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AGENDA ITEM 92

**Admission of new Members to the United Nations
(continued)**

1. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the Latin American countries that have not expressly done so, I am extremely happy to greet Sierra Leone, a new Member State of the United Nations, whose territory was discovered by the Portuguese in the year 1462, long before our America was discovered by the Spaniards.
2. The new country whose admission to this Organization as an independent nation we are now celebrating bears a Latin name, a fact which reminds us of the community of spirit that unites us in our common aims—the aims set forth in the United Nations Charter.
3. Latin America cordially welcomes Sierra Leone.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

4. Mr. BEAVOGUI (Guinea) (translated from French): The sixteenth session, like the three preceding sessions in which the delegation of the Republic of Guinea has taken part, will once again, and to a very significant degree, bear the imprint of Africa and its problems—the problems of decolonialization, and therefore also the problems of peace.
5. The first election of an African as President of the General Assembly of our Organization indisputably marks another turning point in the life of the United Nations. For all those who have fought, for all those who have sacrificed, and for all those who continue to fight, to toil unremittingly and to sacrifice, for the full emancipation of our peoples, for the affirmation of the African personality, and for the restoration to the States of Africa and Asia of their legitimate places and their proper roles in the concert of nations, for all these architects of our independent future the election of an African to the highest office in the United Nations is more than a test and more than a confirmation. It is the pledge given by initial success that further, and more significant, successes must surely follow. It is our hope, and the hope of all the peoples

of Africa and Asia, that this Presidential term, opening at a time of very delicate problems, will stand out, in the stormy history of our Organization, by virtue of the peculiar stamp of Africa and Asia, and that all our peoples, tomorrow, will have reason only to rejoice because, in 1961, one of their own acceded to the high office of President of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

6. To the many causes of international tension has now been added the death of Secretary-General Hammarskjold, which adds a further important factor to an already sombre international situation that is causing grave concern to all peoples and all States.

7. The African-Asian group could not remain indifferent to the tragic circumstances in which the sixteenth session of the General Assembly opens. More than any other spiritual family, more than any other political group in the United Nations, the African-Asians have cause to evidence their grief and concern at the sudden loss of the executive head of our Organization. They have done so, as it were, almost spontaneously. At a meeting held a few hours after the announcement of the Secretary-General's passing, the African-Asian group expressed the keen emotion, the sense of profound shock, the deep concern and the grave forebodings that filled all its members at the news of the tragic death of the Secretary-General and his colleagues. Our group also stressed the urgent need for an immediate, detailed and complete investigation to establish the full facts and determine responsibility.

8. In the opinion of our delegation, as the Foreign Minister of Ghana has already said on our behalf [1010th plenary meeting], there can be no doubt: Secretary-General Hammarskjold died a victim of the same colonialist and racist forces whose united front, organized and financed in broad daylight, assassinated Patrice Lumumba and his associates, and is now striving at all costs to prevent the inevitable decolonization of Central and East Africa. These are the same forces now surrounding the Congo, Angola, South West Africa, South Africa, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, Uganda, Kenya, Nyasaland, Mozambique and all the other dismembered parts of that region of our beloved continent with a ring of blood and flame.

9. May the gravity of the situation so created at least open the eyes and ears of those who fly in the face of all the evidence, and persist in remaining deaf and blind to all our warnings and cries of alarm. In any event, this last crime once again confirms our deep-rooted conviction that decolonization is the key problem upon which, more than on any other, the maintenance of international peace and security, and therefore the realization of the major aims of the United Nations Charter depend. It is true that decolonization must, as it were, be initiated where colonization exists in Africa and Asia. But we must proclaim from this rostrum the necessity of extending decolonization

principal organs of the United Nations. This could be wherever it may be required, particularly in the very structure of the United Nations itself.

10. In this connexion, a few dates, a few figures and a few facts will indicate, more eloquently than any speech could possibly do, the vital urgency of adapting the structure of the United Nations to present day realities, and, in particular, the urgency of giving Africa and Asia the places they are entitled to demand, as of right, in the major organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations.

11. In 1945, Africa was represented on the international scene in a purely symbolic manner. Only three African States took part in framing the United Nations Charter at the San Francisco Conference. With the recent admission of Sierra Leone, there are now twenty-six independent African States in the United Nations, which make up more than a quarter of its total membership; and who knows what these figures will be by the close of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly?

12. The proportions for Asia are about the same. It goes without saying that this numerical importance is not the only factor that must be taken into account.

13. The last three sessions have devoted most of their deliberations to the problems posed, for various reasons and in various forms, by the political, economic, and cultural decolonization of Africa and Asia. A mere reading of the agenda just adopted indicates clearly that the sixteenth session, in turn, will have to give prolonged consideration to these same problems.

14. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth sessions of the General Assembly, were quite rightly referred to as the "African sessions", all of them being dominated by the growing importance of Africa in the life and preoccupations, we would even say the trials, of the United Nations. We regret to note, however, that this importance of Africa and Asia is, in a way, confined to the precincts of the General Assembly.

15. We are still almost unrepresented in the principal organs, where the decisions of our Organization are really worked out and implemented. Even when they are admitted, Africans and Asians have the impression that they are not fully accepted. They will no longer be content merely to speak; they ask now to be associated, in the principal organs and specialized agencies, with the real life of the United Nations. There are, we know, many different obstacles to the satisfaction of this legitimate demand. All of these, however, are connected with the question of amending or revising the United Nations Charter. On this point, as is our practice, we shall be quite frank and perfectly clear.

16. Originally conceived as a compromise, under conditions which have now disappeared, the Charter today is regarded by all as no longer adapted in its conception, organization and functioning to the realities of the present day.

17. This lag lies at the very root of the difficulties under which our Organization labours today—difficulties connected precisely with the question of the executive of the United Nations, one with which we are all concerned. Who, today, would venture to doubt the inadequacy of the provisions of the Charter—a Charter which has provided neither temporary measures nor any legal solution to the difficulties arising from the

sudden death of the Secretary-General? Yet this lacuna is but a single aspect of the general inadequacy and inconsistency of the Charter. Nevertheless, it throws into sharp relief the urgent need to adapt this basic instrument to the new international situation which differs to completely from that prevailing in 1945.

18. For all these reasons the delegation of the Republic of Guinea very sincerely regrets the further record of inaction of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter (A/4877).

19. We realize that such a review cannot be undertaken without the consent of the permanent Members of the Security Council, but we must quite frankly bring those permanent Members face to face with their responsibilities in this vitally important matter. We must urge them rapidly to find that minimum common ground that is essential if these urgently needed reforms are to be accomplished.

20. As regards the Secretariat, the Government of the Republic of Guinea did not wait until the present situation had arisen to make known its views. From this rostrum, at the fifteenth session [896th plenary meeting] President Sékou Touré expressed a clear preference for a single Secretary-General, who would, however, be assisted by an advisory committee of three Assistant Secretaries-General representing the three great political forces of the world.

21. That suggestion was inspired by the need to maintain an effective executive, and also to guard against the errors and inadequacies that, from time to time, we have had to deplore and denounce from this rostrum, as well as in Africa.

22. There does not appear to be any new factor justifying a modification of our fundamental position, for, discarding the narrow sectarian view, we believe sincerely that such a proposal could reconcile all the interests involved and enable the Executive of our Organization to face with honour, effectiveness, impartiality and loyalty the immense tasks of implementation which are assigned to him.

23. Our desire is, without unnecessary delay, to give our Organization such an effective and impartial Executive. The best means to that end, and the only one acceptable to us, is negotiation, based exclusively on the interests of our Organization. We should choose a completely independent candidate, of absolute integrity and competence. Such a candidate must, of necessity, come from a country that is genuinely independent and practices a true policy of nonalignment. In this connexion, we make it clearly known that we shall oppose, openly fight and formally denounce any candidacy submitted within the framework or in the context of the cold war, even if it should involve an African or Asian willing to play the game of the blocs that confront each other in our Organization. Genuine independence, true non-alignment—that is the criterion which our delegation proposes for the choice of the executive head of the United Nations.

24. But, in addition to the question of the Secretariat, we must quickly tackle the substantive problems of amendment and revision of the United Nations Charter.

25. First of all, as far as necessary amendments are concerned, we say that it is vital to ensure equitable representation of Africa and Asia in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and all the

achieved by two methods which we consider complementary: by redistributing the existing seats—this can be done at any election—and by increasing the membership of those organs. Such an increase would of course require amendment of the Charter as provided in Article 108. This redistribution and increase in membership appear to us to be essential. Justice and dignity require them. All the formulas now used to give Africa and Asia token representation in the principal organs of our Organization are the result of compromises and devices, all of which deliberately ignore the personality of Africa and Asia. The fact of the matter is for example, that Africa, as such, has no seat at all, in either the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council. It is true that several African representatives have been or still are members for the Near East, or for the Commonwealth, or under some similar formula. What we seek, however, is true, autonomous representation of Africa and Asia, as such, in the specialized agencies and in all organs of the United Nations, including the Secretariat. This can be achieved merely by amending the Charter, just as a redistribution of the existing seats could be effected amicably by a modification—following new negotiations—of the gentleman's agreement concluded in London in 1946.

