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**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Morales Guillén (Bolivia) . . .</i>	<i>303</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Rapacki (Poland) . . . . .</i>	<i>306</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Aubame (Gabon) . . . . .</i>	<i>310</i>

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. MORALES GUILLEN (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Bolivia is happy to associate itself with the general satisfaction at the unanimous and well-deserved election of Mr. Slim as President of the General Assembly at its sixteenth session. In conveying to him my sincere congratulations, I would express my earnest hope that his responsible task will be crowned with complete success.

2. This regular session of the United Nations General Assembly has opened in an atmosphere of grief and mourning owing to the tragic death of the Organization's Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold. The grievous impact of this event compels us to meditate, calmly but at length, on the great responsibilities of the moment. Man is at present faced with the gravest problem in his history: how to bring about a permanent and honest agreement for the maintenance of peace, the one indispensable condition for his own survival.

3. Dag Hammarskjold died in the service of peace, the most noble cause of mankind; but he died while holding high the banner of this cause, and by sacrificing his life he laid upon us the obligation to keep that banner flying amid every danger. The delegation of Bolivia pays the most deep-felt tribute to the memory of the Secretary-General we have lost and of the servants of the world Organization who died with him.

4. Fifteen years ago, when the United Nations was founded and the Charter approved, all mankind saw in that event a reason for hope. It seemed that, after considerable uncertainty, a road had been opened towards the satisfaction of the peoples' age-old longing for peace. The new international institution was to substitute reason for force, and its legal structure provided for the equal rights of nations and demolished the odious distinctions of power, race, creed and culture. It seemed that the sufferings of man over the centuries had at last convinced him that with war all is lost and that with peace, based on reason, while everything may not be gained, war, at least, is eliminated. Fifteen years have passed.

Today the number of States is twice that of those which gathered at San Francisco to inaugurate the new age of hope. New peoples voice their views in this hall. The political geography of the world has been transformed. The rainbow of flags has expanded. One would have thought that the oppression which was a feature of past eras would have disappeared or been in process of extinction, and that the hopes born fifteen years ago at San Francisco would have matured and become fully productive. Yet our anxiety, far from disappearing, has grown deeper and broader.

5. The agenda of this General Assembly, now approved, contains items of vital importance for the destiny of mankind and the future of the Organization. Incontestably, the principal one is that relating to peace. We stand before an inescapable choice: either we find a way to peaceful coexistence within the legal order which the evolution of human civilization is creating and perfecting, or we plunge into the abyss of the complete destruction of the human race. Man's inherent anguish, which stems from the knowledge that he is mortal, becomes more acute if he loses all hope of surviving in the generations to come.

6. Bolivia maintains and will constantly maintain its traditional support for the cause of peace, to which it has always contributed, even at the sacrifice of its own interests. Yet we know that we, like the great majority of the countries which are economically and militarily unequipped for the newest methods of warlike competition and conflict, have nothing to bring to the discussion and solution of the problem except the moral authority of our good will and sincerity in the wearying task of persuasion, in which we have persevered for so long. We know very well that force in its various forms, from intimidation to the imposition of its brutal argument by means of accomplished facts, is still the preferred way of settling controversies, disputes or conflicts of interests, for those who rely solely—and perhaps overmuch—on their formidable military power. History teaches us that this method has, unfortunately, prevailed, rather than the moral weight of reason and responsibility. Despite this discouraging experience, the people and Government of my country firmly believe that today, more than ever, we must maintain these values until reason conquers intransigence and gives pride of place to proper respect for the future of mankind.

7. The threat facing us is not the same as that presented by the classical type of dispute, in which resort to force affected only those who were directly or indirectly involved. It is a threat which, if translated into action, will destroy everything and everyone—aggressors and victims of aggression, belligerents and non-belligerents, guilty and innocent, those involved and those not involved in the dispute.

8. The people of Bolivia regard the world's entire cultural and epistemological heritage as a single

whole, as the indivisible heritage of men and of peoples. Scientific advances and the new technology are due to the common efforts and discoveries of mankind. They are not, therefore, the exclusive property of anyone. From the days of cave paintings, throughout the slow and painful stages of civilization, all have contributed to the amazing results which we now behold. Man is barely more than a creature of nature. He is not the Creator. By what right therefore does this culmination of knowledge and intelligence bring in its train the threat to exterminate life?

9. These familiar considerations may seem very simple; but apparently we must return to the expedient of simple formulas if we are to realize the gravity of the danger menacing mankind, when the complexity of argument and counter-argument draws us into a kind of vicious circle, when the debate becomes more and more heated and involved and it becomes more and more difficult to understand and solve the problem and to find a reference point in our search for a better world, free from the fear of war.

10. Bolivia adds its voice to those of the weak countries, which have no protection other than the legal authority of this Organization, in demanding that the small group of great Powers should comply strictly with the obligations specified in the San Francisco Charter for the ensuring of peace. As has been rightly said from this rostrum, the privileged treatment given to them in the Charter requires them faithfully to discharge this responsibility. In other words, their power does not entitle them to impunity in the use or abuse of their strength; still less does it entitle them to bring about, in that way, the destruction of life. Their power gives them exclusive responsibility for the strengthening of peace. Bolivia, in its sincere desire to persuade, will never tire of repeating this injunction, voiced in 1944 by an eminent thinker of my country, the then President of its Legislative Assembly, as the sound of the world war's last battles died away.

11. As a real and positive contribution to the fulfilment of this fervent hope of men throughout the world, my country will support any honest attempt to eliminate the possibility of war through agreements for general, complete, real and effective disarmament and, above all, for the banning of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction.

12. My delegation therefore insists, as it has done on many other occasions, that the great conquests of science in the control and exploitation of nuclear energy should be used only for the constant advancement of the well-being of the community of nations. The peaceful application of these achievements of the human intellect opens up such promising prospects for progress that to go in the opposite direction, towards the abyss of the most horrible war ever imagined, would be to deny the higher destiny of mankind.

