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President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKEY
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ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ESCUDERO (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I wish to offer you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous and well-deserved election to the office of President of the General Assembly at the current session, which was a just acknowledgement of your merits and a sincere tribute to your noble country.
2. There has been no event of greater historical significance in this century than the founding of the United Nations—a lofty endeavour to give shape, structure and purpose to the international community which, after the ill-fated experiment of the former League of Nations, had once again been plunged into the confusion created by the absolute sovereignty of States that confronted one another in the anarchic setting of their own might and power.
3. On the occasion of this nineteenth session of the General Assembly, the Government of Ecuador reaffirms its unshakable adherence and loyalty to the United Nations.
4. Those of us who, as representatives of our Governments, participated in the founding of the United Nations at the memorable San Francisco Conference in 1945 note with legitimate pride the work accomplished by the world Organization despite the original shortcomings of its Charter. This work has mainly consisted in zealously guarding peace.
5. Peace is, above all, a state of mind which forms the basis of normal relations among men and among States under the rule of law. All the rules of the United Nations Charter combine, directly or indirectly, to maintain, strengthen and preserve it. On the other hand, as Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter provides, all the rights and benefits resulting from mem-

bership in the United Nations hinge upon good faith in fulfilling the obligations assumed in accordance with the Charter.

6. It follows from the above that, in a world in turmoil, a world divided into nations and groups of nations which practise contrasting ways of life and profess opposing political philosophies, the sine qua non for their living together within the United Nations is, and must be, the spirit of peaceful co-existence.

7. The spirit of peaceful co-existence presupposes mutual respect among States, based on the principle of their sovereign equality—the fundamental idea that all States have the same rights and the same obligations, each State deriving its rights not from its power to enforce them but from the very fact of its existence as a subject of international law.

8. The spirit of peaceful co-existence cannot be reduced to a passive or neutral attitude in which States merely tolerate each other; it must take the active form of mutual co-operation among them—a creative expression of human solidarity—in seeking a collective solution to the vast and serious problems which confront the nations; it must embody the idea that States cannot be left to struggle on single-handed; for human welfare is indivisible, even as peace is indivisible over all the vast reaches of the earth.

9. Let us have the boldness to outlaw the classical conception of a balance of political power or a balance of armed might as the foundation of peace. It is a time-worn legacy from a remote past, which should have been abolished with the establishment of the United Nations. Nor can peace be founded on universal fear of a nuclear holocaust which would mean the certain annihilation of the human species.

10. Peace must rest on the enduring foundation, laid down by our international Organization, of the supremacy of law, applicable to great, medium-sized and small States as the unbreakable rule for their conduct and the chart of their course. No State can ever again arbitrarily invent its own law within the international order, or claim privileges on the grounds of superior armed might, for the law stems from the general conviction of States enshrined in written or customary rules, to whose authority each and every State must bow as an earnest of its will to ensure joint respect for international law.

11. In this connexion the Government of Ecuador attaches great significance to the important work done by the Special Committee on Technical Assistance to Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law, which recently met in Mexico. This Committee was instructed

by the General Assembly to study four major principles of international law laid down in Article 2 of the Charter, with a view to their codification and progressive development. They are: the principle that all Members of the United Nations shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; the principle that they shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered; the duty not to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter; and the principle of sovereign equality of States. These principles, as the General Assembly has affirmed, are of fundamental concern to friendly relations and co-operation among States.

12. The Government of Ecuador agrees with the great majority of representatives on that Special Committee that it is desirable to prepare a draft declaration formulating these principles in full, without prejudice to their subsequent incorporation in a convention.

13. As regards the first of the aforesaid principles, the Government of Ecuador shares the enlightened view expressed by Czechoslovakia in favour of prohibiting the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, and also of prohibiting the threat or use of force as a means of resolving territorial disputes or boundary problems between States. But such a prohibition would offend against a higher principle of justice unless, as an inevitable corollary to it, we proclaimed at the same time the non-recognition and thus the nullity of any territorial acquisition that may be or has been made by force or by any other means of coercion. The need for this corollary is obvious, for we can hardly recognize as valid something we prohibit or condemn in a general rule which ought to be universally applicable to all situations, past and future; it would be utterly incompatible with a high principle of justice to prohibit the threat or use of force in the future without, at the same time, categorically condemning those cases in which force was used in the past to the outrage of the civilized conscience of men and nations.

14. Furthermore, within the American community, the non-recognition and consequent nullity of territorial acquisitions and special advantages obtained either by force or by any other means of coercion constitute the first of the fundamental rights of States under article 17 of the Charter of the Organization of American States; article 5 of that Charter lays down as a corollary the lofty principle that military victory does not give rights, and in article 18 the American States bind themselves in their international relations not to have recourse to the use of force, except in the case of self-defence in accordance with existing treaties or in fulfilment thereof.

15. As regards the definition of the concept of "force", despite the serious technical difficulties involved, recognition should be given to the classical interpretation that identifies it with armed force, which includes both regular and irregular armies and direct

and indirect forms of use, encompassing both cases of aggression from outside, as usually conceived, and cases of internal aggression in the form of a revolution within the territory of a State, aimed at overthrowing its Government, but organized or fomented by the Government of another State or States.

16. At the same time, there would seem to be no warrant for including in the concept of "force" political, economic, or any other kind of pressure exerted in violation of the principles of international law. Such types of pressure fall rather within the generic concept of intervention, involving as they do the intention to impose a foreign will on a State. Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States,^{1/} which lays down the law on non-intervention, states very explicitly that this principle "prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements".

17. Where economic pressure is concerned, the hateful dependence of developing States upon States which have attained full development through their great industrial potential must be condemned in the soundest terms. Trade, conducted on the basis of unstable and inadequate prices for the primary products of the first group of countries and of fixed high prices for the manufactured products of the second group, clashes with every ideal of justice and every principle of equity. If the tragic picture of man's exploitation by man affronts our conscience and wounds our moral sense, our reaction is the same when we see the first group of countries being exploited by the second group through the tyrannical imposition of unfair prices—which keep the first group struggling with poverty while the second is rolling in wealth—and through the continuance of restrictive and discriminatory practices.

18. Happily, the day has come when the developing countries are demanding their rights in a body, as was movingly illustrated by the solidly united front they presented at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.^{2/} I express the fervent hope that the first great battle they gave at Geneva will be but the prelude to future battles which they will fight in a spirit of solidarity, in the knowledge that their cause is just, and that they will attain the victory in which they place their faith and their hopes. Until that victory is won, the presumed sovereign equality of States, so solemnly enshrined in the Charter, will have a sarcastic ring in the face of their tremendous economic inequality.

19. The Republic of Ecuador, faithfully adhering to the sacred principle of the independence of nations, which presided at its own birth as a sovereign State early in the nineteenth century, has always paid homage to the glorious principle of the self-determination of peoples and consequently, from the very inception of the United Nations, has firmly and steadfastly combated colonialism, in order that the subjugated communities which historically answer the description of "peoples" and which possess their own

^{1/} United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 119, page 56.

^{2/} Conference held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

territory might achieve full domestic and external sovereignty, and it has cast its vote for their admission as new States, to the United Nations.

20. Ecuador has taken a clear and unequivocal stand in relation to the peoples inhabiting Non-Self-Governing Territories, holding that the States which administer them do not have sovereignty over them, and that such sovereignty is vested in those peoples themselves, to be transformed into a real and effective right as soon as they attain self-government and the vital capacity to decide their own destiny. Consequently, the colonial Powers have been and are in a poor position to claim sovereign authority over those Territories, and on that basis to assert their right to freedom from intervention, denying the United Nations all competence on the grounds that those matters lie solely within their domestic jurisdiction. Similarly, the colonial Powers have been and are in a poor position to argue that the Non-Self-Governing Territories are provinces or integral parts of their territory and their body politic, for to make good such a claim they would have had to consult the peoples who inhabit those Territories and to secure their free and express consent.

21. On the other hand, the principle of self-determination cannot be invoked to destroy the political unity or territorial integrity of a State, in respect of parts of its geographic heritage. Such regions, when forcibly occupied by a foreign State, do not answer the description of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and their populations—which are not "peoples" in the historical and spiritual sense of the term—are not entitled to claim the right of self-determination. To proceed in any other way would be to legitimize the conquest originally made by the foreign occupier.

