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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN  
(Pakistan).**

Organization of work

1. The PRESIDENT: Yesterday in the General Committee [151st meeting] I said that I was considering the order of business for next week and would make a statement this morning with regard to it.
2. Representatives have before them the order of business for today, and we hope to finish the scheduled business on time. As a matter of fact, during the afternoon meeting there may be time for one or two more speakers. If any delegations which have been listed to speak on Monday wish to inscribe their names for this afternoon's meeting, they will be very welcome indeed to do so.
3. Next week there will not be a plenary meeting on Monday morning, as the Security Council will be sitting to consider the application of Uganda for admission to the United Nations, and the First Committee will probably be sitting; also on Monday afternoon there will be a plenary meeting and I am hoping that at that time we shall finish the general debate.
4. On Tuesday there will be no plenary meeting, as the Pledging Conference will be sitting both morning and afternoon. In the afternoon also there may possibly be an important meeting of an advisory committee.
5. On Wednesday morning there will again probably not be a plenary meeting on account of the other meetings scheduled for that time. For Wednesday afternoon, in accordance with the agreement reached two days ago, I have decided to schedule the elections to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council. As there will be no other business ready for transaction after Wednesday afternoon, I am unable to plan the further order of business for the rest of the week, since we do not

know how we shall be situated at the end of the business that I have already indicated.

6. I trust that will meet with everybody's approval and I hope that, even though there may be some slight inconvenience with regard to concluding the general debate during Monday afternoon's meeting, the delegations will co-operate to make that possible.

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)

**THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE  
(A/5257)**

7. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to the third report of the General Committee [A/5257]. The Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the seventeenth session of an item entitled "Confirmation of the appointment of the Managing Director of the Special Fund". If there are no comments, I shall take it that the Assembly approves the recommendation of the General Committee to include this item in the agenda.

*The item was placed on the agenda without objection.*

8. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends that this item should be considered by the General Assembly in plenary meeting. If there are no objections, I take it that this is agreeable to the Assembly.

*It was so decided.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

General debate (*continued*)

9. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

10. Mr. ALI (Pakistan): The Permanent Representative of India took serious exception to the reference, in my statement to the General Assembly on 3 October [1141st meeting], to the large-scale expulsion of Indian Muslims from the Indian States of Tripura, Assam and parts of West Bengal. His comment on my statement was expressed in the language of Mark Twain, that if lies were lilies this would be a beautiful landscape. I thank my friend, the Permanent Representative of India, for his courtesy and his effort at the strengthening of goodwill between our respective countries. It would only be fair to him if I were to carry out at least a cursory examination of the field of roses that he sought to spread out before this august Assembly, leaving it to the Assembly to determine whether any single one of them was real.

11. I am confident that the representatives will quickly discover that every one of the blossoms gathered into the bouquet which the Indian representative offered to them from his garden was made of tinsel. In other words, his nearest approach to fact in the vehement

diatribe against Pakistan, of which he delivered himself, never went beyond half truth at best, if indeed as far. The Indian representative has claimed that the large numbers of Muslims expelled from the territories that I have mentioned were deported in strict accordance with the procedures laid down by pre-independence legislation. Can the Indian representative claim that provisions and procedures set forth in the Indo-Pakistan Passport and Visa Agreement of 1953 have been paid the slightest respect?

12. The so-called deportations claimed to have been made in accordance with the law were and continue to be in fact forcible expulsions en masse without resort to deportation proceedings contemplated under the Indo-Pakistan Agreement. Let me quote from paragraph 17, sub-paragraphs 3 and 4, of that Agreement:

"3. When a person who is not in possession of a passport or equivalent document is convicted of illegal entry, all the relevant facts will be communicated to the nearest diplomatic mission of the other country concerned, along with a certified copy of the judgement convicting him of illegal entry, a copy of the release order and other particulars. The diplomatic mission will give its decision whether it acknowledges the prisoner concerned as its repatriation.

"4. Such released prisoners will not be sent across the border by force. There will be no bar however to the prevention of illegal entry or the expulsion of entrants while attempting to enter illegally."

These provisions of what constitutes an international agreement have been violated by the Government of India. I make this statement with a full sense of responsibility and after verification of the facts. An enquiry commission presided over by a judge of a high court set up by the Government of East Pakistan to inquire into the national status of the deportees has found, on the basis of documentary evidence, 100 per cent of the unfortunate families so far examined by the commission to be Indian nationals.

13. I would not take up the time of the Assembly to embark upon an effort to have it determine the case here and now. I referred to it in my speech in an effort to focus the attention not only of the Assembly but also of the Government of India on the problem.

14. May I invite the attention of the representative of India to what a well-known Indian journal, The New Age, stated in one of its issues in July 1962— I am quoting from that journal:

"On 5 June the first raid was carried out when about 600 Muslims were thrown out bodily, with the help of armed police, under the Foreigners' Act, and their huts were demolished. No sooner this was done than it transpired that in carrying out this raid the Tripura Administration did not take sufficient precaution to exclude the bona fide Indian nationals belonging to the minority community, as a result of which no less than 100 Muslims, Indian nationals, were deported together with Pakistanis.

"There was public criticism of this drive, but the Tripura Administration, instead of taking notice of public criticism, made bigger raids in a number of villages around Amarpur on 25 June. No less than 2,788 Muslims were bodily repatriated under the Foreigners' Act. On-the-spot enquiry revealed that in a good number of cases no notice was served, no

enquiry made, and even the criteria to determine Pakistanis were totally ignored. In certain cases, with the help of corrupt officials, big landlords of the place got rid of their Muslim tenants who were there for forty to fifty years.

"These ruthless raids caused great panic among the bona fide Indian Muslims, who started preparing for the day when such indiscriminate raids would force many of them to go to Pakistan. Meanwhile the communal elements among Hindus of Tripura, taking advantage of the panic, started all sorts of pressure on Muslims so that they might leave Tripura 'voluntarily'. A section of the Press helped these communal elements holding all Muslims as Pakistanis. The decision of Prime Minister Nehru to slow down eviction came as a great relief."

15. I am confident that the sensitive and poignant human issue involved here will be readily appreciated by any impartial person. However, it does not remain a mere human issue. Political consequences of a certain magnitude flow directly from it. In this connexion, the recent action of the Government of India in assigning an army corps exclusively to the border between India and East Pakistan is not without ominous significance. According to a report published in The Times of London of 6 October 1962:

"This corps will be responsible for the area south of the Brahmaputra River covering Nagaland and the borders, lately somewhat inflamed, with East Pakistan."

16. The representative of India has marvelled at my courage in expressing what he describes as "the somewhat audacious criticism" of the policy of the Government of India towards its minorities. I wonder what epithets he will be pleased to select for a statement on the treatment of the Muslims of India made in the Indian Parliament by a responsible member as recently as June 1962 and reported in a Delhi weekly called The Minorities, in its issue of 16 June of this year. I quote from that journal:

"One honourable friend on the other side, from West Dinajpur, was waxing eloquent about Islamic democracy and how East Bengal Hindus were being squeezed out of the country under that system of Islamic democracy.

"I shall not join issue with him on that question because he is in blessed ignorance about Islam, its policy, its contribution to world civilization and culture. But may I remind my honourable friend over there that not in Islamic democracy alone, but even in this secular democracy, in this fast-expanding, growing and developing socialistic pattern of society, Mussalmans"—meaning Muslims—"and all other minorities of India have suffered terribly.

"I would not refer at this stage to those millions of people—eighty-five lacs"—this means 8.5 million people—"who have been uprooted from this country in this secular democracy. I would refer at this stage to the one million Moslems who have been butchered and massacred in this secular democracy.

"My honourable friend, Mr. Ismail, referred to the position of the Moslem minorities throughout India even in normal times. What is the position? Chandausi, Aligarh, Sitamari, Bhopal, Sagaur, Jabalpur, and, last but not least, Malda—do they not all stand out as a lurid commentary upon the inefficiency, complacency and the cruel indifference of the entire administration.

"Muslims have been pursued to the bitter end. They have been tortured with every refinement of cruelty and barbarous savagery. In malignity, in cruelty, in savagery, in criminality, the record of Jabalpur and Malda surpass any record during the British régime. They cast a reflection upon the administration itself ...

"In not one of the riots that have taken place throughout India—there have been hundreds of them since the Nehru-Liaquat Pact—has it happened that a Hindu house has been burned by a Moslem. It would also be unfortunate if Hindu houses were so burned ...

"Referring to the Malda incident, may I submit that the Honourable Prime Minister, the tallest man in the country, for whom I have the deepest regard and admiration, made an incomplete statement. We have looked to him in the hour of our greatest need, for guidance and inspiration, but he made a statement which is not always related to facts. I have facts and figures in my possession.

"He characterized that grim tragedy, when Moslems were burned to death, beaten to death, when a girl of eight was raped, as the result of a tribal clash.

"Not a word of condemnation, not a word of denunciation, even from the Prime Minister, of the inhuman atrocities that were perpetrated on the Muslims of Malda, not a word of pity, not a word of sympathy, not a word of consolation for the unfortunate citizens of the State by the Prime Minister ...

"But perhaps this unfortunate state of things is possible in this Congress Administration alone, where wanton loot, plunder and massacre of innocents, and even rape and abduction have been allowed to go on with impunity."

This is a quotation, as reported by an Indian paper from the proceedings of the Indian Parliament.

17. The representative of India went on to refer to what he called "certain factual things", instead of making statements, which are not supported by indisputable evidence.

18. The first of these so-called factual things was that in Pakistan, non-Moslems are at best second-class citizens. And the indisputable evidence in support of it, cited by him, is that they are "statutorily debarred from holding the highest offices in the State".

19. As in many other free democratic States, the Constitution of Pakistan provides that the Head of State must be an adherent of the predominant religious faith of the people. If this makes non-Moslems in Pakistan second-class citizens, all non-Catholic citizens of many States, the bulk of whose population is Catholic and whose constitutions prescribe religious qualifications for the Head of the State, must also be regarded as second-class citizens. This, however, would be a patent misstatement.

20. Again, the converse would be the case with regard to some of the most enlightened democracies, the bulk of whose population is Lutheran Protestant, and whose constitutional laws require the Head of State to belong to that denomination. The United Kingdom would, according to the representative of India, be open to the same charge, inasmuch as the Crown could only be worn by a Christian, and that, too, of a par-

ticular denomination. Indeed, the British Sovereign is the Head of the Church of England.

21. Then, again, according to the Constitution of the United States, a person who is not a natural-born citizen of the United States is not eligible for the office of President. According to the Indian argument, this means that all United States citizens who are not natural-born are consigned to the position of second-class citizens, which statement would be a manifest absurdity.

22. Be that as it may, the representative of India obviously intends to convey to the General Assembly that non-Moslems are statutorily debarred from holding the highest offices of the State in Pakistan, which, in his words, "claims to be an Islamic State". This means that a whole series of high offices in Pakistan is closed to non-Moslems. In actual fact, there is not a vestige of any such provision in either the Constitution or the laws of Pakistan. Suffice it to cite only a few instances. The Chief Justice of Pakistan, the Head of the whole judicial system of the State, exercising jurisdiction in respect of every type of litigation without exception, civil, criminal and constitutional, is a Pakistani Christian. So was our High Commissioner in Ottawa, who retired from the foreign service only recently. Our Ambassador in Burma is a Pakistani Hindu from East Pakistan where, according to the Indian representative, a persistent squeeze-out of the non-Moslem population is being carried out. A Hindu, an elected member of the Provincial Assembly, has been appointed a member of the Council of Ministers in East Pakistan. Until recently, our High Commissioner in Australia, now one of our Directors-General in the Ministry of External Affairs, is a Pakistani of the Zoroastrian faith. These are but a few instances of the highest offices of the State from which, according to the representative of India, non-Moslems are statutorily debarred.

23. The representative of India has alleged that not a single general election has been held in Pakistan ever since its establishment in 1947. Unfortunately, he has again mis-stated facts. Only recently, general elections to the Provincial Legislatures, as well as to the National Parliament, were held in Pakistan in which the entire adult population of the country participated. The system of basic democracy, under which these elections have been held in Pakistan, is one in which representatives are elected under universal adult suffrage, and these representatives—80,000 of them—in their turn, elect the members of the Provincial Legislatures as well as the National Assembly. In other words, under basic democracies, the method of election to the highest legislative and executive organs of the State is an indirect one, namely, through an electoral college of 80,000 electors. Now, if it is argued that indirect elections, through representatives elected on the basis of universal franchise, are not democratic, then it would follow that the election of the President of India himself, by a few thousand electors, is also not democratic. The representative of India, I fear, has fallen into the error of equating democracy exclusively with a particular type of parliamentary system of Government. If he would scan a wider political horizon, he would find that the presidential system based on election by electors, themselves elected by the people, is not an aberration. Indeed, he would inform himself of what is now an assumption of mature political thought, namely, that democracy is not and cannot be achieved in different socio-political en-

vironments and in different stages of historical evolution by any single and unvarying type of constitutional system. To deny this truth is to betray the half-baked notions of a neophyte or the fanatic zeal of a new convert, neither of which I would be inclined to attribute to the representative of India.