13. At the moment, the international situation does not seem to justify excessive optimism about the future of peace. We are in the presence of a conflict of interests, in which the ever-increasing sharpness of tone is accompanied by a deployment of forces, involving even the adoption of unilateral decisions to the effect that nuclear tests shall be resumed, with great danger to the health and safety of all peoples. If no agreement is reached in good will and good faith, it is clear that at any moment, perhaps as a

result of unforeseeable factors, the situation can turn into a disaster. Even if we try to cling to hope until the last moment, on the theory that there will never be complete extermination, to what extremes will man be driven by the knowledge that he is on the verge of annihilation? Can the universal values of the spirit survive?

14. Despite this dark prospect, the delegation of Bolivia believes that this great organ of the international community, by calling upon the great Powers to fulfil their duties and responsibilities, can and should have a decisive influence in the preventing of greater disagreement and friction which would bring the outbreak of the last of all wars nearer.

15. Despite the often inexplicably severe criticism levelled at it on the score of its efficiency, the international Organization, in the various emergencies which have arisen since its establishment, has already carried out a praiseworthy task in accordance with its principal purposes of averting war and preserving and strengthening peace whenever its powers and resources give it the means and opportunity to do so. We are certain that, as on those other occasions, it will act resolutely to encourage and sponsor full and effective negotiations.

16. The arms race must be ended, not merely because of the dangers it creates but because of the waste it involves; if the vast resources squandered upon it were used to promote production and peaceful progress, much of inestimable value would be done to reduce the present appalling differences between the peoples' levels of development. At the tenth session of the General Assembly, the Bolivian delegation spoke of the need to limit the armament of the under-developed countries. I believe that this proposal is still pertinent and that its principles and purposes should, indeed, be made of general applicability.

17. The recent achievements of man in embarking upon the control of space, while creating the most extraordinary dread, have led to a new appraisal of his scientific ability. This implies the need to expedite the study of a system of rules for the peaceful use of these achievements. The great Powers responsible for these advances which are a source of pride to mankind are thereby provided with a promising opportunity to reach a constructive agreement in an area not affected by the geographical tensions of the cold war. To this end, the Bolivian delegation thinks that the General Assembly should act resolutely to achieve the purpose of the resolution [1472 B (XIV)] on this matter, adopted at its fourteenth session, before the end of the period indicated in that resolution.

18. Bolivia supports and will continue to support the principle of the self-determination of peoples, meaning the free expression of the will of the majority. This principle is for peoples what freedom is for the individual; and, since it is of universal application, we must say explicitly that we share the general concern about the situation of the German people, and particularly about the city of Berlin, which is one of the critical points in the present crisis. Bolivia, true to its traditions, thinks that the only way of resolving this problem and the crisis resulting from the disputed status of Berlin is to give the principle of self-determination full play.

19. My country warmly welcomes the admission of new independent States to the international com-

munity. In congratulating the new Members, particularly Sierra Leone which has just been admitted, we wish to draw attention to the far-reaching significance of this event for the efforts which some of the world's peoples are still making to liberate themselves.

20. In all its action throughout the history of the United Nations, Bolivia has resolutely supported every attitude and expression of anti-colonialism. Our historical tradition and the glory of our long and bloody struggle for national independence oblige us to take this course.

21. Bolivia's attitude in the Trusteeship Council has always been inspired by this principle, and we have spared no effort to fulfil the noble task entrusted to the Council by this Organization. Together with the distinguished representatives of Dahomey, Finland, Malaya and the Sudan, my country's representative—who was honoured with the post of chairman of the sub-committee set up, by an explicit decision of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to study the situation in Angola—has tried to persuade the Portuguese Government to co-operate with the United Nations in the study and eventual solution of this problem. The objections raised by that Government have, unfortunately, prevented this international body from carrying out its task.

22. Opposed as we are to every traditional form of colonialism, we are equally opposed to any form of neo-colonialism.

23. As an integral part of the regional system to which it belongs, Bolivia will observe all its obligations in this respect, as it has always done, in the same spirit of co-operation and solidarity that it brings to the consideration of all world problems.

24. This unchanging attitude is based on faithful observance of the principles which inspire and define the outlook and purposes of the American regional association. Thus we advocate and shall continue to advocate respect for the principle of non-intervention in matters which are within the sovereign jurisdiction of States, because to do otherwise would amount to challenging the independence of peoples.

25. Since 1952, my country has been seriously occupied with its own development. However, since its single-product economy is still in its early stages, development has not yet gone forward in the way and at the rate expected. On several occasions, indeed, the process has been in danger of complete paralysis and we have been faced with grave alternatives. Many factors, arising mainly from fluctuations in the price of our chief exportable product on the international market, deliberately created in disregard of the regulations and operations of the International Tin Council, have resulted in the loss of resources which were to have been used in our economic recovery plans under this programme; and the same thing may happen again.

26. But my country needs something more than its own very limited resources if it is to develop steadily and systematically and achieve the positive results at which it aims. Last August it was represented at the extraordinary meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States held in the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, at which the programme of economic development and social progress known as the "Alliance for Progress", proposed by the Government of the United States of

America, was given form in the Charter of Punta del Este.

27. In Bolivia many of the basic reforms in this programme, such as agrarian and educational reform, are already a reality. At that meeting my Government submitted a "National Plan for Economic and Social Development", to be carried out between 1962 and 1971. The Plan was drawn up, after lengthy study and investigation, by the Bolivian National Planning Board with the co-operation of an advisory group formed by the Economic Commission for Latin America, the Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and in a Decree of last July has already been approved by my Government.

28. Its significance will be clear from the following statement of its purposes, which I venture to quote for the information of the General Assembly:

"The present Plan sets forth certain aims and considers the way in which they can be achieved. It is based on one central idea: that it is necessary and urgent to clear the way for a frontal attack upon stagnation and to direct our efforts towards the final elimination of the main obstacles, as the only means of preventing present conditions from deteriorating further and social problems from becoming more acute.