26. However, if Africa and Asia are to make their fullest contribution to the activities of the United Nations, a fundamental revision of the Charter would of course be necessary. Such a revision would have to take into account emergence of numerous States from the ruins of the old empires, the existence and vitality of the Socialist countries, and the great awakening of a large number of States that are non-aligned but are fully dedicated to the realization of the noble aims of justice, equity, and co-operation, which are the essential basis for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connexion we should rid our Organization once and for all of all the machinery set up in 1945 to deal with the colonies and Trust Territories, machinery that was created or maintained by the colonial Powers for the purpose of dragging the United Nations into their colonial adventures. More specifically, the trusteeship system should simply be abolished, since in practice it has proved less conducive to the rapid emancipation of subject peoples than has the classical system of colonization by individual Powers. In any case, the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)) postulated the end of trusteeship in all its forms. On this point the sixteenth session should formally proclaim this fundamental step forward. In due course our delegation will submit a specific resolution to that end.

27. However, the revision we call for involves the conception, organization and functions of the United Nations. With regard to its conception, we must at all costs discard the 1945 spirit of compromise between opposing camps, a spirit that sacrificed the interests of the small Powers, and instead build an Organization based exclusively on the needs and interests of the peoples. In that Organization, as we have already said, all bodies of a colonial or semi-colonial nature must be abolished, and all continents and all great political and spiritual forces of the world must enjoy equitable representation in all its organs. In that connexion, after the abolition of the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee, a new organization for co-operation and for the elimination of the underdevelop-

ment inherited from the colonial systems might well take their place.

28. As regards the Security Council, account should be taken of the fact that the concept of greatness, as it was defined in 1945, is now to some extent obsolete. It is well known that, at that time, certain countries were considered great mainly on account of their colonial empires, which have since collapsed. This is a fact that should be recognized. Moreover, the total absence of Africa and the partial absence of Asia from the great Power club of permanent members of the Security Council is another artificial situation that has seen its day. If the veto must be preserved, then Africa and Asia must be made full associates, so that they can bring their votes and the immense weight of their intact moral authority to bear on the settlement of major international questions. We reject, in advance, any great Power club in which Africa and Asia are not reasonably and equitably represented.

29. With regard to the functioning of the Organization, it is extremely important that Africa and Asia should have equitable representation in the Secretariat, and that the latter, in order to play its full part should at all costs cease to be at the service of any bloc, any group of Powers, or any particular policy within the Organization. Naturally, this involves the responsibility of all Members of the Organization, and of the Security Council and the General Assembly in particular.

30. We are fully aware of juridical and political obstacles that stand in the way of the realization of these our legitimate aspirations. However, inspired by the firm will of our peoples, by the feelings of solidarity that link Africa and Asia together, and by the deep desire for genuine independence, that is shared by the nonaligned countries, our delegation firmly resolves to co-operate seriously and effectively towards the achievement of these major objectives. Our basic concern still is to see a real strengthening of that irreplaceable instrument of international co-operation that is the United Nations.

31. Colonialism, as the Republic of Guinea has stated, and again repeats, is nothing more than the right of sheer force. Indeed, you will find nowhere, in all Africa or Asia, any country that has ever asked to be colonized. Here, colonization has been imposed by force of arms. There, the trust of the indigenous inhabitants has been abused, and the man to whom hospitality was generously shown soon usurped the place of the master of the house. Everywhere, all will to national resistance has been overcome by banishment, summary executions, cruelty and maltreatment of every kind, and the colonialist has arrogated to himself the right to think and to act in the place and stead of the colonized people.

32. In the light of these facts which some, for obvious reasons, deliberately deny in the face of world opinion, it is utterly disheartening to hear it claimed that such and such a part of Africa is really an integral part of such and such a metropolitan country, or a province of such and such another, for a proverb of my country teaches us that, no matter how long a piece of wood stays in the water, it will never become a crocodile. This, incidentally, explains the failure of all the measures of assimilation that have been attempted in various places by the colonialists. In order to give weight to their claims, moreover, some of them, with the stubbornness of blinkered mules and the tenacity of half-starved leeches, proclaim from this high ros-

trum the existence of constitutions tying them to their colonies, while others voice their indignation, in the name of human rights and the United Nations Charter, that their seizures of lands and their extreme racism, which they label apartheid, should be universally regarded as acts to be condemned, acts for which mankind itself demands reparation.

33. San Francisco was a radiant sun that rose for all the peoples that regained or preserved their freedom at the outcome of the Second World War. It is both paradoxical and deplorable that the representatives of those very same peoples should have failed, on that occasion, definitely to condemn the colonial system. The veil of humanitarianism in which they cloaked themselves was in fact lifted by the impetuous wind of freedom that swept away nazism, unmasking racial discrimination, obscurantism, under-development and its train of miseries, all of them practices which enabled the colonialists to go on living in undisturbed peace and quiet, jealously guarding the immense wealth hidden underground and waiting for the right moment in order to derive enormous profits from it when the mineral resources of old Europe become depleted owing to the rapid advances of technology.

34. In order to prepare for this age of super-profits, a colonial economic policy would be scientifically worked out in parallel with the system of administration, so that there would be no industrialization, no modernization of agricultural methods and no training of technicians.

35. It is all these misdeeds of colonialism that worthy sons of Asia and Africa have denounced before the world, at the risk of being devoured by those insatiable wolves, the colonialists and imperialists.

36. Valiant patriots are still shedding their blood in Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Rhodesia, Kenya, so-called Portuguese Guinea and elsewhere, in order that the machinations of these modern buccaneers may cease. The war-mongers are using these countries as areas in which to test the weapons and techniques they use to gain their evil ends.

37. This Organization was founded at San Francisco, to prevent war and to ensure conditions permitting normal peaceful life and fruitful international co-operation.

38. This is why the anti-colonialist countries will continue to trust the United Nations, as long as it contributes effectively to the total liquidation of the colonial system and to the complete decolonization of the countries of Asia and Africa.

39. In this connexion, the Republic of Guinea is glad that the United Nations has moved in that direction by adopting resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. It notes with some bitterness, however, that, since that historic date for the colonial countries, only one territory, Sierra Leone has become independent. We welcome Sierra Leone's admission to the United Nations with enthusiasm, pride and satisfaction, since we are convinced that this brother country is fully committed, like the other independent African countries to the task of restoring the dignity of the black man, which the colonizers, to gain their own sordid ends, have scorned. Some of the colonial Powers still claim from this rostrum that colonial countries must serve their apprenticeship before they can gain independence.

40. This paternalism is simply shameful, since, I repeat, no country asked for colonial rule. When adven-

turers from the coasts of Europe braved the stormy ocean in their sailing-ships, they did so, not in order to organize communities in Africa or Asia, but to bring back spices, gold, and ivory from those continents and to carry on the despicable trade in Negro slaves. This incapacity for self-government, which is gratuitously attributed to the colonized countries, is an insult to mankind and a sign of intolerable racialism.

41. Since colonialism must be ended, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea considers it its duty to lay stress on items 27, 79, 82 and 88 of the agenda adopted by this Assembly, which relate to the colonial policy of Portugal.

42. Our delegation regards it as deplorable that this State should for so long deliberately have committed many blatant acts of indiscipline, which are inconsistent with the obligations of Member States. Our delegation fully agrees with those which ask that exemplary political, diplomatic and economic sanctions should be taken against Portugal.

43. That a small under-developed country like Portugal should have the courage to go against the decisions of the United Nations calls for some comment, at least of which is that no country would be so rash unless it were certain of impunity. This must be for one of two reasons: either the United Nations can impose no sanctions, in which case our delegation considers it essential to revise the Charter; or Portugal relies on some hidden protection, which explains the means available to it for the repression of African nationalism.

44. Portugal, is running the risk of a very rude awakening from its legendary lethargy, because the wind of independence will undoubtedly sweep away all the last vestiges of the conquistadores, from the Cape Verde Islands to Timor and its dependencies, through Principe Island and Mozambique. It is, in this respect, a little behind the other colonial Powers. Having been the first country to possess colonies, it presumably intends to cling to the tatters of a past which it imagines to have been glorious.

45. This does not mean that the Republic of Guinea is satisfied when one more flag flies under the Asian or African sky, or when it hears echoing the strains of new national anthems. What it asks of this Assembly is the decolonization of administrative, economic, social and cultural structures, in order that the personalities of the colonial peoples may be fully affirmed and that the Asian and African, having regained their dignity, may be able to contribute effectively to a better future for all mankind. It is most unfortunate that, for certain Members of this Assembly, only the white man's dignity counts. In that regard the Republic of South Africa distinguishes itself shamefully, and the Guinean delegation hopes that the debate on agenda items 75 and 76 will lead this Assembly to take the necessary steps to make that country understand that its senseless policy of apartheid has lasted far too long.

46. We claim that the colonial system has hindered the historical development of the colonized countries. Indigenous forms of government had superimposed on them an alien system designed to protect interests incompatible with those of the inhabitants who were subjected to the new institutions. This duality led to the various nationalist movements in Africa and Asia, which were brutally repressed by the colonial Powers.

47. The peoples should therefore be permitted freely to express their will. Wherever they have enjoyed this freedom fully, they have entrusted their destiny to their worthiest sons, the very men the colonial Powers tried to exclude from positions of national responsibility. The Republic of Guinea is glad, for instance, that the nationalists of Nyasaland have won the latest election. Our country is convinced that any people is able at any moment to take its destiny effectively into its own hands.

