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AGENDA ITEM 68

United Nations Library: report of the Secretary-General

PROPOSAL FOR A MEMORIAL TO THE LATE DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4922)

Pursuant to rule 68 of the Rules of Procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

1. Mr. ARRAIZ (Venezuela), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (translated from Spanish): This occasion when, as Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, I am addressing for the first time the General Assembly to ask that the Library of the United Nations should be called after Dag Hammarskjöld, will always remain a moving memory to me. The idea originated with the Ford Foundation itself, which has most generously provided the funds for the erection of the Library. Nine Member States, Argentina, Ceylon, Denmark, Iceland, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic, took over the idea and submitted it to the Fifth Committee [A/C.5/885]. On that occasion, speakers representing the most varied regions of the world paid homage to the memory of the Secretary-General. They spoke of him as a thinker and a man of action and they said that a worthy tribute to his memory would be to call the United Nations Library after him. Some recalled the differences that they had had with him at one time or another, but all recognized his many qualities, and above all his outstanding dedication to the United Nations, a dedication so complete that it cost him his life. Not a single voice was raised in opposition.

2. This last circumstance makes me hope that the General Assembly will unanimously adopt the draft resolution approved by the Fifth Committee in its report [A/4922].

3. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): May I remind the Assembly that the Fifth Committee has just recommended the adoption of the draft resolution reproduced in paragraph 4 of its report [A/4922]? May I take it that this draft resolution is adopted without any objections?

The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)*

4. Mr. GALLIN-DOUATHE (Central African Republic) (translated from French): Through my eminent colleague, Mr. Raymond N'thepe, the twelve States of the Brazzaville Group have participated in the tribute of the General Assembly to the memory of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. But, since I am called upon to speak this morning, I wish to express the deep feeling of sorrow in my country at the death of the Secretary-General. The physical and moral courage, the impartiality, the diplomatic skill, the capacity for work of this great international civil servant, and also the faith which moved him in the accomplishment of his tasks, have been described in this hall by many eloquent speakers. While fully associating myself with the tributes paid to his eminent qualities, I shall therefore not recall the occasions when those qualities were shown at their best.

5. There is, however, one aspect of the personality of Mr. Hammarskjöld which was particularly appealing to my country and on which I should like to dwell. Like other nations of Black Africa, the Central African Republic has, by reason of its recently acquired independence, been called upon to take its seat in the community of nations as an equal among equals. But I need not recall what this *de jure* equality amounts to in fact. And in this matter the activities of our Secretary-General were most beneficial. His best efforts, especially for the last two years, had been devoted to the cause of small nations, especially those of the new African States and Madagascar. In order to defend them and restore peace and unity, which were threatened by powerful and selfish interests, he embarked on a fatal night, despite all the hazards on his last tragic adventure.

6. That is why the Central African Republic is particularly conscious of the greatness of the loss the Organization has suffered as a result of the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld. It has shown its grief by flying its flag at half-mast for three days over its territory.

7. Today my country is concerned over the difficulties which are preventing the appointment of a new Secretary-General. It hopes that this problem will be

*Resumption of debate of 1036th meeting.

rapidly solved, so that the Secretariat will be able to accomplish its difficult tasks. I shall come back to that point at the end of my statement in order to give the views of my Government.

8. Having paid a last tribute to the illustrious deceased who has left our community to take his place in the pages of history, I now turn towards the living—those whom we have elected to guide our work during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. It seems to me that we can only congratulate ourselves upon our elected officers, especially at having chosen as President such a skilful diplomat, such an impartial arbitrator and such an able defender of the United Nations as Mr. Mongi Slim. The weight of his authority will, I am sure, greatly assist us in successfully concluding discussions of the items on our very heavy agenda.

9. In his famous book, Jonathan Swift related the travels of his hero, Gulliver. In the course of these travels, he visited the imaginary island of Laputa, which was peopled with learned and wise men so immersed in deep and continuous meditation and so engrossed in their own ideas that each one lived in a completely closed world and could neither understand his neighbour nor make himself understood by him. Consequently their sight and hearing had become impaired. To remedy this state of affairs, servants armed with rattles accompanied them everywhere, and shook these rattles before their eyes or in their ears so as to make them aware of the most pressing realities of life.

10. If some inhabitant from another world were to land on our planet today, I wonder whether he would not be as surprised as was Gulliver on beholding the impractical and visionary philosophers of Laputa. He would behold a divided human species, segregated into hostile classes, races and nations, deaf and blind, and sometimes combining into groups, but only the better to resist or dominate. If he were to try to acquaint himself with the general political situation, his informants would no doubt try to make matters clearer to him by explaining that the world was divided into several blocs or alliances, and that two of these were split by an ideological quarrel or by irreconcilable interests, while the others were so constituted as to resist the domination of the first two, showing preference sometimes for one of these and sometimes for the other.

11. The Central African Republic firmly rejects this depressing concept of a society crystallized into opposing blocs. It will in any case belong to none of them and will, in each separate case, exercise its free judgement.

12. Like so many other small nations, my country is profoundly disappointed that the great Powers are unable to find some common ground for agreement. Instead of looking to them to guide us, we are reduced to regarding them as the possible authors of our annihilation in the near future. Their tremendous resources, a small part of which would provide our economies with the support they so sorely need, are being used to forge ever mightier weapons. One of these countries, breaking the truce despite the wishes of all free nations, has just given the signal for the resumption of atomic and thermonuclear bomb tests. The rapidity with which these explosions succeed one another clearly shows that these tests have been prepared for a long time and the reason given sounds so

much like a pretext that it is an insult to the United Nations.

13. Thus it may be said that the Berlin crisis is reaching its acutest phase amid the roar of explosions. The attitudes of the adversaries are hardening from day to day. Until recently those attitudes were still sufficiently fluid and flexible to give diplomacy the necessary elbow room and free play so that nothing irreparable would happen. But today such diplomatic action is becoming almost impossible as the threats and declarations proffered by the two opponents prevent them from giving way.

14. To avoid disaster I would, on behalf of my Government, urge the great Powers concerned to enter without delay into negotiations on the problem of Berlin, so that a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned can be found. Before anything else, the wishes of the Berlin inhabitants and their right, too seldom mentioned, to determine their own fate, must be taken into account.

15. I would call on these countries, in particular on the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to pursue their discussions with the sincere desire to succeed, so that they may establish an effective system for the control of nuclear and conventional armaments applicable to all atomic Powers, present and future. Like so many before me, I would like to draw their attention to the frightful dangers that the inadequacy of their efforts at conciliation is imposing upon the whole of humanity.

16. In the meantime, and as an immediate measure, I would urge them to allay the anguish of the world and to leave the door open to hope by agreeing to put an end to nuclear and thermonuclear explosions.

17. I said just now that my country recognizes no obligation whatsoever to belong to any political bloc. The Central African Republic refuses to form part of any groups that are usually designated by that term because for ideological or military reasons these blocs tend to lay stress on what divides nations rather than on what unites them. Such an approach is contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, whereas two basic characteristics of the Central African Republic's foreign policy are a deep attachment to the Organization and the resolute support of its actions.