"The efforts of the last few years may largely be described as an anxious search for a solution of immediate problems without any real opportunity of tackling fundamental problems. This policy was rendered necessary by circumstances, but its results have been economic stagnation and the frustration of the hope of large sections of the country's people that their living conditions would improve. Various factors have thus accumulated in such a way that it would not now be enough to set moderate targets, designed to correct a limited number of faults or to bring about a few modest improvements while once more postponing the solution of essential problems.

"To illustrate the magnitude of the task to be faced in the near future, suffice it to say that the gross internal products, which was over \$110 for each inhabitant in the three years 1950-52, was little more than \$90 per person in 1957-59. This fall in average income levels, coinciding with a period of highly significant social changes which have enabled large numbers of the country's people to move into the towns, would in the long run be incompatible with social progress and even with political stability, if it were not accompanied by an urgent policy of development, holding out prospects of really significant improvement.

"Bolivia's people understand and have accepted the sacrifices required by a strict policy of monetary stabilization, whereby a timely stop was put to a process of uncontrollable inflation; yet they realize that stabilization cannot be an end in itself, but must be the means to a process of growth. The fruits of this attempt at stabilization would be endangered if this policy were not supplemented and justified by the execution of a development plan, holding out prospects of future improvement sufficient to compensate for past sacrifices."

29. We realize that political independence is not enough to bring about the happiness of peoples. The world has not marched smoothly along the road of

progress. Great economic, social, political, geographical and cultural differences have increased the distance between countries and between societies. The opulence of the great Powers stands contrasted with the poverty of the under-developed countries which, despite their potential wealth and the efforts of their peoples, are faced with obstacles that seem insuperable.

30. We believe that the great collective effort required by the Charter of Punta del Este, as an expression of international solidarity and co-operation, will soon enable us to solve the serious problems which beset us.

31. The vacancy in the post of Secretary-General, caused by the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld, should not and cannot continue indefinitely. It is of the highest importance for the Organization, particularly if its action on behalf of peace and international co-operation is to succeed, that immediate steps should be taken to restore the present difficult situation to normal. This is what all the peoples represented here demand. It is something which cannot be postponed, if the efficient working of the Organization itself is to be ensured.

32. Any attempt to make such steps dependent upon prior agreement to reform the composition of the Secretariat would mean condoning the use of illegal violence against the powers of the constituent parts of the United Nations. The great majority of weak countries belonging to the Organization see the Charter as the defence, protection and guarantee of their freedom, their sovereignty and their right to the material and spiritual progress of their peoples. Their indisputable title to these rights, which cannot be renounced, is based on the legal structure of the international community, as freely agreed upon and solemnly covenanted at San Francisco. All that is necessary, then, is that everyone should carry out his established obligations, which must be faithfully and loyally observed.

33. Any amendments to the Charter which may be thought necessary are another matter. There are elementary reasons, relating to the dynamics of human relationships, why no one could oppose such amendments. But, in view of my delegation's previous arguments, it is logical for us to point out that such action can be taken only at the proper time, as a result of agreements freely reached and properly studied and discussed beforehand. It should never be the result of duress in an emergency, a state of things which we should avoid by all the urgent means necessary in order to prevent the international situation from deteriorating further.

34. When these amendments are to be studied and debated in the proper circumstances, Bolivia will contribute willingly to the common effort directed towards their adoption, in so far as they have the higher purpose of strengthening the authority and increasing the effectiveness of the Organization.

35. With regard to the composition and powers of its main organs, we shall certainly be guided by the same principle—which is that these organs, instead of falling into a state of complete confusion and thus depriving the Organization of its reason for existence, should be so constituted that the work of the United Nations is rendered even smoother and more effective. The only way of ensuring the efficient development of the Organization is to have a Secretary-General

who cannot be deprived of his executive authority and can carry out his tasks in absolute political neutrality.

36. Mr. President, gentlemen, may I remind all the distinguished representatives in this Assembly of the grave responsibility which mankind has conferred upon us. The destiny of man and the continuance of the wonderful civilization we have achieved on this planet depend upon the wisdom and equity of our deliberations.

37. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): Permit me, Mr. President, to offer you my warmest congratulations upon your unanimous election as President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election is an achievement for your country, Tunisia, whose destiny has been of great interest to my country, particularly during the last few months. I wish you every success in your work.

38. If we were to look back to the fourteenth session, the one which has been called "the session of peace", it might seem that we had lived through two years of disillusionment and retrogression.

39. We Poles are not under this impression. No, those years have not been a period of retrogression, but rather years of difficulty engendered by progress.

40. We have seen the growth of the forces of peaceful coexistence, the socialist forces and the anti-colonialist forces, and the development throughout the world of the mass movement for peace.

41. All over the world people have become increasingly aware of the fact that a nuclear war would be a disaster for all the nations, for all the social classes, for every family and for every man.

42. There are, I believe, few people even among responsible western circles who would deliberately provoke a nuclear war. But not all those who do not want such a war are working against it. Those who, even if they do not want an atomic war, are increasing the danger of one, are still powerful. Blind anti-communism, colonialist interests, the desire to dominate, interest connected with armaments, all these factors operate in favour of the arms race, tension, the cold war, the policy of risk, intervention and local wars and, consequently, in favour of a world-wide atomic conflagration.

43. Yet the question of peaceful co-existence has reached its decisive stage: there are on the agenda such matters as the German problem, the final abolition of colonialism, and general and complete disarmament. The contradiction between common sense—the supreme universal interest of peace—and the rash actions of blind selfishness is becoming more and more acute. The West must make its choice.

44. The socialist States, being ready to discuss and seek mutually advantageous solutions, are willing to meet half-way those who choose action in favour of peace, but are resolutely opposed to those who choose action likely to lead to war.

45. We must embark on the greatest revolution which has ever been seen in the history of mankind: the elimination of war. No one can as yet imagine the changes which that will involve in human relations and in man's way of life and manner of thinking. It would be utopian to think that such an upheaval could be effected without struggle, without crisis, without danger.

