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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Address by Mr. William V. S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): This morning the General Assembly will first hear an address by Mr. William V. S. Tubman, the President of the Republic of Liberia.

2. I ask the Chief of Protocol to be good enough to escort Mr. William Tubman into the Assembly Hall.

3. I have the honour to welcome Mr. William Tubman, the President of the Republic of Liberia, who has kindly agreed to make a statement to the General Assembly on his Government's position on the important questions with which we are dealing. Coming from an eminent African Chief of State, this statement will be of particular interest at a session whose agenda includes so many items of vital importance for Africa and its future. It is only natural, therefore, that I should have great pleasure in inviting the President of the Republic of Liberia to take the floor.

4. Mr. William V. S. TUBMAN (President of the Republic of Liberia): Seven years ago, at the ninth session, I had the great honour of addressing this Assembly [496th meeting]. Again today I deem it a distinct privilege to address the General Assembly, at its sixteenth session, under the presidency of Mr. Mongi Slim, the first African to be accorded this honour. I have the greatest admiration for Mr. Slim because of his demonstrated abilities and his broad vision concerning the whole range of problems facing the international community.

5. It is indeed exhilarating to note that in 1954, when I appeared before this Assembly, there were only three African States represented here out of a total membership of sixty nations, whereas today there are twenty-six African States out of a membership of 101. This fact stands for us as the most striking and dramatic symbol of the changes which have taken place in this short space of time, changes which have resulted in the liberation of so many millions of our peoples, who are not only free to pursue their own national destiny but are also able to participate in the process of making the independence of all nations secure. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this development is, that it is the

United Nations which has contributed so greatly to facilitating the peaceful accomplishment of this result—a result in which we can all jointly take pride.

6. The representatives accredited to the General Assembly have, from time to time, seen many familiar figures within these walls and listened to many eloquent speeches on peace; but the vision which perhaps stands out most clearly in our minds today is that of the solitary figure of that great apostle of peace, optimism and dedication, the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, to whom the end came before his last mission of peace, "assignment Congo," was accomplished.

7. Henceforth, the ideals of this Organization and the work to which this international servant devoted his life, should take on a newer perspective and have a greater impact on man's mind and actions.

8. The discordant and critical situation in the world today, according to my analysis, seems to be due to effects which emanate from deep underlying causes. I do not presume to be able to identify all the causes that have given rise to the effects which manifest themselves in the present terrible and dangerous world situation that has developed among nations and peoples, until it is reflecting itself in the United Nations in such proportions that this Organization, embodying the highest hope of mankind, seems to be rendered almost helpless.

9. But may I, at this point, revert to the founding of the United Nations in 1945? At that time the nations which created and instituted this Organization were those that had just emerged as victors and brothers in arms from the greatest and most destructive world conflict in the history of man.

10. They were the signatories to the present Charter of the United Nations. They were brothers and friends, men dedicated to the ideals of peace in a world freed from the shadows of war—men who believed in the establishment of the four fundamental principles of freedom. They strove throughout to establish relations of confident collaboration between States and thereby save succeeding generations from the ravages of war and its aftermath and repercussions. This is the fulfilment of an honorable commitment undertaken by their solemn pledge as signatories to the Charter, which is the organic and fundamental law of the United Nations.

11. Unfortunately, we have not permitted these good intentions to continue in their proper course. By the selfishness of States and statesmen, we have segmented the institution into blocs of vested interests, instead of maintaining it as a United Nations. In my opinion, our major point of concentration should be in the direction of a review of the fundamentals of the United Nations Charter in relation to our attitude towards it, with a view to enforcing stricter adherence to the great obligations which all Members undertook by subscribing to the Charter.

12. It is not practicable to define, seek out or even determine the secrets and sincerity of men's minds, but we can arrive at certain conclusions from what men say and from what they do. Basically and primarily, however, the world's impression was that the great objective in the formation of the United Nations was to establish a forum where differences, disputes and disagreements among nations would be brought and where participating Member States would seek around the conference table a formula for settlement without resort to violence or war.

13. Thus far, this world Organization has succeeded in preventing another global war, has localized conflicts and averted, or at least minimized, threats to peace. Thus it has ameliorated the situation in some trouble spots. It is obvious that the results achieved thus far by the United Nations have fully justified its existence; its impact on the political behaviour of States has been of some significance and without parallel.