22. Over the past two decades many new States, for the most part African States, have been admitted to the United Nations. Their peoples worked and struggled to attain the attributes of sovereignty and independence after the long night of colonial domination which had held them bound in darkness, neglect and oblivion. Today those States exercise with great dignity and deep conviction their rights as Members of the United Nations, and they have been of effective help in strengthening our world Organization. Moreover their admission to membership has brought us closer to the supreme ideal of universality for the United Nations. That ideal inspired the founding of the Organization and must be attained, despite the serious political differences which divide the great Powers, if all the peoples of the world are to enjoy the rights and benefits conferred by the United Nations and to discharge the corresponding obligations. The destiny of the United Nations will then, at the same time, be also the destiny of mankind.

23. The splitting of the atom and the release of its enormous energy ushered in a new era in world history, which I should like to call the "Promethean" era because, even as Prometheus in the Greek myth stole fire from the gods and thereby caused his own tragedy, man in discovering atomic energy has discovered the secret of his own destruction.

24. Thus a conflict has been set up between man, who has invented a devilish engine of destruction, and his

conscience, which bids him control himself and refrain from putting the engine to its tragic use. The scientific and technological advances which led to the discovery of atomic power must now be matched by moral development if the destructive use of that power is to be prevented; everything hinges on this.

25. From this standpoint we can but applaud every effort that may be made by the United Nations to ensure that the vast nuclear potential which has been built up for destructive purposes is placed at the service of peace and of civilization, for the greater dignity and well-being of the peoples of the world and the progressive satisfaction of their needs; to require the prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons; and to ban all nuclear tests, which in themselves are a baleful threat to the health and to the very existence of the human race.

26. We are celebrating today the sixteenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and I wish on this happy occasion to express the fervent hope that the General Assembly will succeed in making the necessary progress in its work on measures to implement the draft International Covenants on Human Rights so that, in the not too distant future, these rights may be given international protection in the name of the personality and dignity of man, who is the true protagonist in the drama of the universe and the ultimate beneficiary of every rule of law.

27. The Republic of Ecuador is both a Member of the United Nations and a member of the Organization of American States, the first of the regional organizations provided for in Chapter VIII of the Charter signed at San Francisco and a model for all the rest. Its establishment was the culmination of a long historical process which took 122 years, from the memorable Congress of Panama called together by the prophetic genius of Simon Bolivar in 1826 to its founding in 1948. In virtue of this double membership my country, like the other American States, enjoys all the rights and means of recourse provided for both by the world Organization and by the American regional Organization.

28. The American States signed and ratified the Charter of their Organization and enshrined in its preamble their inflexible resolve to persevere in the noble undertaking that humanity has conferred upon the United Nations, whose purposes and principles they solemnly reaffirmed together with those which are their very own, having acquired, over more than a century of creative experience, citizenship by naturalization on the American continent.

29. The Organization of American States has done admirable work in its various spheres of activity and especially in the sphere of collective security, through the strict application of the famous Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, which was signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 and whose authority, flexibility and effectiveness have made it possible to avert many a danger that threatened peace in America, to arrange for collective measures against threats or acts of aggression, and to prevent the outbreak of armed conflicts in the Western hemisphere.

30. This Treaty, which has served as a shining example for similar treaties in other regions, provides, among other measures which the competent organ may adopt, in particular to repel aggression, for the use of armed force with the basic reservation that no American State shall be required to use armed force without its own sovereign consent. These measures are fully in conformity with the general principle laid down in Article 52 of the United Nations Charter and with the practice of the Security Council, which has never had occasion to question their legitimacy in any of the cases reported to it as required by Article 54 of the same Charter.

31. A listing of the work carried out by the Organization of American States would suffice to show that the family of American States vigorously support and cherish the most admirable ideals and convictions of mankind, and that they fight to make their rule of law prevail over barbarism and violence, and to make their worthy and civilized way of life prevail over the fear, helplessness and misery which are the lot of the great majority of the human race.

32. The Republic of Ecuador adds its truly American voice to the universal chorus of the United Nations in proclaiming once again the greatest truth of all, which is that peace, a lasting peace among men as among nations, must be based on moral values, on a heritage of freedom and on the spirit of justice.

33. Mr. Mahmoud RIAD (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of pleasure and pride that I extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of the United Arab Republic on your election as President of the General Assembly at its nineteenth session. Your election is of distinct significance for Africa and for all of us, your fellow Africans, who have known you as a determined and eloquent defender of the cause of freedom, peace and justice. We are confident that you will steer the nineteenth session along a positive and effective course.

34. On behalf of the Government and people of the United Arab Republic, I wish to congratulate and welcome the three new Members to our Organization. My country has old and traditional ties with both its sister African countries of Malawi and Zambia. Equally, we have historic relationships with the new State of Malta. Malawi, Zambia and Malta, we are confident, newly emerging into statehood and independence, will contribute effectively and positively to the labour of this Organization. My delegation is looking forward to co-operating with them in dealing with the numerous problems before the United Nations.

35. The year 1964 has witnessed several important international gatherings dedicated to peace and justice. Only a few weeks ago, the non-aligned countries met in Cairo for their second conference^{3/} to consider the international situation: this Conference adopted a programme for peace and international co-operation, which offers positive solutions to the various problems of our generation. The General Assembly, in dealing with the various items of its agenda, would do well to take into consideration the proposals of the non-aligned countries, for these proposals are based on a

realistic and objective analysis of the present situation of international relations.

36. Earlier, from 17 to 21 July 1964, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held its first session in Cairo and immediately came to grips with the problems facing Africa and the world. The resolutions adopted at this meeting are of far-reaching consequences for Africa. These resolutions of the independent African States represent the unity of thought and action of free Africa.

37. Together with these two important Conferences, the United Arab Republic also played host to the Heads of the Arab States, who met twice to examine in a brotherly and frank atmosphere, inter-Arab as well as other problems. They also reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of peace and justice in their region and throughout the world.

38. These conferences underlined a new and constructive force in international relations. The Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, representing the aspirations of millions of peoples, gave expression to a policy determined to enhance the opportunities for peace and justice. Moreover, the African and Arab summit meetings emphasized the principle of collective regional responsibility. The independent countries of a region are naturally the most able and competent parties to deal with the problems concerning their region. Their policies and actions, emanating from the principle of collective regional responsibility, should therefore be respected and accepted by the rest of the international community. This is a fact which is even envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, for Chapter VIII is entirely devoted to this conception.

39. Since the birth of the United Nations, this Organization has been brought gradually into step with the movement for decolonization, and has witnessed the achievement of independence by many peoples. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples stands as a landmark for the United Nations. Its full implementation remains one of the primary responsibilities of this Organization.

40. The struggle of millions of peoples against the forces of colonialism and foreign domination is both just and honourable. The Organization of African Unity is rightly committed to assist the African peoples, still under colonial rule, in the exercise of their inherent right to self-determination and independence. The independent African countries have the historic responsibility of helping their brothers in their heroic struggle. The colonial Powers should realize, therefore, the futility of their desperate and violent attempt to suppress the movement of millions of peoples towards freedom and dignity, for this movement is destined to victory.

41. In Africa, the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa, among other territories, are engaged in a sacred battle to regain their freedom and human dignity. The colonial Powers, minority governments and foreign interests form an alliance bent on the defeat of the African liberation movements in these territories.

42. Consequently, the task of rendering Africa fully free is still unfinished. The independent African coun-

^{3/} Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 5 to 10 October 1964.

tries are discharging their responsibilities through the machinery of the Organization of African Unity. On the other hand, the potentialities inherent in the United Nations must be fully mobilized with a view to accelerating the transfer of these territories into a state of freedom and equality. There should no longer be any doubt as to the international tension and threats to world peace, resulting from policies of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

43. The Government of Portugal, therefore, cannot possibly escape the inevitable, which is the ultimate victory of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. The white minority in Southern Rhodesia also will have to listen to the voice of reason, and submit to the will of the native majority population.

44. British colonialism in the southern and eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula remains a major threat to international peace and security in that part of the world. The policy still being followed by the United Kingdom toward this region is in total disregard of the spirit of our time, and constitutes a grave violation of the principle enunciated in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We have no doubt that the honourable struggle of the Arab people in that part of the Arabian Peninsula is destined to achieve its objectives.

45. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, should reverse its negative policy and recognize instead the national aspirations of the Arab people in this region. In so doing, the United Kingdom Government would be acting in accordance with the numerous resolutions adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and endorsed by the General Assembly on several occasions.

46. The various recommendations recently submitted by the Sub-Committee on Aden and the Aden Protectorates [A/5800/Add.4], established by the Committee of Twenty-Four, are all pertinent, and require full implementation on the part of the United Kingdom Government. These recommendations, which were fully endorsed by the Committee of Twenty-Four, are based on the inherent right of the Arab people in this part of the Arabian Peninsula to choose their political future without intimidation, oppression, or suppression of human as well as political rights.