24. Now as regards Kashmir I am surprised that the representative of India should have exhibited a pronounced type of allergy to the principle of self-determination which I had mentioned in my statement. My surprise would have been greater and more painful if it were not a fact that, in the case of some other major international issues also which have been before the Assembly at one time or another during the last several years, the Indian delegation has been fighting shy of any reference to this principle. These issues, incidentally, are those which were wisely and happily resolved on the basis of this principle alone.

25. The representative of India quotes a statement of the President of Pakistan to the effect that Kashmir is a matter of life and death to Pakistan and then asks the question: "How can anyone take Pakistan's solicitude for the self-determination of Kashmir seriously in the light of that statement?" If his question is honest and not merely rhetorical I shall give him a straight answer. It is true that Pakistan has an enormous stake in Kashmir. It is true that our integrity and security are both seriously involved in Kashmir. We have never tried to conceal or minimize that fact. Nevertheless, we have said and we say now that regardless of our involvement in Kashmir, regardless of our historical, geographical, economic, cultural and human links with Kashmir, regardless of the fact that Kashmir should belong to Pakistan according to the self-same principles of partition to which both India and Pakistan owe their emergence as sovereign States, we shall accept the will of the people of Kashmir themselves, freely and impartially ascertained, with regard to the accession of their State to India or to Pakistan. We shall accept their verdict, whatever it may be, if it is their free verdict and if it is obtained without coercion or intimidation. That, I may inform the representative of India, is what we mean by demanding that the people of Kashmir should be given the opportunity to exercise their inherent right of self-determination. I may assure him that Pakistan has no intention of abating or abandoning this demand.

26. The representative of India has advanced certain contentions with regard to Kashmir. Shorn of rhetoric, his argument seems to be: (a) that the right to accede to either India or Pakistan was a right to be exercised by the Prince—that is, the feudal ruler—of a State, and not by its people; (b) that the accession of States had nothing to do with the principle according to which contiguous Muslim-majority areas were included in Pakistan and contiguous Hindu-majority areas were included in India; (c) that Pakistan impeded or blocked the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir, at first because at that time—in the words of the representative of India—"a plebiscite would have been especially disastrous for Pakistan"; (d) that Pakistan has not carried out its part of the obligation jointly undertaken by India and Pakistan under the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in August 1948<sup>1/</sup> and January 1949.<sup>2/</sup>

27. It is only fair to the representative of India that I should meet each of his arguments directly.

28. As regards the first argument—whether the accession of a territory ruled by a Maharaja to either India or Pakistan was to be decided by the Maharaja or by the people—what does the representative of India say about the solemn affirmation of policy made at the time by the Government of India itself? Let him remind himself of what the Government of India said in its White Paper issued on 10 August 1948:

"The Government of India are firmly of the view that, whatever sovereign rights reverted to the States on the lapse of the Paramountcy, they vest in the people, and conditions must be created in every State for a free and unfettered exercise of these rights."

Again, the Indian representative to the Security Council said the following at the two hundred and sixty-fourth meeting of the Council:

"No doubt the Ruler, as the head of State, has to take action in respect of accession. When he and his people are in agreement as to the Dominion to which they should accede, he applies for accession to that Dominion. However, when he takes one view and his people take another view, the wishes of the people have to be ascertained. When so ascertained, the Ruler has to take action in accordance with the verdict of the people. That is our position."<sup>3/</sup>

29. Now, that statement had been preceded by the following declaration of the position of the Government of India made at the 227th meeting of the Security Council, when the Kashmir question was first brought before it:

"The question of the future status of Kashmir vis-à-vis her neighbours and the world at large, and a further question, namely, whether she should withdraw from her accession to India, and either accede to Pakistan or remain independent, with a right to claim admission as a Member of the United Nations—all this we have recognized to be a matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir, after normal life is restored to them."<sup>4/</sup>

That these were not stray pronouncements but the expression of a policy proclaimed by the Government of India is apparent from numerous statements which are public record and of which the following statement made by the Prime Minister of India on 2 November 1947 is an example:

"We are anxious not to finalize anything in a moment of crisis and without the fullest opportunity to be given to the people of Kashmir to have their say. It is for them ultimately to decide. And let me make it clear that it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion the accession must be made by the people of that State. It is in accordance with this policy that we have added a proviso to the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir."

30. In the light of those unequivocal pronouncements of his own Government, does the representative of India still have the audacity—to use his own epithet—to maintain that it was for the feudal Maharaja alone to decide the destiny of the 4 million people of Kashmir?

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Supplement for November 1948, document S/1100, p. 32.

<sup>2/</sup> *Ibid.*, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 7, document S/1430, p. 25.

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, Third Year, Nos. 36-51, 264th meeting, p. 50.

<sup>4/</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1-15, 227th meeting, p. 29.

31. As regards the second argument of the representative of India—that the accession of Princely States to India or Pakistan was unrelated to the principle of partition of British India—what is anyone to make of the following protest made by the Government of India against the accession of the Princely State of Junagadh to Pakistan? This protest was lodged in a telegram from the Governor-General of India to the Governor-General of Pakistan on 22 September 1947, and I quote from it as follows:

"Pakistan Government have unilaterally proceeded to action which, it was made plain, Government of India could never and do not acquiesce in. Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on India's sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two Dominions. This action of Pakistan is considered by the Government of India to be a clear attempt to cause disruption in the integrity of India by extending the influence and boundaries of Dominion of Pakistan, in utter violation of the principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected. The possibility of Junagadh's accession to Pakistan Dominion, in the teeth of opposition from its Hindu population of over 80 per cent"—and I stress the words "in the teeth of opposition from its Hindu population of over 80 per cent"—"has given rise to serious concern and apprehension to local population and all surrounding States which have acceded to Indian Dominion."

32. Let me repeat the words of the Government of India—"in utter violation of the principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected" and "in the teeth of opposition from its Hindu population of over 80 per cent". Applied to the case of Kashmir, these quotations imply an answer to the question of the representative of India, namely, what is Pakistan's right in Kashmir, anyway? In the very words of the Government of India, Pakistan could never and does not acquiesce in the so-called accession of Kashmir to India, an act "in utter violation of the principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected" and "in the teeth of opposition" from the State's Muslim "population of 80 per cent".

33. As regards the third argument, that Pakistan at first impeded or blocked the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir because at that time it would have been disastrous to Pakistan, I wonder whether the representative of India would, on calmer reflection, advance that argument seriously. If so, then it would mean that, by the same token, India is blocking the plebiscite now because it would now be disastrous for India. Does he mean that, after fourteen years of the experience of Indian rule, the people of Kashmir are so sorely oppressed by it and so utterly weary of it that they would now vote for accession to Pakistan? Let him answer that question, and not be too much bothered by the verifiable fact that at no point of time, at no stage of the dispute, did Pakistan block the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir. Indeed, not a single episode of these fourteen years can be cited which would show that Pakistan ever weakened or equivocated in demanding that the solution of the Kashmir problem must be according to the wishes of the people of Kashmir themselves.

34. This argument of the representative of India is linked with his allegation that Pakistan has not carried out its part of the obligation jointly undertaken by

India and Pakistan under the Commission resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949. If the Indian representative is serious in making this allegation, why is it that India is not prepared to submit it to impartial scrutiny? Why is it that no United Nations representative has ever said that Pakistan has been in default in fulfilling its obligations? Why is it that, when the Security Council suggested that the interpretation and execution of the obligations of the parties and the status of their fulfilment be submitted for an advisory opinion by the International Court of Justice, India rejected that suggestion? Why is it that when Ambassador Jarring of Sweden, then President of the Security Council, proposed that the facts of the implementation, or otherwise, by either party of its obligations be determined impartially, India rejected the proposal? If India is serious and honest in its allegations, why is it not prepared to submit the question to arbitration by any impartial individual or agency?

35. I cannot do better here than to quote the statement made by the permanent representative of Pakistan at the 1008th meeting of the Security Council:

"Pakistan is quite agreeable to any method that may be suggested of (a), determining the obligations of the parties under the UNCIP resolutions; (b), determining what is holding up progress on implementation; (c), determining whether either of the parties is in default with regard to the fulfilment of its obligations, and (d), what needs to be done by either side to move the matter forward towards implementation.

"If a determination of (c) above, that is to say, whether either of the parties is in default with regard to the fulfilment of its obligations, should disclose that Pakistan is in default in any of these respects, the default would be rectified through the speediest method at the earliest possible moment, so that the way be opened toward full implementation of the resolutions. This is an undertaking that I submit to the Security Council on behalf of the Pakistan Government. I do trust and hope that India would be prepared to agree to the same."<sup>5/</sup>

36. Let me assure the representative of India that Pakistan adheres to this undertaking and hopes that India will have the courage to meet its challenge.

37. Lastly, about Kashmir, may I remind the representative of India that the question of self-determination involved in the Kashmir problem is not the self-determination of a section of any country or a minority. Kashmir is not yet a section of any country, nor a minority in any country. The right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir had been accepted and recognized by both India and Pakistan and by the United Nations. This acceptance and recognition is embodied in the Commission resolution of 5 January 1949, and there can be no confusion or misunderstanding of its meaning. Paragraph 1 of that resolution reads:

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."<sup>6/</sup>

38. No analysis of the principle of self-determination and no attempt to shirk it can help India to escape

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid., Seventeenth Year, 1008th meeting.

<sup>6/</sup> See footnote 2.

the solemn obligation that this resolution, having been accepted by both India and Pakistan and thus constituting an international agreement, imposes on India as a State Member of the United Nations. This obligation, indeed, is aptly stated in the declaration of the Prime Minister of India made on 2 November 1947:

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it."

39. Is the representative of India now trying to convince the Assembly that India is capable of backing out of this pledge?

40. Finally, it is a matter of profound regret to my delegation that, while we confine ourselves strictly to the international aspects of the question that arise between India and Pakistan, the representative of India appropriates to himself the freedom of commenting on the internal affairs, the polity and ideology of Pakistan. If I were to match the Indian attitude, I would merely succeed in bringing home to my Indian friends the force of the old proverb that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. I would mention, among many other cases, the tragedy of the Nagas, a people who are predominantly Baptist Christians and who have ethnically nothing in common with the people of India. Their claim is that, during the military operations which India has launched against them for years, India has been responsible for—and I quote from one of the publications of the Naga National Council—"70,000 deaths, over 100,000 in concentration camps, over 500 villages burned, over 150 churches destroyed, women raped, granaries and foodstocks plundered".

41. But the Pakistan delegation will still try not to emulate what really are the smear tactics of India. Indeed, it is not for me here to dwell on the agreeableness, or otherwise, of India's habitual posture of self-righteousness and its claim of having achieved the consummation of democracy. We are all familiar with the holier-than-thou attitude that seems to be chronic among some people. But it is certainly astonishing that the Indian representative should consider it within his province to comment on the very foundation of Pakistan. Let me point out that that foundation was—and the Indian leaders know it—inherent in one thousand years of the history of the sub-continent, and its inevitability was acknowledged in the agreement between India, Pakistan and the United Kingdom which resulted in the emergence of India and Pakistan as two independent States. Let me inform the Indian representative, if he still needs to be informed, that that foundation was not any so-called two-nation theory, but the manifest fact that the Muslims and Hindus in their respective contiguous majority areas were entitled to separate national sovereignties.

42. This obviously did not connote that the Hindus and Muslims living in their respective minority areas became second-class citizens of the two new States. While an attitude of tolerance of different religions and cultures is a newly acquired phenomenon in a society which has been dominated by a most inequitable caste system for thousands of years, it is a basic imperative of the religious legacy which we in Pakistan, with all our failures and imperfections and in utter humility, are trying to realize.

43. Let me quote the message given to us by the founder of our State, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, at the very moment of the inauguration of the new State of Pakistan:

"If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what his colour, caste or creed, is, first, second and last, a citizen of the State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

"I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and, in course of time, all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, will vanish.

"You are free. You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the State.

"I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims—not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State of Pakistan."

44. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of India, who has asked to exercise the right of reply.

45. Mr. KHOSLA (India): The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, in his statement during the general debate on 3 October, made some wild charges with regard to the treatment given to the Muslim minority in India, as well as with regard to Kashmir. My delegation, while exercising its right of reply on the same day, refuted those baseless accusations. We regret that now, after a lapse of nine days or so, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has chosen to come again to the podium and to attack India on the basis of an even stronger mixture of fiction and half truths.

46. The statement of the foreign Minister of Pakistan contains so many misstatements of facts and so many quotations taken out of context that it is liable to give a very wrong picture of the situation to this Assembly. My delegation therefore reserves its right to make a further statement.

47. Mr. KHEMISTI (Algeria) (translated from French): It is both a great honour and an immense pleasure for me to address this august Assembly, which aims to be, and must be, the conscience of the world.