14. But just as hope and confidence in the Organization have been established, and men's aspirations raised to a higher and more secure plane of existence, in like manner a great impasse seems to have developed. In such an orientation the further usefulness and effectiveness of the United Nations seems to be swinging in the balance. With this realization, all mankind appears to stand on the threshold of universal destruction.

15. Earlier we referred to the possible or probable causes of this situation, the deterioration in the relations of nation with nation and the breach among the great Powers which lead the world in science, politics, economics, technology and military might. One of the causes of this situation, in my opinion, is that decisions taken in this parliament of the world have been based more or less on national interest rather than on the merits of the particular issue or problem brought before it. I realize full well that this is not a juridical institution, but even in politics the principles of right, fairness and justice in matters affecting the welfare, integrity and privileges of nations and peoples should be approached, discussed and decided on the basis of accepted rules of conduct and not merely upon that of self-interest and expediency.

16. As another cause, we opine that discussions and debates are conducted and, very often, decisions are made, in the heat of passion and excitement where all the niceties of diplomacy and the suavity of expression are totally disregarded by Member States. On occasion harsh, abusive and even profane and vicious language is employed in the uppermost echelon of highly civilized and cultured nations and peoples. Such practices indulged in from day to day, month to month, year to year, session after session, have bred envy, hatred and prejudices which inevitably have become so deep-seated as to render friendly intercourse, understanding conciliation, reconciliation and compromise at any point, difficult if not impossible. And because most of us have indulged too long in this unrewarding approach, we find ourselves now faced with a situation that must be overcome and for which a solution must speedily be found if the United Nations and the human race are to survive and be saved from a great catastrophe.

17. In his hands man holds the instruments of death and mass destruction. By means of technological progress, he has created a new earth in which he has the choice between building a happy, peaceful and fraternal society where men of all races can live a mutually beneficial, intelligent and creative life, or building

a society in which no one can be safe. And because he has created a new earth he needs also to create a new spirit, a new outlook, new attitudes, new perspectives and new approaches in order to be able to live in this new world of his creation.

18. It took the belligerent Powers of the last war six years to end that global conflict and those very nations, and others joining them, have spent fifteen years in futile efforts at achieving peace, crying peace, peace—and yet there is no peace. We cannot go on in this way. An eruption is inevitable unless a new formula is discovered or defined.

19. There are many trouble spots in the world today. When these trouble areas have occurred among the smaller and less developed nations, the United Nations has provided its services and good offices in restoring peace and order. This has been the pattern of the Organization since its birth. However, the Berlin crisis in which the great Powers are involved, not only presents a dangerous front to those concerned but constitutes a serious threat to the survival of the entire human race. Although the United Nations stands ready to combine its efforts with any nation or group of nations to avert a tragedy, it has not been called upon to do so. This, therefore, is undoubtedly a problem and issue which, unless immediately resolved, may affect not only those directly concerned but all the nations and peoples of the earth. In the circumstances, this world Organization cannot afford to permit a state of indifference to jeopardize the earth and its people.

20. I come now to the most disturbing and provocative issue of the day—disarmament. On this question, it is true, many views have been expressed by Member States and different propositions advanced, but no satisfactory conclusions have yet emerged to warrant the setting up of a machinery to serve as an enforcement agency.

21. Believing that peace is not the concern solely of the great Powers, but that small nations or States, including the emerging African nations, have a stake in it, the United Nations should review all precedents and submit a plan, either by resolution or by some other instrument, towards the goal of general and complete disarmament.

22. Adverting now to the question of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, I should say that we have always been consistent in advocating a complete ban. We shall not relinquish our present position, no matter what reasons may be advanced for the continuation of such tests. We have heard and read of the disastrous effects that radio-active fall-out from nuclear tests may have on the people of the earth, and no one can tell to what extent such effects may endanger the life of people.

23. We are all agreed that all nuclear devices should be devoted to peaceful purposes; we stand four-square by this commitment and will continue to denounce such tests as being diametrically opposed to peaceful intentions and pursuits.

24. I was dismayed at the resumption of nuclear tests after a voluntary moratorium of almost three years, which we had welcomed most heartily as an encouraging first step along the road to disarmament. We had fervently hoped that that voluntary moratorium marked the beginning of an epoch in which we would see the great Powers shoulder more and more of that primary responsibility for keeping the peace that they undertook at the formation of this Organization. We dared to hope

that the moratorium would soon be followed by a formal treaty ending all nuclear tests in the stratosphere, in the atmosphere, under the earth and in the laboratories, and that that treaty would be accompanied by serious negotiations for a disarmed world—a world in which the awesome powers of the atom were employed for the enrichment of mankind rather than for its potential destruction. I take this opportunity to appeal to, implore and call upon the great Powers to reverse this most unfortunate recent trend by quickly and effectively banning all nuclear tests and by resuming at the earliest possible opportunity all efforts directed at world disarmament.

