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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. Freitas (Togo)	261
Speech by Mr. Turbay Ayala (Colombia) . . .	263
Speech by Mr. Pipinelis (Greece)	266
Statement by the representative of Ghana . .	268

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FREITAS (Togo) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am particularly pleased to find myself at the head of my delegation on this occasion and to have the privilege of conveying to you personally on my own behalf and on behalf of this delegation, our very warm congratulations on your unanimous election as President of this great Assembly. This almost world-wide expression of confidence, which is a tribute to your personal, human, moral and intellectual qualities, is at the same time an expression of confidence in the whole of Africa. We can therefore take legitimate pride in it. We are the more pleased because we are certain that your devotion to the Charter, your long and distinguished diplomatic experience, your tact and your calm will enable you to discharge worthily and without difficulty this onerous task at a moment when the United Nations must be steered through difficult and perhaps dangerous waters.

2. May I take this opportunity of welcoming our brother State of Sierra Leone into the great international family. On behalf of President Olympio, who is, I know, on terms of personal friendship with the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, and on behalf of the Government and people of Togo, I ask the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone to accept the sincere and fraternal expression of our pleasure at seeing a new State emerge on the international scene. We are happy to renew to him here, as well as to his people and his Government, the good wishes we conveyed to them when their independence was proclaimed. The Chief of State of Togo, who personally led the Togolese delegation at the fifteenth session, said at the conclusion of his brief statement to the General Assembly following our admission to membership [866th plenary meeting, paragraph 31]:

"We have not come here presuming to teach you how to solve the serious problems of the present day. As I said before, a small nation can have its share of wisdom, and in our case that wisdom bids us now learn, observe, exchange ideas and think. Then, after gaining practical experience and a knowledge of the problems we shall be able to make the contribution which the United Nations is entitled to expect of us."

3. After only a year, we cannot claim to be sufficiently familiar with the problems to teach others how they should be solved. We therefore propose, from this rostrum, simply to express our feelings and our views concerning some matters which are today the focus of concern for all mankind.

4. The words "peace" and "disarmament" are in fashion in all countries, independent or dependent, large or small, rich or poor, Members or non-members of the United Nations. But we must know whether these words are used with their real meaning or whether they are mere slogans, instruments of propaganda for purely political purposes. For surely it is contradictory and even paradoxical that there should be talk of peace and general and complete disarmament while nations continue to arm themselves with the most formidable weapons, thus opening the door to the extermination of the human species. It is true that some States have felt that the possession of these weapons of mass destruction or annihilation by all nations would discourage any aggression. My delegation does not accept that view. In our opinion, peace, true and lasting peace, will be found by other means, by peaceful action to achieve the goals of freedom, law and justice.

5. Freedom for the individual and freedom for the peoples to choose their own path, whether philosophical, ideological, political or social. Hence, freedom or self-determination for the peoples, whether white, yellow or black.

6. Justice among men, among peoples and nations. And to achieve justice, one must surely be on the side of law. Does not this ideal of justice lead us, perhaps unconsciously, towards that integrity which leads us not only to respect what does not belong to us, but willingly to restore what we have unjustly kept from others? In this connexion, we in this Assembly must give the world an example of justice, if we are really to preserve international peace and security, the fundamental purposes of our Organization.

7. But do the positions we take and the decisions we adopt always obey this golden rule? We have only to examine our consciences to see that that is not the case. In this context I should like to mention an example that concerns my country.

8. In 1955, because the Gold Coast, a colony, was about to become independent, the General Assembly decided by its resolution 944 (X) of 15 December 1955 that a plebiscite should be held in Togoland under British administration, with a view to the union of that Territory with an independent Gold Coast. Is not such an act in principle questionable in itself? Indeed, how could it be honestly thought that the problem could be posed of the union of a Trust Territory with a colony whose people were recovering their national sovereignty? In any case, the plebiscite took place. What were the results and what are its consequences today?

9. Considered as a whole, the results showed 58 per cent in favour of union with the Gold Coast and 42 per

cent against, an over-all majority of 16 per cent, a rather small majority to decide the future of a people.

10. But there is more to it than that. If we consider the results in each area, as the special report of the United Nations Visiting Mission of 1955 had advocated,^{1/} we see that in the Southern Section 69.5 per cent of the valid votes rejected union with the Gold Coast and only 30.5 per cent accepted it—a majority of 39 per cent, more than twice the majority of 16 per cent indicated by the total results.

