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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the Ghana delegation, congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. The great qualities which you bring to this high office assure us that, under your guidance, the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly will be significant and meaningful. I know that the Assembly will accord you the same courtesy and co-operation which I was fortunate to enjoy during my tenure of office as President of the nineteenth session.

2. I am confident that by your statesmanship, tact and impartiality you will leave your imprint on the work of this Assembly, so that all of us can proudly say with Virgil: Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.

3. I should also like at this juncture to pay tribute to our indefatigable Secretary-General, U Thant, whose devotion to the cause of peace has won him universal acclaim. It is needless for me to say that his recent efforts during the Dominican and Kashmir crises have aroused the admiration of all peace-loving peoples of the world. I am happy that I came to know him intimately and appreciate his sterling qualities of leadership.

4. The Ghana delegation welcomes the opportunity afforded to all States to express their views on world problems. We do think that the expression of candid opinion and proposals made in the general debate for the solution of problems should serve as a guide for the work of the various Committees. That is why my delegation insists on the fullest implementation of the principle of universality of the membership of this Organization. That is why we want to see the People's Republic of China and other States represented here so that they may learn at first hand from their participation in the work of this Organization, and also contribute to the solution of world problems.

5. The twentieth anniversary of our Organization should have been celebrated in an atmosphere less charged with tension, conflict and mistrust. Unfortunately, this is not the case. There has been too little co-operation among nations of the world and far too many conflicts. Today there is war in Viet-Nam; today there is confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia; today there is racial discrimination and oppression in many parts of the world, especially in southern Africa. And need I mention the recent unfortunate armed conflict between India and Pakistan, two members of the Afro-Asian family?

6. In spite of this gloomy picture, mankind has not lost all hope for peace. Nevertheless, the threat of nuclear war is still with us. Unless we can achieve a stable and continuing peace, all our hopes for the future may be destroyed by some inconsequential incident which might escalate what has been called a limited war into a world conflagration.

7. These limited wars, these confrontations, these endless disputes bordering on war, and these imperialist intrigues and neo-colonialist interference in the affairs of small countries, should bring home to all of us the necessity for strengthening the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. The crisis over contributions for the financing of these peace-keeping operations—a crisis which paralysed the nineteenth session of the General Assembly—has also convinced my delegation that United Nations peace-keeping operations should be put on a permanent basis and their establishment, functions and financing clearly determined by agreement without delay.

8. At the height of the crisis last year, my delegation approached certain other delegations informally, with a proposal which we thought might have averted the crisis and at the same time provided a formula for the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations. These proposals envisaged a United Nations peace fund to which contributions could be received from Governments, foundations and even private persons. We said that there are so many old ladies and old gentlemen with plenty of money who can afford to help the United Nations peace-keeping operations—and why not ask them to do so? A variant of this proposal is now in operation and the Ghana Government has pledged a voluntary contribution of $20,000 to help the Organization out of its immediate financial difficulties, although we ourselves have fulfilled our obligations in this matter.

9. But the contributions that have been pledged so far are quite inadequate to meet the past commitments, let alone the present and future obligations of the Organization. My delegation therefore urges all

Member States to come up with their contributions and thereby give substance to the great hopes we have invested in the United Nations.

10. Osagyefo, my President, in a special address to Parliament on 3 September 1965, regarding some of the difficulties facing the United Nations, said:

> "In the twenty years of its existence the United Nations has had to meet serious challenges. We in Africa have experienced at our cost the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the Congo; in regard to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa; and in our struggle for the eradication from our continent of imperialism, with its concomitant colonialism and neo-colonialism.
>
> "This failure of the United Nations to deal with these problems is largely our own fault. If Africa had a solid political front and was able to speak with a united voice, there is no doubt in my mind that our problems would have been solved in the best interests of our people and with the interests of our continent primarily in mind. This is why I have, over and over again, called for a United Africa which would enable the independent African states to stand together and to mobilize all our resources to the development of the continent so that we can make a greater impact on the United Nations."

11. In Africa's search for unity, we have been misunderstood, often misrepresented and sometimes maligned. And yet, in the modern world, the inevitable drive is for closer co-operation and unity among nations. Indeed, the Charter of the United Nations specifically endorses the development of closer union among States for the maintenance of peace and international co-operation as a desirable objective. In our search for unity in Africa, we pose no threat to anybody, we do not encroach on the interests of anyone. We believe that in our unity lies the peace of Africa and the world. Our search for unity is an inescapable condition of African political and economic development and a prerequisite to the safeguarding of our sovereignty and territorial integrity. In African unity, we seek only to ensure that, in the crucial areas of foreign policy, economic development and defence, the unity of Africa should make possible the achievement of objectives to which human beings in every part of the world aspire.

12. In furtherance of these objectives, some machinery must be developed to provide the political drive and authority necessary to generate co-ordinated policies in foreign affairs, economic development and defence. That is why for us in Ghana the need for a continental Union Government of Africa is an article of faith. This is why we consider the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, of which we are members, as a step in the right direction. We are convinced that this is the only way to real African political and economic emancipation.

