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**President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): May I first extend to Mr. Mongi Slim my congratulations on his election to the presidency of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. It is a source of great joy and pride for us that the distinguished representative of a sister Arab country should be chosen for this high office. It is a tribute not only to his personal qualities, but also to his country and people and to the great continent of Africa.
2. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly met in an atmosphere of international tension and crisis. The leaders of many countries attended that session in the hope of finding ways to ease international tension. However, during the months which followed the closing of the fifteenth session we witnessed a considerable deterioration in the international situation, and the tension between East and West became even greater. The sixteenth session is therefore meeting at a time when the international crisis exceeds in dimension any previous post-war crisis, and this may lead the whole world to a catastrophe unprecedented in man's history. The tragic death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld added an element of uncertainty to a situation already fraught with great dangers.
3. The present world situation is too dangerous to be allowed to continue. It is therefore the highest duty of all peace-loving nations to stand firm and resolute in their endeavour to arrest the perilous drift towards armed conflict. The problems underlying the present crisis are everyone's responsibility. They are not the sole concern of the big Powers. The nature of total war, with the big Powers in possession of armaments of a destructive strength hitherto unknown, has made the total annihilation of humanity a distinct possibility.
4. During the last few months, grave events have followed each other, disturbing and complicating the international situation and revealing the shaky foundations upon which the present world order has been

established. Such events, demonstrated by the aggressive policies pursued by certain Powers, and especially the imperialists, include the augmentation of the war cruelty in Algeria and the failure of the negotiations, the persistent suppression of the people of Oman, the continuation of conflict in the Congo, the lawless terror carried on by the Portuguese in Angola, the rising tension in Laos, the invasion of Cuba, the French attack on Bizerta, the Berlin crisis, the resumption of nuclear tests, the British threat to Iraq, and the stepping up of the arms race.

5. These problems, although varied in character, have a common denominator manifested in the increase of the aggressiveness of the imperialist Powers.

6. The tensions which have risen in many parts of the world emanate from conflicts of political and economic interests between the colonial Powers and the peoples of former colonies, and as a result of the endeavours of these imperialist Powers to maintain the privileged positions by force, violence and deceit. Some of the tensions, however, were the result of the lack of mutual trust and understanding among nations, and in particular between the two great blocs.

7. Let us take for example the questions of disarmament and Germany.

8. During the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, submitted a proposal for general and complete disarmament [869th plenary meeting].

9. Although the question of disarmament has not since moved a step forward, nevertheless, the Soviet proposal has gained wide support, and has had an impact upon world public opinion, especially by directing attention to this key problem of the present era.

10. In the period of the cold war, the arms race has grown to a dangerous point, leading to greater complications in international relations. The legacy of the Second World War, the problems inherited from the inter-war period, and those created by new national and revolutionary changes in the world, are being viewed by the big Powers from the angle of power politics whose only effective instrument is war.

11. In such an international atmosphere, no progress in disarmament talks was made, primarily because of the lack of agreement on principles between the big Powers. Now that the two big Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have issued their Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations [A/4879], agreement on principles has been achieved, to everyone's gratification. It is hoped that negotiations will begin soon in an atmosphere of realism and mutual trust. The confidence of the world has been strengthened in the success of the coming negotiations, as the principles included in the joint Statement coincide with a number of points contained in the draft resolution sponsored last year.

by a number of non-aligned countries including Iraq.<sup>1/</sup> The speeches of President Kennedy [1013th plenary meeting] and of Mr. Gromyko [1016th plenary meeting] contain elements of a new approach, and in particular the achievement of complete and total disarmament by stages, none of which would upset the balance of power to the detriment of one State or group of States. In addition, the proposal of the Soviet Union regarding the participation of some non-aligned countries in the negotiations represents an approach in conformity with the present conditions in the world. It is inevitable to recognize, in the present relations between the two blocs, the tendency to be influenced by certain groups with vested interests in the arms race. Thus the participation of the non-aligned countries, which have neither been involved in the arms race nor directly engaged in disarmament negotiations, can only have a salutary effect.

12. Improvement in the international situation primarily depends upon the solution of the disarmament question, including the cessation of nuclear tests. This is because disarmament is not an isolated problem; it is a component part of the sum total of present-day international issues having direct bearing upon the world situation. It should not, therefore, be treated in isolation from other international problems and the general state of international relations.

13. Now I would like to say a word about the German question. The recent crisis over Berlin has shown only too clearly the risks involved in continuing the arms race. Crises of this sort might therefore lead to world conflict if no attempt is made to solve outstanding differences and to work out plans for disarmament and the abolition of war. The German question is one of the problems which should be considered in the context of disarmament and the security of Central and Eastern European States. The unsettled situation of Germany has greatly contributed to the augmentation of tension in Europe, and consequently between East and West.

14. It is difficult to envisage the settlement of the German problem apart from general and complete disarmament, and without reference to German realities. It is hard to contemplate a German solution while the two parts of Germany are within the two rival blocs. It is equally difficult to expect a unified Germany inside the Western Alliance. On the other hand, the division of Germany into two separate parts with different economic and social systems is now a reality. In the interest of diminishing tension, and in order to avoid future border conflicts, it is necessary to recognize the actual situation in order to assist the solution of the German problem. The Berlin question should be considered within the context of the German problem as a whole. While East and West are seeking a solution for the German problem, and have agreed in principle to general and complete disarmament, both tasks would be greatly facilitated by an agreement to neutralize Germany.

15. The grave world situation has been clearly realized by the non-aligned nations. Therefore a Conference of Heads of States of Governments of twenty-five Non-Aligned Countries was convened in Belgrade and held there from 1-6 September 1961.

16. The Belgrade Conference marked a new departure in the position of the non-aligned countries, as well as a new development in world politics. The motives for convening such a conference stem from two historical facts: first, as members of the world community and being subject to the forces governing international relations, it has become incumbent upon the non-aligned countries to play their part in the direction of these forces and the reorientation of the policies shaping relations among nations. The world is no longer governed by the big Powers, and therefore it is the right and duty of the non-aligned nations to intervene effectively in world affairs, particularly with regard to those policies of the great Powers which affect the present and future destiny of the rest of the world. The second reason for convening the Belgrade Conference is that the point of view of the non-aligned countries reflects that of the great majority of the world's population who desire to live in freedom, peace and justice.

17. The power politics of the big Powers, which threaten civilization with total destruction, leave no alternative for the small and non-aligned States but to move forward towards the creation of the basis of an effective international community. The Belgrade Powers were not, however, motivated by any narrow or egoistic objectives, but by realistic and humane considerations. The identity of their interests in peace and progress has greatly contributed to the evolution of a line of approach for a settlement of world problems conforming to the essential needs and exigencies of the present state in world history.

18. That is why the Belgrade Conference showed that the world does not need a third bloc; on the contrary, it needs, above all, the narrowing of the gap between the existing power blocs through peaceful means. The Conference also showed that the motives of the non-aligned countries are entirely different from those which led to the creation of the two camps. They are realistic and objective in their approach to present world problems, and their concern measures up to the gravity of the current international crisis. Above all, they want to avert war. In their statement on the danger of war and appeal for peace, they stated:

"... In this age of nuclear weapons the accumulation of the power of mass destruction, such conflict and war would inevitably lead to devastation on a scale hitherto unknown, if not to world annihilation. This Conference considers that this calamity must be avoided, and it is therefore urgent and imperative that the parties concerned, and more particularly the United States of America and the USSR, should immediately suspend their recent war preparations and approaches, take no steps that would aggravate or contribute to further deterioration in the situation, and resume negotiation for a peaceful settlement of any outstanding differences between them with due regard to the principles of the United Nations Charter and continue negotiations will both they and the rest of the world achieve total disarmament and enduring peace."

19. The deliberations and conclusions of the Belgrade Conference reflect the wide unity of views on the vital problems of the contemporary world, as well as the high degree of responsibility felt by all the non-aligned countries for the elimination of the present tension, for the defence of peace and for strengthening international co-operation. A number of international problems were therefore considered: disarmament, colonialism, the

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 67, 86, 69, 73, document A/C.1/L.259 and Add.1 and 2.

economic problems of, and assistance to, under-developed countries, the problems of Germany and of Berlin, and the role of the United Nations.

20. The views expounded at the Conference reflected a desire, on the part of the non-aligned countries, not to remain aloof from the great struggle between East and West, but to assert their influence in the defence of peace and justice without being committed. The time has gone when the representatives of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were mere spectators of international conflicts. Peoples in these areas have become more conscious of their rights and obligations in the international field and more confident in the essential role they are to play in world politics. This is a challenge to the old world order and to the persistence of some colonial Powers in their endeavour to maintain the status quo.

21. We refer to the colonial Powers because they are the major architects of the policy of the "balance of power" which is at the root of the dangerous world situation. Colonialism, as a policy of domination and exploitation of the weak by the strong, is not merely confined to the physical occupation of territories and subjugation of peoples for economic purposes, but it is also a policy of indirect domination and the threat of the use of force, discrimination and corruption. It is quite erroneous to imagine that colonialism is dead. On the contrary, it survives and generates great trouble and danger. The fight against colonialism has been relentlessly carried out for the last few decades in the colonial territories and on the international level. It has been condemned by the majority of mankind. Nevertheless, the fight against colonialism is still raging in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

22. On colonial questions we are anti-Western. Our position regarding colonialism is definite: we want the complete liberation of the colonial territories and of the new States from colonial rule and all the vestiges of the colonial system. This does not imply that we are against everything Western. But it must be pointed out that at present the West is on the wrong side of a social and political revolution which is sweeping all the under-developed areas of the world. This revolution is in essence a demand by the new nations for equal political rights, equal economic opportunities, and the rule of law. The propelling forces in this great march for liberation from the bondage of past ages are no different from those which carried European society out of the ages of feudalism and serfdom. This is the historical tendency of the present era in history. So it is not a question of the new nations' adopting communism or free enterprise, but whether they can achieve peacefully social and political equality with the advanced countries.