48. The Republic of Guinea is convinced, however, and with good reason, that colonialism is not dead. Events have caused it to make a mere tactical withdrawal. Its strategy is to stir up plots here and there. The world knows of the plots which Guinea has escaped, thanks to the political maturity and awareness of its people. Colonialism, then, is very healthy, since it has very cunningly disguised itself in the mantle of neo-colonialism.

49. Two years ago, when the great majority of African States were still under colonial domination, the Guinean Head of State, President Sékou Touré, made a pathetic appeal to the colonial Powers to free Africa in a gesture of wisdom and reason, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and for the sake of peace, progress and liberty throughout the world. Today, when the majority of African States have recovered their independence, we can only renew in the same spirit of conviction and faith, this appeal to the United Kingdom, France, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands and the supporters of apartheid.

50. We say to France that self-determination in Algeria has already made its impact and that the Algerian people have already won their independence. We say to France that it should recognize this obvious fact and transfer all the powers it holds in Algeria to the provisional government of the Algerian republic, which alone will decide what kind of relations it should establish between Algeria and all the other countries in the world, including France.

51. We say to Portugal that it should learn from the lessons of history and put an end to the needless massacres in the territories which it means to integrate against the clearly expressed wishes of their inhabitants. Portugal must evacuate the Cape Verde Archipelago, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Cabinda, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique, Goa etc. Let Portugal heed our words, or it will be responsible for the catastrophe it is now preparing, which is likely to cost it more than any other country. There are many examples that might inspire Portugal to transfer immediately all the powers which it still holds by force of arms to the peoples it has so unjustly enslaved, peoples who can no longer bear the intolerable exploitation that has been imposed upon them for centuries.

52. As for Belgium, it should need only to recall the tragedy it caused in the very heart of Africa, in the Congo to realize that it should withdraw from Ruanda-Urundi with discretion, if that is still possible for a country that has almost plunged Africa into a fratricidal war without precedent.

53. To the United Kingdom we say that displaying the list of decolonization honours is not sufficient to make us forget that our brothers in Bechuanaland, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya and elsewhere are still bowed down under the colonial yoke. What we expect of the United Kingdom is that it should give without delay to the remainder of its colonial empire, the

freedom to which the peoples of those countries have as much right as those already represented in our Organization.

54. To South Africa we merely say that it is in the interest of its European population to adopt a racial policy of non-discrimination; otherwise it will have to bear full responsibility for the tragedy which the democratic revolution will certainly unleash upon that inhuman system. The South West African Mandate acquired through the intermediary of the British Crown, must simply be revoked, in order to allow the accession of this martyred territory to independence. Meanwhile we request that economic, political and diplomatic sanctions should be taken against the so-called Republic of South Africa and its accomplice Portugal, which have constantly challenged the conscience of humanity. They must be made to see reason in the interest of world peace.

55. Also, the United Nations must do everything in its power to bring about a settlement of the distressing Palestine problem, through the implementation of the various resolutions adopted at previous sessions.

56. Declarations of intention, appeals to so-called reason, or honeyed words will no longer satisfy us. After the adoption by the General Assembly, at its fifteenth session, of the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the time for prayers has passed. That resolution must be fully implemented forthwith; all enslaved peoples must be freed and the friends of freedom and independence must be counted by the attitude they adopt towards the colonialist countries. Africa, for its part, has engaged in a struggle for rapid and unrestricted liberation with the object of creating a universal society free from indignity, irresponsibility and enslavement, in which exploiters and exploited will not exist.

57. Our delegation will return to all these points in greater detail when they are discussed in Committee.

58. Another problem of concern to all mankind, the solution of which depends to a great extent on decolonization, is the problem of general and complete disarmament. At its fourteenth session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution 1378 (XIV) in which it expressed the hope:

"...that measures leading towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time".

That resolution marked a turning point in the history of the United Nations and made the question of disarmament the most urgent, the most important and the most universal of all the problems which now concern the world. All the Member States which supported the resolution on disarmament wished thereby to show that the problem concerned them directly and hence that they were conscious of the role they had to play in seeking a satisfactory and final solution that would free humanity from the scourge of war.

59. It should be noted that it is unanimously recognized that the great Powers now engaged in the arms race must endeavour to halt the increase in the forces of destruction created by the ever constant perfection of weapons and stocks of nuclear and ballistic devices, and to end all preparations for war.

60. Despite the serious differences which still exist between the great Powers and their allies, it would be dangerous to minimize the active role which the non-

aligned forces can play in the quest for possible solutions to the present difficulties.

61. Thus, the first contribution which can be made towards solving the disarmament problem is to view it in its true light and recognize its universal nature. Disarmament cannot be a matter only for the two great Powers and their allies, for the issue of peace or war in our time may directly affect the survival or the end of the whole of humanity.

62. In the debate, my delegation will present what it believes to be the point of view of the inhabitants of a continent which is on the move, which sees what is needed for its development and which considers the maintenance of peace as its basic objective.

63. If distrust is the primary cause of the arms race, there can be no disarmament so long as distrust persists. Unfortunately, distrust is not the only cause of the arms race, for it cannot be denied that certain Powers are still determined to substitute the argument of force for the force of law. It would be naïve to think that general and complete disarmament can be achieved while there still exists a spirit of domination, generally expressed in the violation of elementary human rights and the sacred rules of relations between peoples. That spirit of domination is at the root of all the conflicts that have put the world into mourning, the most serious of which was the last world war. Even if the East and the West decide to abolish war as a means of settling disputes and to contemplate disarmament through the elimination of armed forces and the destruction of all existing stocks of weapons, this will not be disarmament in the universal conception of the word so long as the spirit of conquest and exploitation continues to exist in relations between men and peoples.

64. We therefore consider it essential to bear in mind that the problems now confronting the African continent are directly linked to the question of disarmament.

65. In fact, the question of independence for colonial peoples, the question of the best means of promoting the harmonious development of Africa, which is going through a critical phase of its history, and the question of assistance to all under-developed countries chiefly those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, have a direct bearing upon the disarmament problem. It is the special role of Africa, a part of which still lives under the shadow of foreign rule and of all other peoples that have suffered a long period of deprivation of freedom, to lay stress upon the permanent causes of conflict between States.

66. It is impossible, therefore, to over emphasize the moral weight carried by the group of non-allied Powers, that includes a number of former African and Asian colonies which speak on behalf of peoples that yearn for peace and are deeply convinced not only of the dangers of war and of its material and moral consequences, but also of the futility of war as a means of bringing peoples to accept ideas they do not share. War today is not only unable to assure the greatness of any nation, it could not even guarantee it any real advantage or ultimate superiority.

67. For the African delegations, as for all delegations which attach due importance to the struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence, the problem of imperialism and colonialism is intimately bound up with the problem of disarmament; that is to say, the solution of one is impossible without the solution

of the other. No universally acceptable disarmament programme can be devised and put into effect unless the fundamental problem of imperialism and colonialism is also resolved. It is therefore proper to recognize the special responsibility certain Western colonial Powers bear in the search for an equitable solution to the disarmament problem. No one would think today of asking the Algerian people to renounce its armed struggle for its inalienable right to independence, when more than half a million foreign soldiers are violently opposing the expression of its will.

68. What faith can we have, however, in a Power which takes part in negotiations on general and complete disarmament yet at the same time uses not only its own armed forces and military equipment but also those of its allies in order to keep a peaceful people under its yoke? There cannot be any happy mean between disarmament and domination. As long as there is a desire to exploit by force the wealth of defenceless peoples, it will be impossible to tackle the problem of disarmament sincerely and fully, for these peoples would find no protection in a disarmament that still tolerated imperialist intrigues.

69. The conflict that now confronts the United Nations in the Congo reveals the direct impact of the national liberation problem on world security, and it would be idle to deny that the efforts of the imperialists to stave off the fatal day of reckoning are not only endangering the peaceful development and the security of the young States of Africa and Asia, but are also a direct threat to world peace.

70. We must deplore, incidentally, our Organization's inaction in the woeful drama of the Congo. Is it not the complaisance of the United Nations that is allowing Katanga daily to consolidate its secession? The Katangese secession has not been dealt with as it should and has just inflicted a shameful defeat on the United Nations, adding the name of the Secretary-General to the long list of victims of the colonialist and imperialist elements which are in league in the Congo.

71. I turn now to the People's Republic of China, a country which, alone, has almost a third of the world's population. We really wonder whether those who deem it possible to ignore the views and social aspirations of that great people are really moved by a sincere desire to reach a lasting solution of the present problems. It is not merely the absence of China that is to be deplored, but the lack of realism on which that discrimination is based. It is simple enough to understand that there can be no peace without the participation and adherence of all peoples without exception. The United Nations must obviously link the problem of restoring its seat to the People's Republic of China, with any rational solution of the disarmament problem.

72. The representative of the non-aligned countries, as parties and not as umpires, and the representatives of the People's Republic of China, as a great Asian Power, are missing from the group gathered about the round-table of disarmament negotiations. The presence of the neutral countries and of the People's Republic at that table, would give all peoples a feeling of direct participation in the quest for a stable and truly universal peace.