13. Let me say with all the power at my command that the existence of colonialism and colonial territories is a constant threat to peace, and that is why we have consistently worked for the liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in every part of the world. The fact that there are today thirty-six independent African nations represented in the United Nations sometimes creates the illusion that all is well in Africa, that colonialism has disappeared from our continent and that imperialism has been crushed. This is not so. There are territories in Africa which are still struggling for independence. There are still areas where we see strong manifestations of racialism, neo-colonialism and foreign interference. My delegation wants to make it quite clear that, so long as one single territory in Africa remains under foreign domination, no African country, no matter how extensive the trappings of independence it may command, can consider itself really free or independent. As Osagyefo, my President, said on the very day of Ghana's independence: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa."

14. Therefore, since our independence, we have steadfastly worked, in concert with other anti-colonialist forces, to root our colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

15. At this juncture, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, I would like to welcome the Gambia, Singapore and the Maldive Islands as Members of the United Nations. We look forward to close and friendly co-operation and relations with all of them, not only in this Assembly, but also in the African family and in the larger Afro-Asian family.

16. While we take pride in the attainment of independence of many territories in Africa and elsewhere, we cannot rest until all territories that are not yet independent are free. I refer particularly to Southern Rhodesia, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, South West Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland, British Guiana and Puerto Rico. Sometimes our efforts have been thwarted by some Members of the United Nations by a passionate resort to legal quibbling. But we can never be diverted from a dedicated purpose of destroying colonialism in every part of the world.

17. Only recently, on 24 August 1965, Osagyefo, my President, was emphatic on this issue during his address to the National Assembly, when he said:

> "As long as our brothers in Angola, the so-called Portuguese and Spanish Guineas, Mozambique, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South West Africa and all the islands surrounding our continent remain under the yoke of imperialism; as long as the minority settlers continue to dominate our brothers in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, so long shall we continue to give all the help that is within our power to all those who are fighting to overthrow oppression; so long shall we strive to regain Africa's inalienable right and restore her dignity, prestige and heritage."

18. The problem of Southern Rhodesia is steadily deteriorating. Today a serious situation is developing in Southern Rhodesia which, if not prevented quickly and effectively, could result in another grave crisis such as confronted the Organization in the Congo. Mr. Ian Smith, the spokesman of the racist white minority in Southern Rhodesia, has been threatening

to declare unilateral independence and has in fact made certain offensive unconstitutional moves in that direction. And yet the United Kingdom Government, which is the administering Power in that self-governing colony, has chosen to remain on the defensive. True, we all welcomed the firm and courageous stand taken by the United Kingdom Government against unilateral declaration of independence, but we had thought that the threat to impose economic sanctions would be matched by some positive steps to make Southern Rhodesia truly democratic and racially egalitarian. No such steps have been taken. It is not enough, and indeed it will be futile, for the United Kingdom Government to impose economic sanctions only after Ian Smith has unilaterally declared independence. This will amount to slamming the stable door after the horses have bolted. The delegation of Ghana is firmly of the opinion that the inertia of the British Government has given the impression that it is acquiescing in the gradual usurpation of power by Ian Smith.

19. Let me make it quite clear to this Assembly that Africa will not accept any transfer of sovereignty or usurpation of power. The African States have made it clear that the only acceptable solution of the Southern Rhodesia problem is the establishment of a government based on majority rule—that is, one man, one vote.

20. It is the clear responsibility of the British Government to ensure that Ian Smith does not seize power in Rhodesia. The British Government must declare that it will prevent any attempt at the unconstitutional and unilateral declaration of independence by every means, including the use of military force if necessary. We think that it is within the power of the British Government to do so.

21. The General Assembly and the Security Council have made recommendations for a solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia. The positions taken by the Organization of African Unity, the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [1] and the 1965 meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers have all advanced similar recommendations which, were the British Government prepared to move, would have at least provided a beginning in the search for a solution.

22. The Ghana Government will oppose any solution of the Rhodesian problem which does not provide for (a) the convening of a constitutional conference of all political leaders of Southern Rhodesia for the purpose of deciding on the steps by which the country should achieve its independence at the earliest possible time, and (b) the immediate release of all political leaders in detention to enable them to participate in the process of developing the constitutional framework for independence. It is our determination, in accordance with the decision of the Organization of African Unity, to recognize an African Government-in-exile should Ian Smith carry out his threat of unilateral declaration of independence, and we shall call upon all Members of this Organization to support a majority African Government-in-exile and to boycott an illegal government of the settler minority in Southern Rhodesia.

23. The concept of Portuguese administration in Africa defies all common sense. Year after year the intelligence of this Assembly is insulted with the absurd notion that a small impecunious European country has provinces located several thousand miles away in the continent of Africa. Portugal, with the assistance of its NATO allies, continues to wage colonial wars of repression to maintain this fiction of "Portuguese overseas provinces". In Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea the hands of Portugal are dripping with the blood of Africans struggling to gain their sacred right to self-determination and independence.