23. In fact, the social revolution which is driving towards the goal of national independence and individual freedom and equality, finds in the colonial system the main obstacle and roadblock to its fulfilment. Historically, colonialism has been the one-sided rule of the human race by a European minority which imposed itself by force and treachery. The end of colonialism means the promotion of normal relationships between the various races, nations and States, and implies, above all, the termination of Western political, economic and cultural domination over the under-developed countries.

24. Last year's resolution [1514 (XV)] of the General Assembly regarding the termination of colonialism was

a definite warning to the colonial Powers that world public opinion no longer accepts or even tolerates the existence of the colonial system. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples provides that "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected". Unfortunately, in most cases this has not been observed. For this reason, my delegation will support the proposal of the Soviet Union to fix a time-limit for the final and complete liquidation of colonialism. We supported a similar proposal at the Belgrade Conference.

25. The colonial system of relationships which is based on force and violence has developed an ideology of the superiority of Western ideas and institutions. In consequence, and in order to maintain the old relationships, the imperialist ideology is fighting a rear-guard battle, and thus violating the principles of the Charter, and creating conditions which threaten the foundations of peace and security in the world.

26. Neo-colonialism is, therefore, the principal form which the imperialist policy takes under present world conditions which were created by national liberation movements and by the retreat of the capitalist exploitation system in the face of the advancing socialist systems.

27. In many cases, the colonialists realize that power relations at present make it imperative to retreat to new positions. But it is evident that as long as the capitalist monopoly system remains as it is, the colonialists cannot renounce their super-profits derived from invested capital, the domination and ruling of colonies, the resources of raw materials, cheap labour, markets, spheres of influence and capital investment, nor lose the strategic positions for their military security and otherwise.

28. For these reasons they seek to change their methods and tactics in order to keep their positions of domination under a new form, that is, neo-colonialism. Thus neo-colonialism is in essence an endeavour to conceal the new division of territorial and economic interests. This is to be achieved, among other things, by slowing down the process of liberation of the colonial peoples, and by maintaining the institutions devised under the colonial system.

29. In comparison with traditional colonialism, neo-colonialism does not reflect political and economic force and power, but rather the weakness and decline of the imperialist system. It nevertheless struggles to weaken and obstruct the national liberation movements, especially by indirect methods which, however, do not exclude the traditional use of force and violence, the oppression and extermination of people and the invasion of territories. In order to achieve its objectives, neo-colonialism, which appears in many cases nowadays as collective colonialism despite inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalries, utilizes political, economic and ideological means.

30. Politically, neo-colonialism with the assistance and support of the reactionary and corrupt social elements tries to divide the national front and to prevent the formation of independent States. Economically, the main objective of neo-colonialism is to prevent the establishment of independent or autonomous national economies by maintaining the fundamental colonial

elements of the economic system, such as production of raw materials, maintenance of the feudal and semi-feudal agrarian structure and monoculture, obstruction of industrialization, keeping of unfavourable balance between imports and exports. Neo-colonialism hopes to create conditions which will allow it to perpetuate indirectly, and even to restore, the imperialist domination. In fact, neo-colonialism follows methods and tactics which aim at retarding, and may even falsify, the achievement of the real independence and sovereignty of the new nations.

31. Despite all these endeavours of the imperialist Powers to adapt their policy to changing circumstances, the old and traditional colonial system still manifests itself in the war in Algeria, the intervention in the Congo, the policy of integration as practised by Portugal, the racial discrimination in South Africa, the police régimes in some United Kingdom territories in Africa, the gun-boat policy carried on by the United Kingdom in the Arabian Gulf and Southern Arabian Peninsula.

32. I ask the indulgence of the General Assembly if I refer in brief to some of those imperialist practices, especially in the Arab homeland. We Arabs have suffered more than any other nation from the oppression, exploitation and violence of imperialism, and we still do. Even those countries which gained their independence have been, and still are, targets for imperialist pressure and threats of aggression.

33. I take first the Palestine question. As a result of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, the Arab countries in the Middle East were partitioned between the United Kingdom and France. They were occupied during the inter-war period, and their economic wealth, especially oil, was exploited by international cartels. The interests of the United Kingdom and France greatly increased with the rise of European capital investment, and the discovery of great oil potentialities in the region. These Arab countries gained rapidly a unique position in the Western economy, particularly through their oil production. They also became militarily valuable to the West in the world struggle for power. Thus the control over the region's oil, and over the political activities and the tendencies of its people became the cornerstone of Western policy in the Middle East. Apart from the monopoly control of the region's oil resources, this trend in policy also manifested itself in the promotion of alliances of a politico-military character, and in the support of decadent régimes and reactionary systems of government.

34. The Second World War greatly enhanced the strategic position of these Arab countries in the overall economic and military schemes of the Western colonial Powers. The pre-war period, on the other hand, had witnessed a considerable political, economic and cultural revival in the Middle East region which could not be contained within the old framework of relations instituted by the West. The liberation movements led to the independence of some of these countries, while in others the struggle for freedom had gained momentum. Although the struggle between the colonial Powers and the Arab people produced a complex set of problems, the basic challenge remained undoubtedly political. Genuine independence of the Arab countries meant above all their complete control over their economic resources and destiny—a development which contradicts the dominance of Western economic and military interests, and threatens

the flow of oil to Western industry. It was, therefore, necessary for the Western imperialists to continue to play the leading role in the Middle East region. They envisaged the achievement of this target by keeping the region in a state of constant instability and insecurity and by providing a bridge-head for future hostile operations. This dual purpose was achieved by the creation of Israel.

35. The events of the last thirteen years have given ample evidence of the real designs of Western imperialists. Israel has been a continuous source of disturbance for the stability of the area and a threat to its security. Israel's aggressive policy and repeated military attacks on its neighbours have diverted a great part of the forces and resources of the Arab States from economic development to self-defence preparations. Its expansionist policy, manifested by the encouragement of immigration of Jews from all parts of the world to Palestine, by the colossal military build-up, and by its alliances with certain Powers hostile to the Arabs, have kept the Arab countries under a perpetual threat of war. Israel, moreover, received abundant economic and military assistance from the West, and enjoyed its political and diplomatic protection. In this way, Israel has been justly described as the Trojan Horse of imperialism in the Middle East.

36. During the years of its existence the world has come to realize that the presence of Israel constitutes a threat not only to the Middle East region, but also to the peace of world. But this fact does not seem to change the attitude of some Western Powers towards Israel. It has remained their favoured child. An immigrant minority in Palestine has been built up into a State under the protection of the West.

37. Despite its continuous violation of the General Assembly's resolutions and the decisions of the Security Council, Israel continues to receive unlimited military, economic and political assistance from the West. The support of the Western Powers for Israel is no doubt consistent with the role it is playing in disturbing the peace in the Middle East, which is an essential element in maintaining Western dominance in the area.

38. It has been increasingly realized by the people of the Arab countries that the existence of this foreign and colonial element in the body of the Arab homeland is a factor in guaranteeing the continuation of foreign exploitation and dominance.

39. The rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be fully and unconditionally restored. Israel has usurped the land of Palestine from its rightful inhabitants and created, by violence and aggression, a State dominated by an immigrant minority while the majority were expelled from their ancestral homeland in which they and their forefathers lived from time immemorial. There can be only one way for the removal of this great injustice, and that is by removing the source and root of the problem, Israel.

40. I come now to the question of Algeria. In Algeria the seven-year-old colonial war is still being waged relentlessly by France, and the end is not yet in sight. It has become evidently obvious that France can never win a military victory. At its fifteenth session, in its resolution 1573 (XV), the General Assembly recognized "the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence", and called for the respect of the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria. Negotiations for the achievement of these objectives

have been recommended previously by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

41. In actual fact, negotiations between the French and the Algerian Governments started twice and failed to achieve any results. The Algerian Government has clearly stated the reasons. France aimed through negotiations to violate the territorial integrity of Algeria by cutting the Sahara apart, and France wanted to keep a privileged position politically, economically and militarily in Algeria and to bind Algeria to France.

42. The negotiations proved to be mere delaying tactics with a view to promoting the bases of certain imperialist projects which would falsify the independence sought by the Algerian people, and keep Algeria under indirect French domination. This process has been going on for a number of years, and General de Gaulle was the man selected by the vested interests to implement it. Above all, General de Gaulle's main intention was to defend the interests of the big oil and mining companies. Attempts were made by certain oligarchic and feudal circles in France and North Africa to create a force which would stand between the ultra-colonialists and the National Liberation Front and to prevent the achievement of real and complete independence in Algeria.

43. For this purpose, General de Gaulle, for example, devised the Constantine Plan, aiming at the promotion of an Algerian industry and the cultural integration of the Algerian people with France. The failure of this plan to give the anticipated results rapidly and the refusal of the Algerian people to be diverted from their national goal have infuriated the French monopolists, especially the major banks and oil companies.

44. General de Gaulle was, therefore, the target of great pressure by the monopolists to protect their economic positions; and the way for such protection it seemed to them, is the partition of Algeria in order to keep the rich oil deposits of the Algerian Sahara. That is why General de Gaulle declared in September 1959, that:

"all measures will be taken, cost what it may, to guarantee the extraction, delivery and loading of Sahara oil in which France and the whole of the West are interested."

Subsequent events and developments both in France and Algeria show that neither party has changed its position; the Algerian people are more determined than ever to achieve their independence in an integral Algeria, while the French monopolies are increasingly enlisting the support of their counterparts in the West, and particularly in the United States, and having the protection and intervention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

45. The policy of wavering followed by General de Gaulle shows only too clearly that he is still the captive of the same reactionary and capitalist forces which brought him to power. Although the interests of the monopolies do not coincide with those of the ultra-colonialists, General de Gaulle is nevertheless prolonging the Algerian colonial war and breaking the negotiations in the hope of imposing upon Algeria the conditions laid down by big business.

46. Colossal economic interests are the forces behind the colonial war in Algeria, especially oil interests.

47. In another part of the Arab homeland, Oman, oil companies are also behind the acts of aggression and suppression carried out by the United Kingdom against

a small and unarmed nation. Since 1955 the people of Oman have been engaged in an unequal struggle for their freedom and independence. The world has been kept in ignorance of this tragedy of a small nation by an international blackout imposed by the United Kingdom. Not one, not even a British or an American, correspondent is allowed to visit the area while acts of extermination by the regular army continue.