18. However, this position does not prevent us from entering into alliances which seem to us to have peaceful and beneficial objectives and from maintaining friendly relations with nations or groups of nations that are prepared to help us while respecting our rights. Thus we have joined the association known as the Union of African and Malagasy States which has strengthened the bonds between twelve countries linked by cultural affinities, geographical situation and memories of a common action to achieve independence.

19. Our group of twelve countries is in no way exclusive and it has a positive approach to others so that it also forms part of the much bigger Monrovia Group which is open to all new African Members that may wish to join us.

20. Our sense of African solidarity in no way prevents us from turning our eyes to the other continents. We stretch out our hand to all nations which, like our own, are endeavouring to progress economically and socially so that their citizens may achieve that human dignity of which independence, though essential, is but a part. And we look too towards the individual Powers which are prepared to help us to achieve this while

respecting our sovereign nationality. In particular, my country views with favour any form of agreement or co-operation with Western Europe, for psychological, geo-political and economic reasons. In this connexion, I should like to quote the following passage from the speech made a few days ago by Mr. Adama Tamboux, President of the National Assembly, at Bangui, on the occasion of the opening of the special session of this Parliament:

"We clearly have many more affinities with Europe than with other continents or sub-continents. There is also no doubt that Europe, not being a monolithic continent, is less of a political threat than the two great Powers; the very fact that it is divided tends to promote discussion. Finally it must be recognized that Western Europe, which if taken as a whole is able to hold out as many economic possibilities as either of the two great Powers, has shown it is capable of decolonization, that it has no racial segregation and that at the same time it is the region—and France more particularly—that furnishes us the substantial aid which is vital to us. That is why I attach great importance to the European Economic Community, on condition that it is reinforced and made complete, and it is my earnest wish that this Community will grow in an atmosphere of frank and loyal co-operation thereby ensuring the mutual and harmonious development of a Europe and Africa freely, and I repeat freely, associated."

21. Such are the main lines of the foreign policy of my own country, the Central African Republic. I should now like to turn back to Africa and to deal with the problem of decolonization in general and with some of its special aspects.

22. Decolonization and colonialism are the two main facets of Africa today. Old colonial Powers like France and the United Kingdom are, after a gradual preparation, leading their African territories to independence today. This evolution may not always have been as rapid as might have been desired, but it is at least about to come to an end, and in most cases the transitions have been organized well enough to avoid any serious disturbances. These two Powers have consequently reaped great moral benefits from their actions, and their wise policies have raised their prestige in the United Nations and earned them many friends on the African continent and in Madagascar.

23. In contrast to this privileged moral position of those countries, Portugal and the Union of South Africa are constantly being blamed by the great majority of the countries represented in the United Nations. In contrast to the friendly attitudes of France and the United Kingdom, there are the bloody war in Angola and the conspiracies and rebellions among the Bantus. The situation in Angola and the Union of South Africa is deeply disturbing to our country which cannot remain indifferent to the sufferings of our oppressed or murdered fellow-Africans. I shall not dwell on these matters today but deal with them at greater length when they are brought up on our agenda.

24. But I should like to remind the Governments of Portugal and the Union of South Africa already, through their distinguished representatives here, that the march of the nations of the black race towards their independence cannot be arrested. I should like to point out to them again that the use of arbitrary methods, bloody repression and the policy of racial segregation may slow down the Africans' accession to the status of free men, of citizens of free nations, but that nothing

can finally prevent it. I should finally like to ask them, for these reasons, to change as soon and as radically as possible a policy which, by endeavouring to arrest the present evolution, can only make the inevitable outcome more bitter and more painful.

25. In other regions of the African continent, the veil of uncertainty would seem to be lifting. It was with the most profound satisfaction that my Government saw France and Tunisia renounce the use of force and negotiate to settle the question of Bizerta. These two countries have, to our great satisfaction, been able to agree on a provisional modus vivendi. We hope the problem will soon be finally settled and cease to exacerbate the relations of two countries, which, judging by their history and geography and their cultural affinities, should be firm friends.

26. The Algerian war is still on, but the recent statements made by the President of the French Republic hold out hopes that its end is near, since the preliminary conditions concerning the Sahara have now been withdrawn. The Central African Republic earnestly hopes that negotiations will be resumed between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, if, as rumour has it, this has not already been done, so that an end will soon be put to the fighting and independence granted to the Algerian people. It hopes that, under the sovereignty of the Republic of Algeria, there will be a system of co-operation in the Sahara which will enable its wealth to be exploited for the common benefit of Algeria, other neighbouring countries of Africa, and France.

27. One day, which I hope will be soon, we shall welcome into our midst Ruanda-Urundi. The political evolution of this country is not yet completed and it is still widely exposed to foreign interference which prevents the expression of the popular will. My Government therefore requests the United Nations to use the means at its disposal to ensure that the solutions applied to the problems of that territory are based on truly democratic principles.

28. We hope that the situation in the Congo will soon improve and that a reasonable solution will soon make it possible to reunite the country once and for all. The Government of the Central African Republic hopes that matters will not be precipitated and that the Congolese will themselves reform their Fundamental Law, in accordance with the facts of the situation and their freely expressed will.

29. I should now like to address the newest Members of our Assembly, Sierra Leone and Syria, and extend a cordial and fraternal welcome to the representatives of these young States.

30. The joy I feel at greeting these new colleagues is only equalled by our feelings of regret at being unable to extend the same wishes to another delegation which for a year has been waiting to be at last granted admission to the Organization, as if admission were a favour, bestowed on the approval of a few, and not a right, which must, it is true, be recognized by a vote, but which already exists when, as in the case of Mauritania, the country fulfils the conditions which have enabled the other nations to take their place in this Organization. I would even go as far as to say that, where independence is concerned, it fulfils them better than do some of the nations in question. I shall not dwell further on this matter, for during the past few days there have been certain signs which give

grounds for the hope that there may be a happy outcome to this question. Should this hope prove unfounded my country would, when it came to consider other problems, draw all the necessary conclusions from such a denial of justice resulting from manoeuvres which do no credit to our Organization.

31. The interest which the Central African Republic takes in all the questions I have raised does not make it lose sight of the importance of economic problems. That is why its delegation will follow very closely the discussion of the items on our agenda which concern industrial development, the creation of a capital development fund, primary commodities markets, and the acceleration of the flow of capital and of technical assistance. It goes without saying that my country fully approves of the wishes of the Organization to play an increasingly important role in this field and it will view with favour any steps in that direction. We regard the intensification of United Nations economic activity as highly desirable, whether it takes the form of strengthening existing economic instruments or of creating new ones.

32. Nevertheless, the fact that we approve multilateral forms of economic aid does not mean that we are renouncing the benefits of bilateral agreements. It does not even imply any preference, as long as we consider that these agreements freely entered into in no way affect our independence. My country—and I am sure that it is not alone in holding this view—considers that the existence side-by-side of these two forms of assistance gives it greater latitude and freedom, by enabling it to choose the form of assistance best suited to it at any given moment or even to combine the advantages which each of these forms may offer.