25. Another significant cause or source of conflict is the tendency of some nations to seduce and coerce other nations to subscribe to and adopt their systems of government and ways of life. This is a travesty of freedom, fair play and justice. One of the chief elements in world peace is that all nations, small or large, should be left free to choose their own way of life, whether that way be communism, socialism or democracy—there are good and evil features in all political systems. In any event, the choosing of a way of life should be without external intrigues, propaganda, infiltration or subversion, and should be based exclusively on each nation's best judgement as to the kind of society that will best serve the true needs and interests of its peoples.

26. The tendency to superimpose alien ways of life has engendered the cold war, which is being fiercely waged by all imaginable means. I have an uneasy feeling that, if this tendency persists, the cold war will, as surely as night follows day, eventually flare up into an unquenchable hot war which will involve all mankind.

27. Anyone who has followed with discrimination the activities of the United Nations since its inception will not fail to be impressed with the fact that it is the greatest bastion of human liberties in our times. Notwithstanding its obvious shortcomings and imperfections, it has striven assiduously and consistently for the emancipation of subjected peoples and for the maintenance of the territorial integrity of States. But for its institution, and its principles of self-determination and fundamental human freedoms for all peoples, I dare say that the vast majority of mankind would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to exercise the right to independence and sovereign existence.

28. The United Nations is designed to ensure world peace; to serve as the clearing-house for all international agencies. It is the centre where Governments can maintain permanent liaison and thus by personal contact resolve many problems that may arise. It must be made to endure through endless years. Its advocacy of self-determination, freedom and independence for all subjected peoples in Africa and elsewhere in the world is not a mere phrase; it is a categorical principle of social conduct whose momentum cannot be arrested by bullets and bombs.

29. Let me, therefore, in all earnestness, implore Members to support the principles for which this Organization stands and to contribute generously and unreservedly to the furtherance of its work, both morally and financially.

30. World attention and public opinion have, since recent trends towards independence in Africa, focussed on such places as Angola, Algeria, South West Africa, Mozambique and other areas in Africa and other parts

of the world where the right of self-determination has not yet been achieved. While it is evident that the connotations are still confused in some parts of the world, self-determination is basically the right of any group of people to shape their own future, ensure their own cultural and spiritual heritage, be responsible for their own social order, enhance their own material progress, create their own system of values and, in the end, make their own distinct contribution to the civilization of mankind, with the assistance of altruistic and friendly States. To the degree that this inherent right is denied to those who have risen in armed or peaceful rebellion, we have trouble spots in the world today and in areas where, during the past half century, this age-long aspiration has manifested itself on a mass scale.

31. It is therefore my conviction that United Nations resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, must be implemented in order to avoid discontent, disorder and rebellion. Regardless of alliances, Members of the Organization who voted for that resolution should be enthusiastic about its implementation. The principle of national self-determination must never be repudiated. No government should abandon a principle once espoused. This is an unwritten moral code.

32. I make bold to say that all Africans are united on certain fundamentals, namely, first, the total and complete emancipation not only of the African continent, but of the entire world from alien rule and domination and, second, the right to lead their own way of life without subversive interference from any source.

33. The world in which we live is large enough to accommodate all conditions of men, but such accommodation must be attained not on the archaic and obsolete principle of "master and servant", but on the basis of equality in a creative partnership.

34. I feel that it is of the utmost importance that a Secretary-General be elected at the earliest possible date, in order to avoid the onset of the creeping paralysis which threatens the life of the Organization. Moreover, I believe that it is imperative that the new Secretary-General should be endowed with all the powers, both specific and implied, which have been granted to him by the Charter. Only in this way will the United Nations be restored to operational efficiency. Only in this way will it be able to pursue the cherished goals set forth in the preamble to the Charter, and to exercise in full amplitude the dynamic role which the late Secretary-General envisaged for the Organization.

35. Man's hope of survival rests primarily, it is true, in his ideal of world brotherhood, but ultimately it must be through the instrumentality of sober logic, calm reasoning and objective realism that this influence will become a civilizing factor and not merely a footnote of history. It is within the competence of participating nations to translate without delay into living realities, the principles which underlie our quest for peace, security and human happiness and the reason for the existence of this world Organization.