48. Some of the elements of this small war are now known to the world. In 1954, the Sultan of Muscat, a stooge of the British, concluded an agreement with the Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd., a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company—which, by the way, is Iraqi in name only—to exploit the oil resources of Oman, a country which does not fall under his jurisdiction. The most significant aspect of the conflict is the fact that the Petroleum Development Company owns and finances its own army, the Muscat-Oman Field Force, raised by the British Government and led by British mercenary officers.

49. This Company's army, together with some British forces, have been fighting the people of Oman. This is a recurring phenomenon in the history of imperialism; that is, private enterprise is now openly fighting its wars for the subjugation of peoples and the suppression of their liberties. It reminds one of the activities of the East India Company two centuries ago. It is hardly necessary to remind the General Assembly of the grave dangers involved in this tendency, and suffice it to say that imperialism has not yet departed from its methods of violence in this era of liberation and equality of nations.

50. I would like to direct attention now to another part of my country—the action of Britain in the Arabian Gulf.

51. It has often been asked why Britain maintains at present large military, naval and air forces in the Arabian Gulf, why it has turned the island of Bahrein into a naval and air base, why it maintains an air base in Sharja on the southern coast of the Arabian Gulf and another on the Isle of Misera near the Oman coast of the Arabian sea. The same question is asked about the reason for turning the port of Aden into a bastion of all types of military forces.

52. The answer to these questions is simple and obvious. In this area, which is the richest in oil in the Middle East, Britain has great vested interests and dominates all the oil-bearing territories stretching from Kuwait, in the north-west of the Arabian Gulf, down to Aden, in south-west Arabia. After the loss of its military and air bases in Iraq, following our national revolution of 1958, British military installations had to be moved southward to the Arabian Gulf and Aden, and had to be augmented to meet the menace of the liberation movements in that area. Furthermore, Britain had to keep its position in order to threaten Iraq and other adjacent territories where it possesses oil concessions.

53. Britain maintains its domination and direct control over these territories for the sake of oil. In this way, Britain is also acting as the guardian of other Western interests, including those of the United States, France and the Netherlands.

54. For this purpose, it supports and preserves the primitive tribal systems of government and maintains in power a number of tribal chiefs. Thus, the economic and political presence of Britain in this area is tied to the corpse of a rotting social system. It is a paradox

of this anti-colonial era, when the advancement of the colonial people is alleged to be the sacred trust of the advanced countries, that the Western colonialists, and especially Britain, should labour hard to keep the people of this area in such a state of backwardness.

55. Since the General Assembly adopted its resolution [1514 (XV)] on the termination of colonialism, Britain has been trying hard to find a formula to cover up its imperialist presence in the Arabian Gulf and South Arabia. It has realized that the old method of concluding agreements with the tribal chiefs—and it has scores of these agreements—no longer obscures the fact of its colonialist status.

56. Now—and this is the latest imperialist invention—to maintain its control Britain plans to give these tribal sheikdoms the appearance of independent States. Kuwait, for example, has already been turned into a so-called independent State. Our delegation has had occasion in the Security Council to show that Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq, and I do not intend to labour this now.

57. One point, however, deserves quick mention, as it throws light on the methods which would be employed to perpetuate colonialism under the guise of nominal and fake independence.

58. Last June the British Political Officer in Kuwait concluded an agreement with the tribal chief in Kuwait,<sup>2/</sup> allegedly to terminate the agreement of protection of 1899.<sup>3/</sup> The terms of the new agreement show only too clearly that it is a device for the maintenance of Kuwait under British control. It provides for the continuation of relations which, as is well-known, were never other than those of master and vassal. It also stipulates that appropriate consultations should be held between the two parties regarding matters of mutual concern. Logically and realistically understood, this provision requires Kuwait to consult Britain, with all that such consultation involves by way of accepting British guidance and direction.

59. Furthermore, Britain is committed, by the terms of the new agreement which it has devised, to go to the Sheik's help should he require it to do so. This will give Britain the opportunity to interfere militarily in Arab affairs—a fact already proved by the landing of British forces in Kuwait to oppose the restoration of Iraq's legitimate rights which we affirmed, from the very beginning, we would pursue solely by peaceful means.

60. The fact that British troops may be called into Kuwait at any time, according to this agreement, makes of Kuwait a military base from which Britain can threaten Iraq and other Arab countries—indeed, the entire Middle East area. Britain will not lack the means of suggesting to the Sheik that he should ask for its help whenever it sees fit that its imperialist interests will be served by its military presence in the area. Nor is it to be expected of the Sheik or of his present régime, who depend on British protection and are directed by British control, that they will oppose British wishes or disobey British orders. The agreement, while speaking of an ostensible independence, confirms the subordination of Kuwait to Britain.

<sup>2/</sup> Exchange of Notes regarding Relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Kuwait (Kuwait, 19 June 1961, UK Cmnd. 1409).

<sup>3/</sup> C.U. Aitchison (compiler) *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries* (Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1933, vol. II, p. 262).

61. Thus, under the guise of the nominal independence of Kuwait, and with the support of military forces stationed in a number of points in this area, Britain is trying to safeguard its colossal oil interests and to ensure the continued vast financial investments of the Sheik of Kuwait in Britain which have been, and still are, important factors in the British economy. British action in Kuwait has the support of the United States, as the Kuwait Oil Company is a joint enterprise of British Petroleum and the American-owned Gulf Oil Corporation. That is why both big Powers are anxious to give this nominal independence of Kuwait a shadow of legality by endeavouring to bring it into the United Nations.

62. It will have been clear from these remarks that British neo-colonialism in the oil regions of Arabia has introduced a new form of a so-called State which does not possess the elementary prerequisites of statehood. Thus, it has become possible to declare a number of oil wells a State. This is the irony of oil imperialism. It is a well-known fact, supported by history, that oil is an objective that has led world Powers to control, dominate and even subjugate oil-bearing countries. The search for oil has led big oil interests, often supported by their respective Governments, to foment civil war, topple Governments and subvert puppets for the purpose of securing concessions.

63. The people in Iraq and Kuwait who know that they belong to one country and one nation will never accept the fait accompli imposed by the British imperialists. They will achieve their national and territorial unity in due course, after sweeping away the puppet rulers of Kuwait and their national and international supporters.

64. What is regrettable in this whole episode is the existence of many statemen who are quite unashamed in their support of oil imperialism at the expense of the interests of a whole people.

65. We are all conscious of the fact that this session of the General Assembly is meeting at a particularly difficult juncture in international relations. But we must reaffirm our faith in this Organization and dedicate ourselves anew to the ideals and principles which motivated its founders at San Francisco. Foremost among these, in our opinion, is the principle of universality, and we can think of no greater affront to this great principle than the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations. Now, more than ever, my delegation deems it necessary to raise its voice from this rostrum in favour of the seating of the true representative of China in this Organization.

66. These are times of great peril to humanity and its continued existence on this planet. The best alternative available to us, if we are to avoid disaster, is to make the United Nations into a real instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security, as it was intended to be, and to pool our collective efforts towards that end.

67. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): On behalf of the Byelorussian delegation, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

68. The session assembles against the background of an extremely acute struggle between the forces of peace

and the forces of war. For that very reason, the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and for the future of all peoples has greatly increased. The peoples of the whole world expect us to take resolute action in favour of peace. The representatives of nearly a hundred States who are attending the present session must utilize every opportunity for the successful solution of a number of highly important problems included in the agenda of the present session and, above all, the problems of disarmament and the final liquidation of colonialism.

69. The representatives of Cambodia, Ghana, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and a number of other countries, who have spoken before me, have rightly pointed out that events have recently occurred in the world which have led to a considerable increase in international tension. In fact, we have been witnessing how, over recent months and in a number of areas of the world such as Algeria, Tunisia, Angola, the Congo, West Berlin, Laos and Cuba, the forces of aggression have again become active and, by creating fresh conflicts, are seeking to involve mankind in a maelstrom of unprecedented calamities. These forces stop at nothing in order to maintain their domination in these and other areas of the world. They resort to the use of armed force, regardless of the fact that in our day local armed conflicts can develop into a major nuclear conflagration.

70. It is impossible to forget that all the misfortunes and disasters experienced by many countries during the last century have been due to the fact that the imperialists, which have an interest in fomenting conflicts and wars of conquest, have systematically poisoned the minds of people and inculcated in them a spirit of militarism, chauvinism and racial hatred towards other peoples. The Byelorussian people well know what the result of all this was and how dearly the peoples had to pay for the failure to arrest in time the spread of the fascist infection which brought endless calamities and untold suffering to millions of men and women.

71. Grass had still not had time to grow on the graves of those who fell on the battlefields of World War II nor had the wounds yet healed in the hearts of mothers, before the same forces of imperialism began serious preparations for a new war on the even vaster scale of the atomic age. In our day the question of war or peaceful coexistence has become the root problem of world politics. There are only two alternatives—peaceful coexistence or war.

72. All the more reason then for criticizing the statement made from this rostrum by Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom:

"I regard the doctrine of coexistence as the most sterile and negative conception of international life in the twentieth century." [A/PV.1017, para. 75.]

73. Of course, to some extent one can understand the United Kingdom Secretary of State. Obviously, there are some people in the United Kingdom who are nostalgic for the doctrine of imperialism and colonialist piracy, the doctrine of the nineteenth century when a large part of the map of the world was painted in the colours of the British colonial empire. Lord Home would like to see this doctrine holding a dominant position in the second half of the twentieth century also, but this does not rest with him at all.

74. There can scarcely be anyone among those present in this hall who has any doubts about what the peoples are trying to achieve in the critical period of world history through which we are now passing. There is only one reply to this question—the peoples want peace; they are fighting for peace. They are calling for an end to the "cold war" and for a start to be made towards peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all countries, whatever their social and governmental structure.