11. Those are official figures from United Nations documents. In the light of these results, it may well be asked why the solution recently applied by the Organization in the case of the former Trust Territory of the Cameroons was not applied in the case of Togoland under British administration. Is it surprising that we feel frustrated and the victims of injustice?

12. Naturally, the consequences of such a decision were not long in appearing. We all remember the regrettable violence in that Territory which accompanied the proclamation of the independence of Ghana. And peace, for which we are meeting here, has still not been restored there. The measures which the Government of that country has seen fit to take in order to achieve peace are in fact leading to a mass exodus to the Republic of Togo.

13. Today the Chief of State of Ghana, strong in the easy victory assured to him by the General Assembly's decision, is still obsessed by the somewhat oversimplified idea that the integration of the Republic of Togo with Ghana by any means would be the solution of this political problem, which continues to be a real one for my people, and which is, alas, now complicated by another problem, that of the refugees, whose number increases day by day. On the latter point, my delegation is submitting a formal request to the General Committee for the inclusion in the agenda of our present session of an item entitled: "Problem of the refugees in the Republic of Togo".

14. After these general comments on the principles which are the very foundation of the United Nations and this concrete and, I believe, significant example, it remains for my delegation to state its views regarding the specific matters which are the main object of our concern at this session.

15. Everyone agrees that disarmament is today a sine qua non if the human race is to be saved from appalling and total destruction. That is why, after having listened with the greatest attention to the two giants of the family, who have reached agreement on the terminology of general and complete disarmament, my delegation is certain that they will use all their good will in seeking a basis of agreement on the only point still in dispute, control. In our view, control at all stages in the only means of achieving effective disarmament. In this, the help of those who do not possess the weapons at issue would no doubt be useful in dispelling mistrust and suspicion among those who have them. At the same time we must consider and seriously study the ideas expressed from this rostrum by the President of the United States [1013th meeting], concerning the establishment of an international police force for international security.

16. For us, the new under-developed States, this should present great advantages. First of all, a sys-

tem of collective protection and defence would obviate the need for the establishment and upkeep of an expensive army, by each individual State, thus freeing our scarce resources, which we could then devote entirely to the economic and social advancement of our countries. Secondly, the large sums which would no longer be spent on armaments by some countries could be used to bring about a substantial increase in assistance to under-developed countries.

17. Our concern, the concern of the young emerging States, is not to conquer outer space, but to overcome hunger, disease and ignorance, as was so aptly pointed out in this Assembly by our friend the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal (1012th meeting). If we are sincere when we speak of saving mankind, nuclear tests must be ended without delay, not merely because of the ultimate end to which the tests are directed, but because of the radioactive fall-out, the harmful effects of which are not denied by anyone of good faith.

18. To make the cessation of nuclear tests dependent on the broader question of disarmament is to wish deliberately to continue these explosions with no regard for human life.

19. The question of Berlin, although not included in the agenda of our Assembly, is rightly a subject of major concern to all State Members of this Organization for peace, because of the grave risk of war which it now involves. Our Organization must contribute to the solution of this problem, which ought not to exist. But my delegation is convinced that, in any case, any solution which did not take into account the interests and opinion of the German people of both East and West would be at best precarious and would not guarantee real peace. The conclusion of a treaty with Germany as soon as possible is highly desirable, but the signatories of that peace treaty on the German side, whether East or West, must be truly representative and genuine spokesman of their people and this can only be ensured by truly free elections. Here the United Nations could contribute valuable assistance.

20. Decolonization is today a factor for peace which cannot be isolated from the other aspects of the problem of world security. For this reason the Member States who are still colonial Powers must do their utmost to liberate rapidly the territories still under their rule. For this reason our Organization must unanimously exert on those colonial Powers all the moral pressure which it can muster, in particular to ensure that all its Members without exception observe and implement its decisions, so that there shall be an end everywhere to wars of foreign domination which are out of place in this day and age. If this is done, we will see the end of the bitter Algerian tragedy, which has lasted all too long, the end of the so-called civil war in Laos, the end of the appalling carnage in Angola, the return of peace to the Congo and elsewhere and the growth of a fraternal and fruitful co-operation among all the nations and peoples of the earth for the betterment of mankind.

21. As I said a moment ago, the concern of the young under-developed States is not the armaments race or the race for the conquest of outer space. Our main concern is the organization of our economies for the greater well-being and happiness of our peoples.

22. In this connexion my delegation believes that the Economic Commission for Africa, with a suitable structure at the regional and even national levels, and furnished with sufficient and effective means of

^{1/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Fifth Special Session, Supplement No. 2, document T/1218.

action, could play a decisive role in the guidance and development of our national economies. This would also be the best way of limiting the evil of which many have complained from this rostrum—the tendency to subject foreign assistance, economic, cultural or other, to political considerations.