33. This need for flexibility and the wish to remain as it were available actuate my Government in other economic fields. It is strongly repelled by the totalitarianism of the Communist world and yet recognizes the need for a planned economy; it is aware that it is not rich enough and that its social problems are too acute for it to adopt a liberal capitalist system and yet it wishes to hasten development by attracting private capital. Those are the ideas, at first sight contradictory, which the Central African Republic is trying to combine in order to create a planned economy within a non-totalitarian framework.

34. In this respect, too, then, my Government intends to reject ready-made solutions and to borrow whatever principles from each system or doctrine that it thinks may prove most profitable to an African country. In particular, while condemning the colonial capitalist exploitation, it would be in favour of capital investments, but naturally only in so far as such investments would respect national sovereignty and would be integrated into the life of the country, in other words in so far as such investments would promote advancement throughout the nation. Foreign private capital which met these requirements would enjoy tax exemptions and could be withdrawn without difficulty. It is hardly necessary to add that the social climate and political stability of my country are also guarantees for the security of invested funds.

35. I am coming to the end of my speech and I must leave the higher spheres of economics and politics to mention two practical matters which concern the structure of the United Nations.

36. The first question is that of adapting the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to the

new life of the United Nations. These bodies were set up when the Organization consisted of only slightly more than half the Members it has now. Since they were last reorganized, more than twenty Members have been admitted and the geographical distribution has changed very considerably. My Government hopes, therefore, that the number of members of the two Councils will be augmented and that there will be an equitable distribution of seats among the various continents, more representation being given to Africa and Asia.

37. Finally, I wish to revert to the problem of the replacement of Mr. Hammarskjöld. The Government of the Central African Republic considers that the Secretary-General should have some freedom of action. It is therefore definitely opposed to the idea of a "troika" which would paralyse the executive organ of the United Nations and would render quite futile the modest decisions which we achieve with so much effort.

38. On the other hand, I am ready to cast my Government's vote for a solution which would give an acting Secretary-General five assistants chosen with due regard for the political and geographical balance of our Assembly.

39. This formula appears to be on the point of being accepted. I hope that it will enable the United Nations to pursue its labours with renewed ardour in a clearer atmosphere, so that it may draw ever closer to the goal it has set itself by assuming so ambitious a name.

40. Mr. SISOUK NA CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (translated from French): May I, Mr. President, add the warmest congratulations of my Government and delegation to the many congratulations extended to you from this rostrum on the occasion of your election to the Presidency of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In selecting you, the Assembly has paid a tribute to your qualities as a statesman, and through you, to your country, Tunis. This unanimous choice is a natural recognition of your personal merits, of your competence, and of the outstanding services you have rendered on so many occasions to this Organization with great dignity, tact and political wisdom.

41. For our part, we shall not forget the important personal part you played in the Laotian crisis of the summer of 1959 and the precious aid your country gave us, along with Argentina, Japan and Italy, in the Sub-Committee set up by the Security Council,^{1/} when my country became a victim to attacks from across its northern frontiers. Without this peace mission urgently despatched by the Council, my country might have succumbed to the assaults of these foreign subversive forces.

42. On behalf of my country, I should also like to extend my most sincere congratulations to the outgoing President, Mr. Boland, on the competence and impartiality with which he presided over the past session.

43. Finally, I should like to extend our warmest congratulations to the representatives of Sierra Leone, whose admission recently has brought the membership of our Organization up to one hundred. I am sure they will make a valuable contribution to our work. We hope that Mauritania, Outer Mongolia and some other countries will soon be with us. Thus, by further ad-

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fourteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1959, document S/4216.

mission from year to year, the United Nations will be fulfilling the hopes of the founding nations that it would achieve universality.

44. After a year which was disturbed by grave events, this sixteenth session of the Assembly has opened in an atmosphere of mourning—the worst so far in the history of the United Nations. Its highest official, loved and respected by us all, has died tragically while accomplishing his mission of peace. His death has created a vacuum which must be filled without delay.

45. I have already had occasion to express to this Assembly, on behalf of His Majesty the King, the Government and the Laotian people, our deep sorrow and sincere affliction at the death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and I have referred to the capital role which he played for seven years in the building of peace. That is why, however deep our grief and our sorrow at this loss may be, we must master our feelings and think seriously of the future of this Organization. We cannot, on fallacious pretexts, allow it to be long deprived of leadership at a time when not only its structure, but also its foundations, are being strongly attacked. We shall strongly resist any changes in its structure, for we do not think it should be a "continuous creation" at the service of one bloc or another. The United Nations was set up to serve the interests of peace and justice for the whole of humanity, not the interests of blocs.

46. We do not think that the direction of the United Nations should be put in the hands of three persons representing the present political currents in the world or even in the hands of a collegiate body of competent persons. That would merely lead to disagreements, friction and antagonisms which would retard the reaching of decisions for which speed is essential. If the "troika" principle proposed by the Soviet Union is accepted, the Organization, whose machinery is already cumbersome enough, would go through phases of confusion and paralysis before it finally died. With it would go, because of our quarrels and our mistakes, the hopes of hundreds of millions of men and women who had put their trust in it. In our opinion, to adopt the "troika" principle would be to violate the Charter of the United Nations, to perpetuate the concept of blocs and to undermine all the efforts made by our Organization in its search for understanding, for peace and justice. We should then see all that it had bravely and patiently built up since the beginning of its existence collapse in chaos and confusion.

47. As for us, we cannot be a party to manoeuvres of any kind which aim at undermining the authority and the foundations of the United Nations. In our opinion, the status quo must be maintained, and the Organization must have at its head, as in the past, a single, all-powerful but accountable head. Otherwise the torch of civilization which it bears would be but a glimmer in the gloom.

48. The small countries, which are weak like our own and have just obtained their liberty and independence, need the protection of the United Nations more than ever. To them it is not only the best instrument of peace for localizing and extinguishing any conflagration wherever it breaks out, but also a platform where they may speak freely.

49. In the past, the intervention of the United Nations has helped to prevent the spread of conflicts which, without it, might have led to a world war. Its activities

in the economic and social field, its aid to refugees, its efforts to bring about the independence of colonized countries, are so many proofs of its benefits to mankind. Laos, for its part, has benefited from technical assistance, both in the form of materials and personnel. A small United Nations mission is helping the Royal Government to carry out modest programmes of rural assistance. It has now been able to work at full strength owing to the notable situation in my country. That is why, in so far as the Organization reflects man's anxiety to preserve peace and justice and in so far as it represents an attempt to outstrip present antagonisms, its existence is more indispensable than ever. It is therefore in the interests of all, and more particularly of the small countries, to strengthen its authority and to encourage the discussion within it of the problems connected with their existence. All those who are anxious at this moment to avert fresh disorders and disappointments for the United Nations should now clear the way so that it may rest on sound and firm foundations.