46. Once again the German problem is at the centre of the current dangerous tension. It is German imperialism which is mainly responsible for it. But the fact that this imperialism has reappeared, that it has attempted to gain the hegemony of Western Europe, and that it has become a force likely to endanger world peace, is due to the policy of the position of strength, a policy blinded by anti-communism and raised to the status of an official formula by previous United States Governments.

47. German imperialism was to have been a card for NATO to play against the socialist camp. Little by little, however, it is NATO which is becoming more and more a card in the game of German imperialism.

48. The fundamental elements of the German policy of the Western Powers, as it was developed in the past and as it is now being pursued, are the rearmament of the Federal Republic of Germany, the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic and reluctance to recognize the definitive character of Germany's eastern frontiers. In fact it is a programme for the reconstruction and mobilization of the aggressive forces of German militarism against the socialist States.

49. It is a policy which tends to encourage the revenge-seeking forces of Bonn to try to annex the German Democratic Republic, the first German State to have eliminated aggressive forces in that part of Germany, which has renounced any territorial claims against its neighbours and which is adopting a policy of peace and friendship towards them. It is a policy of encouraging the German revenge-seekers to undertake a new "Drang nach Osten".

50. Hitler's aggression and occupation cost Poland 6 million victims, 6 million men, women and children killed, shot, tortured and asphyxiated in the gas chambers.

51. Over 30 million human lives were lost in the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and other countries to the east of Germany.

52. Let no one be under any illusion. Let no one think that the socialist States will remain passive in the face of the policy of preparing further aggression and another war. We are not defending only ourselves. We are also defending the peace and security of the nations of Western Europe who themselves suffered grievous losses during the last war; similarly we are defending the existence of the German nation itself.

53. That is why we are not isolated. The policy of reconstruction and mobilization of the forces of German imperialism is not supported by any nation. It is no secret that, apart from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, all the Western Governments already have serious apprehensions concerning this policy. The stubborn determination to defend and carry out this policy is simply a waste of effort. That is patent proof of the extent to which the Atlantic Treaty countries have been drawn into the vicious circle which they have themselves created.

54. Not that there has been any lack of warning on our part. For years we have been proposing an alternative solution. The socialist States have for a long time been advocating summit talks on the German problem. It was only in deference to the interests of Chancellor Adenauer that the Western Powers rejected that idea.

55. In 1957 Poland submitted a proposal<sup>1/</sup> for the establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe. It was rejected without discussion.

56. At the end of 1958 the Soviet Union, in agreement with the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist States, proposed the conclusion of a peace treaty which would write the final page of the history of the Second World War and would lay the basis of a final peaceful solution of the German problem. Once again, this was refused.

57. It was therefore essential to eliminate from the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and NATO with regard to the German problem at least that factor which constituted the most direct threat to peace, that is to say West Berlin, which has become the main instrument of sabotage and of gradual preparation for the annexation of the German Democratic Republic and a potential centre of provocation on a world scale.

58. It is now almost three years since the proposal concerning Berlin was made. Meanwhile the army of the Federal Republic of Germany has become the strongest in Western Europe. It has been equipped with rockets; bases for manoeuvres have been granted to it in Western Europe; it has been trained in the use of nuclear weapons. The propaganda of territorial claims made by the Federal Republic of Germany against Poland has become increasingly provocative. The sabotage of the German Democratic Republic, particularly by West Berlin, has reached disquieting proportions.

59. The events of the spring of 1960 and the spring of 1961 have clearly shown the danger of provocative action on the part of Western militarist circles.

60. The problems of Berlin and of Germany are nearing their critical stage.

61. The question of Berlin can and must be settled. We should like to have it settled by agreement and in such a way as to constitute the starting point of a new evolution in Europe towards the easing of tension, security and peaceful coexistence. We would like the present crisis over Berlin to be the last one on the substance of the German problem.

62. The Polish delegation takes the view that it would be possible to settle the question of West Berlin on the basis of new principles which would replace the occupation status and which would provide for the rights and the interests of the people as well as of those of all the States concerned. If the Western Powers really feel strongly about the freedom of the inhabitants of West Berlin, it is difficult to understand why the proposal to make West Berlin a free city is encountering so much opposition.

63. The settlement of the Berlin question can satisfy both parties if at the same time we remove the main threat to peace in Europe.

64. It is thus essential to ensure respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic. Non-recognition of the obvious fact that the German Democratic Republic exists can only be interpreted as support for the plans for its annexation.

65. Recognition of the definitive character of the existing German frontiers is vital to the peace of

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Plenary meetings, 697th meeting, para. 136.

Europe. The unrealistic but dangerous hopes of revenge-seekers of all kinds must be finally dispelled. The armaments race, particularly with relation to nuclear weapons and rockets, in this part of Europe must be stopped. Poland abides by its proposals for an atom-free zone together with the possibility envisaged in our plan of restricting other armaments on the territory of the two German States and of Poland and Czechoslovakia. We should like these fundamental problems to be resolved on the basis of a peace treaty with the two German States.

66. If peace is to be ensured in Europe, these problems must be solved in one way or another.

67. With regard to the question of a peace treaty, I should like to recall the firm stand taken by the Polish Government, which has intimated that if the Western Powers refuse to sign a peace treaty, we and the other States which see fit to do so will sign such a treaty with the German Democratic Republic, which will have serious practical consequences.

68. We are glad to note that contact has been established between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the present crisis.

69. Poland has always considered that in response to the Soviet Government's willingness the Western Powers should in their turn have declared themselves ready to negotiate as soon as possible. We regret that they have not done so earlier.

70. More and more often we hear Bonn speak of the right of the German nation to self-determination. The right to self-determination is a sacred right of each nation, and that is why we cannot accept the unjustified use of the words "self-determination" for purposes contrary to the essence of this concept. Yet the concept of self-determination is abused even from this rostrum. This is done, for instance, to defend the colonial regime in West Irian. The right of the German nation to self-determination, as Bonn understands it, constitutes a similar abuse. The purpose of this version is to justify imperialistic expansion.