75. The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as defined from this rostrum in the brilliant and important statement by Mr. Gromyko, the Chairman of the Soviet delegation, on 25 September [A/PV.1016] is fully consonant with these desires and yearnings of all the peoples. In the draft programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a clear and precise answer is given to the question of how to resolve the most burning problem of today—the problem of preventing a new world war and of consolidating lasting peace on earth. The Soviet Union's suggestion to the United States and other States is to compete not in the armaments race but in raising the living standards of the peoples, in the construction, not of military bases and missile-launching pads, but of houses and schools, in the expansion not of the "cold war" but of mutually profitable trade and cultural exchanges.

76. Peace and mutual understanding among peoples is today, more than ever before an essential condition of life on earth. Only in an atmosphere of peace, and on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, can there be a solution of all the controversial international problems which confront us; only in an atmosphere of peace and mutual comprehension can an end be put to the "cold war".

77. Most of those who have spoken before, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly and at the present sixteenth session, have emphasized that disarmament is the problem of problems, the most serious outstanding issue in world politics and the real foundation of peace. That is why we are happy to welcome today the Soviet-United States "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" [A/4879]. The importance and urgency of reaching agreement on disarmament is acknowledged by all States. The peoples are weary of the armaments race. It is precisely the desire of the peoples to be rid of it as soon as possible which must determine every step and every decision taken by the United Nations General Assembly at its present session.

78. Last year, at the Assembly's fifteenth session, we listened with deep attention to the historic statement by the Head of the Soviet Government Mr. N. S. Khrushchev [869th meeting], a statement imbued with an ardent desire to safeguard the most valuable thing on earth—lasting peace throughout the world. The programme of general and complete disarmament proposed by Mr. N. S. Khrushchev envisages the exclusion of the very possibility of the outbreak of war as a means of settling international disputes. General and complete disarmament is the only way to the establishment of really lasting peace between peoples.

79. Every sensible person must realize that, if the huge human and material resources now being diverted by the armaments race could be directed into peaceful, constructive labour, then humanity would obtain colossal additional resources for creating material abundance and promoting cultural progress. Whereas thirty years ago, the military expenditures of all

countries amounted to 4.2 thousand million dollars, at the present time some 120 thousand million dollars are being spent throughout the world on armaments. The gold equivalent of this sum would suffice to link the earth to the moon with a gold chain.

80. This year the armaments race throughout the world has continued at an even faster rate. The Western Powers, members of the aggressive military NATO bloc, are increasing their military appropriations, accumulating armaments and stockpiling missiles and nuclear weapons. According to Press reports, in the period from 1949 to 1960, the military expenditure of the countries members of the NATO bloc amounted to 560 thousand million dollars, which is more than the military outlay of all the belligerent countries of Western Europe during the Second World War.

81. It is well known that only an insignificant group of monopolists and arms dealers are interested in the armaments race. Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize-winner and well-known scientist, has calculated, on the basis of figures published in 1961 by The Wall Street Journal, that the "cold war" brings United States industrialists annual profits amounting to 5,000 million dollars and so they are interested in maintaining tension all over the world. At the present time, the monopolies are demanding more and more appropriations for the armaments race. They are pressing for direct military expenditure to be increased during the next four years from 50 to 70 thousand million dollars per year. According to the United States Press, the armaments race is costing Americans 150 million dollars a day. As a natural consequence, the taxes levied on the population are constantly rising.

82. These facts clearly indicate how the American way of life is being militarized. Many prominent military and political leaders in the United States have grown so accustomed to the psychology of the armaments race that they find it hard to conceive of anything that conflicts with this process. In this connexion, the following fact is worthy of note. The day after the publication of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations and the statement made by Mr. Kennedy, the President of the United States, at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 25 September [1013th meeting], The New York Times reported that the prices of shares on the New York Stock Exchange had suffered the biggest drop since September 1960 when Mr. N. S. Khrushchev put forward the Soviet proposals on disarmament in the United Nations. As the paper pointed out, the shares which showed specially heavy losses were those of armaments firms. The Boeing Company shares fell by almost three points. Big losses were sustained also by other arms-manufacturing concerns. This fact makes it very plain which forces in the United States are interested in the armaments race.

83. The Byelorussian delegation agrees with the statement of the United States President, Mr. Kennedy, that "the weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us" [1013th meeting, para. 80]. The important thing at this moment is indeed to avert thermonuclear war. At the same time, after studying the new disarmament programme of the United States entitled "Programme for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World" [A/4891], which appeared after the President's statement, we cannot but emphasize that we expected more concrete and constructive proposals from the United States. In the first place, the United States programme is indefinite as regards

time. It would allow the solution of the problem of disarmament to drag on for many decades. We could go on talking about it until the end of this century. Considering that the disarmament talks over the past fifteen years have so far yielded no positive results, we believe that specific time-limits must be laid down for the realization both of the disarmament programme as a whole and of its separate stages.

84. The United States proposal to control not only the reductions being made but also the residual levels of the armed forces of states means, in practice, comprehensive control during a period of partial disarmament, that is, comprehensive control of armaments without disarmament. The experience of disarmament discussions over the past fifteen years shows us all quite clearly what the root of the divergencies on the question of international control is. Agreement in word, and refusal in deed, to take any effective measures of disarmament and the substitution for such measures of various "control" schemes—that is the main defect of the Western Powers' position as set out both in the Baruch Plan and in the plan submitted by the United States at the present session. It is this defect in the position of the Western Powers, headed by the United States, which has landed the disarmament problem in a complete impasse. Naturally, those who favour the idea of using control for espionage purposes are interested in this kind of procedure. They are even prepared to "find arguments" for their attitude. Lord Home referred to a hypothetical case involving 500 aeroplanes, but the artificiality of this example was very clearly revealed by Mr. Bandanaraike, the representative of Ceylon. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the scope of control should correspond to the scope of disarmament. Only if this condition is fulfilled can we ensure that control is not converted into the best agent of the intelligence services of the Western States.

85. The Soviet Union's position on this matter was set forth with exceptional clarity on 9 October 1960 by Mr. Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, as follows:

"The Soviet Union is ready to conclude a treaty on disarmament and the destruction of weapons and on control over such destruction of weapons and over disarmament. The system of control we will leave to the United States. We will accept anything the United States proposes because we are in favour of real control. It is in our mutual interest."

86. If the Western Powers were genuinely interested in the effective control of disarmament, and if they did not try to use this problem merely in order to create artificial barriers, then the way to disarmament under effective control would be open.

87. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully supports the Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament which is before the General Assembly [A/4892]. We also invite support for the USSR proposal concerning measures to ease international tension. There can be no doubt that the freezing of military budgets, the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of war propaganda, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries, the withdrawal of troops from foreign territory, measures to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and steps to decrease the danger of surprise attack would contribute considerably to a healthier international atmosphere even be-

for a programme of general and complete disarmament was carried into effect.

88. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the task of the present session is to work out a detailed and realistic basis for subsequent constructive discussions on disarmament. We consider that the session must settle the problem of the composition of the body to conduct the negotiations. There is no justification for the United States policy of preventing the non-aligned States from participating in the disarmament negotiations on an equal footing.

89. Mr. Jawad, the representative of Iraq, who has just spoken, remarked quite rightly that the Soviet proposal for the participation of non-aligned States in disarmament negotiations is completely in conformity with the present conditions in the world. We agree with Mr. Jawad's view that the efforts of non-aligned countries can do much to help achieve agreement on disarmament.

90. Peace and disarmament are problems that disturb all the peoples and the present session must take up a firm and clear-cut stand in favour of peace.

91. Several of the previous speakers representing Western countries have elaborated on the "dangerous consequences"—to use their own expression—"for humanity" of the forced renewal by the Soviet Union of nuclear weapons tests. Lord Home said that the Soviet explosions took "many months to prepare". But it takes incomparably longer to prepare for the underground explosions now being made by the United States. It is common knowledge that the United States did not suspend preparations for tests for a single day; it was merely looking for a convenient pretext to carry them out. It has not even dissembled the fact that it is preparing underground nuclear testing sites. According to a report in The New York Times of 1 September 1961, a thousand million dollars have been spent on creating a network of installations in the Western United States for conducting nuclear tests.

92. Naturally, the Soviet Union could not sit idly by and watch while, in the West, underground installations are being hurriedly built for carrying out tests on new types of nuclear weapons. Lord Home said not a single word about that, yet now he is posing as the "guardian angel of peace".

93. It must be bluntly stated that the Western Powers themselves obliged the Soviet Union to resume tests. The continued testing of nuclear weapons by a NATO member, France; the feverish military preparations made by the West in recent months; the refusal of the United States and its allies to discuss disarmament in a business-like manner—all this has created a situation dangerous to peace. It has become clear that war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist States is being seriously contemplated in the West. The reactions received from every corner of the globe show that the whole of progressive mankind supports the measures taken by the Soviet Union to strengthen its defence potential. Ordinary men and women all over the world understand the forced character of these counter-measures by the Soviet Government designed to prevent a new war. It is the duty of the United Nations, which is the body primarily responsible to mankind for maintaining peace on earth, to achieve general and complete disarmament; then the problem of nuclear weapons tests would cease to exist. If there were no weapons, there would be no war between States.

94. The menace to the cause of peace created by developments in West Germany and West Berlin becomes more and more alarming. At previous sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has more than once drawn the attention of other delegations to the fact that we cannot remain indifferent to what is going on in West Germany. The Byelorussian Delegation has cited facts which showed graphically that the path being followed by West Germany is a path leading to a new war. We drew the attention of the General Assembly to these alarming facts, not only because we cannot forget the fearful losses and destruction which Nazi Germany inflicted on the Byelorussian nation, but also because we are no less concerned about future generations all over the world.

95. The Byelorussian people are deeply interested in the creation of normal conditions in Europe and in a prompt settlement of the problems which engender tension in mutual relations between States. This particularly applies to the problem of a peace settlement with Germany, inasmuch as a lessening of international tension largely depends on its solution and the existing situation in Central Europe is fraught with serious dangers for the cause of peace.

96. That is why the Byelorussian SSR, like a number of other peace-loving countries, considers a peace settlement with Germany and a solution of the problem of West Berlin on this basis is a pressing international problem. A situation cannot be tolerated in which more than fifteen years after the end of the Second World War, no peace treaty has yet been concluded with Germany.