50. At the moment when this session is opening, the world finds itself once again at a decisive turning-point in the history of humanity, where the slightest false step might unleash a world disaster. Today hope and confidence are being replaced by anxiety, suspicion and fear. The dissensions bred by the cold war are more acute than ever before. In Europe, Asia, Africa and even in America, conflicts having their roots in the cold war are growing worse and assuming disturbing proportions. Some have remained at the larval stage while others show alarming symptoms. All are ready to explode. In Laos peace remains precarious; the Congo is faced by difficulties caused by the situation in Katanga. In Angola and Algeria a war of liberation is fiercely being waged. In Berlin, the rights and the freedom of the citizens have been suppressed by the East German authorities who hope to stem the flow of refugees by feverishly building walls and barricades. These combined measures have created a new situation and are threatening the rights of the powers which are guaranteed by international agreements. Peace is everywhere endangered.

51. Millions of human beings are disturbed and anxious when they see the insuperable difficulties which are facing the world and the ineffective measures taken to deal with them. Against this background, darkened by a recrudescence of grave events, we still regretfully witness today a frenzied armaments race and a growing accumulation of weapons of mass destruction. After a three-year moratorium, the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union has caused a wave of anguish and anxiety to run round the world. The Soviet nuclear explosions have been succeeded by the United States explosions which are aggravating the dangers of pollution of the air. These series of explosions have shocked the conscience of mankind. We are opposed to the resumption of nuclear tests of whatever kind and wherever they may occur, for what disturbs a small people like ours, that has no means of defence, is the physical danger resulting from radioactive fall-out. Whatever the difficulties of the moment may be, we call upon the great Powers to make a supreme effort because it is desperately urgent to resume negotiations on disarmament together with an effective control system. We know that in this matter, no miracles will be wrought overnight. But it would be a crime to let the nuclear threat hang over mankind for long. When peace is in danger, there must be a firm resolve to establish peace in-

stead of a mere pretence of seeking it. To emit countless threats of intervention at all sensitive nerve centres in the world is no true way of finding peace.

52. As for us, we shall not let ourselves be caught up in this whirlwind of hatred and acrimony, either in our words or in our deeds, though we have many good reasons for bitterness and anxiety. In seeking the solutions to our problem, we shall constantly endeavour to be guided by the principles of tolerance and justice derived from Buddhism, which is our State religion.

53. We remain hopeful that the benefits of wisdom and common sense will soon prevail in our country, so that our people may be rid of this nightmare of fratricidal struggle and so that our country may be endowed with a recognized neutral status guaranteed by all countries.

54. I shall now turn to the numberless difficulties our country has had to struggle with since its accession to independence. Situated as it is in a difficult geographical position, between countries with different and rival political systems, my country has had to endure some cruel tests during the past two years. It is a small and weak country, with no means of provoking, let alone threatening, its neighbours tentimes stronger than itself. It is not a member of any military alliance and belongs to no bloc of countries. Its small defensive army, a symbol of its independence, could disturb no one. The people of Laos are profoundly Buddhist and eminently peaceful. All they want is to live in peace and good understanding with their neighbours.

55. Yet the territorial integrity of Laos has been flouted more than once, its sovereignty and its air space have been violated and its very existence has been at stake. During its recent past, it has been the victim of numberless extortions, invasions and aggression from its northern borders. In 1952, 1953 and 1954 its territory was trampled by invading armies from abroad, which overran more than half the country. They returned in 1959, 1960 and 1961, attacking us fiercely as they had before and showing not the slightest restraint. As far as we know these units seem in no hurry to leave our national soil. Under the fallacious pretext of liberating Laos—though the Laotians have been liberated from the colonialist yoke since 1959—our northern neighbours were concealing their perennial covetous designs upon our country, which remains their first objective. In 1954, the Geneva Agreements brought to an end the long Indo-Chinese war which Laos had not caused, but whose heavy legacy it had to bear.

56. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which had created with nothing but a few dozen Laotian malcontents the Pathet-Lao movement, whose subjection to international communism has steadily increased, put my country to some severe tests after the Geneva Agreements. By using and sowing the seeds of subversion in the form of bands of Laotian partisans, entirely subservient to the orders of Viet-Minh, the Viet-Minh Government was able subsequently to provoke a series of incidents, starting with the occupation pure and simple of a piece of our national territory and going so far as open aggression.

57. After the Geneva Agreements, there was no more shooting, but open war was succeeded by a new kind of war, a secret and cunning war of subversion. The people of Laos had to endure this tribulation for seven years, during which the cases of raids, murder and

forced conscription multiplied, intensifying the reign of terror. The progressive deterioration of the internal situation in my country since 1954 has been due to the subversive activities of Viet-Minh; its presence and its maintenance of numerous units in Laotian territory are a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements and a defiance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The intervention of Viet-Minh in Laos has been an established fact, known to all, for a long time.

58. For slightly more than a year the Soviet Union, because it wished to impose a political solution to the conflict between Laotians, has given the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam a unique opportunity to intervene more aggressively in Laos in order to attain its goal of penetration towards the South. Up till now, the air space of my country has been infested with the flights of Soviet planes parachuting and bringing weapons and munitions to the insurgents. The lorries carrying the materials and troops of the Democratic Republic of North Viet-Nam towards Laos are still being driven along our roads. These Powers have artificially imposed the "troika" system which they now want to be tried out everywhere else. Everyone knows that in Laos there are not three forces, but two: the force struggling for the preservation of the monarchy and democratic institutions in peace and freedom, and the force which sows the seeds of disorder and dissent in order to install a new order of alien origin. Laos will thus serve as a proving-ground for this new form of political subversion. The Laotians are pitted against one another and the fratricidal struggles have reached a pitch which we should never have seen had we remained the masters of our own fate.

59. Had it not been for the wisdom of some great and friendly statesmen, the civil war in Laos, which had been started and was being maintained from abroad, could have seriously endangered peace and international security. Here I should like, on behalf of His Majesty the King, the Government and the Laotian people, to express sincere thanks to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, for his untiring efforts in helping my country to extricate itself from the present difficult situation. Without the happy initiative he took at the Conference of Fourteen Powers at Geneva,^{2/} our people, already hurt to the quick, would have had to continue enduring the sufferings of a fratricidal strife for a long time. But for his proposal [877th meeting] in this very hall during the fifteenth session of the Assembly, the achievement of neutrality, for which our people desperately long, might have remained no more than a pious hope. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk deserves in this respect the gratitude of the Laotian people.