47. The dangers and threats emanating from the large military base in Aden constitute a peril to the security and the liberation movement in the area. This is a fact which has been rightly recognized by the General Assembly as well as by the Committee of Twenty-Four. The Government of the United Arab Republic is naturally concerned about the dangers of the colonial policy in both the southern and eastern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, in Oman as in Aden, the British colonial policy must be brought to an end so that the Arab people of this part of the world can regain their inherent rights to freedom and equality.

48. Foreign domination, which lasted for centuries in Africa, has been by no means confined to political and economic exploitation. Colonialism, based on the fallacious myth of racial supremacy, has engulfed a great portion of the African continent, and a great

number of its people, in the dark and hated policy of apartheid. The minority government of South Africa stands as a symbol of hate, and in absolute defiance of human civilization. The only course of action open today to the international community is to mobilize all its efforts to force the Government of South Africa into the realm of reason and sanity. Thus, it becomes imperative that those countries which are still maintaining diplomatic or trade relations with South Africa, join the efforts of the African countries in isolating the Government of South Africa by imposing diplomatic and economic sanctions, and thereby force it to abandon its hated policy of apartheid.

49. Foreign domination, exploitation, and racialism, as inflicted upon the people of South Africa, South West Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, are the policies which have been brought to operate, in their entirety, against the Arab people of Palestine. A betrayal of the mandate in Palestine created a situation where foreigners, illegally imported from all corners of the world, were enabled to occupy Palestine and brutally expel its inhabitants from their homes and their land. Thus the Arab people of Palestine were forced across the borders, and turned into a nation of refugees.

50. This conspiracy, planned and executed by the combined forces of colonialism and Zionism, subjected the Arab people of Palestine to a form of colonialism which is as unique in modern history as is their tragedy. The continued aggression in Palestine is still carried out by the Israeli authorities, and thus the Arab people of Palestine remain deprived of their basic and fundamental rights.

51. The delegation of the Arab people of Palestine will report to you in time on the latest developments concerning their endeavour to regain these rights. Of particular significance among these developments is the National Congress of the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine, which was held last May in the holy city of Jerusalem. In that Congress, the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine announced the formation of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine. This organization is pledged to restore to the Arab people of Palestine their rights, which so far have been denied them by force. In their just struggle they rightly seek the support of all freedom-loving peoples; and my country, faithful to its principles and responsibilities, shall not fail to support them in this honourable struggle.

52. The forces of colonialism and foreign domination, faced with the ever-increasing strength of nationalism, are engaged in a further attempt to reduce to mere façades the hard-gained independence in Africa and elsewhere. Neo-colonialism acquires various forms and resorts to a variety of methods, all aimed at retaining influence in newly independent countries. Moreover, colonial countries have continued to maintain military bases designed to retain their influence in their old colonies, as well as to threaten the movement for freedom in neighbouring territories.

53. The right to independence and self-determination is so fundamental that it should not be allowed to be a subject of bargaining. In several situations where the colonial countries insisted on making the granting of independence conditional on the maintenance of mili-

ary bases, only tensions and instability have resulted. Moreover, the presence of alien military forces in any country against its expressed will directly violates its political independence and territorial integrity. These military bases further constitute a threat, not only to international peace and security, but also to the neighbouring population aspiring to freedom and independence. In the common search for the consolidation of international peace and security, as well as the strengthening of the liberation movement, the policy of maintaining such military bases must be brought to an end.

54. The latest events in the Congo involve policies and actions which raise fundamental questions with respect to some basic principles of the United Nations Charter. The civil strife and the instability which prevail today in the Congo result directly from a systematic policy of foreign intervention by Powers from outside Africa. This policy of intervention has continued ever since the Congo attained its independence. Had the Congolese people been left free to exercise their own independence from the outset, they would have been spared a great deal of suffering. Neither would this Organization have been called upon to devote so much effort and so many resources, which today seem to have been almost in vain.

55. But the highest sacrifices of all are those of the Congolese people themselves, whose political independence and territorial integrity have been systematically violated by forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The thousands of Congolese people would not have died had there been respect by all for the political independence and territorial integrity of the Congo, as well as the numerous resolutions of the United Nations specifically prohibiting foreign intervention.

56. During the latest stage of the Congolese problem, the Organization of African Unity engaged itself with serious efforts aimed at a policy of reason and conciliation. This policy remains today the only conceivable instrument in the interest of the Congo, Africa, the United Nations and the world.

57. The Ad Hoc Commission on the Congo, established by the Organization of African Unity and composed of twelve members of that organization under the effective leadership of His Excellency Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya, has a mandate to find a solution to the Congolese question based on the principle of national conciliation, and an end to civil strife. The Ad Hoc Commission was thus engaged in an effort aimed at avoiding the shedding of blood, both of Congolese people and non-Congolese. It was not until there was foreign intervention, culminating in a most regrettable form—that is, the use force against the territorial integrity of the Congo—that the lives of thousands of Congolese and non-Congolese came into immediate danger.

58. Foreign intervention on the part of Belgium and the United States jeopardized the efforts of the Ad Hoc Commission to bring about an acceptable solution to the Congolese question. As a result of foreign intervention, the problem of the Congo thus emerged with even more complications, leading to the deteriorating situation we are facing in the Congo today.

59. The delegation of the United Arab Republic feels it imperative to emphasize that a policy of systematic foreign intervention, whose instruments are all alien and hostile to the dignity of Africa and the African people, is a policy which is doomed to failure. On the other hand, the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to find an African solution in the interest of the Congo as a whole, as well as Africa, is a policy which should be supported by all and respected by all, for it is a policy which is bound, ultimately, to prevail. As the Congo question is already being discussed in the Security Council, I have considered it appropriate to confine my remarks to aspects related to the general principles of the Congo question.

60. The situation in Cyprus is one which my country has watched with the utmost concern. We have always believed that the people of Cyprus are inherently capable of solving their own difficulties. It is still our view that Cyprus, as a sovereign, independent State, is entitled to all its sovereign rights, and that the Cypriot people should be left free to decide their future in the exercise of their inherent right to self-determination.

61. I have already outlined the position of the United Arab Republic with regard to important questions related to our part of the world. I turn now to questions of concern to the international community as a whole.

62. The world is still suffering from the chronic problem of the arms race. The untold human and financial resources devoted to this policy of insanity and blindness contribute only to the perpetuation of a state of cold war and international tension, while the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are engaged in a serious battle of survival against poverty, disease and illiteracy.

63. Since its inception in 1945, the United Nations has been engaged almost continuously in the deliberations of disarmament, the last round of which has taken place within the framework of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. The United Arab Republic is a member of this Committee, and to the best of its ability is making its contribution to these deliberations. Yet the achievements in the general field of disarmament can hardly be considered encouraging. For the overdue agreement on partial cessation of nuclear tests, signed in Moscow last year,^{4/} still remains as an isolated beginning of an unfulfilled course. The natural steps to make the Treaty of Moscow both universal and comprehensive have not followed. Two of the five nuclear Powers still have not adhered to this treaty, nor has there been an agreement on the cessation of underground tests.

64. The non-aligned countries participating in the disarmament negotiations have offered various proposals, and we appeal to the parties concerned to avail themselves of these recommendations.

65. Another aspect of the problem of disarmament, of no less importance, is related to the question of dissemination of nuclear weapons. As the production of nuclear weapons goes on unchecked, the problem

^{4/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

grows worse in relation to the possibilities of their dissemination.

66. In this respect, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which met in Cairo last July, adopted a highly significant resolution. The members of the Organization of African Unity solemnly declared their readiness to undertake in an international treaty, to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, not to manufacture or acquire control of nuclear weapons. The independent African countries further called upon all other peace-loving nations to adhere to this undertaking. Moreover, the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity invited the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its nineteenth session, to approve that declaration and take the necessary measures to convene an international conference with a view to concluding an international treaty to this effect. This proposal was endorsed and supported by the Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The delegation of the United Arab Republic trusts that this proposal will receive the approval of the General Assembly.

67. In the field of outer space, the mutual undertaking between the United States and the Soviet Union to refrain from orbiting weapons of mass destruction in outer space constitutes an important step in setting a tone of peace in space. This undertaking should naturally be followed by other steps to secure that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

68. Parallel to this, mass exploration of outer space should proceed on the basis of international co-operation, which should be the most logical method to enhance man's interest in this new field.

69. The questions of disarmament and the peaceful uses of atomic energy and outer space are of paramount significance to all mankind. The resources already being devoted to arms and to the maintenance of a state of cold war could and should be directed, instead, towards the alleviation of man's ills and the betterment of his standard of living in economic, social and cultural fields.