73. We cannot conceal our profound disappointment at the frenzied resumption of nuclear testing. Disregarding the alarming increase in those weapons of mass destruction, we shall confine ourselves to emphasizing the effects of radioactive fall-out, which are

a dread cause of concern to the peaceful and hard-working peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Africa and other parts of the world. We resolutely and unreservedly condemn all nuclear testing. We appeal solemnly to the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and France to heed the concern of all peoples, to stop nuclear tests of all kinds forthwith, and to work actively, in collaboration with the United Kingdom for the conclusion of a definitive treaty banning nuclear tests.

74. Another factor of war, which should be regarded as aggression, and as a means of perpetuating intolerable rule, is the interference of any dominating country in the internal affairs of a former colony. For example, the maintenance of military bases on foreign soil constitutes one of the most brutal forms of interference in the internal affairs of the country in which they are located. They constitute a permanent threat to international peace.

75. On the question of Berlin, where the cold war has reached its peak, I have only one comment to make. If the Soviet Union and the United States of America really wished it, the Berlin problem would end this very day. We appeal to their consciences.

76. We also appeal to our Organization not to let the Berlin problem, important as it is, make it lose sight of the atrocious colonial repressions that are taking place at this very moment in Algeria, in Angola, in South West Africa, in Ruanda-Urundi, in so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, in Rhodesia, in South Africa and elsewhere, against peoples who are demanding their legitimate right to freedom. It is that infamous wrong, that the United Nations first should set right.

77. Economic and financial problems, as well as the political considerations which are the motive force behind colonial and imperialist activities, will claim our earnest attention during this session. The systematic decolonization of our economies makes it necessary for us, the underdeveloped countries, to seek permanent solutions based on our practical situation, which must be conducive to the happiness, of our peoples. It is to that end that we adopt an unequivocal policy of non-alignment on the economic problems of co-operation and technical assistance.

78. Our common will to liberate our economies from the various forms of external pressure is a necessary consequence of our determination to consolidate the political independence of our States, an independence that must serve the freedom and unity of all Africa and benefit all its peoples.

79. Foreign domination constrained our peoples to productive efforts that have made Africa one of the principal suppliers of raw-materials to the world markets. No one dreams of denying that the profits from exploitation of our resources have been used to satisfy foreign interests, against the interests of our own peoples.

80. In spite of the immense wealth taken from Africa, wealth which nourishes one part of the world and ensures its economic prosperity, our populations are still unjustly subjected to the tragic consequences of under-nourishment, disease and ignorance. Our community of mankind therefore, must not make the economic development of our countries an end in itself. The development we seek is one which will provide a means of satisfying the many social needs of our peoples, and of fulfilling their legitimate aspirations. That is why we are opposed to having neo-colonialism

succeed colonialism. That is why we are striving to make our political freedom everywhere and at all times the effective instrument of our human liberation.

81. This is the theme that mobilizes and inspires our peoples in their struggle against under-development, their struggle for the complete reconstruction of the African economy.

82. By resolutely refusing to barter away our freedom and our sovereignty in exchange for a few acts of generosity, we denounced the crude snare laid for us by the forces of domination, by the foreign economic and financial Powers that still hope to keep us in their thrall.

83. We regard with grave concern this double-dealing by the neo-colonialists who, under the guise of paternalism, are exerting every effort in our recently liberated States to control our political freedom by making us economically and militarily dependent on them.

84. The numerous efforts of the imperialist Powers to establish economic communities, monetary zones or military alliances do not tend towards real solidarity or to sincere association between equal and free partners. They tend rather to bind the poor man to his poverty and the slave to his chain, while, of course, they continue to let the colonial trusts maintain and suck the life blood of our national economies.

85. After decades of domination and exploitation, it is difficult to believe in these sudden mutations that in sober fact, disguise all the forms of association that are being thought up. The bond linking the forces operating in Algeria, in the Congo, in Angola, in Rhodesia and in South Africa, is the very same bond that unites financial circles and general staffs in opposition to the unconditional freedom and real sovereignty of all peoples.

86. We shall be unable to derive the slightest benefit from the exercise of our sovereignty if we are to remain a reservoir of raw materials and manpower to feed the prosperity of the colonialist and imperialist Powers—prosperity they have attained at our expense. In the economic, financial, military, and even in the cultural fields neo-colonialism is attempting to keep our peoples' legitimate interests subject to its selfish control.

87. At Bandung, at Accra, at Cairo, at Casablanca, at Conakry, and only recently at Belgrade, as at all the various conferences which have been held both here and at those places, the political guide-lines adopted for the purpose of smashing alien domination were formulated in the light of those practical realities.

88. We of the Republic of Guinea have affirmed that our economic situation does not permit us a choice between the various means that might be used to hasten our development. We intend to use every type of aid offered to us, on the one condition that our sovereignty and independence are scrupulously respected.

89. Extending this general condition to all the underdeveloped countries, we may state that the principal means of development are in the hands of the peoples of these countries themselves, for our material produce, while it holds an important place in the world, is achieved by methods which are often quite rudimentary.

90. It is on the basis of these practical factors, which are at once positive and negative, that we must seek out the most suitable formulas for economic self-

development, formulas which will eventually be supplemented by other means of material growth.

91. The forces of colonial reconquest, the imperialist Powers, resort to methods of economic and military conspiracy, to tactics of division and diversion. This is why the under-developed countries must remain ever on guard against anything that might threaten their unity, anything that might imperil their solidarity, anything that might jeopardize their cohesion.

92. These countries have already paid enough to the world of opulence and feudalism and have been too long the victims of a reign of injustice and exploitation not to use all their resources and all their means to build up a world of justice.

93. It is our intention that the management of Africa's affairs should revert to the peoples of Africa, that there should be no constraint nor any substitution of authority in any area of our political or economic, financial or military, social or cultural affairs.

94. Anything that may be regarded as favourable in the political prospects of our common struggle for the independence and unity of the African peoples will aid substantially in accelerating the true emancipation of our peoples and promoting the rapid progress of the African continent, a continent which is entering world affairs with the openly stated desire to be an instrument of world co-operation, a factor for peace and harmony throughout the world.

95. It is precisely in order to promote effective action in the interest of the happiness of peoples and universal harmony that we vigorously subscribe to the policy of non-alignment.

96. Let me say immediately that non-alignment cannot be another negative attitude with regard to questionable interests, for it would then serve only to aggravate the harmful effects of the cold war. Our attitude towards different problems is determined solely in the light of the high objectives we have set ourselves.

97. Our societies, which necessarily and productively vary from region to region and manifest a rich differentiation in space, are now for the most part experiencing changes in the dimension of time, changes which alone allow the advent of freedom of independence. Each nation, while profiting from the experience of others, develops in its own way and establishes and broadens its relations with other nations and with its own geographical "milieu". That is to say that each people and each nation has its own ideas, its own qualities, its own pace and its own path to follow. The efforts of peoples to bring their interests into greater harmony and to achieve a constant betterment of their conditions of life will always find support in societies whose primary concern is human happiness.

98. Thus, our policy in world affairs is to decry coalitions and to extol the manifestation of the personalities of peoples and nations, and their efforts freely to express themselves in accordance with their own practical conditions. Among the basic tenets of non-alignment are the right of every nation to choose freely the political and economic system which it finds most suitable and refusal to countenance the subordination of one people to the interests of another.

99. Non-alignment is a highly active principle because it is founded on the constant pursuit of the well-being of peoples.

100. To quote President Sékou Touré, I would say that the policy of non-alignment is a committed and positive policy: 1/

"Committed because we are interested in all the phenomena which surround us and which have a direct or indirect bearing on the freedom of peoples, on democracy and on world peace. It is positive because we never resolve upon a negative course. Our policy is an affirmative one based on constructive thinking with a view to fulfilling our desire for progress, for better relations among peoples and for lasting peace. It is motivated by our will to create a fairer and happier life.

"Our policy is therefore not directed against any particular people, or régime, or country or individual.

"The motive of our political action is not to destroy but to build. It follows logically, therefore, that we should state our preferences in a positive light and not in terms of the negative consequences which they necessarily entail."

101. The policy of non-alignment leads us to condemn one of the most paralyzing aspects of the United Nations, namely, the formation of mechanical majorities or of groups with a single incentive—entities which are always and invariably opposed—one might say allergic—to each other.

102. The non-aligned countries will have followed their true vocation if they act fully in their role of stabilizing factor and contribute objectively to the solution of all problems by throwing their full weight behind the endeavour to carry mankind along the straight and narrow path of truth in the quest for peace and happiness for all.

103. Every country represented here must be convinced of its own full sovereignty and must accordingly decide that no other country, however friendly, will think or act for it in the full and independent exercise of its sovereignty. This is a matter of vital importance for the world community as a whole and, more particularly, for the world community's instrument for co-operation—the United Nations.

104. We make a special appeal to the countries of Africa and Asia, which have so long been plundered, which have felt the heavy weight of slavery and know the full meaning of freedom that has been lost and won again. Those countries, which yesterday were the pawns of ruthlessly exploiting colonizers, today remain the pawns of those who formerly occupied them and who now wish to involve them in mechanical majorities or turn them into voting machines in the various bodies, or who want to ensnare them in the hypocrisy of neo-colonialism so as to retain a status which history has already taken from them.