60. Today, though the clouds have to some extent cleared in our sky, the cease-fire is uncertain and the future full of doubts. The infection has not spread, but the wound is not entirely healed; it may at any moment reopen and fester. My country should be extricated from these struggles around it without delay; it should be made a free, independent and neutral country, protected from all outside interference and not aligned with any group of Powers. This neutrality for which we are striving is not just an attitude of mind: it is imposed on us by geographical imperatives, by the history and religion of our people. His Majesty the King in his solemn declaration to the

^{2/} International Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question convened on 16 May 1961.

world on 19 February 1961, already proclaimed the neutrality of Laos. In order to achieve Laotian neutrality, we must now find a common denominator. That is why we are asking the great Powers interested in peace and stability in that region of South-East Asia to work together to find a rapid solution, putting aside all considerations based on the false principle of the bloc. Now that the Powers participating in the Geneva Conference on Laos have a common aim and that the principle of neutrality is recognized by them, it would be foolish to provoke pointless crises once again.

61. In his speech here, President Kennedy stated bluntly that the United States will support "a truly neutral and independent Laos, its people free from outside interference living at peace with themselves and with their neighbours" [1013th meeting, para. 83]. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, has made similar statements [1016th meeting, para. 174]. And all the representatives of the countries participating in the Laos Conference at Geneva, whether representing the People's Republic of China or the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, spoke of nothing but the neutrality of my country. They have been discussing this problem since the month of May and despite the marked progress achieved in these negotiations they have not yet reached complete agreement, simply because the same words used in their declarations do not represent the same intentions.

62. The threat of war is now shifting from the northern to the southern part of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Hardly has the conflagration in Laos been extinguished than another one flares up in South Viet-Nam. This shift in tension on the North-South axis is part of a carefully-prepared plan of domination and conquest. The painful events that have taken place in Laos since 1949 and the calm that has set in since May 1961 have enabled the Communist forces of North Viet-Nam to extend their "area of subversion" to the South. The rot has already spread to our neighbour, South Viet-Nam. Whole units, powerfully armed, have forced their way through my country to strike elsewhere. After Laos, South Viet-Nam and perhaps Cambodia will be the theatre of the violence and disorder fomented by those who pursue their plan of subversion, gnawing at and changing, if need be by force, other political systems. Raids, armed attacks and assassinations, in which peaceful citizens have blindly been struck down, are now being replaced by open warfare. Newspapers all over the world are now publishing reports of violent fighting in South Viet-Nam. Coveted countries are being undermined from within and when the right moment has come, disorders are provoked which make them fall like ripe fruit. Such is the method used yesterday in my country and today in South Viet-Nam.

63. What we now want is not so much to return to a sad past as to ensure a stable future for our country. The guns have been silent since the month of May, but the lull is a relative one. Yet the hope for peace and reconciliation is today stronger than ever. The Laotian people rejoices that the Conference of Geneva has continued its work until today. The Laotian people wants peace and only peace, not a truce between two clashes or two cease-fires. All its efforts are, of course, aimed at bringing about a national reconciliation, so that peace may be restored to our country, for so far peace to the Laotians has been no more than a fleeting hope. What more does the Laotian people want? It wants all forms of intervention to come to an end, that the constant arrival of arms should be

stopped, and that the infiltration of foreign armed elements should end. It wants Laos to be completely restored to it so that the country should not be divided into two or three parts. Finally, it does not want its territory to serve for anyone as a springboard for aggression against its neighbours, as is the case at present.

64. The Royal Government which I have the honour to represent here is prepared to overthrow the barriers of misunderstanding so that there could again be unity of minds and so that the foundations of our existence, of our religion and of the values that form part of it could be rebuilt. It has given sufficient proof of its good will and its wish for peace. It has entered into conversations with its opponents in order to promote a policy of conciliation free from all suspicion and all rivalry. These conversations will be pursued. At this time, while I am addressing you, conversations are being held between the three Princes and their principal assistants to the North of our capital at a front line. These conversations have been fruitful and we hope that a government of national union will soon be formed which will put an end to this fratricidal struggle and lead our country on to the path of real neutrality. But that does not mean that the Royal Government must give way on all points because of the blackmail of its opponents, that it must close its eyes to reality and cease to heed the danger that threatens its independence and its freedom. We declare that we shall respect the rights and interests of all our neighbours as firmly as we defend our own. We are faithful to our friends but our hearts are open to new friendships. Peaceful coexistence, however, must not be merely a slogan for the use of the strong which serves a definite policy. It must become a reality. If it means a total and continuous struggle against all those who have not accepted some ideology or other, the world will never have truth or peace.

65. Mr. TCHICHELE (Congo, Brazzaville) (translated from French): Because Tunisia, together with France, has, as it were, held us over the baptismal font at the United Nations, we rejoice unreservedly at the well-merited success just achieved by President Mongi Slim. On behalf of our Government and of the Congolese people we congratulate him most warmly and sincerely. The fact that this fervent defender of African causes is filling the highest post in our Organization will be a firm guarantee of the impartiality of the debates of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, which will be of exceptional gravity when compared with the debates of the preceding years.

66. We bitterly regret the void left as a result of the brutal disappearance of our Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, whose presence at this Assembly would certainly have reinforced the moral authority which the President will need to maintain intact this edifice upon which rest all our hopes for peace and salvation. May the name of Dag Hammarskjöld, engraved in the marble of the Meditation Room, remain to us all an abiding example which will aid us to overcome the obstacles that have accumulated for some time past on the great and universal road to peace.

67. Berlin, we know only too well, remains the burning problem.

68. The Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) which stands solidly with the peace-loving nations who are devoted to the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, could not remain silent and disinterested before the problems of Berlin and the reunification

of Germany. Our Government has followed with great concern the recent military preparations which bode no good. The least that can be said, in this cold war climate, is that these preparations are certainly making the peace, which all of us here seek, more remote.

69. Yet we, who have placed all our hopes in the Charter and who often ponder the meaning of its Article 1, continue to believe that, by virtue of the sacred principle of self-determination, the German people should be called upon to choose its destiny without further delay. When we look at the special problem of Berlin, which at present occupies us most of all, we have the impression that everything is going on as if the German people did not exist. We have even had speakers at this Assembly who have said that the German people had settled its fate in 1949 and that to speak of self-determination today was nothing but a mockery. Why not simply admit that the German people exists? Why, when faced with this reality, should the advocates of a divided Germany not agree, in the future, to let the entire German people speak, as it is entitled to do under Article 107 of the Charter, rather than spend their time in threatening each other and in refurbishing their cold war weapons, which the merest spark might transform into a mighty conflagration?

70. Since we believe in negotiations above everything else, we rejoice in advance at the efforts which will always be made by some for the resumption of talks between people of good will who are firmly resolved to settle the problem of Berlin and of Germany in general, even if this should take many weeks, even if the talks are suspended or postponed or their resumptions delayed. For what we must do when faced with such an issue is to make proposals, hold discussions, express views, and talk and go on talking.

71. In the immediate future, in view of the realities that cannot be removed at one stroke of the pen, of the difficulties and the obstacles that will have to be overcome if a modus vivendi is to be found for mankind, why not abide by the agreements which bind the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States, France and the United Kingdom? Why not, as a sign of obvious good will and in order to maintain the status quo ante, destroy forthwith the hateful barriers which make the inhabitants of Berlin feel, regardless of the side they are on, that they are shut in in an accursed ghetto?