97. The international reactionary forces, led by the United States monopolies, have backed the revival of West German militarism. West German irredentists are cynically proclaiming their aggressive aims and making feverish preparations for war against the socialist States. In a radio and television address to the Soviet people on 7 August last, Mr. Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev made a profound and frank analysis of the events connected with the so-called "Berlin crisis" and pointed out with every justification that as a result of the activities of the Western Powers, more inflammable material had accumulated in the centre of Europe than in any other part of the world and that situation created a new threat that might give rise to a world war.

98. The Byelorussian people, who suffered heavy losses in World War II, cannot look on indifferently while the aggressive circles of the Western Powers, headed by the United States, mobilize, with the help of Chancellor Adenauer, all the material resources and the whole propaganda machine of West Germany for the preparation of a third world war. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is stubbornly continuing to pursue a policy of conducting acts of anti-Soviet provocation and of exacerbating international tension and is following a course which constitutes a blatant threat to peace. The aggressive foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, the militarization of that country, the intensification of its irredentist and fascist tendencies threaten the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world. In January 1960, according to a Press and Information bulletin issued by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Adenauer himself made the following statement during an audience with the Pope in the Vatican:

"I believe that in these stormy times God has invested the German people with a special mission—

to protect the West against the powerful influences which bear upon us from the East."

99. The ruling circles of West Germany have now taken the road that was followed by German Nazism. Using, as German Nazism once did, the support of Western imperialist forces and having been permitted to rearm Western Germany, they have introduced universal military service, are expanding armaments production, more than 500 West German firms being already engaged in producing armaments, are forming a new aggressive "Wehrmacht" commanded by Nazi generals, are building up an army of half a million with tank and air formations and equipping it with the most up-to-date weapons, including nuclear and ballistic weapons.

100. The war preparation policy is clearly reflected in the military expenditure of the Federal Republic of Germany. Huge amounts have already been invested in creating a war machine for the "Bundeswehr." Between 1955 and 1960, the Adenauer Government spent more than 100 thousand million marks on armaments, i.e., more than Hitler spent on preparations for World War II. According to official sources, the military budget of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1962 will amount to 13.5 thousand million marks, which includes appropriations of 500 million marks for nuclear research for military purposes. Militarism and irredentism have become the official policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. No wonder, therefore, that the most unbridled irredentist propaganda is flourishing in West Germany.

101. An immense role in the militarization of West Germany has been, and is still being, played by the Government of the United States which, as we all know, is supporting the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and its programme for an anti-communist crusade. According to reports in the United States Press, aid to West Germany from the United States and other Western countries amounted to some 8 thousand million dollars between 1945 and 1960. These facts go to show that the same thing is happening after World War II as happened in the period between World Wars I and II, when United States capital to the tune of thousands of millions of dollars helped to rebuild the war machine of Nazi Germany.

102. In this connexion, I should like to draw the attention of the delegations of France and the United Kingdom to the fact that their Governments are nourishing with their own hands a most dangerous beast—German militarism in the naive belief that it will turn its weapons only on the East. We well remember how the men of Munich cheered as they watched Hitler arming to the teeth. But how did it end? As we all know, the blows of Hitler's war machine fell on the countries of Western Europe and, first and foremost, on those countries where the appeasers of the demented Führer were especially numerous. Mankind paid far too dearly for the Munich betrayal.

103. A particularly abnormal situation has arisen in West Berlin which has, in fact, developed into a major centre of intelligence and espionage activities directed against the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It will be clear to everyone that the role of "front-line city" which has been allotted to West Berlin by NATO strategists is a source of serious tension in the heart of Europe and may lead to an explosion. The situation in West Berlin is further aggravated by the fact that, with the agreement of its NATO allies, the Government of the Federal

Republic of Germany engages in acts of deliberate provocation. All this can be described only as reckless playing with fire. Little wonder that people sometimes say that West Berlin may become another Sarajevo.

104. There is, however, a way out of the dangerous blind alley into which the world is being impelled by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and its protectors—the aggressive circles of the Western Powers. The Soviet Government suggests the conclusion of a peace treaty between all the States which took part in the defeat of Nazi Germany, on the one hand, and the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other. And yet the United States, the United Kingdom and France reject these sensible proposals without at the same time offering any suggestions of their own for a peace settlement with Germany.

105. The United States Government, moreover, envisages, as we can see from a perusal of the United States Press, maintaining the occupation of West Berlin by foreign troops until the year 2000. They react to the Soviet Union's peace proposal with a new outburst of war hysteria and sabre-rattling. One feels like telling some of these rather hotheaded people not to forget the instructive lessons of the not so distant past, to remember the well-merited and inglorious fate of those who in 1941 dared to raise the sword against the Soviet Union. Besides, it is no longer 1941; it is 1961—a year that has seen the launching of Soviet space ships and rockets, a year of great achievements by the Soviet people. We recall the wise advice given by Voltaire: "Cultivate your own garden". We are trying to do this properly but we are not closing our eyes to what is going on on the other side of the garden fence. That is why, though we wield the spade, we keep the sword lying beside it. That is the safest way.

106. Only a peace treaty will be able to prevent the dangerous expansion of German militarism and irredentism. The conclusion of a peace treaty would facilitate normalization of the situation in West Berlin and in this way liquidate a dangerous source of military conflict.

107. The Byelorussian people, steeled in battles for the independence of its socialist homeland and in unselfish toil to promote its prosperity, unanimously declares its full support for the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, entirely and completely endorses the measures aimed at ensuring the security of the socialist community of peoples. The Byelorussian people passionately desires peace. It is for that very reason that we resolutely oppose the policy of the remilitarization of Western Germany and warmly support the policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for the settlement of the German problem on a peaceful, democratic basis.

108. We are living in remarkable times in which we are witnessing countries and peoples being emancipated at headlong speed from the colonial yoke. In the sixteen years since the war ended more than forty new States with a population of about 1,500 million people, half of the world's population, have come into being and are thriving. In 1960 alone fifteen African States attained their independence.

109. Last year, at its fifteenth session, the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted a resolution [1415 (XV)] containing a "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", which solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of

bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

110. Naturally, the question has arisen as to how this Declaration is being implemented and what are the obstacles and difficulties to be overcome by the colonial peoples. Facts show that the colonialists are not in the least inclined to "make a gift of freedom" to colonial and dependent countries and peoples. France's seven-year war against the freedom-loving people of Algeria; the bloody retribution meted out by Portugal to the local inhabitants of Angola; the tragic events in South West Africa; the intervention of the colonialists in the internal affairs of the Congo; the United States aggression against Cuba; the intervention of the SEATO countries in the internal affairs of Laos; the aggression by France against Tunisia—all go to show that the colonialists are trying in every way and by every means to maintain their colonial domination. They openly announce that they will not comply with the requirements of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and they are sending armed forces to throttle the national liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

111. Eighty-eight territories with a population of over 71 million are still today under direct colonial subjugation. Despotism and illegality prevail in these territories where the indigenous population suffer the oppression of foreigners, who rapaciously exploit them, trample on their vital interests and treat the honour and dignity of the local residents and of man in general with contempt.

112. In his statement from this rostrum Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, said that the 660 million people who used to live in British colonies are now, in accordance with their wishes, living in independent territories. He spoke here of the "civilizing mission" discharged by the United Kingdom in colonies and dependent countries and claimed that the United Kingdom had made a "great" contribution to the prosperity and culture of these peoples and had voluntarily liberated them. Lord Home, however, said nothing about the decisive part played by the colonial peoples' struggle in the achievement of their independence.

113. Everyone now knows very well that the granting of independence to colonial countries was anything but a gift from the colonialists but was the result of the struggle for national liberation waged over long years by the colonial peoples, who paid for their independence with the blood of millions of their best sons.

114. Lord Home said here that only 5 per cent of the population are still under the colonial administration of the United Kingdom but said not a word about the fact that, in spite of the demand made in the Declaration for a speedy end to colonialism, the British colonial authorities are continuing to kill those who fight for the independence of Northern Rhodesia, are carrying out large-scale repressive measures against patriots in Kenya and bombarding the peaceful population of East Aden. Nor did Lord Home mention the fact that for six years past the United Kingdom has been waging a colonial war against the people of Oman and that there is no sign of an end to this war. Those are the actual methods by which the United Kingdom is "preparing" the thirty-five million Africans living in its colonial territories for independence.

115. The Soviet Government's explanatory memorandum on the implementation of the Declaration on

the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/4859] states quite correctly that the colonialists are making a mockery of the Declaration. Today there are no peoples who are not ready for freedom but there are peoples who are still being forcibly deprived of freedom, and they must receive it. The colonial peoples do not want to remain enslaved until 1970, as some delegations suggest. The peoples of Algeria, Angola, Oman and other colonies are convincingly demonstrating this fact by the heroic struggle they are waging against the colonial yoke.

116. The Byelorussian delegation appeals to all Members of the United Nations to help the colonial peoples achieve the fulfilment of their age-old aspirations not later than 1962. We consider that the General Assembly would be acting correctly if it decided forthwith to adopt sanctions against Portugal, which is refusing to comply with United Nations demands to stop the war against the people of Angola. The Portuguese Government is following a policy of exterminating the indigenous population of Angola. It is a well-known fact that, two centuries ago, the population of Angola was some six million, where as today it is not more than four million. United States correspondents in Angola reckon that, in recent times, five hundred thousand people have been killed and more than a hundred thousand refugees have fled to the Congo and other African countries.

117. One of the most important questions that have frequently been discussed at previous sessions of the General Assembly is the Algerian problem. The General Assembly, voicing the will of the overwhelming majority of delegations, has in the resolutions adopted, supported the inalienable right of the Algerian people to independence on terms involving observance of the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria.

118. The French Government, in defiance of world public opinion, is flagrantly violating the principles of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and is continuing to wage a colonial war in Algeria. It is clear that Algeria would long since have attained independence if France had not received financial and military aid from the countries forming the aggressive NATO bloc. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany alone has granted France "aid" to the extent of two thousand million marks and most of this amount has gone to finance the colonial war against the Algerian people. In order to maintain the colonial régime in Algeria, an army of half a million Frenchmen is fighting in that country and is killing an average of three thousand Algerians every month. All these facts are convincing evidence of the colonialist character of the war in Algeria.