105. To conclude, like every delegation here we are fully conscious of the importance of this session of the General Assembly, and like many others we ask ourselves the anguishing question: will this sixteenth session be one of peace or one of war? This is, indeed, the dilemma we face today.

106. Those who want war may pursue without restraint their vain attempts to maintain themselves by force in Algeria, in Angola, in so-called Portuguese Guinea, in Mozambique, in South West Africa, in Kenya, in the Congo, in Rhodesia, or in South Africa.

They may continue the mad arms race, intensify the testing of nuclear weapons, pursue the policy of intimidation, attempt to spark the Berlin powder-keg and persist in dominating and exploiting other peoples through deception or corruption.

107. The camp of peace and progress, on the other hand, conscious of the imperative needs of the hour, will declare itself for full decolonization in Africa and Asia, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, for peaceful coexistence and competition among States having different social systems, for unconditional respect for the aspirations of peoples and for their sovereign and exclusive right to live under the system of their choice and, finally, for sincere, loyal and effective international co-operation.

108. This is the dilemma we face, and the choice seems both simple and unavoidable. For us, this choice has already been made. Fully assuming our responsibilities, we shall stand resolutely at the side of those who fight for universal freedom and progress, at the side of the true anti-colonialists, at the side of those who have faith in man and in his radiant future, at the side of all those who work for peace and the survival of mankind. These are the stirring objectives which will determine the attitude and the voting position of the Guinean delegation and the manner in which it will vote during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly.

109. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): It is with great pleasure that I come to the rostrum today to address the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, and to extend to all delegations the warm greetings of the Ethiopian Government and of my delegation.

110. Much has already been said concerning the numerous compelling and urgent problems which are on the agenda before us. Positions have been stated and restated, various policies suggested and explained. Work is about to begin in the various committees in an effort to search for just and peaceful solutions to many of these problems. We are hopeful that positive contributions will be made to this end.

111. I do not wish to take your time with a long recital of the multifold difficulties which today perplex the world. Neither is it my intention to attempt to reformulate in new phrases the views of my delegation on these problems. I believe that the position of Ethiopia on most of these problems is well known to all. I propose instead to limit my remarks to some particular problems which pose the most serious threats to the peace of the world, and to some others which are of major importance to the Assembly.

112. We find the world today inexorably slipping ever nearer a precipice at the foot of which lurks the abyss of total destruction. We stand gathered here on the stage of history, while an armed symphony provides ominous background music punctuated by the tympanic rumblings of nuclear explosions. Today when man's capacity to improve his way of life and to assure to all physical and spiritual well-being is at a level never before attained in history, his capacity—and, it sometimes appears, his willingness—to wreak universal destruction is unsurpassed. Surely, this is a nightmare from which we must all awaken.

113. It will come as a surprise to no one when I say that in casting about for the means whereby the disaster which threatens to overwhelm and engulf us may be averted, and the peace and security which we claim

as our inalienable right may be assured to ourselves and to succeeding generations, my delegation takes as its starting point the very Organization within whose walls we are now meeting. Ethiopia's devotion to the cause of collective security, which finds its most eloquent expression in the principles enunciated in the Charter, is too well known to require elaboration. As a small country, Ethiopia has always known that the greatest measure of protection and the most effective safeguards against breaches of the peace, aggression and the abuse and disregard of the rights of small nations are to be found in this Organization. My august sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, set forth Ethiopia's position regarding the United Nations at the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade 1-6 September 1961, when he declared:

"...he who acts deliberately and with calculation to the injury of the United Nations, to weaken it or to endanger its existence as an effective and energetic international institution ... robs the world of the last, best hope for peace; he robs the small nations of that bulwark which the United Nations provides against oppression and aggression and he deprives them of the forum where their voice may be raised against injustice and oppression."

114. During the past year we have received further tangible proof of the force which the United Nations can constitute for the common good in the various activities, both of a routine and extraordinary character, which have been carried out by this Organization. If some measure of tranquillity and security has been restored to a good part of the Congo, for example, the action of the United Nations in responding to this threat to the peace of the African continent must share largely in the credit. If, as the tragic events of the last few days would indicate, the calm which appears to prevail in the Congo is not yet solid, it is not due to any fault of the Charter. It is rather the combination of reactionary forces that have brought about the present stalemate in Katanga. We accordingly must persevere and use all our resources to ensure that the province of Katanga is fully reintegrated in the Republic.

115. The Republic of the Congo is and must remain one, whole and indivisible. We are indeed duty bound to assist the Central Government to re-integrate the province of Katanga into the Republic and to expel all mercenaries from the province. It is the view of my delegation that the presence of the United Nations in the Congo can be justified only on these grounds. If we do not intend to carry out the decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly in this regard, then one is bound to inquire the purpose of the United Nations in the Republic of the Congo.

116. It is clear to us that to realize re-integration we must expel and keep out all mercenaries from Katanga Province. If the mercenaries have no known nationality, or if the Governments concerned do not wish to take energetic measures to keep them out, then the United Nations Command should hand all such mercenaries over to the Central Government so that it may take whatever lawful measures it may deem necessary. The present situation, whereby captured mercenaries are able to return to Katanga by various means and devices, must be stopped. Furthermore, we must condemn any colonial interference in the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. The machinations

of the reactionaries who encourage the Katanga authorities in their irresponsible designs must equally be condemned and stopped.

117. On world problems we start from the premise that no nation today wants or seeks war. We cannot accept the view that in pursuit of a set of political or economic principles any nation today would deliberately press its policies if it realized that war was, in such circumstances, inevitable or a likely result. If war therefore comes about, it will occur because one side miscalculates and misjudges the determination or the endurance of the other.

118. At the same time we cannot shrug off the plain fact that the two great Powers today are following policies which, quite apart from their inherent rightness or wrongness, must and do, inevitably lead them into conflict and friction. To the extent that these conflicts arise from the efforts of either group to secure acceptance of its particular political or economic philosophy, or in an attempt to impose their system of government upon others, we here at the United Nations not only have the right but the duty to insist that they stay their hands lest miscalculation occur and destroy us all.

119. We must also unfortunately recognize that the great Powers are capable of acting not only in violation of the principles by which we seek to regulate the conduct of nations, but also, it appears, in disregard of the safety of the world as a whole. Thus, in spite of the repeated demands of the General Assembly to the Government of France to desist from further nuclear tests, that Government has continued to endanger African life.

120. Recently the world was profoundly shocked by the unilateral and unexpected decision of the USSR to resume nuclear tests. Shortly afterwards the United States of America resumed underground nuclear testing. But any tests, whether conducted in the air or buried deep underground, have only one purpose—namely, the perfecting of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, all tests must be deplored and brought to a speedy end.

121. Though it can be said that we must be realistic, that we must recognize the limited nature of our ability to prevail upon the great Powers to stay their hands from the nuclear trigger, we can nevertheless unanimously demand an immediate halt to all nuclear tests, followed by a complete nuclear ban, and in so doing point the finger of history squarely at those who must stand before posterity—if, indeed, posterity there will be—to justify their actions.

122. In this area the Ethiopian delegation is convinced that the draft resolution^{2/} which it submitted last year together with nine other Member States on banning nuclear weapons must receive priority. I do not wish to elaborate on the arguments which we presented last year; suffice it to say that our draft resolution has the support of the great majority of Member States because it contains the aspirations of mankind. It is our hope, therefore, that the great Powers concerned will endorse it and thus ensure its application. But, whatever the position of the great Powers may be, the General Assembly must pass its judgement on the resolution.

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 67, 86, 69, 73, document A/C.1/L.254 and Adds. 1-3.

123. Disarmament has become for our time the overwhelming imperative. In no other area, perhaps, has so much been said and so little accomplished. The Ethiopian delegation believes that we should do more on the question of disarmament. We can take hold of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiation [A/4879] which the two great Powers signed on 20 September 1961 and, using that as a starting point, we can challenge them to make a firm commitment in advance to abide by the decisions which this body may reach, and thus test the sincerity of the protestations that both sides desire peace, which ring in our ears—though often punctuated by the explosions of nuclear devices.

124. The Berlin crisis has developed because of the absence of agreement among the four Powers concerning the future of Germany and, in particular, the status of Berlin. We appeal, therefore, to all the Powers concerned to find a final solution to this problem which is the cause of great anxiety to the world.

125. High on the list of topics, and clamouring for our attention, is the final liquidation of colonialism. Here I wish, first, to seize this opportunity to express once again the satisfaction of the Ethiopian Government and people at the admittance of Sierra Leone to the United Nations. We wish them success and prosperity as a new and independent member of the world community.

126. We feel certain that this process and struggle in which so many of us have participated will come to a triumphant conclusion. In order to ensure that the final stages of this development are not delayed or hindered, we urge, in the words of the Final Declaration adopted by the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade: "The immediate, unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism". We can settle for no less and will be satisfied with nothing else.

127. In other words, the continent of Africa must be fully and totally liberated from the rule of colonialism. Algeria, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Zanzibar, South West Africa—indeed all and every dependent African territory must be free.

128. With respect to Algeria, we insist that the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution^{3/} providing ways and means for the proper implementation of self-determination by the people of Algeria. In other words, if negotiation cannot settle the question definitely, we believe that the draft resolution which could not pass in its entirety last year must be adopted this year as the only way out of a deadlock that now subsists in that war-ravaged land of North Africa.