48. After the statement made in this Hall by the Head of our Government [1147th meeting] on the occasion of our admission to membership, we have deemed it useful to speak in the general debate in order to define our positions, explain our ideas and state our intentions. In this way, we wish to secure a hearing for the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, which is determined to make an active and constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations.

49. Today's Algeria rose from the ashes of a colonial régime. Our anti-colonialism has been, and will be, our faith. We shall be the last country ever to compromise on this policy, for our people identifies itself

with it and regards it as an essential part of its own being and behaviour. Let it be understood everywhere and for all time that colonialism—which has inflicted cruel wounds on the living body of Algerian people, particularly during seven and a half years of war—has engendered ineradicable instincts of opposition to all its forms and manifestations. Such feelings can seldom be perceived in all their magnitude and depth. Seldom indeed does a government attitude square so completely with a people's inmost desires; seldom indeed does it enjoy such unanimous support from its people, because it is based on both feeling and reason. In order to understand and, we trust, to appreciate Algeria's foreign policy it will be necessary for the world's Foreign Ministries to realize that our anti-colonialism will be the substantial and permanent sustenance of that policy.

50. The Algerian people experiences its bitter humiliation afresh when it learns of the horrors inflicted upon the Angolans today. Its wounds reopen as, day after day, it hears the sad echoes of the unequal battle fought, with the strength of despair, by its fellow-sufferers in Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Rhodesias, South West Africa and elsewhere.

51. This means that if the Algerian Government failed to assume its full responsibilities in this respect, it would be breaking the solemn pledges given to its people, which is determined to see that they are fulfilled. It would be breaking faith not only with the living but also, above all, with the memory of the dead.

52. Neither the Algerian people nor its Government could tolerate the repetition or continuation, anywhere, of the nightmare which Algeria recently experienced.

53. Today, every means must be employed to cure our world of the leprosy of colonialism.

54. The colonized peoples are in a permanent state of legitimate self-defence. The perpetuation of privilege and the lack of prospects of a peaceful settlement, due to the colonial Power's systematic refusal to discuss with the colonized people the ways and means of ending colonial rule, bring about the revolt of the colonized and acts of repression by the colonizer.

55. While it seems pointless to expect the laggard colonial Powers to give up their privileges of their own free will, we shall assure them, once again, that we uphold the principle of peaceful negotiation as a means of solving the problem of decolonization.

56. But the effectiveness of the resolutions which the General Assembly might adopt would often have to be demonstrated, and our own experience of the United Nations causes us to have some doubt as to the appropriateness of such procedures.

57. The Algerian Government fears that despite the adoption of resolution after resolution, to salve the conscience of certain States voting in their favour, the result would simply be the perpetuation of the colonial status quo.

58. While we endorse the Guinean proposal [1131st meeting] that the General Assembly should adopt a strong resolution fixing a strict time-limit for the liquidation of colonialism—namely, 24 October 1963, the eighteenth anniversary of the United Nations—the Algerian delegation also thinks that the United Nations should seek new ways and means of fulfilling this

cherished desire of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

59. If, surprising and unlikely though it would be, the result of the vote were such that the draft resolution was not adopted, or if—as is less unlikely—institutional obstacles hindered the application of the resolution after its adoption by the General Assembly, the Algerian Government would be ready to shoulder all its responsibilities.

60. It addresses heartfelt greetings to the peoples still in chains, and assures them that they can rely on its active and effective support.

61. It will be unstinting in its efforts to hasten the end of their trials. Feeling itself mobilized for a cause which is the logical extension of its own revolution, the Algerian people, together with the Government it has set up, will not regard any sacrifice that may be asked of it as too heavy a price to pay for the performance of such a task of fraternal solidarity.

62. The rapid disintegration of colonial units is leaving a deep mark upon our times. The liquidation of colonialism is creating another problem which is affecting an ever-increasing area of international relationships and which can continue to be a source both of co-operation and of new conflict. I refer to the relations between the former colonial Powers and the newly independent States.

63. Experience shows that it is often difficult to convert former colonizers. Decolonization has more often been an outcome forcibly imposed by a murderous and disastrous colonial war, leaving many a tragedy in its wake, than the result of a free and deliberate choice. Inspired by interests which have not given up the struggle, or simply overwhelmed and stampeded by them, the Government of the former colonial Power sometimes tries to recapture with one hand what it has been forced to relinquish with the other. Neo-colonialism, burrowing underground and disguised to a greater or a lesser extent, impels relations between the former colonizers and the newly independent countries along a tortuous course of ever-recurring crises.

64. The Algerian revolution, committed as it is to an immense task of reconstruction, will not allow that task to be complicated or made impossible by a policy of neo-colonialism, if such a policy were attempted. While it has opted for genuine co-operation, without ulterior motive or resentment, Algeria is at the same time determined to protect its revolutionary gains from all neo-colonialist encroachment.

65. Algeria will do its utmost to establish and consolidate friendly, fruitful and loyal relations with France. This is dictated by self-interest no less than by the esteem in which our people holds the people of France. I should like to take this opportunity to salute, on behalf of the Algerian people and its Government, all those Frenchmen who, in the difficult days of our struggle, did not hesitate to share our burden at the risk of losing their liberty and even their lives. Some of them are still in French prisons awaiting a release which is imperatively demanded by the return of peace and by the requirements of justice.

66. Nevertheless, our French partners are not unaware of our ultimate objectives. Our socialist revolution must, in duty to itself, have the colonial edifice replaced. Little by little a new Algeria will be built;

but its leaders and its people, having opted in overwhelming numbers both for independence and for co-operation, will be concerned to spare France the after-effects of the necessary changes demanded by our revolution.

67. But France can make a major contribution to harmony in our relations, by realizing that it would be impracticable to subordinate independence to co-operation instead of helping us to strengthen the former through the latter; by abandoning once and for all any vain attempts to secure our ideological retreat through co-operation diverted from its real purpose; in a word, by taking us as we are, just as we take France as it is. In that way we shall be able to spare our two countries much argument and bitterness.

68. Co-operation has its requirements. These, as between two differently inspired political and economic systems which will develop along increasingly diverging lines, will oblige each of the two partners to tread even more carefully. We are convinced that the frankness and loyalty which we shall be able to impart to our relations will contribute to the maintenance of the harmony we are seeking.

69. I have just spoken of different political systems.

70. The two determining features of our policy, namely the liquidation of colonialism and the normalization of our relations with the former colonial Powers, can appear in their true light and be given full and genuine expression only against the background of our faithfulness to non-alignment.

71. The reasons for our political choice are well known. During seven years of war Algeria was seeking to rediscover its identity and could find it only within the great Arab and Afro-Asian family. The rediscovery of affinities and the renewal of friendships freed its soul while the war was still in progress, ahead of the actual liberation of its body.

72. The Bandung Conference in 1955 demonstrated to Algeria how the echoes of its struggle could reverberate in all continents, and thereby put an end to its near-isolation in that struggle.

73. Algeria regards a policy of non-alignment as the most positive contribution it can make to world peace and as the best instrument for the economic, social and political advancement of immense areas which, like itself, lag behind the rest of the world. In any event, such is the positive meaning which it intends permanently to attach to its policy of non-alignment.

74. Algeria will never approach any world problem with preconceived ideas unreservedly favourable to a particular bloc. It proposes to make up its mind with regard to each such problem as and when necessary, and in the most constructive spirit.

75. This is a very difficult and arduous policy. Many non-aligned countries deserve credit for adhering to it notwithstanding the fact that their backwardness and their lack of experience might have led them at any time to choose an easier way out.

76. The uncommitted countries, of which Algeria is one, have made it plain that it is neither possible nor desirable for them to form a third bloc in the world. Algeria's leaders are firmly convinced that this attitude is correct.

77. Why make any pretence? Because of the diversity of their political and geographical horizons, the non-aligned countries have not yet found the perfect ex-

pression for their policy. Yet the successful outcome of the endeavours to awaken them to their natural solidarity and to regroup them for a joint search for prosperity and peace, achieved despite imperialism's subtle and sometimes open manoeuvring, augurs more than well for a better future. It is because of this promise that we must equip ourselves better to bring a constructive influence to bear on present-day affairs, by discovering and correcting our own weaknesses. Algeria, for its part, will do its utmost to strengthen the policy of the non-aligned countries by working for unity in the three fields which determine its political orientation—on a North-African, an Arab and an African scale.

78. In North Africa the clarion-call is for unity. Our North African peoples are its most dependable and determined builders. If we bear their determination in mind, as we must do, we shall see that such difficulties as may have arisen are of minor importance and will be solved automatically as our unity grows. A time-table must be drawn up indicating the ways and means and the cultural, the economic and subsequently the institutional stage in the progress towards that unity.

79. Our place in the Arab world has always been waiting for us. The liberation of North Africa, a decisive event in the destiny and future of the Arab world, and the unqualified and immediate support which the other Arab countries have given us have led to rediscoveries and are bringing together two brothers whom long and painful captivity had separated. Henceforth, they will apply themselves unremittingly to continued rebuilding of their common home.

80. One matter which disturbs them and has become pressing in the highest degree is the solution of the Palestine problem. In its present stage of maturity, the conscience of the world cannot abandon over one million Palestinians, driven from their national territory by those who, having themselves suffered from the madness of certain men, should have been the last to do such a thing. When the non-aligned countries, meeting at Belgrade in September 1961,<sup>2/</sup> declared "their support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations", they understood clearly how important a settlement of the Palestine matter on that basis was for the peace of the world, for Arab unity and for human justice.

81. We are also concerned about the principality of Oman, where imperialism still wreaks havoc. We ask the United Nations, which already has this problem before it, to join its efforts to those of all the Arab countries, so that the aspirations to freedom of our brothers, the Arab people of Oman, may be satisfied without delay.

82. Although it is fortunately superficial, the rift which the formation of separate groups has brought about in Africa, so recently rid of the chains of servitude, must disappear in order that Africa may play to the full the part for which it is cast. Africa can no longer condemn itself to inertia while the exalting work of political, economic and human development awaits it.

83. Nor should such work be endangered by the substitution of another division for that which already

<sup>2/</sup> Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1 to 6 September 1961.



ves encouraging signs of disappearing. Some people would like to separate the "black" Africa of the South from the "white" Africa of the North.

In our view there is no worse policy, dedicated to worse ends, than that based on conceptions of race and colour of skin. Only outside such blind-alleys, and within the framework of a close and fraternal collaboration embracing all of us, can Africa be sure of attaining the grandeur which it merits.

Our allegiance to the Arab world, to which we are bound by language, religion and tradition, is in no way incompatible with our allegiance to the continent of Africa, to which we are bound by culture, geography and common trials and hopes.

We are convinced that African problems would be infinitely easier to solve if forces from outside the continent did not flagrantly interfere in the domestic affairs of certain States, as in the Congo. The Algerian Government is determined to make every contribution towards the reunification of the Congo, and pays tribute to the memory of that great patriot, Patrice Lumumba, for his courage and devotion to the African cause.

There is another major problem exercising our assembly—that of racial discrimination. It is intolerable that there should still be men in the world who are blinded by the absurd, the mad myth of a superior race. In some countries, even, racial discrimination has received institutional status and is legitimized by the most monstrous of blasphemies, to be used as a revelation from God. South Africa—for that country must be named—should know that the Algerian people will not be an impassive spectator of its inhuman policy and will combat racialism in all its forms.

As for that people itself, it formally proclaimed on the first day of its struggle for liberation, 1 November 1954, that the European settlers in Algeria would be able to opt for full Algerian citizenship, with rights and duties equal to those of other Algerians.

Algerians of European origin are fairly represented in the National Constituent Assembly. They have a specific guarantee that they will not be subjected to any discriminatory measures, in any field whatsoever.

The Algerian people, which over seven and a half years carried through an armed revolution with total expenditure of its strength, has assumed responsibility for bringing about an economic and social revolution which will be both a means and an end.

Aware of the difficulty of the task awaiting it in a divided world, and determined to preserve the benefits of its heavy sacrifices, that people has sought a political and economic model calculated to meet its basic needs and safeguard its conquests.

Such a search was not easy. It was all the more difficult in that the model lighted upon would interest not merely Algeria but also other African or Asian countries, its brothers-in-arms. The responsibilities were overwhelming, for Algeria might be viewed as a laboratory for a patient experiment on behalf of the common good of Africa and Asia, in which we might have failures and successes but would be aided by the contributions and experiences of others.

From the outset of our revolution, the unfitness and unsuitability of the capitalist model seemed to

us to be evident. The "virtues" of capitalism did not appear to us calculated to solve the basic problem of under-development in Algeria or in the other non-aligned countries, or to reserve for the people, and for the people alone, the benefit of its conquests and labour.

94. Profiting by all the experiences of other countries in economic and social development, Algeria will set its own course—a socialist course—which takes into consideration the popular aspirations embodied in the principles of the revolution, as well as the special circumstances of its situation.

95. In Algeria today, the economic and social situation is burdened not only with the heritage of the colonial system but also with the destruction and devastation which marked the years of war.