119. Nevertheless, the days of colonialism are numbered and its final fall is merely a matter of time. Algeria will be free and independent. The Byelorussian people unanimously demand an immediate cessation of France's colonial war against the Algerian people and the granting to that people of an opportunity to exercise their right to independence, and to the creation of their own national state in conditions in which the territorial integrity of the country and the unity of the people would be maintained.

120. The requirements of the Declaration are also being violated by the Government of Belgium which does not stop at any crime in order to maintain its domination in the Congo. A year has elapsed since the Republic of the Congo was formed, a year of grievous trials for the Congolese people, a year of stubborn

and bloody fighting for the right to be free, the right to decide its own future. The great African patriot, Patrice Lumumba, fell in this struggle but the Congolese people's fight for its independence still goes on.

121. We are now obliged to point out that the situation in Katanga province has become dangerous and absolutely intolerable. The whole world is witnessing an international conspiracy of the colonialists who are resolved to keep the Congo, particularly Katanga province, which is noted for its enormous natural wealth, in colonialist bondage and do not shrink from any crime, however monstrous. An exceptionally despicable role in this matter is being played by the Belgian colonialists who enjoy every possible assistance from their NATO allies—the United Kingdom, France and Portugal. Things have even reached absurd point where, with NATO help, "United Nations troops" in Katanga are being beaten up and taken prisoner. It is no secret that the jet plane which, according to newspaper reports, contributed to the defeat of the "United Nations troops" in Katanga, and also other types of modern weapons, were supplied by France to Belgium and were dispatched from Belgium for Tshombé's use. In order to protect the Congolese people from further crimes, all forms of colonialist intervention in the affairs of the Republic of the Congo must be brought to an end.

122. We support the proposal of the Soviet Government [A/L.355] that the General Assembly should declare 1962 the year for the final liquidation of colonialism throughout the world. We demand the immediate implementation by all States administering Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

123. At the present moment, the most important and pressing task of the United Nations in regard to the struggle against colonialism is to work out, and carry into effect, concrete and urgent measures for the implementation of the Declaration that has been adopted. The liquidation of colonialism would be an important contribution to ensuring peace and security throughout the world and one of the most important ways of easing international tension.

124. The United Nations will be able to deal with the crucial problems that call for solution only if the principle of its universality is respected. So long as the People's Republic of China, which represents a quarter of the world's population, does not occupy its lawful seat in the United Nations, there can be no question of the universality of the Organization.

125. United States policy which, for twenty years past, has prevented the People's Republic of China from taking its lawful seat in the United Nations runs counter to world public opinion and to the interests of the United Nations itself. If the United Nations is unwilling to take account of the historic changes that have occurred in the world, if it denies the right of peoples—in this case the great Chinese people—to build their life in accordance with their own desires and wishes, that does not mean that the United Nations must follow this short-sighted policy of the United States which is inconsistent with the Charter.

126. United States ruling circles cannot get away from the idea that their country is vested with the mission of "world leadership". That is a dangerous policy. It is reflected in the unceremonious way in which the United States interferes in the affairs of the People's

Republic of China. We pay tribute to the patience, commonsense and good will shown by the Government of the People's Republic of China in the face of the ceaseless acts of provocation committed by the United States. For instance, during this year alone, United States military aircraft and naval vessels have violated the air and sea frontiers of the People's Republic of China on 173 occasions.

127. The Government of the People's Republic of China quite legitimately demands that the United States should stop interfering in the internal affairs of China and should withdraw its fleet from the Taiwan Strait, and that the United States soldiers should leave the island of Taiwan and go back home—to the United States. But the ruling circles of the United States go on trying to isolate the People's Republic of China, although every day brings new evidence of the futility of such efforts. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be given a positive solution at the present session of the General Assembly. The representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China must occupy their lawful seat in the Security Council and the other organs of the United Nations and the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek must be expelled.

128. With your permission, Mr. President, I would also like to touch briefly on the reorganization of the United Nations Secretariat. Representatives of a number of countries who have spoken before me have, in referring to the death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, tried to dramatize the situation and represent the state of affairs that has arisen as a "United Nations crisis". Moreover, the views expressed by many United States newspapers are biased and distort the meaning of the Soviet Union's proposals on this subject. For instance, The New York Times of 1 October 1961 wrote in a leading article that the key to the struggle over the Soviet Proposals lay in Russia's demand for the replacement of the late Secretary-General by a committee in which each member would have a veto. We consider that such statements, whether in the Press or inside the United Nations are deliberately inspired and have a very specific purpose. That purpose is to distort the real attitude of the socialist States and to whitewash those countries that are now trying in every way possible to maintain the situation that has hitherto prevailed in which the executive authority of the United Nations protects the selfish interests of one group of Western Powers and not the general interests of the whole Organization—the interests of maintaining peace and developing international collaboration.

129. The position of principle taken by the Soviet Union regarding the radical reorganization of the structure and Secretariat of the United Nations is well known. I shall not enlarge upon it here. But we now have before us the question of the temporary direction of the Secretariat for a short period of time. What is the real substance of the Soviet proposals for the temporary direction of the Secretariat? The Security Council would offer the post of head of the United Nations Secretariat to an agreed candidate and both the Security Council and the General Assembly would call upon the person so appointed and his deputies to act in agreement, i.e., to collaborate with one another and try to take agreed decisions. That does not mean that the deputies would have a right to veto. No one is suggesting that.

130. In an effort to distort the Soviet proposals, some people are saying that they are inconsistent with the United Nations Charter and are designed to undermine the Organization. That is a complete fabrication. A situation in which the Secretary-General personally decides all questions relating to the work of the Secretariat leads, as experience shows, to a unilateral orientation of the Secretariat. As is well known, the United Nations Charter calls for every possible strengthening of co-operation among States. Then surely, if it is possible to secure co-operation among States, similar co-operation can be secured among the officials directing the Secretariat. Such an organization of the work of the Secretariat would only serve to strengthen the Secretariat.

131. Nothing could be further from the truth than the malicious assertions that the socialist countries want to "paralyse the United Nations" and are trying to bring about a "chronic state of crisis". Actually, the so-called "crisis of the United Nations" lies in the fact that the United States, the United Kingdom and the other Western countries want to lord it in the United Nations, as if it was their fief. Lord Home said in his statement that the United Nations would be a shadow of itself as long as the world is split up into different political systems. That assertion reveals the real aims of the Western Powers: not to strengthen co-operation within the framework of the United Nations but to use the United Nations to undermine the world system of socialism. That is a dangerous policy. And it provides further confirmation of the correctness of the demand that the United Nations should reflect the real picture of the world today.

132. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the Soviet proposals meet the requirement of strengthening the United Nations and we resolutely support them.

133. History has faced the United Nations with a number of virtually important problems. In the framework of the United Nations it is possible to adopt serious and responsible decisions, designed to strengthen the peace and security of nations if, of course, all countries will try to reach agreement and if there is strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. The United Nations must try to see that the concept of force is eliminated once and for all in relations among States and that the concept of peaceful collaboration, based on confidence and mutual understanding among States, triumphs. The United Nations must help to solve outstanding international problems through negotiations and agreements between the States concerned. The peoples of the whole world expect the United Nations to take effective, constructive action to avert another world war and to strengthen peace and security throughout the world. Whether the United Nations will prove capable of solving these problems will depend on its ability to listen to the voice of reason of all peace-loving States. The duty of the Governments of all countries is to heed the demand of the peoples—to eliminate the threat of a new thermo-nuclear war and to promote the achievement of agreement on general and complete disarmament.

134. Mr. MOKADDEM (Tunisia) (translated from French): My delegation welcomes your election to the presidency as a great honour which is not only a recognition of your five years of work in and for the United Nations, but also a demonstration of respect and appreciation for Tunisia and its President, Habib Bourguiba.

135. This honour extends to the Arab world of which Tunisia is a part; it is also shared by the African countries as a whole, for this is the first time one of their representatives has occupied the presidential chair, an event which marks the growing part played by Africa in our Organization. May I therefore congratulate you and above all thank you for helping to win for Africa and Tunisia so many marks of esteem and solidarity, which are particularly significant in the trials through which our country is going.

136. Permit me also to express my pride in seeing your name associated with the steps which will be taken in the course of this session to promote international peace and security. May God guide your steps and aid you in the arduous task which lies before you!

137. I should also like to express to Ambassador Boland, President of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, my delegation's great appreciation of the authority and courtesy with which he presided over a particularly arduous session.

138. We have begun this session weighed down with deep sorrow at the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who died, a soldier of peace, while carrying out a mission of peace in the service of the United Nations. Fate willed it that this great statesman of exceptional gifts should meet his death in the very heart of that Africa which was at the centre of his preoccupations and to which he devoted part of his efforts and activities with intelligence and compassion.

139. The Tunisian people and Government, who vividly recall the two visits which Mr. Hammarskjöld made to Tunisia—particularly the second, during the Bizerta crisis—bow with respect and sorrow before the great man's memory. The tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld has deprived the international community of one of its greatest servants and leaves a considerable gap in our Organization.

140. In order to be faithful to the memory of the great man who is gone, to ensure the continuity of his work and his spirit, to enable our Organization to function harmoniously, the first thing we must do is to find a replacement for the Secretary-General. The crisis precipitated by Dag Hammarskjöld's death must be resolved without delay. My Government believes that the office of Secretary-General must be maintained in accordance with the provisions set forth in the Charter.

141. The retention of a single Secretary-General does not preclude reorganization of the Secretariat by a more equitable distribution of duties among persons chosen first for their competence and then on a more equitable geographical basis. The Secretariat must remain international and should not in any way reflect the ideological divisions in our Assembly. Impartiality and loyalty to the spirit of the Charter and its principles can only be guaranteed if we escape from this ideological strait-jacket which engenders mistrust and even paralysis.

142. The General Assembly of our Organization is met at a particularly critical moment for international peace. Under the shadow of the anguish and fear which besets the human race, the present session is called upon to examine grave problems which are a serious threat to international peace and security.