129. We applaud the release from prison of Jomo Kenyatta and his resumption of the leadership of our neighbour, Kenya. To refer only to recent history, my Government and people have strong associations and ties with the people and leaders of Kenya, dating back to when some of our compatriots went into exile in that beautiful land during the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941. We look forward to collaborating and strengthening our ties with Kenya when it becomes independent. We hope Kenya's independence will swiftly follow that of Tanganyika, which we hope will join us here next December.

130. While the independence of Kenya, Uganda and, to some extent, that of Nyasaland seems to be as-

^{3/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 71, document A/4660, para. 4.

sured under African rule, the picture is gloomy in the Rhodesias. The recent massacre, imprisonment and oppression of the followers of Kenneth Kaunda in Northern Rhodesia is to us a matter of great concern and indignation. We therefore call upon the Government of the United Kingdom to grant the right of equal suffrage to the African population, so that each territory may determine its own future no matter what the desire of the settlers might be.

131. Unless this is done promptly, and the African majority given governmental power now, we feel certain that the United Kingdom Government will bear a great responsibility. We accept all peoples in good faith, but in this instance we are compelled to reject all policies that perpetuate supremacy to the white settlers under the guise of a multi-racial society. The only policy that is realistic and acceptable to Africans, is the transfer of power to Africans. Nothing will satisfy us short of this, and we are determined to continue to extend our support to our African compatriots in these territories. Such is our position also with respect to Zanzibar and, indeed, any other colony in our continent.

132. The case of Angola cries out for special consideration. The full extent of the dreadful state in which our brothers in Angola find themselves today is not realized; censorship and other repressive measures have kept the situation in Angola in a dim twilight. But enough is known to demand our immediate intervention and to elicit our universal condemnation. Over 140,000 refugees have fled their homes, a shocking testimony to the lengths to which the Government of Portugal has gone in imposing a rule of terror and oppression. I wish to take this opportunity to express to the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) our heartfelt appreciation of the assistance which it has extended to the thousands of refugees who are now in its territory. For our part, we shall continue to extend our support to the people of Angola in their struggle to achieve independence. We are confident that all other African States, as well as all freedom-loving nations, will provide equally effective support both to the refugees and to the freedom-fighters of Angola.

133. A scarcely less compelling problem exists in the policies of racial discrimination which continue to be followed in certain States. We are saddened, but not dismayed, by incidents which occur from time to time even in those States which make the highest claim to civilization. In speaking of racial prejudice, therefore, we look principally to the Union of South Africa, where a legalized policy of discrimination exists. In our view, the United Nations has done far too little in the past with respect to this problem. We therefore call on all Member States to join in collective action, in sanctions which will demonstrate to South Africa once and for all that the way of life which it has professed is repugnant to mankind and that, considerations of principle aside, it is not in the interests of that country to follow it any longer.

134. The numerous violations of the terms of the mandate held by South Africa over South West Africa have been taken jointly by Liberia and Ethiopia to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.^{4/} This action will be pressed with full vigour and energy. We are happy to report that all the African States have participated in all decisions leading to this action. We

are also happy to know that Ghana and other States are planning to intervene before the Court in support of this action. We feel that this co-operation augurs concerted action in other areas of common interest. The Court action, however, is not enough. We call, therefore, for a greater measure of action than has been taken in the past and one which will provide for tangible and positive results. The Union Government, in violation of the mandate, has made South West Africa in recent years a prison cell by garrisoning armed forces on all the frontiers of the land so as to continue its unhindered massacre, imprisonment and, in short, wholesale suppression of the innocent inhabitants of the international territory.

135. The United Nations cannot close its eyes to these facts; it cannot stop its ears to the cries of the colonial peoples; it cannot stand idly by while the colonial Powers resist all appeals to reason and justice. To do so is to abdicate its functions and responsibilities. Last year, by an overwhelming vote, the General Assembly called for the speedy dissolution of the last strongholds of colonialism. Unhappily, this resolution [1514 (XV)] has remained largely unimplemented. It is not enough that this year we should merely adopt another draft resolution couched in the same general terms. Unless affirmative and effective measures are taken in implementation of the resolutions which express our will, we run the risk that what we do here will assume an everlessening degree of significance in the view of those who look to the United Nations as the guarantor of their future. We have demonstrated that we can act if the need be urgent. Let us act now, forthrightly and honestly, to dispel this problem and to remove it permanently from the agenda of this body.

136. In this connexion I wish to point out that the spread of the cold war into areas which have hitherto escaped entanglement in this struggle—a danger recognized by many—has not perhaps up to this point been dealt with as effectively as it might have been. This development constitutes a particular danger for Africans and Asians, so many of whom have only recently gained their independence and whose territories are believed by the great Powers to represent a field which must be contested, threatening thereby the peaceful and rational development of their economic and social structures. We have seen, unfortunately, how easily erstwhile tranquil areas can succumb to these pressures and be transformed into cold war battlefields. We believe it to be essential that this evolution be resisted in order that the cold war may be restrained within the narrowest possible confines. It appears to my delegation that one way of contributing to this objective is to provide the institutional framework whereby problems which are essentially local in nature are limited to the locality most intimately concerned. In order to achieve this end for the continent of Africa, we call upon our sister States in Africa to join in the creation, under Article 52 of the United Nations Charter, of a regional organization of African States; the basic and fundamental task of which will be to furnish the mechanism whereby problems which arise on the continent and which are of primary interest to the region could, in the first instance, be dealt by Africans, in an African forum, free from outside influence and pressure. We trust that the other African Members of this Organization, whom we believe to be equally dedicated to disengagement from the toils of the cold war, will lend their full support to this proposal. As our pro-

^{4/} I.C.J., South West Africa Case, Application instituting proceedings (1960 General List, No. 47).

posal rests on Article 52 of the Charter, we hope it is clear to all that our desire is not to disengage ourselves from the world community, but to develop institutions peculiar to ourselves in accordance with the Charter.

137. Four last points remain to be dealt with, all touching on the institutions of the United Nations. They concern the representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China; the enlargement of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council; the reorganization of the Secretariat; and finally the question of economic and technical assistance machinery.

138. On our agenda we have two items concerning the representation of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Because of our belief in the peaceful coexistence of nations irrespective of differences in political and social systems, and because of our realization of the advantages emanating from the universality of the United Nations membership, the Ethiopian delegation will support the proposal that the Government of the People's Republic of China occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

139. In considering the structure of our Organization, the Ethiopian delegation would like to point out that membership has increased from the original number of fifty-one to one hundred. None the less, the composition of some of the principal organs, and in particular of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council, remains what it was sixteen years ago. Taking into account the above-mentioned changes, there must be an increase in the membership of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to facilitate an increased participation by the African-Asian States which are at present poorly represented.

140. Regarding the reorganization of the Secretariat, it is the view of the Ethiopian delegation that we must abide by the provision of the Charter as stated in Article 97. It is to be noted that in accordance with this provision, it is appropriate that one person occupy the post of Secretary-General. In fairness to all concerned, it is preferable to select as a Secretary-General a national from the African-Asian countries.

141. At this point I would like to bring to the attention of the Assembly its resolution 1559 (XV) regarding the chronic problem of the imbalance of the geographical distribution of the United Nations Secretariat. This resolution requested the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, "to intensify his efforts to implement the General Assembly resolutions" on that question. It is imperative that the closest advisers to the Secretary-General should also be staffed on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

142. My country has been associated with the work of the Economic and Social Council for the past year. As the only African country on the Council, we have observed very closely the efforts of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, while at the same time we have endeavoured to bring to the attention of the Council the special problems of Africa. Our experience in the Economic and Social Council has convinced us more than ever that the interest of the under-developed countries can best be served by channelling all aid and assistance through the United Nations. The problem in the social and technical assistance activities of the United Nations is not only one of making available more funds to the Organization. Undoubtedly, the increase of such funds is indeed

imperative, but there is also the problem of effectively utilizing the available resources.

143. We are very much disturbed by the existence of duplication of efforts and by the absence of clear-cut objectives in the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. We believe there should be effective co-ordination, even if this entails structural changes in some of these institutions. Co-ordination in the economic and social and technical assistance activities of the United Nations should be effective both at the planning and execution levels. A system of priorities which corresponds to the resources of the Organization should be worked out first and foremost on a regional basis, in the planning stage, by the specialized agencies working in close co-operation with the regional economic commissions.

144. On the operative level of economic and technical assistance, co-ordination should likewise be effective. Again the regional economic commissions should play a leading role, especially regarding the regional projects concerning their respective areas of operation. The regional commissions should have more leeway for initiating programmes of their own and, where appropriate, undertaking operative functions of technical assistance.

145. Permit me at this juncture to bring to the attention of the Assembly a problem which the Ethiopian delegation was privileged to present to the thirty-second session of the Economic and Social Council, Last May, under the auspices of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), high representatives of African Governments met in Addis Ababa to assess the educational needs and requirements of their respective countries and to relate their efforts in the field of education to their over-all economic development. The deliberations of the Conference have revealed in concrete terms the alarming situation that exists in the educational field of the continent. To meet the basic educational needs, therefore, the Conference established as targets the increase of enrolment in African schools by 20 per cent in the next five years and the achievement of universal literacy by the year 1980. The achievement of these targets by African Governments will call for a doubling of efforts, and for heroic sacrifices on their part. The Conference estimated on the basis of these targets that the current external aid which was assessed to amount to \$140 million should be increased by 1965 to \$450 million. My delegation, and I am sure all delegations from Africa, request that the General Assembly endorse Economic and Social Council resolution 837 (XXXII) which calls on all Member States to mobilize their resources and help the African Governments achieve these targets.