71. This conception, however, is not new. It was in the name of the Germans' right to decide their own destiny that Hitler organized his famous plebiscites. The right of self-determination was supposed to justify Hitler's annexation of Austria. It was in the name of the right to self-determination that Hitler's columns moved into Czechoslovakia and invaded Poland.

72. We shall never accept such an interpretation of the right to self-determination. There is no right in the world which can justify preparations for fresh aggression and another war.

73. The second problem which endlessly gives rise to new conflicts, crises and local wars, and keeps the whole world under the threat of war is that of colonialism.

74. The abolition of colonialism has never been the exclusive business of the dependent peoples. It was and remains the common business of all the forces of national and social liberation. It is entirely due to this fact that the colonial system is breaking up.

75. The final abolition of colonialism and its consequences is today intimately bound up with the struggle for peaceful coexistence. This is how the

socialist States see it. It was the key idea of Bandung<sup>2/</sup> where the ten principles of peaceful co-existence were proclaimed. It was the same idea which brought together in Belgrade<sup>3/</sup> twenty-five States differing from each other in numerous respects and which led them to adopt resolutions in common. Poland greeted this conference and its results with sympathy and appreciation, despite certain differences of opinion.

76. At its fifteenth session, thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly broached the problem of the definitive abolition of colonialism. By an overwhelming majority, the Assembly adopted a declaration, sponsored by forty-three Asian and African States, on the granting of independence of colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

77. But the colonizers are not relinquishing Mozambique, or Portuguese Guinea, or West Irian, or Rhodesia, or Kenya, or Uganda, or the still-dependent Territories of the Near East, or the Pacific Islands. They stop at nothing in the Congo. They are still waging an endless and bloody war in Algeria. And it is not long since blood flowed at Bizerta. The colonialists' answer to the Angolan nation's aspirations to liberation is a war of extermination.

78. All the States responsible for these facts are members of NATO. To a greater or lesser extent they all profit from the aid and solidarity of this alliance. See how all the affairs of this world are bound up together! The General Assembly should once again—and still more categorically—condemn colonial wars and interference. An early date should be set for the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The memorandum by the Soviet Union [A/4889] concerning the implementation of the above-mentioned Declaration contains proposals which in the opinion of the Polish delegation should serve as a basis for General Assembly resolutions in this field.

79. It is a difficult and thankless task to defend colonialism from this rostrum. That was why it was easier to have recourse to methods which I would rather not go into. Hence the fantasies about alleged communist colonialism, based, I feel, on a lack of respect for the intellectual level of the audience. For my part I have too great a respect for this audience to embark on a serious discussion of arguments of this kind. The purpose of these fantasies is only too clear: to sow confusion and discord in the ranks of the anti-colonialist forces.

80. But there is more to it than that: there is an echo of what is called "the policy of liberation", which is one of the main elements of the policy based on positions of strength. This policy, though discredited, is still a threat to peace. And yet we have had an opportunity, even quite recently, of seeing what miscalculations underlie this policy of "liberation" of those who are free, and what harm it does.

81. The development of international economic co-operation is becoming an increasingly important factor for peaceful co-existence and is particularly important for nations freed from colonial dependence.

82. The elimination of imbalance in the world economy is not only a requirement of justice but also a necessity

<sup>2/</sup> Conference of African and Asian countries, held from 18 to 24 April 1955.

<sup>3/</sup> Conference of non-aligned countries, held from 1 to 6 September 1961.

created by the development needs of the whole world economy.

83. To achieve this, the first necessity is to refrain from placing obstacles in the way. On this subject I should like to devote a few words to the question of economic integration.

84. We are not opposed to those processes of integration whose goal is a more rapid expansion of productive forces and a rise in the general standard of living—above all in the developing countries—as well as an extension of commercial relations and co-operation with the whole world. Those are useful and progressive processes. Our opinion is different when it comes to certain processes of integration in Western Europe, and above all the Common Market. The political bases and practical activities of this association are resulting in a decrease in trade between East and West and to an intensification of the division of Europe; they are thus strengthening the cold war elements in the world economy. At the same time the Common Market is drawing the former colonial countries into its orbit by forcing them to go on playing their erstwhile role of complement and reserve for the economies of the imperialist countries. This sort of integration is consequently becoming an element of neo-colonialist policy.

85. If, therefore, we really have the progress of the under-developed countries at heart, the second requirement is that the aid supplied should be genuine aid. It is possible to give or lend large sums for the development of enterprises which will not only fail to improve the economic structure of the country but will even weaken it, which will not only fail to raise the standard of living of the population but may even lower it as a result of price fluctuations on the world market, which, far from reducing the economic dependence of the country, will increase it still further.

86. Furthermore, it is not unusual for such aid to have political and military strings attached. Genuine aid, however, must help to modernize the country's economic structure, to industrialize it and consolidate its independence. The use of aid for such purposes can be ensured by an appropriate attitude on the part of the nations concerned, by the development of their relations with all countries, and by peaceful competition.

87. Thirdly, aid to developing countries must be as extensive as possible. But little more can be done in this field as long as the burden of the armaments race continues to weigh on the economy of the developed countries. The solution is general and complete disarmament.

88. Lastly, there is a fourth and decisive requirement if the under-developed countries are to make good their economic backwardness and put foreign aid to the best use: the application by the nations concerned themselves of principles and procedures enabling them to mobilize their own resources and themselves to determine the direction to be taken by their country's development for the benefit of the whole nation. I shall not dwell on this question, since it is for the countries concerned to settle it themselves.

89. Thus it is that the question of the complete independence and rapid advancement of the developing countries is connected in all its aspects with the fundamental problems of the struggle for peaceful coexistence.

90. I now come to the third key problem of international relations, that is to say the question of disarmament. An analysis of the balance of forces in the world of today leads to the conclusion that it is possible to avoid war. But life constantly reminds us that war is still possible. It is the historic task of the present generation to make it impossible, i.e., to carry out general and complete disarmament.

91. The idea of general and complete disarmament is rapidly gaining ground. As for practical steps, almost no progress is being made. The Polish delegation is glad that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed on the principles which should guide future disarmament negotiations [A/4879]. Their positions have moved closer together on certain essential points.