72. Faced as we are with this flagrant danger to the whole of humanity, and more particularly to the young nations which, like us, need many decades to develop, we say to the great nations of the world: do not, we beg you, wage war because of a peace treaty; you can do better than that if you look around you.

73. Before turning to the problem of disarmament, I should like to speak about the dispute between the Arab States and Israel.

74. The wish has often been expressed here than an end should be put to the regrettable conflict ravaging the Middle East. Here again, we think that what is needed to bring about a clear-cut and peaceful solution is direct and frank negotiation between the Arab States and Israel. The whole of Africa is particularly interested in the maintenance of peace in this area, for any local conflict might be transformed into a world conflagration.

75. After listening for several weeks to the statements of the heads of delegations on the threats weighing on our unfortunate world, I think that everyone in this

Assembly will agree that world general disarmament should be advocated as a matter of the utmost urgency. When we consider the potential of destruction which is being accumulated month by month in the arsenals of the world and the increasingly amazing progress of the technique and aiming precision of guided missiles, which one among us here does not fear the miscalculation, the mistake, weakness or folly of even the most careful technician?

76. None of us, who knows himself to be mortal, fears for his own life which in the end will count for so little in the great history of humanity. But everyone is afraid of a total conflagration of our planet, the brutal extermination of millions of innocent people who have a right to life, and the large-scale and irreparable destruction of the ancient treasures of civilization accumulated by man as a result of patient researches. That is why general and complete disarmament must no longer remain a myth, a slogan for utopian hopes, or worse still, be advocated as a hypocritical ruse; it must become an honest and tangible reality.

77. For example, the sweet voices of reason clearly raised in this hall of peace during the last few days must not make us forget already the rumblings of the recent nuclear explosions, which were carefully being prepared for a long time in the necessary conditions of secrecy.

78. We know, because we have often been told so, that every owner of the secrets of the atom maintains that he has good and even peaceful and beneficial reasons for carrying out nuclear tests and experiments. This may be true or it may be false, but in the meantime the bombs are exploding and the radioactivity in the air is increasing. This is undoubtedly a dangerous reality.

79. We can understand the genuine pride of scientific nations which have successfully engaged in the space race, but we, representatives of a tiny nation which will not, for a very long time to come, have any possibility of exploring the moon, we are endeavouring, when we see all these experiments, to keep our feet on the ground and to solve objectively all problems which must ensure our survival and that of humanity as a whole, threatened as it is by science.

80. When the President of the United States comes to the rostrum of the General Assembly [1013th meeting] to propose the signing of an agreement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, to be followed by the cessation of the production of fissionable materials and then by the gradual destruction of nuclear weapons, we can only fully concur with this proposal.

81. We think too that those who are of good will and want to achieve a total peace, and are endeavouring neither to avoid the problem, nor to complicate it, nor to shirk their responsibilities, must be able to engage thoroughly and simultaneously in the control of armaments and of disarmament. As the President of the United States has said, there is less risk in disarming than in engaging in a frenzied armaments race. We small nations of the non-aligned world have everything to gain from total, general and rapid disarmament, starting with our peace of mind.

82. If we no longer had to think of the threat of war we should be able to devote ourselves entirely to the economic development of our countries. Instead we are today compelled, like all our colleagues, to face political problems imposed by the perpetual cold war

and consequently by our obvious desire to give the great nations our moral guarantees of peace and of the universality of man.

83. If, as we dare to hope, a Disarmament Commission is soon set up and if, as the USSR delegation wishes, the neutral group is invited to it, I would express the hope that the concept of neutral should be clearly defined, so that the conference should not become bogged down at the outset, for, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal has said [1012th meeting], none of us can be neutral.

84. We believe for our part that, in the case of a problem as important as that of peace, if there must be blocs, there can be only two, namely the bloc of those who are convinced supporters of peace and the bloc of those who have to be convinced. There should even be no more mention of Western, Socialist or neutral Powers. We are all Members of the United Nations, and if we have really united so that the just cause of peace should triumph, there can be no question of blocs or factions. If this is not the case, then these ideological blocs will persist, as at present, and there will never be a United Nations, but at most nations which have joined and are seeking more or less openly some agreement of minds to safeguard the peace of the world.

85. The Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) wishes to enter its name already in the camp of the resolute advocates of world peace.

86. I now come to the great problem of decolonization, which is also a factor, and not a negligible one at that, in the peace of the world.

87. For us, situated as we are in the heart of Africa, the daily problems of our Congolese brothers remain a reality which is as threatening to the stability of the world as a whole as is the Berlin issue. What good would it serve that our Congo was a land of asylum and peace, if along our easily penetrated frontiers, as a result of baneful influences, fires continued to smoulder, disorder still prevailed and poverty gained an ever-stronger foothold? We are deeply affected and perturbed by the distress of our brothers.

88. But we must not despair, for all is not lost and we have faith in them and in their rulers. Nothing more will be lost if the representatives of the United Nations in the Congo scrupulously carry out the duties assigned to them under the Charter, as we have so often asked.

89. We wish to emphasize once again in this hall the fact that the Congolese problem, tragic though it may be, concerns first and foremost the Congolese who are strongly imbued with the sense of their duties and are always doing their utmost to find a solution appropriate to their status of free men.

90. The Government of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) requested^{3/} the United Nations, on 12 and 13 July 1960, to send a force to deal with external threats and to safeguard human lives. The mission of the United Nations in the Congo, our mission, was therefore clearly defined. Today the United Nations Force is still in the Congo, with the full consent of the Congolese because it has to comply strictly with the tasks entrusted to it under various resolutions of the Council. It is our firm hope that this Force will not

relinquish its obligations and will always faithfully carry out our decisions.

91. If we may express a hope, it is that the heavy sacrifices accepted for over a year by the Congolese people have not promoted selfish ends.

92. We should also like to prevent any recurrence of such acts; like many of our friends, we fear that Africa may become a hunting-ground for certain ideologies or counter-ideologies whose protagonists are now turning towards the non-aligned countries, towards the young independent nations of Africa whom they consider to be an easy prey.

93. All that we ask today, if we are truly to seek peace in Africa, is that material interests should give way so that moral interests may triumph, and that behind the scenes there should be no more pulling of strings—always for selfish ends—strings which only those who pull them cannot see. If economic interests can for a while yield pride of place to humanitarian interests, all the rifts between our brothers will be healed. That is the dearest wish of my Government.

94. I want to say too that our country is following the other decolonization problems with all the interest they deserve.

95. We appreciate and wish to encourage all efforts made by the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, to bring about the self-determination of the Algerian people.

96. The question of apartheid in South Africa cannot be a matter of indifference to my delegation, particularly as the main victims of that most reprehensible policy are Africans.

97. The Pretoria Government has always spurned the principles of justice and freedom throughout the Republic of South Africa when those concerned were not Afrikaners.