23. With regard to the various organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations, it no longer needs to be demonstrated that they are ill-adapted to the new conditions. It is important and urgent, in the interest of the Organization, that measures be taken to adapt them to the changed conditions if the conclusions and decisions of the various bodies and agencies are to reflect the views of all the Members of the Assembly. We therefore propose that, before we end the work of this sixteenth session, action should be taken which would permit the revision, if not of the Charter as a whole, at least of the relevant Articles, so that the essential reforms of, for example, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council may be carried out.

24. The untimely death of Dag Hammarskjöld faces us with the problem of electing a new Secretary-General of the United Nations and also raises a question of principle in view of the divergent views which emerged in this Assembly during the fifteenth session. My delegation believes that a single Secretary-General should be elected. All the criticisms and attacks directed against the Secretary-General should have been directed against the Organization itself. The Secretary-General, after all, is simply an executive agent. If at any time he went beyond his rights, it was because we wished it. The Security Council was there to call him to order if necessary.

25. My delegation feels that action should be taken to fill the gap caused by the absence of a real Deputy Secretary-General capable of discharging all the functions of Secretary-General for an interim period in case of need. That post might well be filled by two deputies.

26. That is my brief statement. May I conclude by repeating the words with which President Olympio concluded his statement from this rostrum last year [866th meeting, paragraph 30]:

"Africa, more than any other continent, needs peace, because peace is essential for its own internal growth, for the consolidation of the freedoms that had been won and the improvement of the living conditions of its inhabitants. That is why the African States, and especially Togo, will do their utmost to support the United Nations which alone, by maintaining peace, can enable them to attain full development."

27. Mr. TURBAY AYALA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): On taking the floor in this great world forum, I am overwhelmed by respect and awe—respect for the distinguished and able representatives of 100 countries assembled in this hall, and awe at the magnitude and gravity of the problems which demand the attention of the United Nations and are a source of concern to all the peoples of the world.

28. I come to this world rostrum to reaffirm Colombia's faith in the structural principles of the San Francisco Charter and the American regional organization, since those principles coincide in the will to ensure the rule of peace founded on social progress, freedom and justice.

29. Because of its long legal tradition going back to the origins of its nationhood, Colombia must always speak the clear and honest language of harmony. This unalterable rule of our domestic and external conduct is imposed by our way of thought, our convictions of principle, our political customs, and the influence of our Christian culture. My country also understands that a nation which obviously is not a military, industrial or economic power must act in the international area with the simplicity and discretion dictated by its own limitations. I come, then, to bring to this Assembly a message of peace from 15 million Colombians who have confidence in the good sense of their fellow men, and to voice our faith and hope in the prosperous future of our peoples.

30. I do not deny that in international affairs, on exceptional occasions, insuperable problems not open to reasonable solution may arise but may I be permitted to say that, in Colombia's opinion, all the problems which today threaten world peace can and must be settled by peaceful means. The questions of Berlin, German reunification, Laos, Cuba, South Viet-Nam, the suspension of nuclear tests and general disarmament do not properly belong to an exceptional category of insoluble problems. They can all be settled through the application of political remedies. Some are more explosive than others, but all are manageable within a certain order of priorities.

31. Naturally, Colombia is aware that often the best of peaceful intentions are frustrated by the barriers which States themselves have erected in their path in their dangerous and unrestrained conduct of the cold war. It is well known that, under the laws of the cold war, any act indicating a will to peace may be taken as a sign of weakness or vacillation; and it is not impossible that, through the vain desire of States to demonstrate that neither weakness nor vacillation exists, the world may be plunged into the maelstrom of inevitable destruction.

32. The United Nations is capable of finding common ground between the Powers and of advocating fair and reasonable solutions which will smooth the stony road which mankind is travelling. Surely, through the machinery of the United Nations compromise solutions can be found to restore mankind's faith in its destiny and in its survival. Within the United Nations many countries that have been mere spectators or victims of the world drama may become actors and the creators of a new era of peace and progress.

33. But since in the struggle to free mankind from the scourge of a new military conflict we have necessarily to use the forum of the United Nations, let us begin by strengthening and facilitating United Nations action and not by obstructing or weakening it. Problems of the magnitude of those which now beset us can not be easily resolved if the crisis of the office of the Secretary-General, resulting from the tragic death of its distinguished and able incumbent, is allowed to continue. We must find an expert collaborator who, like Mr. Hammarskjöld, will help us to overcome the difficulties in the way of peace.