96. Our Government must, therefore, apply itself to a twofold task: the transformation of economic and social structures, and reconstruction and adjustment on a vast scale. Both are essential to the building of a State which will ultimately realize our socialist ideal.

97. In this task, Algeria cannot adopt short-cut, compromise solutions. But we have one highly valuable asset: the revolutionary potential of our people, which is channelled through the party of the vanguard—the National Liberation Front.

98. This party will help to mobilize our human resources and will keep alive the keenness of our masses in their struggle against under-development.

99. By depending in the first place on our own efforts, we shall help to strengthen our policy of independence and shall, as a consequence, make possible more effective international co-operation, which will determine in positive fashion the economic development of our lands.

100. Algeria, however, cannot plan in isolation the methods that must be used for complete attainment of our economic objectives. We count first on ourselves, to be sure, but we count also on the communities to which we belong—namely, the North African community, the Arab world and the continent of Africa.

101. It is obvious that the establishment of an African and Arab community will have, as an immediate result, an intensification of trade exchanges between the various States. That will make it easier for us to diversify our foreign trade and will enable us, to a certain extent, to strengthen our economic positions.

102. We are convinced that the establishment of these African, Arab and North African communities will militate in favour of international co-operation which will be more balanced and therefore more advantageous to all of our peoples, striving as they are for a prosperous and worthwhile existence.

103. We regard this co-operation as all the more desirable in that we in Algeria, at the end of more than seven years of war, are grappling with difficult problems. We have to cope with national reconstruction in order to heal the wounds inflicted by a murderous and devastating struggle. At the same time, we have to fight effectively against the consequences of economic under-development inherited from the colonial system.

104. Given these inescapable requirements of economic and social reconstruction and the need for accelerated development, Algeria, from this rostrum,

appeals to all friendly countries, and to the international specialized bodies, to give it all the aid and assistance possible.

105. It should be noted, by the way, that the aid furnished by the international agencies is totally inadequate. The resources of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in particular should be substantially increased.

106. One of the fundamental problems confronting the statesmen of the world today is that of disarmament. It seems inconceivable that men should be heading, by slow degrees, towards the destruction of mankind. The arms race must be stopped, and we must turn with firmness and determination towards a policy of general disarmament. The impressive scientific and technical discoveries which are the fruits of human genius must be used for something other than man's annihilation. We are convinced that a victory of good will in the matter of disarmament could not fail to improve the psychological climate for the settlement of all other pending "cold war" problems. This is something that must be understood and must be borne in upon all men because to speak of disarmament problems is to speak of the common destiny of mankind. Everybody, therefore, has to take a stand; everybody is responsible for bringing this work of salvation to a successful conclusion. The responsibility of the atomic Powers in the two blocs is, however, directly engaged. We adjure them to announce, to our anguished world, the taking of positive steps in the matter of disarmament. Now that the destiny of all mankind is the same, the question of the interdependence of the elements and effects of world problems has become much more acute. Nothing really important will be accomplished except on the basis of moral principles adopted and recognized by all. Our mental attitudes, and the solutions to our problems, must be adapted to the particular circumstances of our time. All the world's peoples, including those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, can enforce their desire for a peaceful and happy life.

107. Destroying the forces of imperialism and oppression, and serving mankind—such are purposes for which all peoples cherishing peace and justice would willingly work together.

108. In 1962, men no longer have any reason to wage war. There are immense possibilities for material and cultural development on our planet. The peaceful use of atomic energy—a topic which is the concern of a specialized body of the United Nations—can revolutionize production methods and living conditions. The vast resources now committed to military expenditures and armament could be instrumental in rapidly solving that other crucial problem of our time—the disparity in levels of living throughout the world, which is a major source of international instability. It is dizzying to think that military expenditures alone, each year, consume the equivalent of two-thirds of the developing countries' total national income, and that they amount to the impressive figure of \$120,000 million annually.

109. The astounding conquest of space must not be the occasion of man again enslaving man. Space research must be undertaken by the advanced Powers with the desire, not to exacerbate the arms race, but to expand man's horizon in peace and calm and deliver him from the fear, and from the war, that he has known on earth.

110. Relations between men have long been governed by the law of the jungle. Problems have been settled by force as a result of armed conflict. But the economic and political structures which carried within them the seeds of discord have gradually become more humane. The world conscience has been aroused, and what is conservative or retrograde can no longer be maintained by resort to force.

111. We unreservedly support all the efforts being made by the group of non-aligned countries at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and are attentively following their endeavours to bring the two sides closer together.

112. There can be no doubt that tremendous prospects of international economic co-operation would be opened up if all Governments undertook to renounce war as a means of settling differences between States.

113. As a corollary to whole-hearted acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence, every State should be prohibited from interfering in the internal affairs of any other State. This implies the recognition of the right of every State, large or small, rich or poor, to choose its own political system.

114. It is because of this necessity that we regard the attempts made to upset the political system chosen by the friendly people of Cuba as a danger to world peace. The people of Cuba has no aggressive intentions and is entitled to seek economic and social liberation. We ardently hope for a relaxation of the tension between the United States and Cuba and for a final settlement of the problem on the basis of the principles, to which we have just referred, that should govern relations between States.

115. Another "cold war" problem, that of Berlin, is one requiring particular attention, since it is a permanent danger to world peace. Negotiations should be continued unceasingly and a solution sought which would be in accordance with the interests of the German people and with realities in the country.

116. We welcome the Agreement reached between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian). This Agreement [see A/5170, annex] must be hailed as a victory for the spirit of negotiation and as a definite contribution to peace in South-East Asia. This also applies to the agreement reached on Laos,<sup>8</sup> which will enable the people of that country to enter a period of peace and construction.

117. Nevertheless, South-East Asia will not know true stability until the unity of Korea has been achieved and the Geneva agreement on Viet-Nam has been really implemented. Furthermore, it is intolerable that the People's Republic of China should continue to be excluded from the deliberations of this Assembly; this situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and reflects a lack of political realism.

118. At this point in my statement, I should like to say that the Algerian people will never forget the peoples and Governments which furnished it with political, material and diplomatic aid and assistance at a decisive stage of its history. From this rostrum I offer, on behalf of the Algerian people, our thanks and gratitude to all the peoples—especially the Arab, African and Asian peoples and those of the socialist

<sup>8</sup>/ Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

countries--and to all the thirty-three Governments which on the eve of our independence recognized the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

119. In addition, all the Latin American peoples, faithful to their traditions of anti-colonialism and freedom, resolutely supported us in our struggle for independence. Certain Governments voted in favour of our just cause each time the question of Algeria was debated in the United Nations. That also applies to the Scandinavian countries.

120. To all the peoples and Governments of Latin America and Scandinavia, I offer the gratitude of the Algerian people.

121. Simón Bolívar, the great Latin American liberator, towards the close of his life, uttered these bitter words: "Those who have laboured for the right have ploughed the sea". But the Algerian people has learnt from its own experience, and has proved to the world, that even the most unequal struggle for justice is never in vain. Reason always wins in the end; the force of right will sooner or later overcome the right of force. It is in this youthful optimistic spirit, which is nevertheless based on reason, that the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria intends to speak and act in common with all the peoples' cherishing freedom, justice and progress, and to advance with them, hand in hand, with the light step of peace.

122. Mr. DEJEAN (Central African Republic) (translated from French): Mr. President, may I first of all, on behalf of the Central African delegation, sincerely congratulate you on your election. I congratulate myself also, because your election, following that of an African President for the previous session, furnishes fresh proof of the increasingly important role which the non-aligned countries are destined to play in international affairs. We are sure that the enlightenment and wisdom you will bring to us, and also your authority, will enable us to carry out our work in the best possible conditions. I also congratulate the new Vice-Presidents whom the Assembly has elected to assist you in your heavy task.

123. The basic provisions of my country's Constitution contain a number of principles which define our nation's political doctrine. Allow me to quote one:

124. "The people of the Central African Republic solemnly proclaims its attachment to human rights, the principles of democracy and the self-determination of peoples."

125. These principles--according with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, in which my country reaffirms its faith--will enable my delegation to define the views of the Central African Republic on the various problems which we must work together to solve.

126. One of these problems, the most serious, haunts all our debates and permeates every text we have to discuss. I refer to the "cold war" which results from the division of the world into rival blocs.

127. At the political level the Central African Republic rejects the idea of this division of the world and refuses to belong to either bloc. Similarly, at the economic and social level it intends freely to follow its course towards the establishment of a purely African conception--far removed from either communism or capitalism, by which it will be influenced only to the extent that suits it. In this it advocates, not the enunciation of a third rigid doctrine, but a flexible practice

adopted to the particular traditions, character and needs of any country which may wish to follow it.

128. My country hopes to maintain friendly and constructive relations with all nations; but, at the same time it considers itself free to seek regional alliances such as the African and Malagasy Union of the Monrovia Group, and to preserve its cultural affinities and historic links with Europe, with a view to promoting fruitful economic relations. The Common Market, in which we are partners, seems to be in line with this objective of alliances.

129. Mr. David Dacko, the President of the Central African Republic, reaffirmed this desire for friendship with all nations in a recent speech to the diplomatic corps at Bangui, in which he said:

"It is the desire of the Central African Republic to be a State which is wide open to the outer world. The more the Central African Republic affirms its sovereignty, the more numerous will be the bridges we shall build for the use of peoples which agree to co-operate with us."

130. These words explain our reaction to the rivalry of the two great blocs, which appears to us to be the cause of the present political atmosphere and of all the localized incidents and conflicts arising out of the "cold war". Whether it is at Berlin, in the Formosa Straits, in South-East Asia or in Cuba, we find, if not the "cold war" itself, at least threats of conflict which aggravate the antagonism between the great Powers.

131. Among the crises I have just mentioned, that of Berlin seems to be the most acute; month after month its vicissitudes threaten us with the outbreak of a world conflagration. My country, which is deeply attached to democratic principles, is surprised to note that, while much is said about the right of the occupying Powers, the right of the people to self-determination is never mentioned. We should like to see the right of self-determination put into effect, with a view to solving the problem of Berlin and the two Germanys in the only equitable manner, in accordance with the principles of the San Francisco Charter.

132. We regret to note that in Palestine the years have brought no solution of the grievous problem of the refugees. Certain international disputes, such as the Algerian problem, have been successfully settled by means of direct negotiation; my Government considers that the same procedure should be recommended for ending the regrettable conflict between the Arab countries and the State of Israel. For this reason my delegation will, as last year, wholeheartedly support any specific proposal which might lead to an agreement negotiated between the parties. The threat of armed conflict in that area could thus be eliminated.

*Mr. Malitza (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

133. Another matter to which international attention is invited each year is the question of the representation of China in the United Nations. Whatever doubts may be felt--and I recognize their gravity--concerning the peaceful intentions of the People's Republic of China, it seems to me unjust, on the face of it, to exclude any longer from the United Nations a great nation whose population alone comprises one-quarter of mankind. Whatever may be our misgivings, there-

fore, the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the community of nations would prevent the United Nations from becoming the truly universal body it ought to be. I might add that, at a time when we are leading up to decisions and treaties prohibiting atomic test explosions and providing for total disarmament, it is essential that a Power which maintains a large army and is apparently on the point of acquiring a nuclear arsenal should be allowed to participate in our work and be bound by resolutions adopted by us all. Nationalist China has been cut off from mainland China for years, ideologically and politically, and both the institutions it has established for itself and its economy make it a separate political entity. The admission of the People's Republic of China to our midst should not, therefore, in our view, entail the exclusion of Nationalist China.

134. The perils which threaten the world as a result of the cold war force the great Powers to build up their nuclear stockpiles and to increase the power and range of their weapons, thus preparing, wittingly or unwittingly, for the hot war. My country has therefore followed with the greatest interest the work of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and wishes to pay a tribute to the efforts that have been made by both sides. We note with regret, however, that the results achieved are very discouraging. The failure of lengthy negotiations in the small group at Geneva augurs ill for the debate that will take place in the General Assembly this autumn on the subject. A consideration of the propositions and arguments of the two sides shows clearly that the real obstacle, which has thus far proved insuperable, is the mutual distrust of the two main nuclear Powers and their allies. It appears, therefore, that the principal task to which we should apply ourselves is the re-establishment of confidence. If such an objective is to be attained, certain Powers would have to cease attempting to impose, by force or subversion, doctrines or ideologies which they would like to see universal; at the same time, the Powers in the other camp would have to accept the existence of political and economic systems completely different from their own and would have to stop thinking that they must intervene, through military or economic pressure or through propaganda campaigns, in the domestic affairs of countries which, in the full exercise of their sovereignty, have adopted a system of their choice with a view to accelerating their economic and social development.

135. Unless there is an abatement of the cold war—in fact, let me say, unless it ceases—any prospect of disarmament appears to me to be very slight. The unilateral breaking, last year, of the "truce to nuclear testing" was a clear indication of how much reliance can be placed on a nuclear moratorium or on any disarmament treaty not accompanied or preceded by a lasting relaxation of international tension.