70. Millions of peoples all over the globe are still subjected to appalling conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy. Indeed, it is a shame for the civilization of the twentieth century that famine is still a cause of death for thousands of people. The task of maintaining international peace and security, as experience has proven, does not depend only on finding political solutions or solving territorial questions. It also, and indeed directly, depends on attaining sound economic and social conditions for all peoples.

71. The gap which separates the developed countries on the one hand, and the developing countries on the other, is great indeed. This is a situation which requires direct and vigorous efforts on the part of all—developing countries and developed countries as well—to make international social justice not merely a fiction, but rather a tenable objective.

72. The historical and social circumstances, and above all the patterns of relationships which have existed in the past, largely explain this deplorable fact of division which exists today. Furthermore, the

world's population, particularly in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is increasing at a rate unprecedented in history, thus adding to the complexity of their development and their aspirations for a higher standard of living.

73. With this world picture, it becomes absolutely imperative to realize that the problem of development of the developing countries cannot possibly be solved except on a basis of collective responsibility. The developed countries, therefore, have a distinct obligation in assisting the developing countries to achieve a better standard of living.

74. Some modest steps in this direction have already been set in motion. In the last few years there have been several attempts to focus attention on the problems of development and international trade. The 1962 Cairo Conference for developing countries,^{5/} as well as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Geneva earlier this year, have both played a significant role in identifying the issues and problems of development and trade. The discussions in these two conferences, as well as other forums, have resulted in various proposals and suggestions, most of which need only the will and sincerity of all concerned to transform them into reality.

75. Foreign aid in both the financial and technical fields is an essential element for enabling the developing countries to reach a reasonable stage of development. Foreign aid, however, should not be a means of bringing pressure on developing countries, nor should it be a method of political or ideological interference. Rather, it is a right to which the developing countries are entitled.

76. In the course of the last decade, the world has been constantly undergoing tremendous change in all dimensions—politically, scientifically, economically and ideologically. As a result, new problems and patterns are emerging, affecting old balances of power and creating new ones.

77. This fact, prevailing over a world with different ideologies and social systems, made the policy of peaceful coexistence, in our opinion, an essential factor in maintaining international peace and security. Our adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence is based on our deep conviction that in present circumstances mankind must regard peaceful coexistence as the only way to strengthen world peace based on freedom, equality and justice.

78. Furthermore, it is our belief that the principles of peaceful coexistence emanate from the right of all peoples to be free and to choose their own political, economic and social systems according to their own national identity and free from all forms of foreign domination.

79. On the other hand, our adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence is based on our faith that it will lead ultimately to a state of maximum international co-operation among all nations. The United Arab Republic believes that all efforts should be channelled towards this objective. We are confident that the genius

^{5/} Conference on the Problems of Economic Development, held from 9 to 18 July 1962.

of man is inherently capable of reaching this goal through a course of reason and tolerance.

80. The Charter of the United Nations has conceived this Organization to be universal in character, comprising all States and providing a true gathering place for all Powers. It would be inconceivable to expect the Organization to act in harmony and efficacy unless its actions are based on the participation of all nations. Thus the United Arab Republic cannot possibly accept the theory of fiction designed to exclude China from this Organization. The harmful effects of such a negative policy are being increasingly demonstrated. The efficiency and utility of the United Nations will remain inadequate until the question of China's representation is faced with realism and objectivity. We trust, therefore, that the nineteenth session of the General Assembly will take a firm stand on this cardinal question, reverse the negative trend which has so far prevailed, and offer the seat of China to its true representatives.

81. At present the United Nations is engulfed in a crisis which is already overshadowing and affecting its work. This crisis is related to the role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping operations. An erroneous impression has been created that this crisis concerns only two of the big Powers. In our view, any question which affects the Organization is, and should be, the concern of all Member States, big and small. We are all familiar with the different theories concerning past and future peace-keeping operations. Matters of basic principles are both invoked and involved in these theories. On the other hand, various solutions have been advocated by various Powers and groups in the United Nations.

82. In our view, the solution of the present crisis should be based on the interests of this Organization and aimed at strengthening its role, and in so doing, we should benefit from the experiences of the past. The United Arab Republic, together with other Member States, has not hesitated to pronounce its views, in various forums, on this question. We consider of the utmost importance that all opinions, all proposals and even all apprehensions, should be utilized positively and urgently, so that the United Nations will survive this crisis and function normally, devoting all its resources to the various problems on its agenda.

83. In a few months the United Nations will celebrate its twentieth anniversary. With its Members more than doubled, with the great developments in international life since the adoption of the Charter, and with new problems and perils, as well as new potentialities and resources, it is appropriate for us—all of us—to pause and objectively and positively evaluate old assumptions in the light of new realities, for it is our belief that this Organization should be allowed to benefit from twenty years of experience in its search for all avenues to consolidate and further strengthen its role and increase its efficacy.

84. It is the duty of all of us to engage ourselves in this effort of reappraisal. Indeed, the need to start this debate is obviously becoming urgent. An attitude of frankness is an essential prerequisite to carry such a debate to its ultimate objective, that is, a

stronger and more effective United Nations, for man's interest in a stronger United Nations forms an integral part of his continuous struggle to achieve a happier world.

85. Mr. MAHGOUB (Sudan): I am happy to be here again, renewing old friendships and introducing my country and myself to those of you whom I have not had the honour to meet before.

86. To you, Mr. President, I convey the congratulations of my country. For over five years now you have been serving the General Assembly in various capacities. Today you start a term of duty most relevant to your past experience. It is not for me to say how well equipped you are for your solemn duties. Friends are partial; let others commend you. There is one thing I must say to you immediately, however: my colleagues in the Council of Ministers have requested me to convey to you all here, that the Sudanese people's support for the United Nations has always been, and will always be, unlimited, unbounded and unconditional.

87. We are renewing our faith because for six long years our authentic voice was not heard. We lived under an autocratic army régime that did not have the backing of even a minority group in the Sudan. Such Governments cannot support international institutions and organizations, except formally and timidly. The Government which I represent is the product of a popular uprising against usurpers of power, who imposed their will on a reluctant population by sheer force of arms. The world was given to understand that ours was an instantaneous eruption, but that is not the case. Ever since our democratic institutions were toppled only three years after our independence, the storm was gathering against the junta. As dictators everywhere are inclined to do, our army bosses did not allow much of our resistance to be known to the world.

88. I have no intention of wearing you with this dismal story of suppression, incompetence and dissipation, but ours is a lesson for many of our brothers in the younger countries, and I say this with all humility. Autocratic rule is incapable of building new States. It pretends that it is the fittest for our societies, but this is not so. It brings in its first flush a façade of national unity, but as time goes by we discover that our diverse traditions are drifting apart. Instead of voluntarily, and willingly, pulling together and living happily side by side, they tend to recoil and grow hostile to each other. The individual, who is usually promised the moon, shrinks smaller and smaller. Under autocratic régimes, men's faculties are paralysed because they are not used.

89. Before the military take-over, some of us were getting disenchanted. It was thought that parliament was talkative, that unions were getting out of hand, and that associations were too haughty to accept discipline. The military gave them discipline, but they soon discovered that it was a discipline without content, hollow. They heeded the lesson and joined our ranks, the ranks of those who rejected muzzled autocratic rule on principle. We could not see the supposed benefits in a system that ignored us callously. All the constitutional powers were vested in a single being and the house of representatives, the embodiment of

the will of the people, was dissolved to be replaced subsequently by a non-sovereign and indirectly-elected central council with limited and restricted legislative powers. Moreover, one must take into consideration the powers of this single being to contest the eligibility of any candidate and to pronounce upon the validity of any measure reached by the Council with the ultimate right to veto such measure.

90. Under such circumstances, the dependence of the judiciary is almost inevitable if one appreciates the fact that the autonomy of this organ is bound to survive as a cornerstone solely in the structure of a democratic régime. The obvious implications warranted by this dependence are essentially the partiality in application of justice, the overriding of a significant requisite of the rule of law and the failure of the judiciary to hold any balance between the individual and the State.

91. At this stage, being bitterly overwhelmed by the experience recently undergone by the people of the Sudan, one feels constrained rightly to emphasize the manifest perils involved in any kind of régime proceeding on a total contempt for human rights and a complete disregard of the people's will, and the threats inherent therein to the preservation of international security.

92. In effect it is quite timely for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the expression of the legal conscience of mankind, to become a substantive requirement for both international and constitutional law. The urge is even greater for human rights to be simultaneously national and international in character and to be enforced by national as well as international machinery.