143. Never has the risk of a general conflagration been so great or so imminent; tension in the relations

between the two blocs has reached its peak; the arms race is placing in the hands of the opposed Powers means of destruction so powerful that their use would not only inevitably result in the destruction of the whole heritage of human civilization, but might also wipe out forever every trace of life from our planet.

144. The failure of the talks on the cessation and prohibition of nuclear tests, the continuation of such tests by France, the resumption of testing by the Soviet Union and then by the United States of America have all helped to increase alarm and apprehension.

145. The particularly serious turn taken by recent developments in the German problem and the Berlin affair cannot but aggravate international tension and further compromise the changes, already slender, of a peaceful settlement of these problems.

146. Confronted with this particularly grave international situation, our Organization must undertake a thorough and detailed analysis of the scene and seek out and destroy the real causes which make difficult or impossible both a constructive approach and the working out of an appropriate solution to the entirety of these problems.

147. In the opinion of my delegation, the basic problem is not that of judging the merits of one disarmament plan or another or the effectiveness of any given approach to the settlement of the German problem, but is first and foremost a psychological one. What we must do is to escape from the ideological strait-jacket and overcome the distrust engendered by the confrontation of the two blocs and by the cold war which has resulted from it.

148. In this regard the medium-sized and small Powers can make an appreciable contribution provided it is made in the framework of our Organization and in conformity with the principles of the Charter, and above all with its spirit of universality. These small countries, free from any commitment to one or other bloc and poorly equipped with destructive means and weapons, nevertheless represent a tremendous moral force; they are particularly well qualified to give sincere expression to the profound anxiety of a universal conscience racked and tormented by the tragic prospects of human destiny. They are in a position to make this voice heard and to bridge the gulf between the two great antagonistic blocs. They have no desire to constitute a third force, nor lay down the framework or to dictate the terms for the settlement of this or that problem, but it is their duty to keep reminding the great Powers that the values of civilization are the common heritage of all mankind and that no effort must be spared to safeguard these values and to set up an international order governed before all by the rules of law and morality.

149. This is the message which the Belgrade Conference<sup>4/</sup> of non-aligned countries wishes to address to the world and in the first place to the leaders of the two blocs whose decisions can hurl mankind to destruction.

150. This also is the purpose and the meaning of the approaches recently made to Moscow and Washington.

151. Distrust, hunger for power, the tendency to seek supremacy and to set up "spheres of influence", veritable game preserves, are all obstacles to international relaxation and the strengthening of peace.

152. Buttressed by the membership and support of the small and the weak who constitute the immense majority of the peoples of our planet, our Organization has a duty to bar the road that would lead humanity inexorably to self-destruction. It must do so if it is to preserve its authority and its place in the minds of men, and to escape the fate of the old League of Nations. It must do so in order to be faithful to its mission and the principles the permanent validity of which it has proclaimed in its Charter; finally, it must do so to remain in harmony with this universal conscience whose moral strength must prevail over blind material force, no matter how powerful.

153. It can only do so if it resolutely strives to realize the universal character which its own Charter prescribes. It can only do so if it takes effective action to further the settlement of the perennial problems which reappear at every session of our General Assembly. Positive action must be undertaken within the Organization or under its auspices to speed the talks on disarmament, consideration of which has been carried over from the fifteenth to the sixteenth session. The "Agreed Principles" recently signed by the Soviet Union and the United States (A/4879) are an encouraging sign. Efforts must be made to halt nuclear tests and to reach a definitive agreement on their abolition.

*Mr. N. P. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.*

154. The German problem and the Berlin affair have overshadowed the international situation in recent weeks, and their resurgence has seriously aggravated tension, particularly in relations between the leaders of the two antagonistic blocs. Our Organization, true to its mission, could help the two great protagonists to overcome their distrust and to free themselves from the narrow ideological framework to which they have confined their action, so that they may make a constructive and "dispassionate" approach to these problems and work out a lasting settlement taking into account all legitimate interests, the most important of which is to safeguard peace in this critical area of Europe.

155. The Berlin Affair and the German problem are far from being the only threats to peace; dangerous and explosive situations are to be found in other parts of the world, unhappily numerous. They all, or nearly all, result from the survival of an outdated colonialism which refuses to give way to the irresistible tide of national liberation. Resistance to these young nationalist movements, the authentic expression of the awakening of peoples subject to foreign domination and exploitation and various forms of a dying colonialism, not only constitutes a grave threat to world peace and stability, but is also the source of grave differences and profound upheavals in the colonialist States themselves. The persistence of this threat is endangering the transformation of human relations and the resumption of normal relations between peoples. The repeated excesses of every kind, the flouting of fundamental human rights, the cruelty and cynicism of the methods of oppression and repression give these struggles a particularly horrifying aspect.

156. This is one of the most tragic crises mankind has known. The crisis of de-colonization is taking place amid the most catastrophic upheavals amid ever more violent clashes which spare neither the colonizer nor the colonized.

<sup>4/</sup> Held 1-6 September 1961.

157. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples,<sup>5/</sup> adopted by a massive majority of eighty-nine votes undoubtedly testifies to the tremendous moral concern which pricks the conscience of the Members of our Organization. Is the Declaration—which amplifies the basic principles of our Charter on this subject—to remain a mere statement of intention, a pious wish, backed by no effective action to translate it into reality? Is it too much to envisage the practical application of this Declaration, which met so ready a response in the heart of peoples struggling for their liberation and their dignity?

158. In this connexion, we have before us, for the sixth year in succession, the Algerian problem. Although in theory progress has been made with the recognition by France of the necessity of decolonization and the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence, and more recently, it appears, the abandonment of French claims to sovereignty over the Sahara, in fact the war has been going on in Algeria for seven years, ruthless and murderous. The Algerian people is making the heaviest sacrifices for its freedom and dignity. It faces not only a large and very well equipped army, but also the onslaughts of the narrowest chauvinism and the most virulent racism on the part of the settlers and "pieds noirs", encouraged by the complicity of what are euphemistically described as the forces of law and order, and by the passivity of a colonial administration which is entirely at their command. The latest events in Oran and Algiers are an example of the crimes of genocide that are being perpetrated against a people which has risen in its towns and villages against colonial oppression and foreign domination.

159. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA), which genuinely represents the interests of the Algerian people in its struggle for liberation, conscious of its responsibilities to the Algerian nation and the international community, has once again invited the French Government to resume negotiations and pursue an honest search for a peaceful settlement, despite the failure of the Evian and Lugrin tables. In other words, it is asking the French Government to match its policy to its public statements on the Algerian problem and to take the action that that implies. In so doing, the GPRA is courageously and resolutely assuming the great responsibilities which the fighting Algerian people has entrusted to it; it means to put an honourable end to a war which its adversary was bound to lose, and to avoid irreparably damaging future relations between the two nations.

160. My Government, profoundly concerned at the course of the Algerian war, bent on a settlement that will guarantee the Algerian people its right to independence and dignity, has spared no efforts to help create conditions favourable to such a settlement and intends to continue its active solidarity and effective support for its Algerian neighbours and brothers, grievously afflicted by this war imposed by a colonialism that refuses to die.

161. In other regions of Africa another hot war is being waged with its train of atrocities and slaughter, imposing heavy sacrifices on peoples resolved to shake off the colonial yoke. Angola is the bloody arena of one of these colonial repressions conducted with ferocity and savagery, despite the resolutions of

the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Angolan people must not feel that it is alone or defenceless in the face of an implacable adversary still bound to the imperial conceptions of another century. The report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola<sup>6/</sup> set up by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session must be carefully studied with a view to action to rescue the Angolan people from the repression and the slaughter of which it is the victim. In particular our efforts must be directed towards ensuring to the Angolan people the exercise of its legitimate right of self-determination and independence.

162. Other African territories are winning their way to independence through suffering and bloodshed. Our duty of solidarity demands that we should help them and facilitate their transition to national sovereignty and independence.

163. The segregationist State of South Africa continues to trample the Universal Declaration of Human Rights underfoot and to flout the recommendations of the General Assembly. It is shamelessly pursuing its degrading policy of apartheid and discrimination against African populations. Many speakers in this Assembly have forthrightly and indignantly condemned this practice which constitutes a flagrant and persistent violation of all the values of civilization and of the fundamental principles of the Charter. In this field we must take practical steps to bring this intransigent segregationist State to a proper understanding of its responsibilities.

164. In the Near East, in Palestine, in the very heart of the Arab world, an incontestable denial of justice, whose inhumanity and all-embracing character escapes nobody, has deprived more than a million Arabs of their hearth and home and condemned them for the last thirteen years to crowded refugee camps and reduced them to living on international charity. Furthermore, this denial of justice has resulted in the creation of what is in fact an imperialist base, a constant threat to peace and stability in this area of the world and a jumping-off point for colonialist enterprises of all kinds. No piecemeal solution of this or that aspect of the problem can put an end to this perpetual threat. On the contrary, only a radical attack on the roots of the evil can wipe out the problem and thus restore security and re-establish stability in this sector of the world.

165. These are not the only manifestations of a colonialism at bay, resolved to go on fighting rear-guard actions. In some areas colonialism is bent on maintaining enclaves on the territories of countries which have become independent. Elsewhere it maintains a colonial military occupation without any right or justification and against the wishes of the Governments and peoples of the country concerned.

166. That is the case of my country, whose sovereignty is still impaired and whose territorial integrity is still violated, six years after independence by the continuing colonial military occupation at Bizerta in the north of the country, and in the Sahara in the South. This situation resulted in a bloody conflict which pitted my country against France and was the subject of discussions in the Security Council and at the third special session of the General Assembly. At the end of its debate, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1622 (S-III) reaffirming the interim resolution of the

<sup>5/</sup> General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

<sup>6/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1961, document S/4898.

Security Council <sup>Z/</sup> calling for a cease-fire and the return of all armed forces to their original position, and recognizing the "sovereign right of Tunisia to call for the withdrawal of all French armed forces present on its territory without its consent".