34. My country has examined the Soviet proposal for a plural Secretary-General and considers it undesirable because it would introduce an additional disturbing element into the functioning of an organization which must work more speedily and with absolute unity of action. The interpretation of an order from the General Assembly or the Security Council on the basis of three different criteria will obviously result in the

paralysis of the world Organization. The principal objection to a plural Secretary-General is that, if it were adopted, the office of Secretary-General would lose its executive capacity and would be transformed into another deliberative organ of the United Nations.

35. My country believes in the world Organization and realizes that it is the last guarantee for peace. In the sixteen years of its existence the United Nations has performed extraordinary services and has prevented the outbreak of general war. This alone would justify its existence, even if there were not many other weighty reasons to acknowledge the magnitude and the efficacy of the work it has accomplished.

36. The economically less developed countries have already begun to profit from the technical and financial aid of the specialized agencies and hope to receive more intensive and significant assistance when the great Powers allocate aid for under-developed countries even a small percentage of the huge sums now diverted to a break-neck armaments race.

37. The United Nations may not serve interests other than the cause of peace, nor acknowledge a discipline other than its own. It was not established to regiment thought but rather to stimulate debate and to seek the truth through the calm consideration of opposing positions. But debate must not become an obstruction that would weaken the *raison d'être* of this great Organization.

38. At the same time the United Nations while serving as a bulwark against war, affords the small countries an opportunity to share unique and tremendous responsibilities with the great Powers. If this forum did not exist, it is probable that the world would be conquered by a few countries and mankind would be subjected to appalling tyrannies. In the United Nations we find solutions for our problems, satisfaction of our needs, and a platform on which we may express our concern.

39. In the belief that all the machinery of the United Nations should be strengthened, my country will support the proposal for an increase in the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. This increase will enable the new countries to obtain the representation to which they are justly entitled, without reducing the representation on these bodies now allotted to the various regional blocs. The doors of all bodies must be opened to our new colleagues. They have demonstrated their ability and have won the respect of the General Assembly, which is honoured today by the presence in the chair of Mr. Slim, a distinguished African possessing outstanding human and intellectual qualities.

40. The international conduct of my country is based on clear principles derived from its undeniably democratic character, its respect for the law and its veneration for freedom. My country cannot remain silent in the face of any violation of human rights, and must therefore raise its voice in protest against the inhuman racial discrimination which although expressly prohibited by the United Nations, has long been practised in South Africa. It is inadmissible in the present age that this bitter racial conflict should afflict the world. The coexistence of sons of the same country must precede the coexistence of nations. My country is determined to support any positive United Nations action which will radically correct these acts which are repugnant to its humanitarian conscience.

41. Similarly, our republican heritage compels us to recognize that the self-determination of peoples is obviously inconsistent with colonialism. The indefinite prolongation of the colonial system is not in keeping with the spirit of freedom which now determines the destiny of the world, and is undoubtedly a factor disturbing the peace.

42. The noble example of the United Kingdom, which won the war and dissolved its empire, is further evidence of the political maturity of a great people. We are in favour of plebiscite arrangements to provide peoples with a means of exercising the right of self-determinations.

43. We believe that the same criterion must be employed to promote the reunification of those peoples whose division is persistently encouraged; for example, those who assert the principle of self-determination in the case of some peoples while denying one part of the German people the right freely to decide its own future cannot escape the charge of demagoguery.

44. The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have indissoluble links. A long common past, going back to the dawn of history, must inevitably outweigh the artificial division of the last sixteen years. Hence, when Mr. Gromyko describes the Federal German Republic as revenge-seeking, in order to justify his country's unwillingness to permit the self-determination of a people divided against its will, he is being completely arbitrary.

45. This year the General Assembly has seen fit to place the item of representation of China on its agenda. My country accepted this decision, but it has not changed its view of the qualifications that should be possessed by States seeking to enter this Organization. In Colombia's view, it is essential that every new Member of the United Nations should prove by deeds rather than by words its intention to serve the interests of peace and to abide by the principles of the Charter.

46. The question of the representation of China, which the Assembly will discuss at this session, is not an ancillary or procedural matter, for it implies a substantive decision. We believe that this is a question which under the provisions of Article 18 of the United Nations Charter, must be resolved by a two-thirds majority, since it involves more than a mere decision concerning credentials.

