestige or protocol, now that the decisive stage has been reached."

128. The United Nations could by appropriate action play a most important part; it could contribute in a constructive way to bringing the views of the two sides together, make the intermediate stage easier and help to ensure that the consultation takes place in conditions which offer all the necessary guarantees. A stirring task awaits us. We have the chance to extinguish, once and for all, a hotbed of war. International peace and security would emerge greatly strengthened. Friendship and reconciliation would take the place of hatred and bitterness.

129. Such are the reflections which, on behalf of my Government, I have been led to formulate on some aspects of the international situation. It is by working together to achieve the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, by securing a fairer distribution of goods and wealth among men, by banishing fear, want, ignorance and disease and by adhering more closely to the high spiritual and moral values which we have inherited from all human civilizations that we shall help to bring about a better society and the worldwide reign of peace and harmony.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*