167. Since this resolution, the Tunisian Government has taken the initiative of inviting the French Government to carry out the withdrawal of its forces to their original position and to decide on the timing of the final withdrawal of its troops from the whole of Tunisian territory. General de Gaulle's statement of 5 September last and note addressed to the Tunisian Government give reason to hope that the situation may progress towards a reasonable and honourable solution of the conflict.

168. Basing its position on the positive and objective elements in these two documents, and in particular on the words "While declaring that it will be necessary eventually to negotiate the withdrawal of French troops from Bizerta", the Tunisian Government has sought to afford the French Government the opportunity of an honourable solution and a peaceful settlement.

169. My Government notes with satisfaction that the French forces have begun their withdrawal to their original positions in accordance with the procès-verbal signed on 29 September 1961, which details the movements that should result in the return of the French forces to their initial positions within a week. This preliminary operation can thus be regarded as implementing the second requirement of the interim resolution adopted by the Security Council on 22 July 1961. It remains now to tackle the substantive problem dealt with in the operative part of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its third special session, on 25 August 1961.

170. The Tunisian Government's goodwill should not be taken as a sign of weakness or surrender. Tunisia's willingness to make it easier for its partner to undertake phased operations leading to the total withdrawal of its forces from the whole of Tunisian territory is equalled by its determination to see that withdrawal shall in fact take place. If the Tunisian Government has reason to believe that the French Government has mistaken its true intentions, it will unhesitatingly resume the struggle and make every sacrifice necessary to secure the final liberation of the whole of its national territory from French military occupation, this last vestige of the colonial era.

171. Indeed, my Government could not accept any attempt to override or to ignore General Assembly resolution 1622 (S-III), which was passed by an enormous majority and with no dissenting votes. It will make every effort to ensure the resolution's full and scrupulous implementation. The Tunisian Government hopes to achieve this end by peaceful means and to find, on the part of the French Government, a desire for peace and a spirit of goodwill equal to that which we ourselves have unceasingly shown throughout the crisis.

172. I apologize for the length of my statement, but my Government is anxious that representatives should be informed of its true intentions in regard to this problem which engaged the attention of the Assembly at its special session in August 1961.

173. Against this dark background of shifts and upheavals in the African continent—which are but

episodes in the drama of decolonization, decolonization by those unwilling and unable to understand the significance of the historic changes in our world in this second half of the twentieth century, unwilling and unable to make the necessary adjustment and avoid violence and bloody clashes between the parties concerned—against this dark background, developments in the Congo justify a measure of cautious optimism. As a result of the intelligent action taken, the various political groups have sunk their differences and are resolutely embarked on the path of reconciliation and understanding. A government of national union, designated by the President of the Republic and invested by Parliament has assumed responsibility for the destinies of the Congolese people and has expressed its determination to devote the nation's full efforts to the reconstruction of the country and to the establishment of an administrative structure that will ensure peace and the safety of persons and property and promote the social development of the people and the economic advancement of the country. Aid should be given unstintingly for the accomplishment of this noble and inspiring task.

174. The ending of the Katanga secession, the reintegration of the Province in the Congolese nation as a whole and the elimination of foreign interference must be unremittingly pursued.

175. My Government, which has participated in United Nations operations in the Congo by supplying troops, technicians and experts, welcomes this encouraging development and will continue to make the contribution its resources permit to bring to a successful conclusion the efforts the United Nations has undertaken in accordance with the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

176. Sierra Leone's accession to independence is another encouraging episode in the stormy drama of decolonization. I should like in this connexion to extend to the delegation of Sierra Leone in this Assembly, and to its chairman, Sir Milton Margai, our warmest congratulations and very best wishes on the occasion of Sierra Leone's admission to membership in the United Nations. In accordance with what is now a well established tradition Tunisia sponsored Sierra Leone's admission and joined with other Member States in submitting resolution 1623 (XVI). We look forward with pride and pleasure to Tanganyika's entrance into our Organization in December. The United Kingdom also deserves our congratulations for these examples of decolonization carried out without obstruction or violence. It would be most encouraging if the Powers still clinging to outmoded imperialist ideas would take the examples of Sierra Leone and Tanganyika to heart and change the old relations based on domination into relations based on co-operation in equality and friendship.

177. The United Nations must do more than simply welcome newly independent countries into its midst. It must also aid peoples struggling under the colonial yoke to free themselves from foreign domination. Only thus can it remain true to the principles of the Charter and give effect to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960.

178. If it is to work usefully and effectively towards a solution of the many different issues requiring its attention, the United Nations which has over the years been strengthened by the admission of the new Mem-

<sup>Z/</sup> Ibid. document S/4882.

bers, must bring the composition of its various organs into line with its present membership. In particular, the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council should be enlarged on the basis of a more equitable geographical distribution. The African continent is especially under-represented despite the presence of some thirty African countries in the Organization. On these various points my delegation will make positive proposals in the competent committees, and hopes that its action will receive the support of all Member States that wish to correct an imbalance which is prejudicial to the Organization as a whole and to the contribution new Member States could make to the maintenance of peace and the work of our Organization.

179. The imbalance I have just mentioned is aggravated by the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from this Organization. It is inconceivable that a country whose population represents one fourth of the world population should continue to be barred from the deliberations and work of our Organization.

180. My Government, which has hitherto remained on the sidelines on this issue, in the hope that an agreement would be reached between the parties directly concerned, feels that it must now reconsider its position and declare itself in favour of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the deliberations and work of our Organization.

181. I turn now to economic and social problems. The economic and social problems with which we are concerned in this Organization are of various types. In my delegation's view, some of them should receive our particular attention at the present session. Of all the problems confronting formerly colonized countries upon the achievement of independence, the problem of under-development is unquestionably the most serious. The newly-won, fragile independence of these countries will be in jeopardy until they succeed in overcoming the lag in their development and have secured for their peoples the minimum conditions for a decent life worthy of human dignity, until they have given their political independence a real economic and social content and have safeguarded their independence against the covert encroachment of neo-colonialism. In this context the financial and technical assistance which must be given to under-developed countries to ensure their full development should be freed from politics and internationalized in order to eliminate the sometimes unduly onerous conditions involved in bilateral agreements. It is surely possible to envisage a programme of this kind carried out within the framework and under the auspices of our Organization, co-ordinated where necessary by its organs and specialized agencies. If the Organization found it possible to undertake such an enterprise, it would contribute significantly to improving the stability of the developing countries and hence to consolidating the peace.

182. In this same connexion, the problem of primary commodities and the fluctuations of commodity prices on the world market is a matter of serious concern to States which derive the bulk of their income from commodity trade. Moreover, most of the States are developing countries which devote a substantial portion of their earnings from primary commodity trade to development programmes. Effective action to stabilize primary commodity prices and the markets would assure producing countries of a regular income and would thus lighten the financial burden assumed by the international community in assisting their develop-

ment. Such action would be doubly profitable and would moreover promote the expansion and rationalization of international trade.

183. Finally, our Organization should be furnished with sufficient resources to ensure the successful implementation of the programmes of technical and economic assistance elaborated by its various specialized committees.

184. In these areas, international solidarity has an opportunity for practical application whose advantages are obvious to all and whose ultimate goal is the creation of a society in which justice, prosperity and happiness will prevail.

185. I should like to conclude by reaffirming our faith in the Organization and its mission.

186. Peace is a continuing creation which requires constant vigilance. While the great Powers may be capable of unleashing a general conflagration, the maintenance of peace can be assured only with the help of the small and medium Powers. In the accomplishment of that great task our Organization has a special responsibility. This is the fervent hope in the hearts of millions of men and women beset by fear and anxiety.

187. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

188. Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I shall be very brief. I wish only, on behalf of my delegation, to record our deep regret that the Foreign Minister of Iraq, in his address to the General Assembly earlier today, should have chosen so grossly to misrepresent the policies of the United Kingdom. This is all the more painful to us because of the continuing desire of my Government to live in the closest harmony in our relations with the Government of Iraq, as indeed with all the Arab nations.

189. It would be tedious to enter now into a detailed refutation of what Mr. Jawad had to say; indeed, I do not consider it necessary to do so because I am confident that the true motives and policies of my Government are well understood by the great majority of the Members of this Assembly. I would, however, like to comment briefly on two particular points.

190. The Foreign Minister of Iraq sought to cast doubts on the independence of the Kingdom of Kuwait. It is, of course, for Kuwait itself in the first place to give the lie to this, and indeed I trust that it will not be long before that country, as a member of this Organization, will be in a position fully to do so. Since, however, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, in questioning the independence of Kuwait, chose to misrepresent the relations of my Government with the Emir of Kuwait, I wish to place on record simply that there is absolutely no question about the independence of Kuwait—and this view, I would remind the Assembly, is shared by many other Members here, including members of the Arab League who have welcomed Kuwait into full membership of their association.

191. My second comment relates to the remarks made by the representative of Iraq about United Kingdom military dispositions in Kuwait. It will not be necessary for me to rehearse the reasons which induced the Emir of Kuwait to call for the assistance of the United Kingdom Government. Let me merely state what the facts are at present. I think they are well enough

known, but I must place them on the record in view of what has been said here this morning.

192. The Emir of Kuwait has made satisfactory arrangements now with the Arab League for certain other Arab States to help him to defend his country. This has now made it possible for the United Kingdom troops that were summoned to Kuwait earlier this year, at the request of the Emir, to be withdrawn. This withdrawal is in fact now taking place in accordance with the undertakings which were given at that time that they would only remain so long as requested to do so by the Emir himself.

193. I have felt it necessary to make this statement in view of the remarks made earlier this morning. I think it is very important that the facts should be clearly known and kept before all Members of this Assembly.

194. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call on the representative of Iran to exercise his right of reply.

195. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): I apologize for taking the floor at this very late hour and hasten to assure you that I shall make only a very brief statement by way of clarification. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of a neighbouring and friendly country, Iraq, several times referred, in his statement this morning, to the gulf lying south of Iran as "the Arabian Gulf".

196. I wish simply to point out that historians and geographers from all parts of the world, including the great Arab historians and geographers, have always called this gulf "the Persian Gulf". I believe that in Iraq, too, it is known, in Arabic, as "the Persian Gulf".

197. I apologize again for making this clarification, which was necessary for the record.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m*