47. The most recent nuclear tests have produced a worldwide reaction, of which the resolution approved by the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States is a good example. All peoples feel that they are now closer than at any other time in their history to the inexpressible horrors of general war. The continuation of nuclear tests might create an even greater state of alarm and fear, which would necessarily affect our proceedings. There seems to be every indication that world anxiety would be greatly relieved, and the United Nations would be able to work with greater confidence, if priority were given in the Political Committee to the elaboration of an immediate treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons tests.

48. On the question of general disarmament, considered independently of that of nuclear tests, pessimism would be out of place since the joint statement of the United States and the Soviet Union, which has been widely circulated in this Assembly, indicates that there is a welcome area of agreement. The reaffirma-

tion by the two greatest world Powers of their desire to initiate a programme of general and complete disarmament, guaranteeing that States will maintain only the conventional arms needed to maintain internal order and to protect the lives of their citizens, is in our judgement one of the most promising pieces of news the people could receive. We cannot conceal our enthusiastic hope that this encouraging declaration will be endorsed by this Assembly. My country trusts that in the very near future agreement will be reached regarding the body through which these negotiations, which the world awaits with understandable anxiety, will be undertaken.

49. Like the other twenty countries of this hemisphere, Colombia is a member of the Organization of American States and has subscribed to the agreements and conventions that constitute the regional system. My country has undertaken multilateral commitments which bind it to the complex of political, economic and legal norms which serve as rules of international conduct for the continent. We have undertaken to assure the peace and to defend the freedom and sovereignty of the American nations against any dangers that threaten them. And we have agreed that respect for human rights and the political organization of States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy are essential to the attainment of the purposes of our regional systems.

50. Similarly, in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro, we undertook to repel extra-continental or intra-continental intervention directed against any American State, and to consider an attack against an American state as an act of aggression against all the American States. We do not belong to the "neutralist" category of countries; on the contrary, we are among those who have definite commitments to America and to the free world. However, none of the commitments we have assumed and which we are determined to fulfil is incompatible with the high aims of the United Nations; on the contrary, they are complementary. The Inter-American system was created to seek peaceful settlements to controversies that might arise among the American countries before such disputes were referred to the General Assembly or the Security Council. The regional organization, like the world Organization, is primarily a safeguard for weak peoples, for nations that cannot enforce their rights by themselves.

51. The effectiveness of the political and legal rules of the Inter-American system has been amply proved and recourse should be had to that system to ensure that our regional problems do not unnecessarily take up the time of the General Assembly and the Security Council when there are still positive means of redress in the regional organization. When such problems are brought up prematurely for consideration in the United Nations, they only serve to encourage debates which inevitably involve the American continent in the cold war. This may well have been the case with the Cuban question, which Colombia desires to see dealt with and, we hope, resolved within the limits of the Inter-American conventions in force, with the participation of the regional organs best qualified to take specific measures whenever there is a threat to the peace and security of the hemisphere.

52. The principle of non-intervention is common to the American Organization and the United Nations, and the peace and security of nations are dependent on the faithful observance of this principle. The prin-

ciple must be strengthened and surrounded by essential safeguards so that no country can cross its fragile frontiers with impunity. In order to ensure that this international precept may not be violated with dangerous impunity, my country considers it essential that the appropriate organs of the system should define all the acts of intervention which constitute aggression.

53. I am in a position to state that I do not know of any plan to harm Cuba; but I can also state that many countries of our hemisphere are agreed that they will not permit the Government of Cuba or any other Government to intervene directly or indirectly in the affairs of the other American States. We cannot accept a unilateral interpretation of the principle of non-intervention. International coexistence can be achieved only through mutual confidence and respect among peoples.

54. The countries of America have resolved to carry out a true social revolution in order and freedom. We know that many archaic social and economic structures must be transformed and adapted to the needs and requirements of our peoples. We will eliminate poverty and wipe out ill-health and illiteracy without having to pay for these gains with the inestimable treasure of freedom. Our revolution is a democratic revolution, which respects human rights and is eminently American. We want to give the people concrete and positive plans, and we shall resist the attempts of demagogues and reactionaries to poison the spirit of our revolution and to turn it in the direction of a bitter and irreconcilable class struggle.

55. To accomplish this urgent plan of economic and social development, the nations of America have committed themselves to the historic experiment in collective action, known as the "Alliance for Progress". President Kennedy, to whom Latin America owes a debt of gratitude, has been the chief architect of this new form of international co-operation which will make available to the peoples of this continent the wide benefits of progress and well-being. In order to give the men and women of America a better life in which the exploitation of poverty will be impossible, we are going to bring into action all the credit resources and technical machinery agreed upon at the Punta del Este Conference. Our decision to maintain democratic institutions in America has been taken and is irrevocable.