92. There still remains, however, the fundamental contradiction, which can be summed up in the following question: Is it control of armaments or control of disarmament that should be adopted? Poland's position on this matter was expounded in detail and explained in Vladislav Gomulka's speech at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [874th meeting]. Control of armaments is unacceptable if only because no Power can agree to reveal its defence system. There is another thing: the control of modern lightning-action weapons of mass extermination would not avert a preventive war or surprise attack; on the contrary, it would increase the danger. It would speed up the race for modern armaments, instead of slowing it down.

93. So long as there is a danger that the means of mass extermination will be used, the dilemma—control of disarmament or control of armaments—can basically be reduced to the following alternatives: disarmament and security or a speed-up in re-arming and an ever-growing threat.

94. This difference of opinion is linked to yet another one. We consider that the possible use of weapons of mass destruction must be eliminated during the first stage of disarmament. This would lead to a new situation which would make the other problems of disarmament, including that of control, much easier to solve. The alternative—postponing the elimination of the most modern weapons until the last stages of disarmament—would produce the opposite effect and could well result in modernization of the armed forces instead of disarmament. An initial study of the American disarmament plan shows that it involves this very danger. The elimination of the most horrible weapons at the very first stage would simultaneously hasten the final cessation of nuclear weapons testing.

95. The Polish delegation has already given its views on this matter and will do so again in greater detail in due course. In short, however, it can be said that so long as the armaments race, particularly the race for nuclear weapons, continues, and so long as international tension and the threat to the security of nations continue to grow, a lasting suspension of nuclear weapons testing will be impossible. The question of testing cannot be examined realistically if it is divorced from that of general and complete disarmament.

96. Poland was and still is in favour of any measures that will slow down the armaments race as soon as possible. What is important is that the efforts devoted to that end should be genuine efforts, that they should effectively strengthen security and not merely give

the dangerous illusion of doing so, and finally that any steps taken should facilitate, and not merely be a substitute for general and complete disarmament. The Soviet memorandum of 20 September 1961 [A/4892] does in fact put forward a number of proposals along those lines.

97. In stating the Polish delegation's support for those proposals, I should like once again to draw attention to the initiative of the Government of the People's Republic of Poland in proposing the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe, a proposal presented from this very rostrum on 2 October 1957<sup>4/</sup> and explained in detail in the Polish memorandum of 14 February 1958 which was transmitted to the Governments concerned, and in subsequent documents and statements.

98. Apart from the important direct effect which it would have on the situation in Europe, the establishment of such a zone could facilitate negotiations on general and complete disarmament. It could also provide a wealth of practical experience in the field of control.

99. Poland would warmly welcome the creation of atom-free zones in other parts of Europe and elsewhere in the world. We support the proposals already made to that effect by Romania, the People's Republic of China and Ghana.

100. We shall continue to play an active part in all attempts to facilitate and speed up work on our main task, which is the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

101. Mankind is today more divided than ever, but it is also more closely linked than ever before by the supreme common interest of avoiding atomic war and safeguarding peace. It is that that should determine the starting-point, the direction, the methods and the structure of the United Nations, which must be based not on what divides the nations, but on what unites them, what will be decisive for their future.

102. The United Nations must unite all States to that end. The major gap here is the absence of the People's Republic of China, which discredits and paralyses the United Nations. Nothing can justify the presence here of these gentlemen from Taiwan. Indeed, they no longer even manage to represent the United States properly. As for the interventions which they make in the name of China, they leave the impression that in our Organization surrealism has taken the place of realism. The rights which belong to the People's Republic of China must be restored to it as soon as possible during the sixteenth session.

103. We should also have liked to welcome among us the representatives of the noble, courageous and humane Mongolian nation.

104. The United Nations must become a true world organization.

105. If the universal longing for peace is to be satisfied, practical solutions must be found to the principal world problems: the abolition of colonial dependency, the expansion of international economic, scientific and cultural co-operation and the introduction of general and complete disarmament.

106. The work of the United Nations must be based on the common objective of consolidating peace and must be directed towards the implementation of specific measures for attaining that end.

107. In international relations it is effective power which counts and that power is concentrated in the three main world groupings. That being so, attempts to impose important decisions on one of those groupings with the aid of the United Nations is damaging to both the cause involved and the United Nations.

108. The United Nations can become the instrument for closing the gap between the positions of the decisive world Powers on issues of crucial importance. That is all, but in fact it is a great deal.

109. That is the basis of our conclusions regarding the structure and organization of the United Nations. Those conclusions were expounded at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly by Mr. Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union [869th meeting, paras. 275-285] and are unreservedly supported by Poland.

110. We know that there are Powers which do not like these conclusions, simply because they reduce their influence inside the Organization to its correct proportions. It is difficult to discuss such a position, since it is based on premises which are acceptable neither to the socialist States nor to any other State which is unwilling to regard the United Nations as the instrument of any one of the parties.

111. We also know, however, that there are persons and circles whose view of the United Nations is that of a world parliament and government adopting and implementing resolutions through a supranational Secretariat. Those are unrealistic and dangerous ambitions. If the United Nations were to follow that path and turn aside from the most important of its time tasks, it would find itself outside the stream of life, it would lose its whole importance and would be completely paralysed. The failure of such a concept of the United Nations when confronted with the facts was the background of the human drama of Dag Hammarskjöld.

112. One fact, however, gives grounds for optimism: it is that the more clearly the contradictions of today's torn and divided world appear, the more the nations are united in their desire for peace. Such optimism will be well founded if the desire for peace is translated into active work for peaceful coexistence.

113. Poland's entire home and foreign policy serves that course. My country is living, working and developing its activities in the conviction that common sense and a persistent will to peace will defeat blind and narrow egotistical interests, which in any case history will not allow to prevail.

*Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

114. Mr. AUBAME (Gabon) (translated from French): On behalf of the Republic of Gabon I wish to pay the highest tribute to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, who died on our African soil so that the independence of an African country might be saved, so that a free republic might live in freedom. May the example of this life dedicated to the union of peoples and the welfare of humanity, and this death on a field of battle where ancient forces of oppression are still at grips with the invincible forces of liberation, remain always fresh in our memory. Léon Mba, the President of the

<sup>4/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Plenary meetings, 697th meeting, para. 136.

Republic of Gabon, the Government and the people of Gabon convey their grief and sympathy to his family and the families of his colleagues who died at his side.

115. I should now like to say how proud we Africans are to see our proceedings conducted by President Mongi Slim; for he symbolizes this wise policy of decolonization in friendship which, since the conversation at Carthage<sup>5/</sup>, stands as an example of what can be done by good faith and the will to peace and understanding. And we have not forgotten that when Gabon was admitted to the United Nations in 1960, Tunisia was one of the countries which gave us a warm and friendly welcome.

116. Lastly, I am delighted to salute the admission of a new African State to the United Nations, the Republic of Sierra Leone.

117. After these tributes of sadness and of hopes I shall now, on behalf of my country, turn to the great problems of the moment.

118. Our Assembly has perhaps never before been confronted by a more alarming situation, for it is the future of humanity, the lives of millions of human beings which are the terrible stakes in the insane race to produce even more murderous weapons. Human genius, which should be devoted exclusively to the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease, is devising instruments of death which imperil the very existence of this planet. No nation, great or small, no matter to which bloc it belongs, no matter what its political ideology, would be spared in a conflict which would instantly become global. That is why we consider—and when I say we, I think I am expressing the will of all the African countries here—that the first task of the United Nations must be to ensure the progressive, controlled and equitable disarmament of Powers possessing a nuclear striking force. This disarmament, as President Kennedy emphasized [1013th meeting], must also extend to all the conventional instruments of destruction.

119. We are firmly convinced that the small nations which cherish peace and need international agreement in order to build up their economies, to educate their peoples who are thirsting to learn, to build schools, hospitals and decent housing, to equip their growing industries, to combat disease, and finally to achieve full emancipation, can make a decisive contribution in the struggle for peace.

120. Even if they are small in the number of their inhabitants or the size of their territory, they can be great in the moral stature of their citizens and their noble sense of international solidarity. A country like Gabon, which does not regard any single nation represented here as anything but its friend, which, while strongly attached to the principles of freedom, is willing to admit any divergent position—can such a country not do its bit in building a world free from fear? What problem is there, however agonizing, which cannot be solved in the course of prolonged discussion in this temple of peace? The small nation's right to life must be guaranteed: every man, whatever his race, the colour of his skin, his political or religious ideals, has the right to live. The great Powers may perhaps be able to carry through this broad programme of integral disarmament, which remains the supreme objective, by associating the young

peoples more closely with it, the peoples which today represent almost half the membership of this Assembly.

121. The most serious threat today comes from Berlin. This danger is due to the fact that the two blocs are standing face to face in a Germany cut in two, and a clumsy gesture, a misinterpreted order, an impulse of impatience or fear may unleash a world conflict. We are bound to note, not without regret, that the division of Germany is a brutal reality which must be taken into account. In the interest of peace, however, we think that the German people should have a chance, as soon as possible, to make known its opinions in free elections.

122. Over forty years ago a great idealist, President Wilson, and a great French statesman, Georges Clemenceau, solemnly declared to a world which had at last found peace again that the right of peoples to self-determination must be the foundation of all national construction. This right of peoples, which on the international level is the magnified projection of human rights, should inspire the heads of States to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Berlin.

123. Is it unthinkable that a first zone could be established under the United Nations flag, embracing not only West Berlin but the whole of the city, from which the troops now there would be evacuated? All suggestions for a solution based on good faith and on the agreement of the parties at issue must be examined with the firm intention of putting an end to this universal anguish.

124. The General Assembly of the United Nations could suggest that the parties at issue should study a reasonable plan to be carried out as early as possible and allowing for mutual sacrifices, sacrifices which are the essential and inevitable counterpart of a restored peace. Yes, sacrifices will be asked of the great Powers of both blocs, but what debt of gratitude will humanity not owe to the States which will thus have made it possible for man to devote himself at last to the sole pursuit of his well-being? An honest discussion, under the high authority of the United Nations, between those responsible for this danger ought to result in a solution, for it is our Organization's duty to guarantee honest peaceful coexistence between all nations.

125. Since the end of the last war the dramatic division of States has affected numerous countries; it is one of the major factors in the persistence of the cold war. Too often this division has been encouraged by the intervention of certain Powers. Did not the weapons and men which enabled Katanga to defy the work of unification undertaken by the United Nations in the Congo come from outside? In the twentieth century any revolution, any internal uprising, the repression of any national liberation movement, assumes an international character and the interference or the false neutrality of certain nations does not always tilt the balance in favour of justice. How can we hope to localize a conflict today? How can we be sure that a conflict affecting only one minor territory will not unleash a world war? How, for example, can we pretend that the brutal repression of the Angolan liberation movement is not a constant threat to peace on the African continent? World opinion has been roused. The Archbishop of Canterbury has said that Christian conscience is horrified and that violence has been met with still greater violence.

<sup>5/</sup> Conversation between the Bey of Tunisia and Mr. Mendès-France, French Président du Conseil and Marshal Juin (31 July 1954).

126. Despite propaganda by the Portuguese press, despite the censorship which blankets all news of Angola, we know that nearly 100,000 blacks have been massacred. The Portuguese army is using tanks to mow down these people, who are dying that their nation may be free; it is destroying whole villages with flame-throwers. So let us hear no more about Portugal's civilizing mission. After more than four centuries of Portuguese occupation, 99 per cent of the population is illiterate, infant mortality is rising year by year. And how should the Portuguese not be reluctant to leave a country where they possess four-fifths of the cultivable land and where their soldiers, when demobilized, become landowners? It is time to put an end to the exploitation of the black man by the colonialists. It is intolerable that the most valuable elements of the Angolan population should be sold like slaves to the mining companies of South Africa.