146. In my statement I have considered only a few of the many pressing problems before us. The fact is there are no easy and clear-cut solutions to many of these problems, and we are therefore forced to improvise, to settle for half-way measures, to grope in semi-darkness, only half aware of that for which we search, never quite sure where we are, nor what we have achieved. Man's progress on this earth has been at best a painful and laborious process, and we are perhaps unrealistic if we expect it to be otherwise.

147. None the less, if we work with zeal and energy, if we face the problems and the crises of today honestly and squarely, we shall have fulfilled our duty to ourselves and to mankind. And, we suspect, in this

very process we shall do much to achieve peace and security in the world.

Mr. Pipinelis (Greece), Vice-President, took the Chair.

148. Mr. AMMOUN (Lebanon) (translated from French): The Arab Peoples, who are both Asian and African—they represent the geographical and human bridge between Asia and Africa—are highly pleased, Mr. President, at your election as President of this Assembly. We are impressed by the unanimity with which you were chosen, for it was a tribute to your exceptional ability and a reflection of the opinion of delegations representing peoples from five continents; it augurs well for the conduct of the work of this session, which is opening in an atmosphere of profound anxiety for the whole world.

149. When the United Nations was founded, nearly seventeen years ago, it held out the prospect of building a new world, united in peace, subject to the rule of law, living under the authority of a world organization which was itself based on the principles of liberty, equality and justice.

150. The attention of nations was turned towards the Charter, which embodied those principles for all time. Some of those nations, still suffering from two world wars, relied on the new concept of collective security to avert another war, which would be more terrible and destructive than ever before. Others, still bowed under the yoke of colonialism or suffering from economic and social injustice, saw in the United Nations the dawn of liberation and equality together with respect for human dignity. If that was the new order on which all hopes rested, why were the peoples dissatisfied with it? Why have nations felt the need to come together at other places, in Asia, Africa and Europe, and to reach agreement outside this forum? Why, after San Francisco, which fulfilled the whole world's aspirations, has there been Bandung, why has there been Belgrade? And why Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia? The events of today supply us with the answer to that question.

151. However, the Conference of African and Asian nations held at Bandung in 1955 was not just the expression of the aspirations of Asia and Africa. The spirit of Bandung is the spirit of our Charter. The principles and objectives of Bandung are those of the United Nations, or at least, what the principles of the United Nations should have been in international practice.

152. It was because those were not being applied or were taking a dangerously long time to implement that the African and Asian nations met at Bandung, where they served as spokesmen for the oppressed and abandoned peoples of all continents. They were the voice of all who sought peace in the world.

153. It is common knowledge, however, that the Bandung Conference, which had been viewed initially with some apprehension, soon was welcomed in many different quarters. The resolutions it adopted, far from marshalling the coloured peoples against the West, proclaimed their adherence to the Declaration of Human Rights and their support for the principles and purposes of the United Nations, which aim to preserve peace based on justice and national and racial equality. The principle of international co-operation was embodied in the resolutions on economic and cultural questions. It is true that the peoples of Africa and Asia gained most by the meet-

ing. However, is not that perhaps because they were the most disinherited, to the point where the Charter principles did not seem to have been conceived with them in mind?

154. Be that as it may, twenty-five nations of Asia and Africa became Members of the United Nations five years after Bandung, and we have just admitted another African country. Thus, the United Nations was indebted to the Conference of the countries of Africa and Asia for giving effect to the long-neglected principle of universality.

155. However, the task is far from completed. More than one country is still fighting for its freedom and waiting for the day when the doors of the United Nations will be opened to it. Others are fighting to defend their territorial integrity or to free themselves from the last vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination.

156. If the historic resolution condemning colonialism [1514 (XV)] adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session had been rapidly implemented, if it had been greeted by all the Powers to which it was addressed with the same understanding and good will, the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in September 1961 would not have had to deal with the problem again and would have confined itself as some would have preferred, to the tragic problem of war or peace.

157. But, so long as the bloodied land of Africa still carries the seeds of colonialism, so long as racial discrimination has not been stamped out wherever it has roots, the struggle must go on and the Belgrade Conference could not fail to take up the problem again.

158. It was raised there again with greater emphasis and in broader scope. Intervention and discrimination in any region of the world were severely condemned. The solidarity of eastern and western peoples that yearn for freedom and equality was strengthened as a result.

159. Like Bandung, Belgrade satisfied a general, universal need, a need which the United Nations should have satisfied without either Conference having to remind it. Is it not the responsibility of the General Assembly at this session and of all the nations here represented, without exception, to put an end to a long and painful episode in the history of mankind?

160. If so much patient and unremitting labour over a long period is required to achieve an objective of the United Nations involving the most fundamental principles of the Charter and the fundamental rights of peoples, should we not ask ourselves why?

161. Shall I tell you why? The tragic death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations provides us with the answer, an answer from beyond the grave.

162. The other day, we all listened attentively, despite the emotion we felt, to one hundred funeral orations for Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, who died for the very cause we are defending, the cause of freedom.

163. If there is any man who deserves to live forever in our memory, is not he the man who, at a decisive stage of our history, personified the ideals of freedom and world peace and bravely went to his death to make those ideals a reality?

164. Let us remember that Dag Hammarskjöld was a man of faith and courage: faith in the oft-forgotten

principles of the United Nations and its lofty purposes; courage in the service of those purposes and principles—moral courage throughout all his work, physical courage in the face of death.

165. What greater tribute can be paid to him than to share fully in his faith and courageously to work towards his ideal?

166. The death of Dag Hammarskjold reminds us of the no less painful death of Count Bernadotte whose murder was confessed—or rather proudly claimed—by a powerful political party which is represented in the Israeli parliament. The bullet which struck him in the back not only put an end to his life, but also to his efforts to secure the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Palestine and on the internationalization of Jerusalem.

167. Is not the answer to the agonizing question we have asked ourselves to be found in the sacrifice of those two great men to a great cause, in the face of resistance to United Nations action and to its objectives?

168. After Bernadotte, after Hammarskjold, will there be men of courage to break that resistance and to devote themselves, as they did, at the risk of their lives, to the implementation of the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations?

169. For what indeed is the use of the most solemn principles and resolutions if they are not translated into action? By allowing Israel just once to violate the Charter and disregard decisions based on its principles, by leaving unpunished the murder of the representative of the United Nations who tried to give effect to those principles, have we not encouraged similar attitudes on the part of other countries?

170. Have we not in the same way allowed the resolution on decolonization to remain without effect for nearly a year after its adoption, with the result that now we are again confronted with problems like Algeria?

171. If the greatness of a nation is measured by the sacrifices it makes for its independence and freedom, then great is the Algerian nation, which has made tremendous sacrifices for its liberation.

172. Indeed, do we realize that the number of Algerian men and women who died in the struggle for freedom exceeds the losses suffered by more than one great Power in the war to free the world from the menace of Hitler? The United Nations remembers the Korean war in which sixteen of its Members took part. Those sixteen countries together did not lose as many men as Algeria alone.

173. We should bear in mind all those sacrifices and resume without delay the negotiations which have been suspended—the Algerian people have agreed to negotiate for their independence and the protection of their territorial integrity.

174. In other countries, in Angola, Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, South Africa, the Congo, Palestine—I shall not name them all—blood has flowed freely in the struggle for independence or racial equality or national unity—as freely as that shed, at least once in its history, by every nation represented here, in its struggle for liberation.

175. The clearly expressed will of the United Nations to put an end without delay to colonization in all its forms implied a solution to these painful problems,

a solution which brooks no further delay, for the negative attitudes towards the United Nations, beginning with that relating to Palestine and continuing with those adopted with regard to other problems connected with the ending of colonialism must be denounced once and for all.

176. Let us therefore agree to help all dependent peoples to free themselves from their bonds so that justice may reign at last and one cause of insecurity and one danger of war be banished forever.

177. That is the ideal of the United Nations. However, no sooner was the Organization founded both as a symbol of and an instrument for the unity of the world, a world united in peaceful co-operation, than a split occurred which set the great Powers against one another and drew the peoples into one or other camp. The objectives of the United Nations were lost from sight. Instead of adhering to the principles of collective security, the world reverted to the old system of alliances and the balance of forces in which advanced defensive positions and strategic and military bases confront one another. There was no longer any question of disarmament as envisaged in the Charter. Instead of disarmament, we have had an arms race, made more terrifying by the new weapons, to which, if nuclear tests are not immediately suspended, will be added the neutron bomb. The battlefields which were adequate for the greatest conquerors of the past no longer satisfy the ambition of our modern strategists who now include interplanetary space in their plans.

178. In this state of affairs, arising from the division of the world, was it not inevitable that crises would follow one another, each more dangerous than the last for the peace of the world? The renewed Berlin crisis coupled with the problem of Germany, which is pushing humanity to the brink of the precipice, cannot be considered in isolation from the competition which, since the end of 1945, has thus cast its gloomy shadow over the whole globe. Berlin and Germany are both cause and effect. They are the cause of the extreme danger which is threatening the immediate future of mankind and they are the effect of the situation which has resulted from the rift in the United Nations and of the desperate competition which has supplanted the Charter's spirit of co-operation.