98. The delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) voted for the motion of censure against the Government of Mr. Verwoerd [1034th meeting] because it wishes to identify itself with the peoples struggling for the abolition of extortionate and unjust policies in Africa, for the dignity of Africans, and because it wants in particular that the inalienable right of non-Afrikaners to a free and independent life on a soil, which, to the best of our knowledge, is not the true homeland of the Boers, should be recognized. Since the Afrikaners will do nothing to mitigate their uncompromising and ruinous policy, my delegation will join with other delegations which want to take the necessary measures to eliminate the racist Pretoria Government from our Assembly.

99. In the course of his declaration [1033rd meeting] a few days ago, the South African representative made some kind of attempt to show the Members of this Assembly that if there does exist a black man's paradise in Africa, that paradise is in South Africa. But we, the African people of independent countries, tend to regard South Africa as a hell, a veritable concentration camp, in which our Bantu, Zulu and other brothers live. Mr. Verwoerd has himself declared, when interpreting in his own way a verse of the Bible, that the non-Afrikaner in South Africa was created by God to serve the Boer. I am waiting to hear a denial of this statement from the representative of Pretoria.

100. I do not know what led the Permanent Mission of South Africa recently to address a propaganda

^{3/} Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4382.

publication to my delegation in which the South African racist Government endeavours to convince public opinion that non-Afrikaners, and blacks in particular, enjoy a standard of living unknown in other parts of the world. My delegation cannot be deceived by this comedy. We have seen other such pamphlets and illustrated booklets published by certain Governments whose aim was clearly to delude public opinion. Mr. Verwoerd's Government is not going to make us believe that South Africa is the true home of freedom and justice by publishing and disseminating fanciful illustrated booklets.

101. The life of the non-Afrikaner is so wonderful that periodic and sporadic manifestations are constantly occurring during which Africans are killed whose only demand is to be given decent treatment.

102. It is a fact that in South Africa all non-Afrikaners must have a pass to go from one place to another and that any kind of privilege granted to a Boer must be systematically refused to the Bantu.

103. Non-Afrikaners do not know what liberty is; they do not have the right to take any kind of decision that might improve their lot. As to political and civil rights, it is a waste of time to mention them, for the poor African has none.

104. The policy of Mr. Verwoerd's Government is one of the nightmares of the peoples of Africa in the twentieth century. The Afrikaner's policy is a scourge to the true Africa and the pernicious behaviour of this South African racist minority is one of the factors that might endanger peace on the African continent.

105. The moment will come when we shall reveal the complete record of the South African policy of apartheid.

106. But let this not prevent us from greeting with the utmost pleasure the admission of Sierra Leone into the United Nations, another step forward for African independence, which will help to chart the course of all dependent peoples towards liberation.

107. We must regret, however, that for almost a year a question of procedure has kept a sister nation, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which rightly wants to make its voice heard in the concert of free nations, waiting in the corridors of our Organization.

108. We would be failing in our duty and our obligations towards our brothers of Cabinda and Angola if we failed to express the anguish we feel at the misfortunes unjustly inflicted on a peaceful and genuinely freedom-loving people.

109. We have noted with satisfaction that the question of Angola has been put on the agenda. I hope this will make it possible for the Assembly to examine thoroughly this major problem which cannot be ignored.

110. I am sure everyone still remembers the urgent appeals I made [891st meeting], without passion or bitterness, from this rostrum, to the Head of the Government of Lisbon, during the fifteenth session of the Assembly. I should like to repeat them to its representative who said to us a few days ago that the mission of the United Nations was to develop feelings of brotherhood among men and nations, to calm passions rather than to inflame them, to promote friendship and understanding between countries rather than to incite them to hatred, to make it possible for problems to be resolved in a legitimate way rather than to complicate them and retard their solution through ill-considered acts [1014th meeting, para. 64].

111. To whom does this lesson apply, if not to President Salazar?

112. On 6 October 1960, during the fifteenth session of the Assembly, I said:

"Is the Portuguese Government's policy of indifference reasonable? Can President Salazar show himself to be less generous than General de Gaulle has been? Can he show himself to be less generous than the Queen of England, whose African territories are acceding to independence one by one?" [891st meeting, para. 40.]

113. I would today ask the Assembly: What has the Government of President Salazar done since last year, apart from reconquering a colony?

114. Need I give further details now? Need I recall the extortions, the ignoble activities of the Portuguese soldiers and officers, and the crime of genocide committed by the civil servants of the Lisbon Government?

115. No, I shall not speak of this today, for there is a time for everything.

116. I wish simply to quote the opinion of a former Portuguese civil servant who, having served for fifteen years as a senior inspector of the Portuguese administration, knows what he is talking about when he addressed the Portuguese Government. This is what he says:

"The results, the real results of your political incompetence and dictatorial whims, uncriticized, uncontrolled and inhuman, have now become apparent. The black populations of Angola and Mozambique are emigrating; they are fleeing in the greatest population exodus in the history of our overseas territories. In Cape Verde a whole population is dying under the yoke of mediaeval rules. You should remember that you sent me specially to Cape Verde to combat a famine which had already killed off a fifth of the population and to study the measures to be taken in future crises, that I have studied the situation, furnished information, made proposals and that my reports and my requests have been duly buried with full honours in the confidential archives of the Ministry. The United Nations and those abroad must learn that the Portuguese people, ruled as it is by force, is not responsible for your mistakes and condemns them. I think it is our duty as Portuguese to say this aloud to our compatriots and to the whole world and to oppose a silence which seems conspiratorial. You protect and defend the officials who sell the blacks by letting them go unpunished. Thanks to ostensibly Christian laws, you maintain in the Africa provinces a form of forced labour which is in some ways more cruel than slavery. You beheld unmoved the tragic events at Cape Verde and the slave policies of the slave-traders of Sao Tome. The nation is not your accomplice and the whole world must know it in this grave hour when everything is deteriorating and becoming confused. The fault lies with you and with your party and not with the country which condemns you and demands the return to a truly Portuguese overseas policy.

"We have the illusion that we are living at peace, but this peace, like that of Russia and its satellites, is the peace of the herd and of the graveyard. The overseas provinces of Angola and Mozambique are the only territories South of the Sahara in which a

certain number of black intellectuals are not to be found. That was not the case before the miraculous appearance of Your Excellency, the learned university professor.

"In Africa, you have deliberately chosen non-civilization. Without you and your system for the natural development of the spirit and ideas of the pre-colonial act period, Portugal would or could be today a Eurafrican federal republic of Portuguese States or a community of Eurafrican peoples. In fact it is nothing more than a simple metropolitan territory for eight oversea provinces which for more than twenty-five years have been reduced to the juridical status of colonies and have been administered as such."

117. These words were addressed by Henrique Galvão to President Salazar in February 1960.

118. It may be averred that Henrique Galvão is nothing more than an adventurer. This hardly matters, for he is neither a black nor an Angolan; he is a Portuguese and nothing more. There are hundreds like him, muzzled and powerless in Portugal and in the so-called Portuguese territories in Africa.