93. It is most fitting that I should be speaking today, on Human Rights Day. It is a landmark in man's contemporary history and I greet it and bow to it on behalf of the people of Sudan. It is the concept that impels me to do so. To attain this objective successfully, the aspirations and ideals of the Charter must be implemented, and the United Nations must have an effective role in the realm of human rights at the national and international levels. But this should by no means be construed as an attempt to interfere with the sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction of States guaranteed by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, since it is fully realized that any attempt to negate the provisions of the said Article would expose the life of the Organization to jeopardy.

94. However, notwithstanding a world immensely dominated by power politics and the narrow interpretation of that Article, one may justifiably place confidence in Member States and aspire to a balance to be devised between State sovereignty and the authority of the international Organization if the talk about world tranquillity is to be meaningful and if the promotion of human rights and the people's will is to be looked upon as a practical reality.

95. The logic of conflict makes it a foregone conclusion when unarmed, ordinary human beings face organized military forces with all that modern science has released for destruction. Yet farmers, workers, teachers, students, university professors, officials, advocates, judges, and everybody who had legs to

carry him came out in my country to face tanks and Bren guns; and the better elements in the army—the majority, I must say—proved their mettle. They intervened on the side of the people, and reason prevailed. Agonizing, protracted negotiations started between the civil and the military, and the Government which I have the pleasure to represent here was formed on 30 October 1964—ten days after the earth was made to shake under the feet of those who had kept our voice dim here and in our regional organizations: the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. The Sudan today is unbound.

96. I shall not apologize for having said so much about us in the Sudan while the big, wide world is distracted by so many problems. We believe it is time the nations of the world community passed on their moral experience to each other. It is often said that the technical brilliance of the twentieth century has not yet been matched by a parallel advance in man's attitudes of mind and ways of conduct. We readily admit that bulldozers and earth-moving equipment are easier to export, but it is the bounden duty of those who have been trying to find ways of life that build man, to find ways of transmitting them. We want the qualities of mind behind those machines. We do not want to work them only; automatons do that job as well. We want to be able to create those machines and fit them into a society that dominates them and lives by them, but sees to it that man, as man, grows big in stature and feeling.

97. The younger States refuse to be tools of trade. The world community outside Africa must learn to work with our souls also. I am not inviting intervention, of course. Far from it. We in the Sudan had to fend for ourselves, and this is as it should be. What I am saying is that essentially we are the same everywhere; striving for human dignity, tolerable conditions of living, and peace in the world. Without a modicum of material and moral parity the world will remain the risky place it has become at the moment. The poor cannot love the rich and the untutored cannot appreciate the cultivated.

98. The many items on the agenda concern us deeply, but I should like to stress the broad principles underlying some of them in this general statement of outlook. My delegation's remarks on the individual issues will be put forward by its representatives on the Committees. The most pressing problem, as far as my Government sees things, is that of poverty. We, the Government and all thinking people in the Sudan, followed with keen interest the deliberations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. To tell you the truth, we thought it was the most vital gathering of men in this latter part of the twentieth century. But we expected much more.

99. A one per cent contribution for a 5 per cent rate of growth, argued so masterfully by the Secretary-General of the Conference, was the least that could be agreed upon there and then. Instead, we were given more Committees to attend and more documents to read. At a time when even Africa, with all its God-given bounties, has been importing grain to feed its fast-multiplying populations, four months of talks in and out of the Assembly Hall at Geneva ended in

preparations for further negotiations. We even saw undercurrents of the cold war creeping into the talks.

100. This session of the General Assembly would do well to apply itself rigorously to the report of that Conference^{6/} and rule that simple, practical steps should be taken to implement its recommendations. It is satisfying to note that the many facets of development in one country take a sizable proportion of the items of our agenda—almost one quarter—but let us go at them with determination and self-denial. The hungry bellies will not be filled tomorrow if we so ordain, but we should not unduly prolong their suffering.

101. The essence of the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was to find the ways and means by which the poor, whether as people or as countries, could be helped. The calls for holding the Conference, which have been echoed by different international gatherings, are a reflection of the needs of developing countries towards a better life and an improvement in the international economic atmosphere in order to accommodate their problems. They were not at all a request for charity, nor an expression of greed and envy. They were calls from responsible leaders faced by an economic situation appealing to the better side of man as embodied in the United Nations Charter "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

102. The economic situation in which we, the developing countries, find ourselves is a legacy of a past in which we had no say, but of which we were victims. The phenomenon we are facing is the persistent tendency towards external imbalance associated with the development process. The primary responsibility falls on the developing countries themselves, but unless the developed countries co-operate willingly with them, the solution of the problem will be a very difficult one.

103. The recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which come before us at this session, are mild and watered down as a result of the compromises reached for the sake of as much unanimity as possible. There is great need for genuine efforts and true co-operation in order to achieve some solutions for the pressing problems which are facing us. It is not my intention to review the recommendations of the Conference at this juncture, but I do hope that due consideration will be given to them and that the follow-up work of that Conference and future conferences will meet with more successful efforts and better understanding and appreciation by the developed countries. It is our belief that the problems of the world are the concern of us all, and that the world cannot be stable, prosperous and peaceful with the majority of its population being in poverty and finding it very difficult, if not impossible, to develop despite the great efforts and sacrifices they are making.

104. Let me repeat that the poor cannot be persuaded to wait. They are no longer politically illiterate either. They do not have to be educated to listen in on their own or their neighbour's radio set telling them, with a great deal of vanity, about the staggering sums of

money misspent on this or that scheme—I need not mention nuclear weapons, studies of outer space and what-not, things which do not help people to live happily or become human beings in the strict sense of the word, things which will only add to the destruction of civilization, the destruction of all that human beings have aspired to establish, and we will see, through them, nothing but the destruction of a civilization which mankind has patiently been building for millennia, a civilization which had its origins as far back as the Greek heritage, the Arab heritage or the Roman heritage. This civilization will disappear only as a result of the fantastic sums of money spent—or, more rightly, misspent—on such projects. And poverty nowadays seems to be the lot of the Coloured. A most alarming phenomenon. The indignity they suffered over the centuries is receding, but their political emancipation was only the first step on their long road to redemption in the broadest sense of the word.

105. Coming as I do from a region beset with problems of all sorts, I cannot help but say how we in the Sudan feel about the predicament of our brothers in the Congo, just across our border, and our fifteen-year-old problem of the Arabs, in which we are involved by birth, language, civilization and all sorts of economic and social bonds. Both problems engage our attention with equal seriousness. At times, our own progress is held up by their persistence. The existence of Israel in itself, and its determination to foment trouble in the area, threatens our own peace, our own progress and security. Let there be no mistake about this: an aggression against Syria is felt throughout our land the minute it takes place; in fact, it is taken as a slight on our integrity in the area. The new lease of life given recently to the Arab League was not only a source of pride for the individual Sudanese; it also gave him a feeling of security. Though we were tied up with our internal struggle at home against an imposter Government, we could not but applaud and associate ourselves completely with the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conference. They were the most serious decisions ever taken by an Arab gathering in respect of this very much misunderstood question and we, in the Sudan, are determined to give those resolutions teeth and meaning. It is up to the United Nations, however, to see that justice is done and that its own resolutions, at least, these resolutions, are implemented. There is no Arab State which is out deliberately to disturb the peace of the world, but there is not one single Arab country willing to watch this situation evolve towards the destruction of our way of life. We have not fought the imperialists over the years to succumb to a minion of theirs in the end.

106. We have appealed to world conscience many times from this rostrum, but we have not gotten an inch nearer to the solution. We do not have the formidable machinery of propaganda or the cunning of our adversaries, but we have right on our side and the determination to realize that right.

107. It is only an accident of geography that Jordan and sometimes Syria are molested. We would have been in the same predicament had it not been for our geographic situation. This is how everyone of us in the Arab League views the problem. The world owes

^{6/} Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, vol. I, Final Act and Report (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 64.II.B.11).

us a measure of security and we are entitled to be given it.