179. All the events of our time fit into this picture of division and competition. After the crises in Iran and Greece, after the first Berlin crisis, after Korea and Viet-Nam, after Laos, the Congo and Cuba, it is once again Berlin. It is the fire smouldering incessantly under the ashes, periodically releasing sparks which may set fire to the whole world and the sky above it.

180. However, we must not minimize the efforts being made by men of good will to find a solution to each incipient conflict, whether those efforts are made inside or outside the United Nations. The United Nations sets about this Sisyphean task year after year. It is preparing to do so at the present session. But there is a danger that every effort will be vain or lead only to a provisional solution so long as we do not tackle the initial cause of all these conflicts, culminating today in the Berlin crisis through which we are living so dangerously, so long as we do not tackle the basic cause which is common to them all and which lies in the contradiction between two worlds.

181. For ten years we have been talking about peaceful coexistence. Any why should peaceful coexistence not be the remedy for the evils created by this division? Why should it not be the panacea for these crises which break out at different places and at different times but which all stem from a single cause?

182. It is true that peaceful coexistence certainly needed to be rehabilitated in the eyes of certain people who regarded it with apprehension, if not with mistrust, probably because the idea had been advanced by one of the parties at issue. But have these apprehensions not subsided since the concept of peaceful coexistence has gone round the world, so to speak, having been adopted by the Colombo Powers, the Bandung and Belgrade Conferences and, finally, by the representatives of States of the Monrovia group, like Senegal? And has not the Secretary of State of the United Kingdom just given it his Government's support? We recall in particular the fine analysis of peaceful coexistence made by the distinguished Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal at the 1012th plenary meeting, which could have found ready support, I think, among the non-aligned countries of Belgrade or of the Afro-Asian group.

183. Whatever hope we may place in peaceful coexistence as a blanket solution to the problems whose persistence continues to disturb the world, it remains a long-term solution which does not exclude a positive examination of each of these problems. We are of course in favour of negotiated solutions, provided neither law nor principles suffer in the process. In the past year the United Nations has looked to negotiation as a means of securing general disarmament, and twenty-five heads of State or Government leaders of non-aligned countries, responding to the present crisis, have urged negotiation upon the leaders of the two great countries which hold in their hands the keys to war and peace. You will agree that the effect of such an appeal will be considerable and that it will bear fruit sooner or later, for it is an unambiguous expression of the ardent desire of all peoples for peace. We believe, moreover, that it meets the wishes of the leaders of the great Powers concerned, who did not conceal this fact in the statements they made to an attentive and highly interested Assembly.

184. But if the question of Berlin and of Germany is amenable to negotiation—and we hope we may look forward to fruitful negotiations on that subject in the near future—the problem of disarmament, which is likewise negotiable, appears on the agenda of this session with new prospects of success. We were glad to learn from the address by the President of the United States [1013th plenary meeting] as well as from the statement by the Soviet Foreign Minister [1016th plenary meeting] that they were agreeable to the participation of the non-aligned countries in the negotiations which were envisaged. These statements were encouraging on two counts: the prospect of negotiations, which was thus accepted by both parties, and the objective participation of the non-aligned countries. The admission of this neutral element is likely to create an atmosphere of confidence, to temper the discussions, to avoid conflicts and to help in the search for practical solutions free from all special interests, provided the neutral countries entrusted with this delicate mission realize its full importance and carry it out with an efficiency and impartiality matching the good will by which they are animated.

185. I now want to digress for a moment and speak about the economic aspect of the question, and about the proposals tying economic recovery to population growth. I am one of those who are painfully surprised by the proposal on the Assembly's agenda to link two problems, economic development and population growth, with the clear intention of limiting the latter by birth control.

186. In order to justify the linking of these two problems, they are both described as "social factors". The birth of a human being is not a mere social factor. There is a spiritual and moral element in the birth of a man, it even has something of the divine. Humanity, if I may say so, is not a herd whose rate of growth can be fixed according to the pasturage available. Moreover, Malthusianism is a way of explaining the cycle of wars and epidemics, and a dubious one at that. In any event, it cannot be used to justify a new kind of massacre of the innocents, or an attack on God's work.

187. The problem of the sacred rights of man, whether born or unborn, can best be stated by asking: how can we increase production in order to meet the needs of humanity?

188. In the present world situation, which is that of a world arming to the teeth, the solution does not lie in birth control but in control of armaments. Above all, the curbing of the population must not be allowed to supply the policy of general armament with fresh means. That would mean killing the embryo to obtain the means of killing the man.

189. We must remember that over \$120,000 million a year is being spent on armaments by the two camps. We must also recall, for example, that the combined national income of the whole of Africa is \$20,000 million, which means an average per caput income of \$100. What does this mean? It means that if the military budgets of the two blocs were spent on assistance to Africa, they would raise the African's income by 600 per cent. In other words, the annual per caput income in Africa would immediately rise from \$100 to \$600 and would thus equal the figure for Europe.

190. In the circumstances we should speak not of reducing births but of reducing armaments. Whatever may be done through birth control can be matched only by the reduction or abolition of armaments. The latter is in any case inevitable, but we must immediately set about smoothing the path of negotiations leading towards it.

191. Each passing day, particularly since the resumption of nuclear tests, increases the danger that the new weapons will spread until they are in the hands of even the smallest countries.

192. Although we voted for a separate discussion on the question of the cessation of nuclear tests, any of the parties is free to ensure that the negotiations on this subject and on disarmament go forward together and if the disarmament discussions make no progress, the discussions on present testing can be held up.

193. The danger of these tests lies perhaps less in the developing knowledge of the nuclear Powers themselves than in the possibility that other States may seek and acquire the same knowledge. Does not the real danger lie in a more wide-spread possession of nuclear weapons?

194. While we continue our efforts to conclude a treaty providing for the banning, under effective con-

trol, of the testing of such weapons by certain great Powers, all States possessing reactors, theoretically for peaceful purposes, should immediately be brought under some control. This control could be the responsibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna, which is an agency of the United Nations. Any country not complying with such a decision would thus afford adequate proof of its lack of good faith, and could then be deprived of any supplies and any aid in this field. This control of the nascent nuclear Powers should be established without delay.

195. Lastly, I should like to raise a matter about which we are all anxious and on which Members of the Organization should unite, instead of creating another open split, because it concerns one of the strongest pillars of the United Nations: I refer to the question of the Secretary-General and of the succession to Mr. Hammarskjöld.

196. Throughout this statement I have referred to the unity which prevailed when the United Nations was established, the unity which existed among the founders of the Organization at San Francisco and which had already been lost the following year at London and the year after that at Flushing Meadows. We deplored the division and the split which occurred in our ranks and dominated our work, and we called for the restoration of this lost unity.

197. It is true that unity has sometimes been achieved in support of certain causes the justice of which was so obvious that none could ignore them who was not moved by wrongly understood self-interest or by outdated ideas belonging to the past. This was the case at the time of the bloody conflicts of Suez and Bizerta. Almost complete unanimity was achieved or restored, to the honour of the United Nations, in these two cases which raised questions of general principle for all nations. But our Organization has suffered from a disastrous disunity since its foundation, particularly towards the end of this year.

198. Following the painful loss we have suffered, we must preserve the unity which is still embodied in the person of the Secretary-General, the only survivor of the shipwreck of our first illusions, and we must cling to it with desperation.

199. It is, in fact, a question of choice. Until now the small nations have been called upon—first Norway and

then Sweden. The field of choice has become wider since appearance of the non-aligned nations, and by non-aligned nations I do not mean only those which went to Belgrade.

200. I should like to remind you that the search for a definition of non-alignment was a rather delicate matter when it was taken up in Cairo. Non-alignment is as hard to define as aggression, or even law, and jurists and diplomats who have exercised their best wits for dozens of years have not been able to agree on definitions of those terms. However, I am quite willing to adopt the excellent definition of non-alignment given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, and I infer from it that the countries which attended the Belgrade Conference are not the only non-aligned countries. They themselves declared, in fact, that they held no monopoly. What is even better, they expressed the hope that their numbers would increase. The influence of the non-aligned countries can thus only tend to increase and serve more effectively the interests of peace.

201. A Secretary-General worthy to succeed Mr. Hammarskjöld and agreeable to the two conflicting parties may therefore well be found in one of the non-aligned nations, in the widest sense of that word. Have not these two parties already agreed that the non-aligned nations should take part in the solution of a problem which is vital to each of them and to the whole world—the problem of disarmament?

202. I should like to add that I fully share the opinion expressed this morning by the Guinean Minister for Foreign Affairs on the participation of all nations of Asia and Africa, as the equals of every other nation, in all bodies of the United Nations. This is necessary in the interest of the United Nations itself.

203. If, therefore, we can settle the question of the Secretary-General rapidly in the spirit of co-operation and confidence which we all desire, we shall have taken a step to strengthen our Organization so that it may once more become an instrument for peace and for the unity and progress of mankind. This is the hope expressed, on behalf of my country, as this session of the General Assembly opens in one of the most critical phases of history for the destiny of man and of human civilization.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.