136. My delegation believes that, this autumn, we should set ourselves two main objectives.

137. The first is the cessation of nuclear tests which poison the atmosphere, both literally and figuratively. I should like at this point to remind you of the importance my Government attaches to the denuclearization of Africa, which, in our view, is a first and necessary step towards general denuclearization.

138. Our second objective must be general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

139. Together with disarmament, the economic development of insufficiently developed regions is one of the most important items on our agenda. The gap between the resources and levels of living of the industrialized countries and those of the have-not countries continues to increase, despite the efforts made to close it through both bilateral and multilateral aid. While two-thirds of the people of the world are still suffering from poverty, ignorance and even famine, the great Powers, because of the unprecedented rate of technical progress and the capital they possess, not only enjoy a very high level of living but have fabulous surpluses of resources which they squander on preparations for the universal annihilation which may occur, and which would represent the final victory of chaos over progress and thought.

140. It is for that reason that my Government takes a keen interest in the efforts to examine the economic and social implications of disarmament. As is generally known, experts state that military expenditures each year amount to vast sums which could be usefully employed for economic purposes and, in particular, for the industrialization of the have-not countries.

141. Of course, the space race is a marvellous scientific adventure, but the rate at which it is pursued and, above all, its competitive nature involve enormous expenditures. Whatever the intellectual or material enrichment it may eventually bring to mankind, it seems to us that the pace is too headlong and that some of the energies and resources scattered in this way should be devoted to more immediate ends. We believe, in fact, that the great problems of humanity have first claim to our concern and ought to receive priority treatment. When we think of all the hungry needing food, all the ignorant needing education, all the sick needing treatment—in short, all the misery calling for relief—it tugs at our heart-strings to see launched from our planet these rockets and satellites, worth much more than their weight in gold and destined to revolve in empty space; and we think of the wise words of the French fabulist, La Fontaine, concerning the astrologer who falls into a well and is drowned through having gazed too much at the stars and forgotten the earth on which he walked.

142. Among the matters of greatest concern to the insufficiently developed countries, the question of stabilizing the prices of raw materials and establishing a reasonable and constant relationship between such prices and those of manufactured goods occupies a high place. Year after year, we see that the terms of trade of the primary producing countries continue to decline. We regard this ever-increasing gap between the prices of primary products and those of manufactured goods, not of course as the root cause of under-development, but as one of the main reasons for its continuance. I shall not dwell on this problem to which my delegation will revert in greater detail when it is discussed in Committee. I merely wished to mention it now as a token of the importance we attach to what might be termed "economic decolonization".

143. And so I come to the third panel of what I will call the triptych of the three D's—Disarmament, Development, Decolonization.

144. It is, perhaps, in the matter of decolonization that the most encouraging events of which the United Nations has to take cognizance have occurred during the past year. We have among us today the representative of five former colonies or territories ad-

ministered by colonial Powers. My delegation has already had the opportunity and the honour to tell the Algerian delegation, from this rostrum, how deeply gratified we are to have it in our midst at last [1147th meeting]. I now offer my warmest congratulations to the delegations of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, with whom we shall be happy to work in our Organization.

145. With independence for Algeria, France has closed the book on its colonial history in Africa; but at the same time, it has strengthened and broadened the foundations of the friendships it has succeeded in forming in our continent. The illustrious statesman at its helm, General de Gaulle, can be proud to have accomplished the great historical task which he outlined in January 1944 at Brazzaville. The leaders of those Powers still obsessed with the old colonialist myth will do well to follow the masterly example set for them by the President of the French Republic.

146. I am happy to say that France is not the only colonial Power entitled to our commendations, and I welcome the opportunity to pay a tribute to the United Kingdom, whose liberal spirit has brought to independence, in the best conditions, an imposing number of territories in Asia, Africa and the Americas. However, its task is not finished, and must be continued to the end; Kenya, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias still await their independence. In the case of Southern Rhodesia in particular, I appeal to that liberal spirit I mentioned a moment ago to put an end to the régime of oppression and exploitation which is retarding the political and social development of the African population. In the past, the Central African Republic and its partners in the Union of African and Malagasy States brought their influence to bear on France to settle the Algerian problem; we trust that the Asian and African States members of the Commonwealth will likewise exert on the United Kingdom friendly but firm pressure to induce it to accelerate and complete the task of decolonization which it has so well performed until now.

147. I would not wish to finish this honours list of decolonizers without including Belgium which also, despite initial difficulties, has successfully completed its task of decolonization and regained, along with the friendship of its former colonies which are now independent, the esteem of the nations of Africa.

148. Among Belgium's former colonial possessions, the Congo is still foremost in our concern. We cannot remain indifferent to anything connected with this great territory which lies to the south of my country and with which we have a common frontier of more than 1,000 kilometres. My Government has always believed that the independent Congo should comprise all, without exception, of the regions of the former Belgian Congo. Because of the many clear acts of interference in the Congo, the unity of the country has ceased to be a purely Congolese matter and has become a problem which is at the forefront of the preoccupations of all the independent States in Africa. The secession of Katanga receives encouragement and active assistance from Rhodesia, from Angola under Portuguese domination, and from South Africa in the form of subsidies, armaments and mercenaries. Other countries, by failing to control effectively the movement of arms through their territory, become the accomplices of Mr. Tshombé, who gets from them the aircraft and rockets needed by his troops. Lastly, the Katangese adventure has made that province the

promised land of those desperate soldiers, those mercenaries, whose taste for violence cannot adjust itself to the tempo of life in the democratic lands where they lived. Thus, Katanga became a forward bastion where the old colonialism, supported by a powerful capitalism as unconcerned for the advancement of peoples as it was blind to its own long-term interests, hoped to halt the African emancipation movement in its southward march.

149. In those circumstances, my country cannot but endorse and support the United Nations intervention in the Congo, and it fully shares the Secretary-General's anxieties regarding the difficulties he has in meeting the costs of this operation. He is appealing to all countries to fulfil their financial obligations arising from the maintenance of the United Nations Force in the Congo. If there could have been any lingering doubt of the extent and force of those obligations, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>2/</sup> has dispelled it once and for all. That is why we are astounded that some of the largest contributors to the Organization persist in their refusal to pay their assessments; we ask them to reconsider their position and to respect the decision of the highest judicial authority of all.

150. A few weeks ago, the Congolese Government and the provincial authorities of Katanga reached an agreement which led us to hope that we were near our goal. This agreement was to a large extent the result of the initiative and perseverance of the Secretary-General, who, in this matter as in all others, has shown himself a very worthy successor to Mr. Hammarskjöld. I wish to thank him warmly, on behalf of the Central African Republic, for this action. It can only strengthen faith and confidence in the Organization, whose prestige is now linked to the success of the United Nations operations in the Congo and to the cause of unity in that country.

151. However, we are bound to observe that recent developments are disappointing. We hear more and more about the reinforcement of the Katangese troops and of the recruitment of new mercenaries. Mr. Tshombé makes statements which give us the impression that he still clings to his long-standing custom of blowing hot and cold. If this fear were justified and if Mr. Tshombé were again to violate his own undertakings, the United Nations would find itself confronted with a very serious situation which might deal a grievous blow to its prestige. In order to put an end to this crisis which has lasted too long, we should then have to act with the greatest determination.

152. Nevertheless, let us hope that Mr. Tshombé, whom we have so far considered a traitor to the African cause, will put an end to this sad display of procrastinations, evasions and unkept promises, and that he will rehabilitate himself in our eyes by loyally applying the agreement which will make Katanga one of the provinces of the Congo Federation.

153. The Congolese problem leads me to digress a moment in order to deal with the problem of the upkeep of the United Nations forces. Experience has shown that these troops are more ready to obey their own officers than to conform to the spirit and purposes of the United Nations. We must therefore continue to consider the problem of establishing a United Nations

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

force which would cost as little as possible to maintain and whose officers and non-commissioned officers, provisionally released from their allegiance to their countries of origin, would really become international soldiers and would lead troops supplied by Member States. The proposal that the United Nations should maintain a wholly international force both of officers and men may seem attractive in theory but in practice appears too costly.

154. Returning now to the problem of decolonisation, I shall deal with its least favourable aspects. The Agreement recently concluded between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea had, of course, the important advantage of avoiding an armed conflict. But how can we fail to deplore the fact that this Agreement [A/5170, annex], which the United Nations approved by a vast majority, was concluded in absolute violation of the principle of self-determination? In fact, we have witnessed the spectacle—astonishing in our era of decolonization—of a territory being handed over by one colonial Power to another with the blessing of the United Nations. What other name can we give to a transfer of sovereignty carried out without even asking for the preference of the population? Few important United Nations decisions have been taken with such an overwhelming majority as that achieved in this Assembly on 21 September 1962 [1127th meeting] in favour of an operation which violates one of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

155. One week after the vote in the General Assembly, this violation was denounced by the Papuan nationalists in the following letter received by my delegation:

"As members of the Legislative Council of New Guinea, we wish to thank you warmly, on behalf of the Papuan people, for the position taken by your Government on the question of New Guinea.

"The Agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia on the future of our fatherland was concluded without our being given any say in the matter. The decision of the General Assembly was taken, again, without our people being consulted.

"We can only hope that Indonesia will carry out the Agreement in good faith and that the supervisory functions of United Nations, which are clearly defined in the Agreement, will be effective. As far as we are concerned, we shall continue to defend our interests with all available and legitimate means.

"We appeal to the conscience of the United Nations and especially to those countries which have always supported us in our national aspirations to see that Indonesia is made to adhere faithfully to those clauses of the Agreement which relate to the exercise of our right to self-determination in 1969.

"We hope that your Government will continue to support us and to defend our interests in the years to come. Do not forget us!"

156. This letter justifies—if any justification were necessary—the position taken by my delegation when it abstained during the vote on 21 September 1962.

157. However, once again, let us recognize the fact accomplished and let us hope that this Agreement will be strictly applied so that the Papuans will be able, before 1969, to express their wishes freely, which so far they have not been able to do. Let us hope above all that Indonesia, conscious of the heavy responsibilities which it has already begun to assume in New Guinea,

will devote its resources and its efforts to the development of the territory and the well-being of its inhabitants. Its honour is at stake.

158. While the General Assembly has solemnly advocated the rapid and unconditional abolition of colonialism, we are bound to observe that certain Powers completely ignore its resolutions. My delegation deplores the fact that there are still in this Organization Powers, namely, Portugal and South Africa, which have not implemented the decisions of the General Assembly and which persist, the one in its anachronistic colonialism, the other in its monstrous policy of racial discrimination.

159. Whenever it had the opportunity, the delegation of the Central African Republic has stressed its keen and legitimate interest in all African problems and in particular its rejection of the spurious legal arguments which Portugal invokes in order to claim Angola, Mozambique and Guinea as parts of its national territory. Once again, we appeal to this Member State to follow the example of the former colonial Powers I mentioned previously and, abandoning colonial exploitation, to embrace resolutely the course of African friendship, before it is too late. Otherwise, revolution and violence will take from that country by force the independence which it has been unwilling to grant.

160. In this second half of the twentieth century, the Republic of South Africa presents us with the stupefying and scandalous spectacle of a country which, not content with tolerating or encouraging racism, makes of it a national policy and a method of government. As things are, it seems as if a white minority is proposing to maintain indefinitely its domination over a black majority, which it uses according to its own pleasure or according to the fluctuations of the economic situation as a mere reservoir of manpower. The decision taken by the Republic of South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth has clearly shown us that its Government intends to pursue its apartheid policy undisturbed.

161. The attitude of a great democratic nation of the West is quite different and worthy of the highest praise. Very recently, its Government intervened, with a vigour which does it honour, to repress the misdeeds of racism in its territory.

162. It is this Government that we would like to hold up as an example to the South African authorities and to warn them once again of the tragic consequences that their reactionary policy will have: either they must let the wave of African emancipation follow its natural and irresistible course or they themselves will be swept away by the torrent.

163. Finally, I must remind them that they hold the mandate over South West Africa only from the League of Nations and that they must therefore give a faithful and detailed account of their administration to the United Nations. Moreover, the time has come to emancipate this territory and to enable it, like so many other African nations, to enjoy the benefits of independence and freedom.

164. In short, Portugal, by its colonialism and its barbarous repression of the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people, and the Republic of South Africa, by its policy of racial discrimination and oppression, are constantly violating the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter and disregarding our resolutions. Consequently, the Central African Republic believes that these States are not worthy to sit in our

Organization and should be expelled if they continue to make no effort to adapt themselves to the requirements of the political evolution of the African continent. Before such an extreme step is taken, my country would like the great Powers to support the claims of the African States by exerting vigorous pressure through an economic boycott of Portugal and the Republic of South Africa.

165. Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about our conditions of work and, in particular, about the present structure of the United Nations. Since its establishment, the composition of the United Nations has been profoundly changed by the admission of new Member States, mainly from Asia and Africa. As this change in membership has not been accompanied by any structural reforms, the result has been a serious disequilibrium much to the disadvantage of the latecomers, who have, so to speak, been given a back seat. For a long time now, the composition of such important organs as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council has not reflected the real character of the United Nations. In my country's view, the African and Asian countries must be given a fairer representation in these bodies and the Charter must be revised in order to reflect more adequately the new physiognomy of the United Nations.

166. We also consider it essential for the conduct of our work that a Secretary-General should be appointed for a normal term of office. I say deliberately "a Secretary-General" and not a team of Secretaries-General, because I believe that the administrative control of the United Nations should be entrusted to one man, the various geographical groups being sufficiently represented by his immediate collaborators. My delegation hopes that the unity of leadership, which is particularly necessary in the present period of tension, will be maintained in spite of certain proposals aimed at installing at the head of the Secretariat the kind of political régime which, under the name of triumvirate, did not exactly demonstrate its efficiency in ancient Rome. The Central African Republic expresses the fervent hope that the office of Secretary-General will not be rendered useless by making it faithfully reflect the deplorable division of the world into blocs. We want U Thant, who now holds the post of Acting Secretary-General, to become Secretary-General. His deep wisdom, his authority and his great impartiality seem to us to be sufficient guarantees for the success of his arduous task which he has been discharging for over a year with such good results. I convey to him my country's gratitude for the firmness and skill he has displayed in defending the interests of the young nations, particularly those of Africa. They trust that he will associate them still more closely in his activities.

167. The general policy debate in these plenary meetings enables each delegation to comment—unilaterally, as it were—on the great international issues. This debate will now continue in the committees where it will not be—or at least should not be—sufficient to express governmental view-points without any effort at conciliation. The work of the present session must not serve, as it has done too often in the past, to crystallize disagreements and to fan the flames of controversy. Our committees, particularly the First Committee, are going to take up very important problems. May they examine those problems in a more peaceful atmosphere, which will facilitate their solution. May we all be imbued with that spirit of tolerance and peace which pervades the Charter, so that we

shall not betray the cause of mankind for which our Organization, despite its vicissitudes, remains the best if not the only hope. The achievement of our mission will be, I am sure, greatly facilitated, if we always bear in mind the deep misery and anguish which prevail in the world today. It is to try to alleviate the one and assuage the other that we are meeting here. Only success in this task will make us worthy of the honour that the world has done to our Organization and of the confidence that the world has placed in it.

*Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.*

168. Mr. ISSA (Somalia): In the first place, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you upon your election to the Presidency of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is, indeed, an election which reflects your outstanding qualities for this most important position, and one which brings satisfaction to your many friends in the international field. The Somali delegation, in particular, welcomes your appointment, being aware of the singular role which you played when the question of my country's independence was under discussion at the United Nations. We are confident that your talents and wide experience in international and diplomatic affairs will be of great value to this world body. Your appointment, too, is a tribute to our sister nation of Pakistan, with which my country shares the closest relations.

169. It is also most appropriate that my delegation should extend a cordial welcome to the newly independent States of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago on their admission to this Organization. My delegation is confident that they will contribute significantly to the achievement of the objectives to which all of us here have dedicated ourselves.

170. As a co-sponsor of the resolution supporting the admission of Algeria into this Assembly, it is appropriate that my delegation should pay tribute to the valiant and heroic struggle of the Algerian people for independence. This struggle, which continued for seven and a half years against superior forces, was a graphic example of the determination of a people to be free from alien rule and to be allowed to live and govern their own lives. The struggle pointed to other morals too. It showed that colonialism is moribund, and that, no matter how fierce a stand colonialists may take to maintain their grip over another people, the will of the latter, in the last analysis, is the paramount and deciding factor. The struggle also proved that colonialism cannot be maintained at gun-point, and that there are no forces in this world which can prevent the inexorable march of a united people towards the goals of freedom and independence.

171. Of course, we must not lose sight of the equally heroic part played by those French leaders, led by President Charles de Gaulle, who acted against considerable opposition to prove to the French people, and indeed to the world, that the supreme test in democratic government is the upholding of the rule of law and the practical application of the cardinal principle of the right to self-determination.

172. Furthermore, it gives my delegation great joy and deep satisfaction to welcome the presence of Uganda in the community of free and independent nations.

173. With the independence of Uganda there now remain only two countries in East Africa which are still struggling for their liberation. They are our neighbouring and sister countries of Kenya and Zanzibar. It is our hope that the attitude of the United Kingdom towards these two territories will be characterized by the same liberal and enlightened policies which have freed so many other countries in recent years. In this respect, we ask the United Kingdom to take immediate measures to grant the African peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar their freedom without further delay.

174. If it has been our good fortune today to share the happiness and joy which has followed the successful solution of the Algerian problem, and if we today have greeted the independence of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and our most recent independent sister State of Uganda, we must not relax our efforts to ensure that the many other African people who are still under colonial bondage are given the same opportunity of exercising their right to self-determination. I have in mind Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and other African territories.

175. In the African territories of Angola and Mozambique we are witnessing a colonialist war of aggression of the most brutal type. Here modern armaments are being openly employed by Portugal to suppress the demand of the local inhabitants for independence. Practical measures must be taken to induce Portugal to accept the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last year calling upon the country to undertake reforms in Angola without further delay and to transfer all powers to the Angolan people. Meanwhile, the atrocities which the Portuguese authorities are inflicting on innocent African peoples, both in Angola and in Mozambique, must be brought to an early end.

176. On the question of Southern Rhodesia the action which must be taken is summarized in two resolutions, both sponsored by the African-Asian group and supported by the vast majority of the representatives at the United Nations—General Assembly resolution 1747 (XVI) and the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee [A/5256 and Corr.1, para. 17]—which in all earnestness call for: (a) the convening of a constitutional conference, in which all political parties should take part, to ensure, among other things, the rights of the majority of the people on the basis of "one man, one vote", and at the same time the repeal of the constitution of December 1961, which did not provide justice to the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia; (b) the immediate release of Joshua Nkomo, President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and other nationalist leaders who have been restricted, detained or imprisoned; (c) the lifting of the ban on the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union.

177. Resolutions, however, cannot change the situation if certain Member States do not act with responsibility, foresight and co-operation. The keystone to the solution of the problem in Southern Rhodesia lies in the hands of the United Kingdom Government, which must discharge its responsibilities in accordance with the wishes and welfare of the African people inhabiting the territory.

178. In any discussion on colonialism one cannot avoid discussing the problem of South West Africa, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it is unique in that

the country being a mandated territory is an inescapable responsibility of the United Nations. Secondly, it presents the unique example of a country being the victim of the most vicious form of colonialism and being compelled to suffer in this condition despite the sympathy of the whole world.

179. My country, being a member of the Special Committee for South West Africa, is most concerned about events which involve not only the condition of the indigenous peoples there, but also the visit of the United Nations representatives to that territory in May of this year.

180. An eye-witness account by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa confirms that the administration of the territory continues to be pervaded by the rigorous application of apartheid in all aspects of the life of the African population. It is evident not only that they are being racially segregated and discriminated against, but that their paramount interests are being subordinated to those of a small minority of Europeans.

181. The same United Nations representatives are convinced that the objective followed by the South African Government in its administration of the mandated territory has consistently been, and continues to be, in utter contradiction to the principles and purposes of the mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the enlightened conscience of mankind.

182. It is pertinent to mention here that the report of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee [A/5212, part II], which shed light on the situation in South West Africa, has been endorsed by the United Nations Special Committee for that Territory. Their conclusions and recommendations have, in turn, been adopted by the Committee of seventeen members.<sup>10/</sup>

183. The Special Committee for South West Africa is, to use its own words, convinced that "unless an early and satisfactory settlement of the question is made, the situation could result in a serious political disaster with far-reaching consequences". This being so the matter is indeed a serious one.

184. The Somali delegation has already accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice stating that the political status of South West Africa is that of a mandated territory, and that responsibility for its affairs falls within the competence of the United Nations. We are also watching with interest the efforts of Liberia and Ethiopia on behalf of the African countries, in their case against South Africa before the same judicial body.

185. It is clear that the invitation which was extended by South Africa to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee on South West Africa was not motivated by genuine intentions, but that its sole object was to deceive them as subsequent events have so vividly demonstrated.

186. It is important, therefore, that speedy and effective action be taken by the General Assembly to renew its efforts to send another team of United Nations representatives to South West Africa so that

<sup>10/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.



General Assembly resolution 1702 (XVI) is fully implemented. In this connexion my delegation will, at the appropriate time and place, move concrete proposals concerning the representative body of the United Nations which we feel should carry out the important tasks set out in the resolution.

187. However, should South Africa refuse to cooperate with this world Organization in accepting the United Nations authority over the mandated territory of South West Africa, my delegation will have no alternative but to endorse fully that part of the Special Committee's recommendation which suggests the ultimate revocation of the mandate and the simultaneous take-over of administrative responsibilities of South West Africa by the United Nations.

188. Colonialism, undoubtedly, presents a real threat to world peace in that the tense situation prevailing in the above-mentioned territories, as well as in some other parts of Africa, provides all the ingredients for conflict and strife. No compromise can be made with regard to the legitimate and inherent right of every people to exercise freely the right to self-determination. It is, therefore, incumbent on the United Nations to secure the conditions under which this fundamental principle of its Charter can be implemented. My country has, time and again, voiced the opinion that the solution to many of the political problems which beset this troubled world, in particular colonial problems, can be found by applying this basic right unreservedly, within the spirit and letter of the Charter.

189. In my speech to this Assembly last year [1027th meeting, para. 145], I was impelled to draw attention to the unhappy and menacing situation which exists in the Horn of Africa and which has been caused by the brutal partitioning of the Somali people and its land by colonial Powers during the latter part of the nineteenth century. I use the term unhappy because the artificial boundaries which have been drawn across the Somali lands divide brother from brother, impede normal social and economic development and perpetuate the subjection of a large number of Somali people to political institutions and governments which are completely alien to them in character, in purpose and in form.

190. The Somali Republic, which was formed in July 1960, is at present the only part of the Somali territories which is ruled by an independent Somali Government. The other parts are still under the colonial rule of the United Kingdom, France and Ethiopia; and it is in these areas that the Somali people demand that they be set free and accorded the right to determine their own destiny. In two of the three remaining portions still under colonial administration there are signs that the problem may be equitably settled by allowing the inhabitants the chance of self-determination.

191. In fact, the British Government has pledged that a special commission will soon visit Kenya to ascertain the wishes of the Somalis inhabiting the Northern Province of that territory. This is in accordance with their publicly expressed desire of seeking independence and reuniting themselves with their motherland.

192. In French-administered Somaliland there is hope that the French Government will speed up political development in that territory and prepare the way for the local people to decide their own future. Now that the valiant people of Algeria have been granted their

independence, French Somaliland represents the last vestige of French colonial rule in Africa. It is to be expected, therefore, that the spirit of emancipation which has characterized French policy toward their former African possessions will be applied to no less degree to our brothers in French Somaliland.

193. It is unfortunate, however, that while the prospects for freedom have improved for our brothers under British and French rule, there should be so much reluctance and so great opposition by the Ethiopian Government to grant the same rights of self-determination to the Somali people living under their jurisdiction. Recent events demonstrate that Ethiopia is determined to prolong its colonialist grip over the large portion of Somali territory which it illegally seized, or which was illegally handed over to it at the time when other colonial Powers invaded the Horn of Africa.

194. I do not wish to enter here into the historical aspects of the question, but those who have studied it know that the attempted Ethiopian measures to extend control over the Somali people, with the object eventually of subjugating the coastal lowlands of the Horn of Africa, is an interesting example of latter-day non-European imperialism.

195. Ethnically and ecologically, the Somalis form one of Africa's largest homogeneous groups; they are primarily pastoralists and their characteristic social pattern is that they move seasonally with their livestock for grazing. Our main interest, therefore, is that the areas which have belonged to the Somalis since time immemorial, and which they share together, should be reunited under a single Somali Government chosen by the Somalis themselves.

196. In recent times relations between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic have reached a serious stage. Two factors continue to aggravate the situation.

197. One is the contemptible and arbitrary action by the United Kingdom Government of transferring to Ethiopia in February 1955 no less than 25,000 square miles of territory known as the Reserved Areas and the Haud, and exclusively occupied by the Somali people. This shabby deal was concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Somali inhabitants.

198. Secondly, the reprehensible action taken by the United Kingdom Government to appease Ethiopia in 1950 when, on the transfer of Somalia to United Nations trusteeship, it arbitrarily imposed a provisional boundary of over 1,000 kilometres in length between Somalia and Ethiopia. This boundary problem remains unsettled to this day and is a constant source of friction between these two neighbouring African States.

199. In the ten years of United Nations trusteeship administration repeated efforts were made to solve the question of the boundary, and each year during this period the matter appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations. For this reason my Government wishes that this matter might still be considered as an outstanding problem and it reserves the right to raise this issue when the occasion becomes opportune.