108. On our other flank we have the problem child of Africa. Some people want to create the impression that the Congolese are not helping themselves. This is not true. Since their independence, four and a half years ago, they have been valiantly struggling against impossible odds. Extraneous elements never left the country. Under the guise of legality, mercenaries and foreign troops have plagued the country since June 1964, when the United Nations forces left. Blind vested interests made the whole affair look as if it were a military problem. Every time a sane voice is raised in favour of stability it is told that the country is free and sovereign and has the right to call on friends and hirelings to help it. Nobody is questioning these premises or even thinking of doing so, but we, the members of the Organization of African Unity, were also called upon to help the legally constituted Government. Like honest, loyal friends, we responded to that call and worked out proposals that were accepted by our sister country's legal representative. The fact of the matter is that none of those proposals has yet been implemented. The mercenaries are still there, the cease-fire has not been effected and all efforts at national reconciliation have been frustrated. And let us face facts: there are no solutions but these and there is only one man who can effect them—the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

109. The Congo has always been a counter in the cold war, but at this particular moment it is about the strain the relations of the Organization of African Unity with the West. We, members of this young organization, are solidly behind the resolutions of the Extraordinary Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Addis Ababa.^{7/} They genuinely reflect our feelings and all must help to realize them. They were unanimously adopted and a great deal of work was done to arrive at them. Those who believe there are moderates and others within our young organization are being deluded by the look of things. We are one at the Organization of African Unity. We are not quarrelling over that issue or any other issue for that matter. We are probing for the road to our unity and searching our own hearts. There are regionalists, perhaps, and continentalists, in our midst, but we are all heading towards oneness of direction to begin with and, eventually, constitutional unity.

110. On all essential matters that concern the continent, we have moved together. The Congo is a case in point at the moment, but it is not the only one. The African Development Bank is about to start its operations, thanks to the efforts of the Economic Commission for Africa, its leaders and personnel alike, and the many other countries and individuals who, ever since that meeting of African Finance Ministers in the summer of 1963 in Khartoum, have been working at it almost day and night. So are the agencies of the Organization of African Unity; the five commissions that have been created by the Addis Ababa and Cairo summit conferences are gradually gathering momentum and there is no doubt in our minds that they will soon begin to bear fruit.

111. The world community will do well to grasp the idea behind the Organization of African Unity. Those who conceived of it never thought of isolating Africa from the world. On the contrary, it is our medium of fostering unity, enhancing peace in the world and doing all we can to alleviate the suffering of the poor and the sick in our continent. Anybody, therefore, who gives a helping hand to our organization is doing a good turn to it, to our individual countries and to world peace. When we Sudanese stress that the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity regarding the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be helped into practical reality, we do so because of our conviction in the competence of the young organization and because of our faith in it and its organs.

112. The peace and tranquillity of the Congo is our own peace in the Sudan; indeed, the peace of the world. The country is vast and it is with good reason that people called it the heart of Africa. Ailing hearts are dangerous and time is running short; there must be determined efforts to restore the health of that heart.

113. I have noted in passing only the major problems facing the world as a whole: international peace, the cold war, the conflicts of ideologies, the threat of nuclear warfare, the lack of human understanding and absence of sufficient goodwill among nations and peoples.

114. Human experience is the heritage of us all and wisdom is often learned from humble sources. Those of us who are rich must have once been poor, and progress only follows backwardness. We all have the future to look to. The hungry millions in Africa, Asia and Latin America; those who live in the fear of the unknown in the Congo, and others in similar places; those who are trodden down by apartheid and Portuguese colonialism—they all look to the deliberations and resolutions of this Organization as their only hope for the future.

115. Peace, on the one hand, and development, on the other, are the two main ideals to which we all aspire. If we have to learn from human experience, from world history, and from all the wisdom that human philosophy, despite race, religion or way of thinking can offer us, the golden chance is in our time. As a representative of a developing country, I need not stress that our main concern is for a peaceful and settled future in which the poor have a chance to become rich, the oppressed to be free and the ignorant to be enlightened.

116. Mr. KAMBONA (United Republic of Tanzania): It is my pleasure to greet you in your new capacity as President of the General Assembly. Those of us who know you, your sterling qualities and ample talents, and those who value this Organization recognize that the General Assembly has, in honouring you, Mr. President, honoured itself. Your statement on assuming the office of the Presidency inspired us all—and particularly Africans—when you posed the question: "Indeed, who would have thought in 1945 that a representative of Afrique noire would today be presiding over the General Assembly of the United Nations?" [1286th meeting, para. 20.]

^{7/} Third Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held in September 1964.

117. We know full well that the bogy of racialism—relic of a former, less humane age of man—is rampant yet, in many otherwise enlightened and progressive lands. No longer justified by spurious scientific theories, repudiated by the overwhelming weight of contemporary opinion and experience, attitudes and policies based on racial inequality anywhere are an affront to our international society everywhere. My delegation therefore appeals to Member States during this session of the General Assembly to rededicate themselves to the task of protecting all ethnic and racial minorities against violations of their fundamental human rights, whether in Africa, or in any other continent of the world.

118. Your question which I have quoted, Mr. President, prompts one to ask a number of similar questions about the functions, activities and procedures of the United Nations as compared with the expectations of those who witnessed its inception.

119. The efforts of this Organization to maintain peace and reduce international tensions reveal themselves in more sombre colours when viewed across the perspective of the nineteen years since the founding of this Organization. What, we may ask ourselves, would have been thought in 1945 about the chances of the United Nations persuading the nations to eschew war and renounce the use of force in the settlement of international disputes? Certainly, no one would have expected this to be achieved overnight or by the stroke of a pen. One would have been entitled to hope, however, that the continuous experience of co-operation in fields of mutual endeavour, the spread of enlightenment, and a general increase in material well-being made possible through shared resources and technology, would gradually create the conditions for lasting peace among nations.

120. My delegation notes the efforts which have been made under United Nations auspices in the sphere of disarmament. Of the sincerity of these efforts, there have been some, although regrettably few, proofs. We have noted the decision of certain States to make unilateral reductions in their military budgets. Such reductions have an important effect in tending to reduce international tensions and create a better atmosphere for the progress of disarmament negotiations. The reductions in military expenditure are also welcome, because of the possibility of utilizing the resources thus saved for more constructive purposes. The vast sums used in the military expenditures of the major Powers and their allies would be of greater benefit if used for peaceful purposes in a world ravaged by hunger, disease, ignorance and want. Not only the developing countries, but underprivileged groups within the developed countries, have an interest in seeing these vast military expenditures curtailed.

121. It is the view of my delegation also, that the question of general and complete disarmament is linked with the maintenance and deployment of military forces in overseas countries. In the first place, use of military forces for such purposes imposes a relatively great strain upon budgetary resources. In the second place, there is no doubt from recent experience that such activities are among the great contributing factors to international tension. The

persistence of international tensions in the Caribbean area, for example, and the disruption of normal friendly relations between Cuba and her neighbours cannot be divorced from the existence of foreign military bases and foreign troops stationed outside their own countries. Nor can we disregard conditions of heightened tension and insecurity in Viet-Nam and in Cyprus. My delegation believes that conditions of peace will best be created by the negotiated evacuation of all military bases and troops, where they are maintained on foreign soil against the will of the Government and the peoples of the territories concerned.

122. It cannot be denied that certain Powers have been less concerned with the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons than with the problem of restricting their possession, dissemination or proliferation. My delegation considers that the former question is more fundamental. We therefore support the proposal that there should be a recommendation to the current session of the General Assembly for the convening of an international conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. Such a conference would be under United Nations auspices but it should be open to all countries to attend. The problem of safeguarding peace and the welfare of humanity is universal.

123. There should be also an undertaking given by all States which presently possess nuclear and thermonuclear weapons that they will not be the first to use them.

124. It is a matter for regret that despite all efforts there has not been achieved any further agreement either on questions of general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at the lessening of international tension. However, my delegation believes that the outlook for such agreement is not hopeless. This has been demonstrated by the three major Powers which, earlier this year, announced substantial reductions in the production of plutonium and other materials for nuclear weapons. We note with satisfaction the declared intention of these Powers to allocate more fissionable materials for peaceful purposes.

125. Among other actions which give reason for hope that the world may yet live free from the fear of war are the several proposals for nuclear-free zones. The first agreed nuclear-free zone, of course, was outer space. In various parts of the world, also, proposals have been put forward for the establishment of denuclearized zones in Central and Northern Europe, in Latin America, and in other areas in Europe and Asia. The Heads of State and Government of Independent African States, at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity held in Cairo in July 1964, declared their readiness to undertake, through an international agreement to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or acquire control of nuclear weapons. They also decided to request the General Assembly, at its current session, to approve that declaration and to convene an international conference for the purpose of concluding an agreement on the denuclearization of the continent of Africa. My delegation supports this request. Like the various other proposals for the denuclearization of

areas in different parts of the world, such a step will assist in lessening international tensions and consolidating international peace and security.