56. If it strengthens its unity and co-ordinates its action, Latin America encompassing twenty countries and a population of 200 million inhabitants will be in a position to give a new and decisive assurance to the cause of peace, by promoting peaceful settlements and making its weight felt in the balance of world affairs. Today, when mankind is organized in powerful blocs, the political atomization of the nations of a particular geographic area may reduce them to impotence or make them incapable of fulfilling the lofty purposes of the world Organization. Happily, that is not our position nor will it be in the future, because we are united both by common interests and by the overriding need for common defence.

57. After assuring Mr. Slim once more of my country's satisfaction at his well-deserved election as President of the Assembly and congratulating Sierra Leone on its admission to membership in the World Organization, may I express once more Colombia's hope that the United Nations may in the next decade find adequate solutions to those questions which, as President Kennedy said [1013th meeting], will decide the fate of man for the next ten thousand years.

58. Mr. PIPINELIS (Greece, translated from French): The spontaneous unanimity with which you have been elected, Mr. President, and the praise bestowed upon you by those who have spoken before me are evidence of the respect and confidence you have inspired in all members of this distinguished Assembly. Allow me to associate myself unreservedly with this general confidence, which, I am sure, will enable you to carry out your task successfully in the unusual circumstances in which this Assembly has met.

59. The Assembly meets under the shadow of the Berlin crisis, the greatest international crisis which has convulsed the world since the end of the war. Whatever the importance of the other problems with which we shall have to deal, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it is chiefly because of the Berlin problem that the present tension has arisen and that our greatest anxieties are justified.

60. What is at issue—as we have already heard many times—is the peace of the world. The crisis also involves the fate of more than two million men and their indisputable right to an independent and secure life. In the face of this twofold danger that mankind will be submerged in a nuclear cataclysm or that terror and weariness will lead to the abandonment of the ideals which bring meaning and joy into human life, every sensitive and sensible man must feel great anxiety.

61. More generally, we can say that the Berlin problem, which is also the problem of Germany, is the keystone of relations between East and West in Europe. Mr. Gromyko referred to this fact a few days ago [1016th meeting, paragraph 46] when, in a very important part of his speech, he expressed with some passion his country's deep concern about what he called "the adventurous plans of the West German revenge-seekers". Long and painful past experience might explain but not justify his attitude. Yet we cannot ignore the intense anxiety caused in most European countries by a series of diplomatic and political events which has taken place since the war in this part of the world and which is now expressed and symbolized by the name of Berlin.

62. It is undeniable that the difficulties which we encounter in our Organization arise essentially from this spirit of suspicion and anxiety. As Lord Home said rightly a few days ago [1017th meeting]: "...the United Nations reflects the political divisions in the world... so long as the world is divided the United Nations can be no more than a shadow of what it ought to be".

63. This could not have been better said. This fundamental statement illustrates the full importance of the efforts now being undertaken, to solve the Berlin crisis.

64. Either failure or success would inevitably lead to diplomatic and psychological chain reactions. In particular, the success of the present negotiations would remove one of the chief sources of tension between peoples, at least for sometime; it would restore confidence in the future and might enable the work of the Organization to return gradually to normal. It would be clear to the world that nothing irreparable separates us and that peace is better served by the gradual solution of existing difficulties than by resounding formulas and spectacular plans designed only to strike the imagination. Once more, we might say that the most direct road to victory is success.

65. In the circumstances each of us has a particular duty, depending on his own position. For a country like Greece, which has no direct responsibility for the negotiations but is still concerned about their issue, I believe that our duty can only be to avoid by our attitude anything which might unnecessarily poison the situation and make the negotiators' task more difficult.

66. We shall adhere strictly to this course of action, which Greece has followed constantly since it has belonged to this Organization. Yet it is important that this course of action should be generally accepted and followed in good faith.

67. No one can claim to have a true desire for peace if he takes every opportunity of breaking contractual undertakings, repudiating the clauses of peace treaties and bringing about situations which prejudice the equitable settlement of problems.

68. Nor can one help to establish a spirit of tranquility and understanding by putting forward sensational proposals with no purpose but propaganda or by mechanically repeating slogans and personal insults which offend all restraint and dignity.