200. The tensions which have been created by the continued occupation of a vast portion of Somali territory by Ethiopia have been further intensified by the aggressive and hostile policies of that country toward the Somali Republic.

201. Large contingents of fully armed Ethiopian military units continue their provocative activities along the frontier and in the grazing areas, while harsh administrative measures have been instituted against Somali nomads by the local Ethiopian authorities in an effort to obtain their complete subjection to the colonialist and expansionist policies of Ethiopia. In support of these activities, the Ethiopian Government press and radio have carried out a pernicious propaganda designed to mislead world opinion about prevailing conditions in the Somali Republic.

202. In April this year Ethiopia propaganda and activities became so hostile and aggressive that it was necessary for the Somali Government to bring the matter to the personal attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In an era when so much is being preached about respect for human rights, the principle of self-determination, good neighbourly relations, peaceful coexistence and the like, it is extremely difficult to reach anything but a sad conclusion about the motives underlying Ethiopian policy toward the Somali people.

203. In addition to these provocative policies, the Ethiopian Government has now taken the deplorable and unprecedented step of challenging the nationality of an accredited Somali diplomat who has been posted for the past one and a half years in the Somali Embassy at Addis Ababa, and who has served for six months as our *Chargé d'affaires* there during the absence of the Ambassador. The Ethiopian Government has deprived him and his family of diplomatic immunity and privileges and has refused the family permission to leave the country.

204. The diplomat, his wife and three children are in possession of valid diplomatic passports which have been endorsed for entry into, and exit from, Ethiopia by the appropriate Ethiopian consular authorities. Yet despite these documents and the diplomatic status which they hold, the whole family has been obliged to seek refuge in the residence of the Somali Ambassador where large numbers of armed Ethiopian security police continue to maintain a twenty-four hour vigilance. All Embassy vehicles are searched at pistol point by police as soon as they venture outside the Embassy premises and its employees have been subjected to threats and maltreatment.

205. These latest series of provocations by Ethiopia constitute a flagrant breach of accepted international practices governing the privileges and immunities of diplomatic missions and their staff. It is well known that when a diplomat becomes unacceptable to a host government it is normal practice to declare him *persona non grata* and to request his immediate removal from the country. It is most unusual, however, to treat accredited diplomats in the manner in which the Ethiopians have treated the Somali diplomat in question.

206. Moreover, I cannot refrain from mentioning another unusual departure from diplomatic practice by the Ethiopian authorities in apprehending, recently, a uniformed member of the Somali Embassy in Addis Ababa while he was on duty and carrying an official telegram to the Embassy. He was detained for a week, maltreated and questioned about matters which were not the proper concern of the Ethiopian authorities. With careless disregard for diplomatic procedure, the telegram just referred to was withheld by the Ethiopian Government for ten days.

207. I feel obliged to state here that the Somali Government will take all steps consistent with its responsibilities to secure the protection and well-being of its citizens.

208. Before I close I must inform the Assembly of the gravest charge of all that my country has, regrettable, to make against Ethiopia. I refer to the arrest last month at Hargeisa, in the northern region of the Somali Republic, of agents from Ethiopia who were found in possession of hand grenades at a time when the President of the Republic was about to visit the centre. After being arrested the agents voluntarily confessed before a magistrate that they were plotting to assassinate the President on the instructions of the Ethiopian Governor of Jigjiga. This most cowardly and sinister threat to the life of the head of my State will, I am sure, be deplored by every Member of the Assembly.

209. I regret the necessity to recount to the Assembly, in some detail, these aspects of a menacing situation which has developed in the Horn of Africa. I have felt duty bound to do so because the continued existence of colonialism in this region and the unnatural division of the Somali territories have given rise to local conflicts and constitute a potential threat to the peace and stability of this part of East Africa. The consequences will become grave indeed if Ethiopia continues to act with impunity against the vital interests of the Somali nation.

210. I should like now to turn to the problem of racial discrimination.

211. In spite of the many General Assembly resolutions condemning policies of racial discrimination, it is most disturbing that South Africa should be allowed to flout world opinion by continuing its policy of apartheid and practising the outmoded concept of absolute "white supremacy". Racial discrimination is contradictory to the objectives which we here have set ourselves, and it is vital that sterner measures be taken by the United Nations against South Africa to ensure that it conforms to the general will of the peoples of the world. Such measures could well include the expulsion of South Africa from this Organization and the application of diplomatic and economic sanctions by Member States collectively.

212. Once again the people of the world are witnessing with anxiety the resumption of nuclear tests by both the Soviet Union and the United States. Every explosion fills our minds with fresh fears and uncertainty for we know that one accidental or intentional explosion could spell doom for mankind.

213. Speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum have all expressed, in different ways, their concern, their disappointment and their fears over the manner in which the armaments race is developing. All appear to agree that the situation today is due primarily to the lack of sincerity and trust on the part of the nuclear Powers to reach a *modus vivendi*, if not a full agreement, on the whole problem of nuclear tests and disarmament.

214. My country fully supports the proposal for a phased disarmament programme and, as a preliminary to such a step, we consider it imperative that the nuclear Powers be urged to reach an agreement for the immediate suspension of all kinds of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.

215. In the past, my delegation has voiced on several occasions its strong opposition to any nation carrying

out nuclear tests on the continent of Africa and elsewhere in the world. Enough poison has been spread around the world by these tests to endanger the life of mankind for many generations to come, and world opinion must be mobilized to ensure that maximum pressure is brought upon the nuclear nations to persuade them to desist from their lethal experiments. Furthermore, it is important that the continent of Africa should be declared a nuclear free zone so as to prevent it from becoming involved in the ideological struggles between the nuclear Powers.

216. The abolition of foreign military bases abroad and the speedy solution of outstanding political issues, such as the question of the Congo and Berlin, would certainly ease the tension which we have been experiencing ever since the end of the Second World War.

217. In the case of the Congo, my delegation is confident that the United Nations will take all the necessary measures to bring about the restoration of peace, unity and stability to that African Territory.

218. As regards the crucial case of Berlin, my delegation wishes to repeat its opinion on this issue. We subscribe to the view that it is morally wrong for a homogeneous nation like Germany to be divided by the imposition of artificial political boundaries. In issues of this nature it must be left to the German people directly concerned to decide their own destiny in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

219. In an organization like the United Nations it is most important that representatives of all nations be admitted to its membership. This is particularly so in the case of the People's Republic of China with its population of over 600 million inhabitants. Their membership is important because they are the effective Government of that great country. Many issues which are being discussed here cannot have any real meaning if they do not take into consideration the views of this world Power.

220. It is gratifying to note that practical proposals are envisaged under the United Nations economic and technical assistance programme for the implementation of a number of projects aimed at improving substantially the standard of living in Africa and other developing countries elsewhere. What is even more encouraging is that the programmes of economic development needed by the developing countries are worked out in a way that are acceptable to both "donors" and "receivers" owing to the complete absence of political strings.

221. However, I should like to point out that the pressing problems of unemployment, the growth of effective demand, the technical training and placement of workers, investment policies and flow of private capital in developing countries throughout the world, deserve to be dealt with speedily and effectively. The earlier they are solved the sooner we can start an effective international co-operation programme in the economic field based on mutual interest.

222. This matter brings me to the end of my address which, as you may have observed, has been primarily devoted to some of the problems of the African world. I have felt it necessary to deal at length with these problems because their continued existence is jeopardizing the welfare of millions of inhabitants, and threatens to turn this emerging continent into turmoil.

223. The PRESIDENT: I have received a request from the representative of Ethiopia to exercise the

right of reply this morning if possible. I suppose that means before the meeting is adjourned. Strictly speaking the morning is over. I shall do whatever the representative of Ethiopia feels convenient. If he wishes to speak now, I shall give him the floor. If he wishes to speak after the adjournment, I shall call upon him later.

224. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): I know the hour is late and, although I wish to comply with your request, the statements just made by the Foreign Minister of Somalia leave me no alternative but to give immediate reply to all the baseless statements and accusations which have been advanced.

225. The chief representative of Somalia has just concluded one of the most unprecedented, vehement, crude and scurrilous attacks yet to be launched by the Government in Mogadishu against my country, Ethiopia, its Government and people. The allegations uttered are most serious and grave. Before I proceed to reply to the false and utterly baseless accusations, however, I must draw your attention to the remarkable ingenuity adopted in the gigantic effort to dress the manifold fabrications with a garb of legitimate grievances. At the same time, I should like to express my confidence that the perceptive abilities and wisdom of the Assembly have not been misled by the thinly veiled and ill-disguised lies which do not bear even a semblance of truth.

226. The charges against Ethiopia, which have just been recited, seem to fall broadly into the following categories: first, that Ethiopia conducts a propaganda campaign against the Somali Republic; secondly, that Ethiopia has aggressive designs against the Somali Republic; and thirdly, that Ethiopia is solely responsible for the lack of demarcation, on the ground, of the frontier between Ethiopia and the present State of Somalia.

227. That these allegations should be uttered by its very authors is, of course, quite analogous to the events which immediately preceded the fascist aggression on Ethiopia. The Somali Government has brought these fabricated charges against Ethiopia in the naive hope of appearing as the injured party before the eyes of world public opinion. Such a masquerade, they apparently believe, would effectively cover up their spurious activities designed to fulfil certain expansionist ambitions.

228. Thus, while the Government in Mogadishu has continuously declined the constant invitations of the Ethiopian Government for an exchange of views through normal diplomatic channels which, we had hoped, would lead to the taking of positive steps for the strengthening of the brotherly ties between our two peoples, they now have discovered the rostrum of the Assembly to be the most useful avenue for airing their fabricated grievances. Unfortunately for the expansionist circles in Mogadishu, however, we in Ethiopia have too long been familiar with this type of strategy not to have anticipated the general direction of their next move.

229. I believe there is scarcely any need for me to elaborate on the fundamental basis of Ethiopia's foreign policy. That policy is one of friendly and peaceful relations with all countries, near or far. Not only the entire history of my nation testifies to this cardinal principle of Ethiopia's foreign relations, but also the very fact—as I shall presently show—that Ethiopia, in the last two years, has spared no efforts to forge a mutually beneficial co-operation even with the Government of Somalia itself underlines my point.

230. If Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on the principle of peaceful and friendly relations with all and enmity to none, if the application of this very policy is amply demonstrated by the most cordial relations which exist between my country and all other States represented in the Assembly, why, I may ask, should Ethiopia single out the young Somali Republic for the "most-unfavoured-nation" treatment?

231. Does the representative of Somalia, or the Government in Mogadishu whose spokesman he is, forget the fact that for over a decade Ethiopia and Liberia, with the support of some of those dedicated nations, tirelessly fought for and upheld the right of the people of Somalia to join the community of free and independent nations? If such is the case, what reason or motive could possibly prompt my country to dig the grave for the infant Republic in whose birth, indeed conception, Ethiopia itself was, to say the least, instrumental?

232. No, I do not believe that the Somali Government itself seriously doubts the irrefutable fact that nothing other than a brotherly and helpful hand has ever been stretched towards it from Ethiopia. But as we say in my country, a cunning defendant in a legal action endeavours to snatch the case of the plaintiff.

233. The Government of Somalia, not that of Ethiopia, will have to answer to, or else eventually bear the responsibility for, the unfathomable consequences which might accrue as a result of: first, the most virulent and vicious type of propaganda campaign unleashed and systematically waged against Ethiopia through all the mass communications media available to Mogadishu; second, the ceaseless harassing of Ethiopian frontier patrols and other security forces by agents of the Somali Government who infiltrate Ethiopian territory, disguised as nomadic grazers, for deliberate acts of sabotage and brigandage; third, the frequent outrages on the life and property of Ethiopian subjects perpetrated on Ethiopian soil by certain paramilitary groups trained and armed by the authorities in Mogadishu; fourth, the continuous attempt by the Somalia Government to create an atmosphere for public unrest, incitement and subversion within Ethiopia; and fifth, the reluctance of the Somalia Government to agree to the demarcation, on the ground of the frontier between Ethiopia and Somalia on the basis of the 1908 convention. <sup>11/</sup>

234. Taking the alleged propaganda campaign by Ethiopia against Somalia first, it seems that the Somali Government overlooks the fact that the mud it tries to sling onto others might well remain stuck to itself. Although the attempt to accuse someone of the very act which one perpetrates oneself is not, of course, such a rare discovery, it none the less constitutes the acme of hypocrisy.

235. Ever since the birth of the Somali Republic, the Ethiopian Government has been painfully aware of the obsession of certain Somali leaders for territorial aggrandizement and expansion, primarily at the expense of Ethiopia, and, latterly, at the expense of another neighbourly country still striving for its independence. Every year they seem to lay claim to more territories and, at the rate they are now pursuing this insatiable lust, I would not be surprised if the representative of Somalia did not next year,

from this rostrum, lay claim to the whole of East Africa.

236. In furtherance of their nefarious designs, the leaders of the Somali Republic reverted to the basest form of propaganda campaign in a futile attempt to sow the seeds of disunity within the Ethiopian people, to create misunderstanding, suspicion and hatred between the peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia. To this end, a continuous stream of lies has been concocted, facts have been twisted beyond description and events have been exaggerated out of all proportion.