126. The disparity in the economic and social fields which characterizes our world and divides its peoples into rich and poor is one of the bases of unrest and long-term anxiety permeating present international relations. This material disparity has given rise to psychological trends which do not inspire satisfaction and content. The sharpness of the disparity has not been mitigated by the half-hearted efforts tried in the post-war era in the form of bilateral international assistance, much of which was governed by considerations of political advantage rather than social and economic interdependence. The developing countries have lost, through falling world prices of primary commodities, far more than they have ever gained from international assistance. It is estimated that a drop of 5 per cent in the prices of primary commodities in a year equals all the assistance received by the developing countries in the past ten years. It is for this reason that Tanzania participated actively in the recently concluded trade conference in Geneva.

127. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development marked the twilight of an old era in the field of international co-operation and signalled the dawn of a new phase of United Nations activity in the areas of international trade and development. Considered in its proper historical perspective, the Conference undertook to continue the debate on, and find solutions for, the unfinished agenda of the Havana Conference of 1947.^{8/} That the Conference was able to be convened at all represents a victory for the ideas of the developing countries.

128. The Conference demonstrated a number of things. After objective analysis it concluded that the existing patterns of world trade were anachronistic, that they were inevitably disadvantageous to the vast areas of developing nations. This deliberate manipulation of world trade resulted logically in the persistent unfair terms of trade for developing countries, and the trade gap of \$20,000 million, which divides the richer nations from the poorer ones. This has culminated, quite naturally, in the new phenomenon in international behaviour which Secretary-General U Thant has so correctly described as the North-South confrontation.

129. In the view of my Government, with the exception of the creation of new institutional machinery, the emergence of the group of seventy-seven developing countries as a solid cohesive force, bound together by similar needs and aspirations, was the outstanding success of the Conference on Trade and Development. The work of consolidating and institutionalizing this group for greater effectiveness is yet to be done but we can still here testify to the cohesion and forging of an abiding solidarity that marked the activities of the group at Geneva. My delegation is happy to recall with satisfaction that this group withstood the formidable assaults with vigour, and emerged with a refurbished character and a meaningful personality. My

delegation feels inclined to believe that the ties which bind this group will stand the test of time.

130. The Conference acted wisely in recommending to the General Assembly the creation of new institutional machinery. My Government would have preferred the Conference to conclude the unfinished agenda of the Havana Conference by creating an international trade organization under the terms of a treaty. Nevertheless, my delegation notes with satisfaction that the Conference recommended that the new institutional arrangements be temporary in nature and that a legal committee for the Conference be established for the purpose of drafting a treaty which will finally lay to rest the roaming spirit of the Havana Conference of 1947.

131. In the entire arena of economic endeavour, the United Nations must address itself to the general improvement of its organs and machinery to meet fully the challenge of contemporary international economic problems. The first Conference on Trade and Development was only a first step. There must be others. The projected expansion of the membership of the Economic and Social Council, to make it more representative, is but a small step forward. We regret, however, that some Member States have demonstrated an unfortunate tardiness in ratifying the amendment to the Charter which is a necessary prerequisite to the expansion of the membership of the Council to twenty-seven. Possibly the time has come for the functions, methods of operation and the entire philosophy of the Economic and Social Council to be reviewed and revised.

132. My delegation is of the view that a merger of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance might lead to enhanced effectiveness in the operation of the programmes. But we feel, too, that the time has arrived when the United Nations Development Programme might enter into the field of actual capital investment and not confine itself exclusively to preinvestment and technical assistance. With respect to the Governing Council of the new United Nations Development Programme, we consider that its composition should be based upon the well-established principle of geographical representation. This principle is clearly enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. By this principle, all the various tendencies in the Organization are represented on its main organs. In order to encourage and accommodate the major contributing industrial Powers, we would advocate that they be elected to the new Governing Council. Consequently, a Governing Council with a membership of thirty-nine or forty-two States would, in our view, accommodate both of these principles without being too unwieldy. This number cannot be considered too large, for it would represent only one third of the total membership of the 125 countries supporting the Development Programme.

133. My delegation has been among those which have expressed regret at previous sessions of the General Assembly that the authentic voice of the people of China has not been heard in our deliberations. We note the increasing recognition in recent months of the need to establish and maintain links with this great country. It is our sincere hope that this session of the General Assembly will see the People's Re-

^{8/} United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, held from 21 November 1947 to 24 March 1948.

public of China admitted and that the over-all question of Chinese representation is resolved finally and equitably. This organization must grapple squarely and honestly with the internal problems concerning its own membership. There is no longer any justification—if there ever was—for tolerating the representation of the Formosa authorities in the seat reserved for China in this Assembly and in the other principal organs and affiliated agencies of the United Nations. We believe that the exclusion of the People's Republic of China is damaging to the Organization itself.

134. Since I addressed the General Assembly last year [1231st meeting] some important events have taken place in the Middle East, to which I should like to make some reference. The long striving for unity of the peoples of this area has borne fruit with the forging of new links between brother countries and the creation of institutions to implement their united resolve. My delegation hails this movement towards the unity of the Arab League, accompanied as it is by evidence of a new social dynamism and a spirited renaissance. We note that regional co-operation for mutual welfare and self-defence is in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Such co-operation is the best guarantee for the welfare of the peoples and security against division and imperialist domination. We hope that the southern part of Arabia will soon be independent and free to join the League. We support the efforts of the peoples of all the various regions of the world, whether it be in the Middle East, in Asia, or elsewhere, to find regional solutions for their problems. They should be allowed to do so without unwarranted outside interference.

135. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was founded in Addis Ababa in May 1963, only some few months before the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, has proved in its very short existence that it can assist the United Nations in doing most constructive work in solving the problems of the African continent, although such problems are also the concern and responsibility of the United Nations. Under the auspices of the OAU, border disputes between Member States have been settled for a number of countries.

136. Recently, the influence of the OAU has spread to the Congo, where, until June this year, the United Nations had for four years been seriously involved and committed. The United Nations, throughout the term of its operation in the Congo, had been concerned with bringing about political stability by ending civil strife and reconciling the various Congolese political groups. It had been concerned with helping the Congolese, themselves, search for a political solution to their political problems.

137. When the United Nations withdrew its military presence from the Congo at the end of June, it left the country in a state of relative civil order. The Congo appeared then to be on the brink of an auspicious political and constitutional future for the first time in its history, and while disagreement between the various political parties was still marked there was nevertheless strong cause for hope that the world would witness their political regroupment in the interest of Congolese national unity.

138. There followed the constitution of a transitional government which soon aroused armed and intense opposition over a great part of the country. The transitional government sought and obtained military support from certain non-African nations. It also hired South African and Portuguese European mercenaries. This state of affairs returned the Congo to a state of civil war, where it became more and more obvious that the transitional government had failed to form the vanguard of national political conciliation and unity.

139. At the same time, the intervention of certain non-African Powers posed to Central Africa the threat of the cold war, and to Africa in general a challenge to its policy of non-alignment.

140. The Organization of African Unity met early in September at the invitation of President Kasa-Vubu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to discuss how best to find an African solution to the Congo problem. The decisions of that conference are already known to you. What my delegation would like to emphasize are its clear implications.

141. By calling for an end to foreign military intervention, the OAU was asking that the cold war be kept out of the Congo, and I am sure that it is in the interest of everybody here to see that the problem of the Congo is not internationalized. By calling for the withdrawal of mercenaries and the end of the fighting, the OAU was expressing its deprecation of the solution of military pacification. By setting up the Ad Hoc Commission, under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta, the OAU sought to provide the machinery for an African solution as well as a forum for a dialogue for Congolese national reconciliation.

142. My country was therefore shocked and horrified that at the very time that the OAU was seeking an African solution, at the very time that the Ad Hoc Commission was establishing its competence, certain non-African Powers sought fit to frustrate the efforts of the OAU by unwarranted military intervention. This military intervention, in furtherance of a military pacification, is a clear affront to the OAU, and shamefully detracts from the United Nations efforts in the Congo during the last four years. My delegation deems this military intervention all the more reprehensible for the excuse that it was undertaken, not to bring peace to the Congo, but to save a few lives so that tenfold more should die.

143. My delegation considers that this intervention bears within it the seeds of world conflagration. My country therefore earnestly requests those foreign Powers intervening with their troops, arms and mercenaries to withdraw all these unwanted instruments of neo-colonialism, and allow the Congolese people, and only the Congolese people, and their African brothers to settle the problems facing them in an African manner, by themselves. We believe that if this problem is left to the OAU, an African solution will be found to the African problem.

144. I now turn to issues which my country deems among the most pressing before this session of the General Assembly. I refer to the issues of colonialism and apartheid.