69. Still less can one encourage the spirit of moderation and restraint which is so necessary at this time by exhibitions of overwhelming power or threats of annihilation. In the tempestuous events of our generation, our peoples—all our peoples—have often proved that, although to live in peace is something precious, such a life can never be bought at the cost of the moral values on which its existence depends. Let those who have the means resist vain hopes of intimidation and try rather to gain the confidence of all. Let them remember the immortal words of the Athenian ambassadors who addressed the people of Sparta on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, throwing down this noble challenge:

"None deserve praise except those who, when called upon to dominate other peoples by reason of their natural superiority, prove to be more just than the force at their disposal would allow them to be."

70. The Hellenic delegation's attitude to the various problems on the agenda will be based on these considerations. I shall not therefore make a detailed statement at this stage of the views we shall put forward in the course of the debates.

71. However, there are three matters on which I think it necessary to give our views here and now.

72. First, as a matter of principle, I think I should say that my delegation will adhere strictly to the full provisions of the Charter, honestly interpreted. Our attitude on each question under discussion will be decided not by considerations of expediency but by the rules of law established by the Charter. In a political assembly such as ours it is inevitable that the legal and real aspects of things should often conflict. But we should condemn our institution to inaction and failure if we were to pay too much attention to special interests or, by misinterpretation, to make law the servant of self-interest. Let us have the courage to admit that this attitude has prevailed for too long and that there is no doubt that it has done more than anything else to undermine the foundations on which our Organization rests.

73. To evade decisions taken by this distinguished Assembly, in one way or another, is no way to apply the principles of the Charter.

74. Nor is it consistent with the obligations imposed by the Charter to hinder the working of our Organization by avoiding the payment of financial contributions required by decisions of the Assembly.

75. No one can apply the principles of the Charter by speaking of the self-determination of peoples whenever this might embarrass an adversary, while avoiding the very word whenever fear or self-interest stand in the way of any demand for self-determination.

76. No one can apply the principles of the Charter by making the election of new Members a matter for bargaining and ignoring the strict rules laid down in the Charter in this connexion.

77. Nor can anyone apply the Charter by condemning the executive of our Organization to impotence, by refusing to co-operate in the election of a single Secretary-General under the conditions clearly and unequivocally set forth in Article 97.

78. At this grave moment it is particularly important to be clear and frank. In the divided and stormy world in which we live today, the fragments of law which the storm has spared are our only safeguard. We should preserve them with all our strength.

79. With regard to the problem of disarmament, I wish first to say that my delegation is happy that an agreement of principle has been reached in this field between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union [A/4879]. Of course, as several Members have pointed out, the application of the agreed principles will probably be a laborious and uncertain task. But we find it hard to imagine that it will be impossible to find some solution of the crucial question of control over the successive stages of disarmament, taking into account all legitimate interests. I can understand, to a certain extent, the concern expressed from this rostrum by His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [1016th meeting], who is anxious not to hand over all his country's military and technical secrets to international observation prematurely, or before the process of disarmament has reached its decisive stage.

80. But is there not an equally great and probable danger in controlling only those armaments which have been destroyed at the end of each stage of the plan, remaining in ignorance of the existing level of armaments in each country and, perhaps, having no disarmament at all? I think this danger is particularly serious because, whatever progress is made in disarmament, the countries at the highest level of industrial development will still have a reserve of technical and scientific knowledge and facilities with which they could always reopen the whole question. It has been rightly said that it is possible to destroy the atomic bomb but not the knowledge of it. Human nature being what it is, we cannot yet rule out the possibility that certain States, acting in good faith but concerned only about their national security and the schemes they attribute to their adversaries, may be reluctant to carry out the full provisions of a plan for gradual disarmament.

81. The danger of prematurely establishing international observation of the level of existing armaments in each country—assuming that is possible to control all armaments—seems negligible beside these disturbing possibilities.

82. In any case, simply because of these difficulties and of the inevitable disparity between any agreement

which may be reached and a rapidly developing situation, we think more attention should be paid to that part of the plans under consideration which concerns the establishment of an international force. My delegation has already drawn attention to this matter on several occasions and proposes once again to make its own contribution to the discussion of the problem. In this connexion it is hardly necessary to add that the problem of disarmament is necessarily related to that of possible threats to peace, particularly the problem of subversion in Member States. It is meaningless to speak of respect for the independence of peoples while trying to destroy its foundations by infiltration or subversion.

83. These matters bring me naturally to the question of the Secretary-General. It would be useless to speak of an international force, which in extreme cases would have to deal with an aggressor and whose command would obviously be under the supervision of the Security Council, if its unity were impaired at the level of the Secretary-General and of the military command itself. I know of few countries which would be ready to entrust their national security to a command of this kind. Yet both recent and remote history provide well-known cases of the disappointments to which such a form of military organization leads inevitably.