127. On 11 December 1946 the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously condemned genocide as a crime under international law [resolution 96 (I)]. Moreover, according to article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948 [resolution 260 (III)], and I quote:

"Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

"(a) Killing members of the group;

"(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

"(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

"(d) ...

"(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Article IV of the Convention says: "Persons committing genocide ... shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals". Portuguese acts in Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, do indeed constitute a crime against humanity. The presence of a delegation from the Portuguese Government in these precincts is a challenge to the African continent and the free world. And yet responsible Portuguese should understand that by trying to keep everything they are certain to lose everything. How much wiser, more intelligent, more humane the work of decolonization undertaken by France and Great Britain has been. If Portugal could bring itself to leave a country which wants to be free, it could preserve the friendship of a people which, in the joy of liberation, would try to forget the brutal régime under which it has so painfully laboured.

128. Speaking of decolonization, President Kennedy, recognizing that it is one of this Assembly's central preoccupations, said, and I quote:

"Within the limits of our responsibility in such matters, my country intends to be a participant, and not merely an observer, in the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the Status of Colonies to the partnership of equals. That continuing

tide of self-determination which runs so strong has our sympathy and our support." [1013th meeting.]

129. In the hope that the movement for decolonization can revert to peaceful means, we take this opportunity to urge the friends of Portugal without delay to make representations to that country in order that the shedding of blood may cease, and that at a round table conference the Portuguese and the African nationalists may settle the procedure for the achievement of independence by the so-called "Portuguese" territories. We impugn the delaying tactics which consist of transforming the colonies into provinces of a metropolitan country several thousand miles away, and of rejecting any suggestion from outside for negotiations under the fallacious pretext that the metropolitan country and the "African provinces" form a single national entity.

130. Since it is a problem of war and peace, and of the continuance of friendship between Europeans and Africans, all men of good will should make every effort to ensure that there is no more bloodshed to widen the gulf which already exists between Portugal and the African nationalists.

131. Friendship between liberated peoples and former colonizers is a universal rule. Has not Latin America ties of deep affection with Spain and Portugal? Has the United States a more faithful ally than the United Kingdom? And tomorrow—at least that is the great hope we wish to express—will not Algeria become independent thanks to the constructive action of General de Gaulle, together with the other countries of the Maghreb, be a friend of France?

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

132. There is another problem which claims the attention of our Assembly and which threatens this peaceful coexistence which we have so much at heart—that is the problem of racial segregation in South Africa. That country has never paid the least attention to the General Assembly resolutions condemning segregation, which is a violation of the United Nations Charter and of the pledges of Member States under Article 76. These discriminatory measures, which are an infringement of human rights, are accompanied by acts of violence, heavy sentences and bloodshed. On 13 April 1961, at its 981st plenary meeting, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [1598 (XV)] calling upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to bring its policies into conformity with its obligations under the Charter. Despite that resolution, the oppression of the black man in South Africa is becoming daily more brutal. It would be a terrible thing if our Assembly did not take steps to induce South Africa to put an end to its policy of segregation; if it cannot bring justice to that country, it should expel from its midst the representation of the most reactionary of the racist governments.

133. Unfortunately it seems likely that we shall have to resort to the latter solution, for segregation as understood by South Africa has become a religion with an inflexible dogma.

134. The decisive event of the second half of the twentieth century has been the arrival on the world stage of the Asian and African nations. France and the United Kingdom have helped these young countries to recover their independence and have thus made it possible to substitute for the outdated colonialism of the period before the Second World War a co-operation which we for our part are endeavouring

to make still more fruitful. But the process of decolonization ought to be accelerated, for although the United Kingdom and France have brought about the liberation of hundreds of millions of men and of many countries formerly under their rule, other European nations are still disregarding the moral and political significance of the liberation of a people. That is why we believe that the United Nations was justified in dealing with that problem at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. It would seem to be urgent to speed up the process of decolonization throughout the world as an essential prerequisite of peace among the peoples. The United Nations should consider each individual case and recommend the appropriate solution. After this stage of political decolonization, achieved as far as possible through negotiation, we feel that the United Nations should institute an extensive programme to assist the decolonized countries to develop harmoniously and consolidate their independence. We know that United Nations programmes of assistance for under-developed countries already exist. But it seems to us necessary that in addition to ordinary technical assistance, a large capital development fund should be established. This fund, the utilization of which in the development programmes of our countries should be a decisive factor, would, we are certain, enable us to avoid economic colonization, which is at least as harmful as political colonization.

135. The international situation is at present dominated by the problem of Berlin, the resumption of nuclear tests, and the after-effects of colonization, all elements of the cold war which, as we have already said, threaten to lead us to the abyss. We think that, in view of their opportunities and their degree of development, the Members of the United Nations have a leading role to play in recommending effective

solutions which will enable mankind to restore a better equilibrium. We are glad to note that as well as the small nations, great Powers also respect the United Nations and are endeavouring to seek with us the means of diminishing international tension so as to bring about what we all wish: world co-operation. For this to be possible, the authority of the United Nations must be genuine. The Organization must not be paralysed at the executive level, as it is at present at the stage of decision, by the veto. To have three Secretaries-General, each chosen on the basis of ideological criteria and each armed with a veto, would certainly be the best way of bringing the cold war into our Organization. We think that the Secretary-General should be above particular blocs and that the general staff of assistants he needs to help him in his task should not represent ideological blocs but large geographical areas. On that point Article 100 of the Charter is most explicit: the administration of the United Nations must be international and not inter-governmental.

136. In a speech on 17 August 1961, the anniversary of our independence, President Léon Mba, President of the Republic of Gabon, strongly emphasized that the economic and cultural development of the new nations could not proceed in a world rent by strife and turmoil.

137. In order fully to achieve our potentialities, we need peace and friendship among the peoples. This is the conclusion which I offer for the consideration of this Assembly so that all together, large and small, transcending our difficulties, we may be able to achieve peace and thus make a great contribution to the stirring history of the twentieth century.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*