145. When, in 1960, the General Assembly issued the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV), it complemented the glorious aims of the Charter, for, by affirming through the Declaration the right of colonial peoples to be granted immediately and unconditionally their right to self-determination, it extended the universality of the principles and ideals upon which the United Nations is founded.

146. Since then, more and more dependent territories have exercised this right to self-determination—my country is one of them—and, in consequence, have augmented the collective wisdom and effectiveness of the United Nations. In the last four years, the United Nations, notably through the efforts of the Committee of Seventeen and then of the Committee of Twenty-Four, has done a great job in encouraging and urging colonial Powers to speed up the process of decolonization. My country has been honoured with membership on both committees. On this membership it has placed great store. While proud of the achievements of the committees and of the General Assembly, however, in this noble task of liberation, my delegation feels that there is yet a great deal more to be done, if delegations will give their entire moral support to it.

147. Of the colonial situation today, Southern Rhodesia represents a particularly urgent problem before us. I understand that the word "Southern" has recently been dropped, but it has been dropped by the people who have no right to drop the name. Therefore, we shall still call it Southern Rhodesia. The settler minority government has, in the last year, intensified its oppression to an unprecedented degree. It has ignored the judgement of its judiciary and defied the calls of international conferences. The minority settler government is seriously bent on declaring unilateral independence for the European minority.

148. Let me first of all say that my delegation appreciates the firm stand of the new British Government on the question of Rhodesian independence. My delegation appreciates warmly the statement of the new British Government that any unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian minority settler government would be an act of treason. My delegation is heartened that a British Government has at long last declared unequivocally that independence will only come to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

149. It is because of our appreciation of this stand that we urge that the British Government take practical measures, not simply to avert a unilateral declaration of independence, but especially to bring about a majority rule. The General Assembly has in the past advised the convening of a constitutional conference, representative of all political groups in Rhodesia, to work out a constitution based on majority rule. The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth made a similar recommendation in London last July. Both the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries pronounced themselves in Cairo in the same terms. My delegation is confident that the new United Kingdom Government will take note of these recommendations, and urgently convene a constitutional conference.

150. My delegation similarly welcomes the United Kingdom's pledge not to surrender to South Africa the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, and notes with satisfaction its commitment to grant to these territories early independence. The geographical location of these territories, however, gives rise to concern for their preservation upon accession of their independence. In one case, the territory is completely surrounded by hostile South Africa. In the other two, there is a long stretch of a shared border with either South Africa or Portuguese territories. There can be no doubt that the political independence and territorial integrity of these territories will be seriously threatened by their neighbours, whose intolerance of African independence is common knowledge. My delegation, therefore, deems the United Kingdom under obligation to give independence to these territories under adequate guarantees for their territorial integrity and political independence. We furthermore urge that the United Nations give serious consideration to extending to these territories an international guarantee to the same end.

151. Despite repeated appeals to South Africa, that country continues to practise its despicable system of apartheid, and I am glad to note that you, Sir, are the President of this General Assembly. Furthermore, in open defiance of the United Nations, of all civilized opinion, and of the mandate, that country continues to extend its system of apartheid to the international territory of South West Africa.

152. Let us be quite frank about what the South Africa régime stands for. South Africa, in the second half of the twentieth century, symbolizes, practises and furthers the political exploitation of man by man, of the majority by a minority, of one race by another race. At a time in history when States encourage the increased participation in government by their citizens, South Africa takes steps to deny such participation to more and more of those whom it claims to be its citizens. But South Africa represents something even worse. South Africa practises—at such a time, when States are working towards the brotherhood of man on the basis of equality of men regardless of race—a system of racial inequality and racial slavery.

153. We may ask ourselves why, if the whole world is opposed to apartheid, South Africa continues to resist change of its policy. If we are to be honest with ourselves, we must state clearly that South Africa gathers the courage to be defiant because some Members of the United Nations do not live up to their own recommendations. Some condemn in public what they encourage and support in private. The Organization of African Unity has pledged itself to a total economic boycott and arms embargo against South Africa. This is a pledge that it will honour vigorously. Similarly, the representatives of forty-seven non-aligned States, meeting two months ago in Cairo, pledged themselves to a total economic, political, arms and oil boycott of South Africa and of Portugal. Equally, this is a pledge that they intend to honour.

154. It is clear that the South African régime would not survive if it were not for the financial and military support of its friends. But the oppressed peoples of South Africa are entitled to ask why members of

NATO, big and small, still supply arms to their oppressors on the callous excuse that it cannot be established for what purpose the arms will be used. And the condition is made that the arms should not be used to oppress the people. But how do you know?

155. Let me now turn to the territories under Portuguese colonialism. You will recall that a representative group of African Foreign Ministers at the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly attempted to have talks with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to persuade that country to live up to the dictates of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I was one of those Ministers. The discussions broke down because Portugal insisted on considering its colonial territories as its integral provinces. It furthermore refused to recognize the existence of any nationalist liberation movements in these territories and, therefore, refused to negotiate on the issue of independence.

156. Portugal thus believes that Mozambique, Angola, and so-called Portuguese Guinea are not parts of Africa, but parts of Portugal. It refuses, therefore, to allow any manner of political organization, and agitation for independence, in these territories. And, in order to have its way, it has engaged for several years now in a cruel and brutal armed campaign of oppression and massacres of its colonial populations. Undoubtedly, Portugal has assumed this attitude in order to ensure for its poor self the monopoly of exploitation of the vast resources of these so-called overseas provinces.

157. Portugal's attitude is one which my country and the whole of independent Africa cannot tolerate. We cannot agree that Angola or Mozambique or so-called Portuguese Guinea are integral provinces of Portugal, and not entitled to separate independence. We in Tanzania find it absurd that we should be told that we share a border not with Mozambique, but with Portugal. The Government of Portugal has in recent months charged the independent African States with fomenting trouble and rebellion in these colonies. It has in particular singled out my country and accused us of subverting its overseas administration. However, the rebellion is within the provinces, not without; it is not within our country; we are free. If there is chaos, unrest and insurrection in these provinces, Portugal has only its backward-looking colonial policy to blame.

158. While Portugal is largely to blame for the unrest and loss of lives in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the blame must also rest with its NATO allies, large and small. It is clear that Portugal could not maintain its oppression over its colonies were it not propped up by loans, subsidies and arms from its NATO allies. And the blame does not rest solely with the larger partners in NATO; it devolves also on the smaller partners, who by their silence acquiesce to this tragic history of oppression.

159. Allow me to address a plea to this Assembly on behalf of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. The thousands of free-

dom-fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are entitled to know what right all these members of NATO, large and small, have to supply arms for Portugal's fight to entrench its colonial policy, on the cynical excuse that the arms are for the defence of the Western alliance. The hundreds and thousands of refugees from the Portuguese colonies are entitled to ask why NATO should be mobilized to destroy their land, render them homeless and suppress their efforts to assert their right to self-determination and independence.

160. On this crucial issue of colonialism, let me restate my country's stand. The United Republic of Tanzania subscribes without reservation to the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. It is committed to give all possible support to liberation movements. The dependent peoples must be given the opportunity to decide freely upon their future and the nature of their independence.

161. The United Republic of Tanzania believes that you cannot talk about peace if some part of Africa is not free. The freedom of the African people is part and parcel of the search for international peace.

162. The United Republic of Tanzania stands uncompromisingly opposed to apartheid in South Africa and its extension to South West Africa. It is distressed by the continued aid of certain Powers which support the apartheid policy or system.

163. Let me, therefore, make a final appeal to those Powers to align themselves with the forces of justice, of destiny and of humanity. They have spoken long enough, but the horrors of the apartheid system continue. They have spoken loud and enough about the need for change in South Africa. Let them join ranks with the independent African States and the non-aligned States in a concerted effort to bring this change about.

164. The tasks facing this session of the General Assembly seem to grow greater and graver, rather than the reverse, as we proceed in our pursuit of peace, prosperity and human dignity for all. But we must persevere, however slow may be our progress and however distant may appear the goal. We dare not fail, for the eyes of mankind are upon this august Organization.

Statement by the President

165. The PRESIDENT: Before we adjourn, may I read to the Assembly a letter dated 9 December 1964 addressed to me by Secretary-General U Thant in reply to our message of good wishes [1295th meeting, para. 155]:

"I was deeply touched by your kind letter of 8 December conveying the good wishes of all delegations to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

"I feel I am making good progress and I hope I may be able to be with you all soon. I know that my ab-

sence has caused some inconvenience to many of my friends and I hope that I may be forgiven for this.

"With kindest regards,

"(Signed) U THANT"

166. I am sure that all of us are happy to hear this good news. From all indications, the Secretary-General may be out of the hospital by the middle of next week.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.