237. This deliberate campaign culminated in the announcement, on 20 September 1962, by the Minister of Information of Somalia that the Ethiopian Government had organized a plot to assassinate the President of the Somali Republic. This slanderous charge has now been repeated by the representative of Somalia. Of course, this allegation, which was immediately denied by Ethiopia, was fabricated to cover up the sinister activities of Abdurahman Hussein Mahmoud, to which I shall revert at a later stage in my remarks.

238. The deliberate programme of invective propaganda campaign has been matched, on the one hand, by the dispatch into Ethiopian territory of fully armed commando groups, apparently with specific instructions to launch surprise attacks on Ethiopian frontier patrols, to loot and to destroy property and cattle of Ethiopian subjects, and to distribute subversive propaganda literature. On the other hand, responsible leaders of the Somali Government have repeatedly attacked Ethiopia in their public statements.

239. I shall not tax the patience of the Assembly by giving a detailed and exhaustive narrative of the sordid occurrences which, thanks to the negative policy pursued by the Government in Mogadishu, have haunted the harmonious and brotherly relations between the peoples of the two neighbourly countries. It is sufficient for me only to remind the representative of Somalia of the intermittent acts of murder and brigandage such as those perpetrated at Danot by the agents and saboteurs of his Government, and of the speech that Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke delivered at Mogadishu's Parliament Square on the occasion of Africa Day in 1962. I think my worthy colleague remembers those events, and he may also be interested to know that the Ethiopian Government is in possession of ample documentary evidence to support its point.

240. Turning now to the second point, surely even the Somali Government cannot possibly be ignorant of the basic geographical fact that fertile Ethiopia does not need to cast an envious eye on the arid soil at its southern flank. As I mentioned earlier, the Government of Somalia, obsessed as it is by the unrealizable dream of territorial aggrandizement and expansion, makes the preposterous claim to huge portions of both Ethiopian and Kenyan territories. Somali leaders have frequently gone out of their way to declare publicly precisely what their ambitions are. Yet they accuse Ethiopia of aggressive intentions. Perhaps such a contradiction can be explained only in terms of the strategy of Governments which usually create external diversions to distract attention from internal difficulties.

241. While the Mogadishu authorities were thus preoccupied with thinking of the best way to make Ethiopia the scapegoat for all their woes and troubles, while they launched their bitter propaganda campaign

<sup>11/</sup> Convention between Ethiopia and Italy settling the frontier between the Italian Possessions of Somalia and the Ethiopian Empire, signed at Addis Ababa on 16 May 1908.

against Ethiopia—and some of the more vociferous personages indulged in puerile threats—the Ethiopian Government has, until now, continued to exercise the utmost patience and restraint. It has, in addition, publicly counselled Somali leaders to show more maturity and wisdom. The Ethiopian Government shows the more sensible approach to the irritating problem principally because it fervently hoped that sanity and reason would eventually prevail among the leaders of the Somali Republic and that the latter in time would divert their energies and resources to more useful channels in their newly acquired national existence. Secondly, it did so because it was convinced that the misguided course pursued by certain Somali leaders was not in the best and lasting interests of both the peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia. To this end, Ethiopia will continue to come to the aid of the Somali people and Government whenever circumstances demand.

242. In an effort to replace the Republic's deliberate propaganda programme and the boastful threats of some of its leaders by a more fruitful, friendly co-operation and good neighbourliness, the Ethiopian Government on several occasions has challenged the Somali authorities to reciprocate the goodwill shown by Ethiopia. Unfortunately, these requests have fallen on deaf ears and the Somali authorities continue with their campaign of deceit and vituperation.

243. Here I must refer to the fact that despite the actively hostile attitude adopted by the authorities in Mogadishu towards my country, despite the obnoxious propaganda programme vehemently pursued by the Somali Government, the Ethiopian Government still continues ungrudgingly to accord certain facilities to their brothers from Somalia. And although, as I indicated earlier, there have been instances of abuse of Ethiopia's hospitality by the authorities in Mogadishu, we in Ethiopia invariably have shown the utmost in goodwill and fraternal feelings towards our guests from the Republic.

244. However, should those leaders of the Somali Republic persist in their misguided course of unjustifiable and unprovoked hostility towards Ethiopia, inevitably the Ethiopian Government will be compelled to review its position. The Mogadishu authorities will be responsible for the consequent hardships caused to the people of Somalia.

245. Finally, the frontier between Ethiopia and Somalia still remains undemarcated on the basis of an existing international agreement, not because of Ethiopia's unwillingness, but despite its tireless effort. In all good faith, Ethiopia carried on some five years of protracted and tedious negotiations with the former Administering Authority, and it was finally agreed by the parties concerned that the matter should be settled by arbitration. But the Administering Authority, by no means desirous of discharging one of the obligations it had assumed under the Trusteeship Agreement, obstructed the completion of the arbitral procedure. And so, upon its emergence to independence, Somalia inherited a not too attractive legacy.

246. Nevertheless, with Somalia's accession to independence, the Ethiopian Government once more took the initiative through normal diplomatic channels and invited the Somali Government to begin discussions with a view to demarcating the frontier line on the basis of the 1908 convention. Unfortunately, the

authorities in Mogadishu have not been forthcoming with any response.

247. I must now deal with two other points raised by the Foreign Minister of Somalia, namely, the alleged maltreatment of a so-called Somali diplomat in Addis Ababa and the invocation of the principle of self-determination in respect of certain parts of the Ethiopian nation-State.

248. Mr. Abdullahi Issa claims that one Abdurahman Hussein Mahmoud, a member of the Somali Embassy staff, was manhandled by Ethiopian authorities. In fact, such an occurrence never took place. What actually happened was that the Ethiopian authorities, who had instituted investigations into certain activities contrary to the interest of the nation, discovered in the normal course of those investigations that the First Secretary of the Somali Embassy in Addis Ababa was in fact an Ethiopian citizen. When this curious discovery was made, the Ethiopian Government promptly informed the Somali Embassy that Abdurahman Hussein Mahmoud, as an Ethiopian national, subject to the laws of Ethiopia, could not possibly be entitled to the usual diplomatic immunities and privileges.

249. However, this legitimate and entirely proper step taken by the Ethiopian Government only served as additional ammunition for the incessant and vile propaganda campaign disseminated by Mogadishu through the media of radio and the Press, a campaign whose echoes have been so amplified as to reach this solemn gathering.

250. It is not unreasonable to ask, at this juncture, why the Mogadishu authorities should appoint an alien to fill a diplomatic post in his own native country. The answer would not be too hard to find. But I think we would all agree that such a deceptive action at the very best is a contravention of both international law and diplomatic practice.

251. Is the Mogadishu Government unaware that under accepted international practice, a national of a receiving State may not be appointed as a member of the diplomatic mission of a sending State without the consent of the receiving State. Indeed, in the commentary on the Draft Articles on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities, prepared by the International Law Commission,<sup>12/</sup> it is stated that many States oppose the recognition even of this limited exception. The Somali Government has never requested permission to appoint Abdurahman Hussein Mahmoud, an Ethiopian national, to its diplomatic staff in Addis Ababa. In failing to make such a request, the Government of the Somali Republic has itself broken an accepted rule of diplomatic practice.

252. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that my colleague from Somalia has managed to gloss over the fundamental point of the nationality of the individual in question. Irrespective of the task in which Abdurahman Hussein Mahmoud was engaged, under Ethiopian nationality law he remains an Ethiopian citizen subject to the laws of Ethiopia. So long as the Mogadishu authorities cannot contest this basic fact, it would be proper for them to refrain from a flagrant interference in my country's domestic jurisdiction. Indeed, we do not understand why so much publicity has been sought for an affair which is not particularly flattering to the Mogadishu leadership. As the Ethiopian Government was only exercising its legitimate

<sup>12/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 9, chapter III, section II.

jurisdiction in this instance, all the other charges by the Mogadishu authorities are nothing but further fabrications.

253. Turning now to the second point at hand, I should like to draw attention to the fact that Ethiopia has consistently upheld and struggled for the applicability of the principle of self-determination to all peoples under alien rule and domination. Like many other countries, Ethiopia ardently believes in the soundness and justice of this fundamental principle. But this position does not in any way imply that Ethiopia subscribes to the invocation of the policy of self-determination in the interests of the fragmentation of existing nation-States; for in our view the very nature of that policy does not admit of its application to States which have been historically and constitutionally established, in some cases, for hundreds or thousands of years. The national unity and territorial integrity of the modern State system having been determined once and for all, clearly it is absurd to suggest that the principle of self-determination should be applied to sections of nation-States, if only because the principle was never conceived as being applicable to sovereign and independent States. What State could allow the policy to be applicable to sections of its people?

254. Undoubtedly, numerous concrete examples could be elicited to show the absurdity, indeed the utter futility, of the plea of the Somali Government. But suffice it to state emphatically that the attempt at an erroneous application of the policy of self-determination would, if it could ever succeed, deliver a death knell to both the theory and practice on which the modern nation-State system is based. The process of disintegration would inevitably result in the re-rudescence of tribalism and tear the independent States of Africa and Asia into balkanized fragments. As far as Africa is concerned, the implementation of such an idea is tantamount to a negation of the concept of pan-Africanism.

255. I need not dwell here on the fact that despite religious and linguistic differences which exist in my country, all sections of the people are proud in that they are an indivisible whole of the Ethiopian nation. History testifies to the fact that Ethiopians have proved this unity by their solid stand against alien encroachment throughout the centuries. As my colleague from Indonesia has aptly expressed it, ours is an ardent belief based on "unity in diversity", and we reject the plea for tribalism and balkanization.

256. The consideration of the question of self-determination as invoked by the Foreign Minister of Somalia, however, calls to my mind some of the events which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War. I believe we all remember Hitler's contention to the effect that all German-speaking people were German nationals, wherever they might be. We also know that this pretext was to lead to the military annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. Are the leaders of the Somali Government now pleading to be allowed to walk in the footsteps of Nazi Germany and to re-enact a European tragedy in the Horn of Africa when they invoke the idea of self-determination? If such be their inclination, let me assure them at once that Ethiopia will resist the attempt with all the means at her disposal.

257. Conscious of her proud heritage, Ethiopia has never in the past permitted, nor will she in the future allow, her borders to be intruded upon by foreigners.

I would remind my good friend from Somalia that the sacred blood of Ethiopia's sons which was shed in such places as Adowa and Wal-Wal was not shed in vain.

258. In the second half of the twentieth century when the general tendency is towards forming even a larger unity by uniting several independent and sovereign States, the tribalistic plea of the Government of Somalia for the dismemberment and disintegration of its neighbouring countries could, on the face of it, be dismissed as ill-conceived and anachronous. Unfortunately, however, there are more sinister causes which have compelled the authorities in Mogadishu to turn out to be the self-appointed champions of the idea of self-determination. The Somali Government, far from being an ardent champion of the principle of self-determination, is merely utilizing the term as a catchword for the fulfilment of its grandiose schemes for territorial aggrandizement and expansion at the expense of the adjoining countries. Such a subterfuge, such a debased application of an otherwise laudable principle, I submit, is not only repugnant to my Government; it is contrary to the Charter and the practice of the United Nations.

259. I wonder how my worthy colleague from Somalia can reconcile his wild assertion with the fact that on the seventh of this month hundreds of thousands of Somalia nationals marched into Ethiopia to make strong manifestations for union with Ethiopia. Perhaps Ethiopia should also ask for self-determination within the Somali Republic.

260. The complaint that the so-called reserved area and the Haud were illegally restored to Ethiopia clearly begs the question. The area under reference has always formed an integral part of the Ethiopian State. It was made available to the British Government as Ethiopia's contribution to the allied war effort. As this arrangement was governed by a specific agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Ethiopia, the British Government restored the area in question to Ethiopia exactly because it was Ethiopian soil. Of course, the British Government could not, nor could anyone else, appropriate Ethiopian territory to whomsoever it desires. Thus the cry of the Somali authorities is empty of any substance.

261. In conclusion, let me publicly declare that the Somali Government does not have to fear any form of aggression from Ethiopia, but needs only to reciprocate the constant goodwill that the Ethiopian people and Government espouse towards their brothers in Somalia. Let me assure the Somali people and their Government that Ethiopia does not entertain any ambitions on their or any other soil. They know that the Ethiopian people have never, throughout their long history, sought that which is not their own, nor would they now surrender even an inch of their sacred land.

262. Let me reaffirm that the cardinal principle of Ethiopia's foreign policy is one of peaceful and friendly co-operation with all countries. The Ethiopian Government is able and always ready fully to co-operate with all its neighbours in numerous types of mutually beneficial activities. Let the Somali authorities take up the challenge of peaceful and brotherly co-operation, because there is no need for them to continue sapping their energies and squandering the resources of their country in adventures which, we fear, can only land them in more troubled waters.

*The meeting rose at 2 p.m.*