36. Whether we shall live in constant fear, intimidation and panic, or whether we shall dream incessantly of world brotherhood and thereby work towards its realization, is a question which will decide our fate. Whether we shall destroy our cherished possessions and the things for which we have long laboured, or

whether we shall refrain from the mistakes of other generations which twice in our lifetime have brought untold sufferings to mankind, is yet another such question. Whether we shall make existence for future generations intolerable, full of misery, anxiety and unhappiness, or whether we shall prepare the way for existence in a better world society, is still another question upon which our fate hangs.

37. These are some of the crucial issues of our times. In the hands of Members of this world Organization lie tremendous responsibilities and great decisions. Guided by their calm deliberations, their sober actions, their unselfish motives, their nobility of thought and implementation of action, man's creative capabilities and genius may yet be channeled anew towards the building of a world already potentially richly endowed for him by his beneficent Creator.

38. We can and we must choose the better way. It is within our competence to do so.

39. This I believe: the new spirit to which I have already referred lies in the discovery of a new meaning to man's existence and the creation of new horizons of human brotherhood and universal peace and goodwill.

40. I believe that, in spite of the dismaying aspects of the situations which have mushroomed and given cause for grave concern in the hearts of men, the way of peaceful negotiation and compromise will always provide the most logical answer to the crucial issues of our times.

41. I believe profoundly that the powerful nations of the world will not betray the hopes of humanity by unwillingness to support absolutely the fundamental tenets of mankind as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, nor will they resort to unilateral or bilateral action to bring about solutions which do not accord with those fundamental tenets.

42. It is only in such an atmosphere of faith and dedication to the ideals to which we have subscribed by our membership in this world body, that mankind can face the future fearlessly and bravely, and work reassuringly so that, eventually, right may triumph over might, justice overwhelm oppression, reason replace irrationality, the blessings of liberty obliterate the tyranny of domination and human welfare transcend "race-centredness". These are the ideals to which we have dedicated ourselves, and we stand committed to them in the critical days which face us.

43. May the deliberations of the representatives at this session of the General Assembly redound to the greater glory of God, and be instrumental in bringing peace and freedom to all mankind!

44. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I wish to thank the President of Liberia for the important statement which he has just made to the General Assembly. I am sure that it will be given the most careful thought by all of us here.

45. I would ask members of the Assembly to remain in their places while I escort President Tubman from the hall.

AGENDA ITEM 49

Question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi

ASSASSINATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF BURUNDI: REPORTS OF THE FOURTH COM-

MITTEE (A/4929) AND OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/4932)

46. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly now has before it the report of the Fourth Committee [A/4929] and a report by the Fifth Committee [A/4932] which has been circulated to members for purposes of information. If there is no objection, statements relating to the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee will be confined to explanations of vote.

47. I call on the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee to present that Committee's report.

48. Mr. HOUAISS (Brazil) [Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee] (translated from French): It is my duty, as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, to take the floor for the second time within a week and to present to the Assembly a report [A/4929] of my Committee. As the report states, the Committee considered this item to be a matter of great urgency and dealt with it accordingly.

49. On 13 October, the Prime Minister of Burundi was assassinated in a restaurant in Usumbura, the capital of the Trust Territory. This criminal act occurred shortly after the general election which had been held under the supervision of the United Nations Commission, in accordance with the resolutions [1579 (XV) and 1580 (XV)] adopted by this Assembly at its fifteenth session. It is natural that the Fourth Committee should have been deeply concerned at the turn of events in the Trust Territory and should have wanted steps to be taken quickly in order to shed all possible light on the circumstances of the Prime Minister's death.

50. This concern is reflected in the draft resolution which was adopted unanimously by all members present and voting in the Fourth Committee on 18 October 1961. With your permission I shall read its simple, direct and serious terms to you.

[The speaker read the text of the draft resolution appearing in para. 15 of the report.]

51. The report I am submitting today was adopted by the Fourth Committee on 19 October. The agenda of the General Assembly is very heavy and the time at our disposal is very short. I shall therefore say nothing further in submitting this report: it is simple, it is brief and it speaks for itself. I recommend it to the Assembly for its approval.

52. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): As no one has asked to be allowed to speak in explanation of vote, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in its report [A/4929]. A vote by roll call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Nepal, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bel-

gium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran,

Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mali, Mexico, Morocco.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.