119. We agree with him when he says that the Portuguese people are not responsible for what goes on overseas. As he has stated so aptly: "Thirty years of political and secret police, censorship, violation of the home and of correspondence, wire-tapping and fiscal extortion have reduced this simple and courteous people to the state of moral wretchedness of the out-cast peoples of the totalitarian countries."

120. This is true. We know the Portuguese intimately, for many of them have made our Congo their country of adoption. They have done this because in our country, where liberty and justice prevail, they feel more contented than at home or in Angola. All these voluntary expatriates, who wish only to go on living and trading in our country, would, if they could talk freely and were not afraid of reprisals against members of their families living in Portugal or these alleged overseas provinces, speak their minds on the deleterious rule of the Salazar Government in Cabinda, Angola, Mozambique or Portuguese Guinea.

121. To the humanitarian appeals for the cessation of the massacre of innocent people which are coming in from all over the world, President Salazar replies:

"We have been in Africa for centuries. We came here with a doctrine, which is not the same thing as disembarking in order to become rich. We are here with a policy, which is not the same thing as abandoning human destinies to the alleged winds of history."

122. This doctrine or policy is undoubtedly being applied in all equality and without discrimination to the unhappy Portuguese people by a Government which Galvão describes as "mediocre men chosen by negative selection, the result of a shameful search for empty minds and the most abject decadence".

123. On 28 August 1961, Mr. Adriano Moreira, the Portuguese Minister for Overseas Provinces, in a speech which he made at Oporto, announced that important reforms were going to be introduced in Angola and Mozambique, with a view to the complete integration of the indigenous population into the Lusitanian nation. The status of "indigenato" would be abrogated

and the political equality of Europeans and indigenous inhabitants would be proclaimed. He went on to declare:

"The fact that we are decreeing the unification of political status for all Portuguese does not mean that we think we can give up our responsibilities. On the contrary, we are acting thus because we consider that we have reached a stage in the evolution of our country when the historic task which has fallen to us will be made easier by such a unification."

124. This was an implicit recognition of what the Portuguese Government has already denied, that there is still in force in Cabinda, Angola and other territories under Portuguese administration, a status of "indigenato" and political inequality on account of the colour of one's skin. That is the precise reason why the inhabitants of Cabinda and the Angolans are fighting, that is why they have picked up their cudgels which, it is said, are often more eloquent than official complaints or statements.

125. Today political equality, the effects of which the Government of Salazar in any case intends to counteract by more rapid colonization, will not stop the wind of nationalism which is blowing like a gale over the Portuguese colonies in Africa. The African tornado will not stop; the most that can be done is to confine the damage it will cause.

126. The nationalists of Angola and Cabinda have given up all hope of working with the Portuguese Government and want to replace it in order to take up the struggle against illiteracy, infant mortality, racism, poverty and disease.

127. If Portugal had been able to profit in time from the lessons of the United Kingdom and France, they might be able today to impose reforms which unfortunately seem quite out of date to the new independent States of Africa.

128. The spirit of understanding displayed by France and the United Kingdom will, I am quite sure, bring its rewards. The blind, narrow sectarianism of the Salazar Government, on the other hand, could lead only to war and the horrors that succeed it.

129. Scarcely six months ago, the people of Cabinda, united in their desire for the liberation of the Cabinda enclave, addressed, through their dignitaries, a memorandum to the Minister for Overseas Portuguese Territories submitting "specific solutions which would lead Cabinda harmoniously to political and economic emancipation in peace, concord and friendship with Portugal".

130. This memorandum, which I have available for any representative who may wish to see it, shows the good sense of a people which has no intention whatever of breaking with the Administering Power, but on the contrary wants to collaborate fully with it in order to save the country from progressive stagnation ending in extinction.

131. The Government of Portugal could have seized this occasion to make Cabinda a pilot self-governing territory. This would have enabled it to measure the capacity of the people it administered to govern themselves, while demonstrating the humanity of its political intentions. It did nothing of the kind; on the contrary. The Portuguese authorities replied to the above-mentioned memorandum by the use of blind and brutal force. This is so true that thousands of the inhabitants of Cabinda, our blood brothers separated

from us for more than a century by the hazards of European treaties, are today returning to our lands which are their lands, not daring to put their trust any more in an Administering Authority that knows only the use of force to back what it claims to be the law.

132. The movement for the liberation of the enclave of Cabinda has addressed to the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola a memorandum dated 14 August 1961, in which it calls for the liberation of Cabinda from Portuguese oppression and the establishment of a democratic and independent State by means of a popular referendum at the national level, under the supervision of the United Nations.

133. We shall support this memorandum, as we do all nationalist movements for the liberation of the alleged Portuguese provinces, for there can be no peace for us as long as the soldiers of Mr. Salazar engage in man-hunts in Angola and Cabinda even going so far as to violate our frontiers. On 18 September 1961, for the second time in forty-eight hours, armed Portuguese soldiers coming from Cabinda penetrated our territory in the region of Kimongo and at the village of Yanza and arrested and forcibly brought back to Cabinda a refugee from Cabinda and four of our nationals of whom we still have no news. In this not a flagrant proof of the colonialist designs of the officials of the Salazar Government and an odious provocation which we cannot pass over in silence?

134. Faced with such clear cases of aggression, our delegation will unreservedly support any resolution for the rupture by all Members of the United Nations of diplomatic relations with Portugal.

135. I should not like to leave this rostrum without reiterating that the Government of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) rests firmly on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the violation of which it will not tolerate. It remains faithful to a policy which it will untiringly pursue and to which it remains firmly attached. It sets forth through the medium of this representative the guiding lines of its foreign policy and wishes to state clearly its special attachment to para-

graph 2 of Article 1 of the Charter, on the "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

136. May I also mention in passing a problem which is of importance to the non-aligned nations—the principle of international economic co-operation. In this connexion, there is no need to remind the great Powers that we are awaiting their aid, an aid which must of course be unconditional, to enable us to raise the standard of living of our peoples. It is said, and rightly, that we belong to the under-developed nations, but as we are at present under-populated, we should, given the necessary aid and a reasonable amount of time, be able to achieve an average standard. We know that it is not easy to overcome the obstacles in our way, but we think that with frank co-operation, both the great and the small would gain.

137. Furthermore, the principle of economic and social co-operation is clearly stated in Article 55 of the Charter. If applied, as we earnestly hope, to all nations of the non-aligned world, there would within a fairly short period of time be no further problem of under-development.

138. In conclusion, and to respond to the unanimous opinion in this Assembly, I should like to say a few words on the problem of reforming our Organization.

139. If it is true—and each passing day confirms it—that urgent reforms are needed in the organization of the various organs of the United Nations, we should make a start with these reforms forthwith, even before finding a final solution to the replacement of the Secretary-General, if only to safeguard the spirit of the Charter. For we must bear in mind the evolution of the modern world, which is no longer what it was fifteen years ago, and remember that the events occurring in a world of perpetual agitation are imposing ever more complex and delicate tasks upon us. Is this world worth the search for universal peace? I think that all of us without exception agree that it is.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.