84. Hence we must not endanger the element of unity and continuity clearly and solemnly established in the provisions of Articles 97 and 100 of the Charter concerning the office of Secretary-General.

85. This is necessary both because of the needs of the normal working of a vast organization such as ours and because of the prospects opened before us by the possible development of the disarmament plan. To destroy the unity of the post of Secretary-General would endanger the whole future of disarmament.

86. The force of events has led the Assembly and the Council, in each of the resolutions they have adopted, to request the Secretary-General to ensure the implementation of the resolution concerned and to assume further responsibilities. We think it absurd to consider reducing the efficacy of his office by setting up a sort of triumvirate, which would be condemned beforehand to impotence. We shall oppose this suggestion in the conviction that we are defending not only the letter and spirit of the Charter—which have been so eloquently analysed by the representative of Italy, Mr. Martino [1018th meeting] and by others—but the future of our Organization and the rights of all peoples, particularly the peoples of the small countries.

87. We cannot speak of the post of the Secretary-General without mentioning the noble and moving figure of its last holder. The homage which is his due, and which I now wish to pay him on behalf of my country, has been earned not only by the outstanding service he has rendered to our Organization and the nobility of the idea which inspired him in his work, which was to make the United Nations an "instrument of Governments through which they... should... try to develop forms of executive action..."^{2/}

88. This homage is due to him also, and above all, because of his personality, his sense of duty and his abnegation in the service of the ideals to which he devoted himself. It is because of these qualities that his achievements will have lasting effects on the history

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, document A/4800/Add.1, page 1.

of the United Nations. I myself can find no more fitting tribute to him than the words of a great thinker of the last century:

"Eminent men have never been happy; for it is only by their unrelenting struggle that they are able to save what is ideal in their age. But this is why their work can only be an accumulated youth rescued from the erosion of time".

89. Destiny has put an end to the achievements of a great worker for international co-operation. Yet no human achievement is really finished when it leaves such a heritage.

90. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Ghana, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

91. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): I deeply regret that it should be necessary for me to intervene at this stage of our proceedings in exercise of my delegation's right of reply to the unwarranted tirades which the Foreign Minister of Togo has launched against my country, Ghana. It is really distressing that the Foreign Minister of Togo should have climbed to this rostrum to make allegations against a sister country with which Togo has ties of kinship, language and culture. It is the more regrettable when I tell the Assembly that at no time has the Government of the Republic of Togo made any representations to the Government of the Republic of Ghana on any outstanding differences between our two sister countries. On the contrary, the President of Ghana has done everything to establish firm brotherly relations between Ghana and Togo. I refer to a visit which the President of Ghana made in June last year to Lomé, where he met the President of Togo and where he and Mr. Olympio had long talks with regard to the relations between our two countries. If, therefore, there should be any differences in outlook or approach to life, my submission is that the normal thing would have been for the Government of Togo to have made representations, either through diplomatic means or other means, to my Government.

92. What are the allegations which have been made here?

93. The first allegation is that the plebiscite held by the United Nations in 1956, whose result led to the

incorporation of Togoland under British administration to Ghana, was a mistake. I am not qualified to challenge the authority of the United Nations. I am surprised that the Foreign Minister of Togo should challenge the very authority of this Organization to which he is trying to make a plea.

94. The second allegation was that Ghana is trying to incorporate Togo by force. How can there be such loose talk? How can Ghana at this stage in the twentieth century launch any attack on Togo? How is it possible that such loose talk should be bandied about like that?

95. A further allegation is that there are so many refugees from Ghana in Togo. This also comes to me as a surprise, because the situation is that in eastern Ghana we have people who speak the same language, who have the same culture, and who have brothers, sisters and cousins across the border. For example, Aflao, which is a town on the border of Ghana, is only six miles to Togo, and there are people who have farms in Togo and who live in Ghana; some who live in Togo have farms in Ghana. Therefore, I cannot see how mention can be made of refugees. If that is so, then we also have refugees from Togo in Ghana. But shall we talk in terms of refugees when brothers and sisters are concerned?

96. Then the Minister of Togo talked about the system of Government in Ghana. What does he mean? All I can say is that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. I must reiterate that it is Ghana's policy to be friends with all countries and enemies to none. In the name of my Government I would reject at once all the allegations which have been made against my country.

97. Of course, in time, proper and detailed reply will be given to the Foreign Minister of Togo. The allegations are as unfounded as they are unfriendly. I, at least, expect that our sister African countries should settle any differences they may have with us on the basis of mutual respect and understanding. The path of attack, the path of acerbity does no one any good.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.