24. We see in these territories a brutal war being waged by Portugal with weapons obtained from its NATO allies to keep their stranglehold on the African people. The United Nations, through the Security Council and the General Assembly, has adopted many resolutions deprecating the Portuguese inhuman policies in Africa. These resolutions recommended:

> "(a) The immediate recognition of the right of the peoples of the Territories under its administration to self-determination and independence;
>
> "(b) The immediate cessation of all acts of repression and the withdrawal of all military and other forces at present employed for that purpose;
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> "(c) The promulgation of an unconditional political amnesty and the establishment of conditions that will allow the free functioning of political parties;
>
> "(d) Negotiations, on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination, with the authorized representatives of the political parties within and outside the Territories with a view to the transfer of power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
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> "(e) The granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples." [Security Council resolution 180 (1963).]

25. I have quoted the Security Council resolution to impress upon the General Assembly that, in spite of this innocuous resolution, the Portuguese Government has not moved.

26. The Portuguese authorities have blatantly flouted these resolutions with the connivance of their NATO friends. The policies of Portugal in Africa cannot be considered in isolation. On the contrary, they form part of a calculated grand design to establish white hegemony in southern Africa. In league with the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the Portuguese colons are creating an area of tension in Africa which poses a threat to international peace. My delegation has found it necessary to warn this Assembly of the Portuguese designs so that we shall all be prepared to meet the challenge.

27. The racist régime of South Africa, by force of arms and the supply of swashbuckling mercenaries, has been helping the racists of Southern Rhodesia

[1] Held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

and the colons of Angola and Mozambique. And in South Africa itself the white settler régime is perpetuating its barbarous policies of apartheid and is stepping up its ruthless repression and oppression of 12 million Africans whose only crime is that their skin is black. Many resolutions have been adopted by this Assembly, dispensing pious injunctions, but nothing concrete has been done to implement any of these resolutions. In our view, there is only one way of bringing the white settler régime of South Africa to respect the wishes of this Organization and of civilized men. We should act to prevent South Africa from continuing its repressive policies.

28. It has been urged by this very Assembly, the Organization of African Unity and other organizations that sanctions can and should be imposed on South Africa. Indeed, a number of Member States are already applying such sanctions in the form of a complete trade boycott of South Africa. Yet, these measures are ineffective because the major trading partners of South Africa—Britain, the United States, France and Japan—refuse to co-operate and resolutely oppose the use of sanctions. We are told that it would be impossible to apply sanctions since this would involve a blockade of the South African coast which, they say, cannot be maintained. Such arguments are really disingenuous.

29. My delegation is reminded that, only a few years ago, the United States and the United Kingdom maintained what was in effect a trade boycott—in certain items at least—against the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Caribbean. Under that policy, the United States was largely able to prevent the movement of strategic goods to the Eastern European countries and China. This policy, furthermore, was carried out without any blockade of China or the Eastern European coasts. Therefore, it appears to us that these arguments regarding the impracticability of sanctions against South Africa are merely calculated to cover the fact that the imposition of sanctions will hit the interested influential investors, rather than to refute the case which has been convincingly made in favour of sanctions against South Africa.

30. The tragedy is that the intolerable situation in South Africa will be resolved one way or the other, but if this Organization does not rise to its responsibilities, then the solution, alas, will be in blood and suffering. Such an eventuality could also lead to the poisoning of relations between the races throughout the continent of Africa. This is the situation which all of us who believe in racial amity would like to avoid. We insist that other solutions should be found now to the problem of South Africa to make it possible for citizens of all races in that country and in other parts of Africa to live peacefully together. We know that, with the exception of South Africa, every State represented here has condemned racial discrimination in one form or another. It is this collective will of the United Nations which must be brought to bear on the problem of apartheid in order to prevail on South Africa to abandon once and for all its iniquitous treatment of man. As I speak today, many African freedom-fighters, like Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, are languishing in gaols mainly because of their opposition to racial discrimination—mainly because they refuse to be discriminated against because of their skin, because they are black.

31. We are today faced with another area of serious conflict which can easily lead to a war of serious proportions. I refer to the present state of affairs between India and Pakistan. It is gratifying that, through the collective will of the United Nations, the Security Council succeeded in ordering India and Pakistan to halt their armed conflict. This achievement of the Council—and, indeed, of all Members of the Organization—has been a powerful shot in the arm for the United Nations, and emphasizes the potential of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of peace among nations, provided always that its Members will act collectively, promptly and with resolution. The cause of the conflict is the long-standing dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. The United Nations has been seized of this problem for over seventeen years. However, our efforts have been unavailing, and it is only with great difficulty that we have averted the mutual destruction of the social and economic fabric of two great countries, which should co-operate in developing the living standards of their peoples. The war between India and Pakistan was, tragically, quite irrelevant to the search for a lasting and peaceful solution in that part of the world. As Members of an Organization dedicated to the search for international peace, we should, individually and collectively, use our influence with the two Member States to have the present cease-fire observed, and try to help them find a solution to their problems around the conference table.

32. Even though the hostilities between India and Pakistan may have temporarily overshadowed the conflict in Viet-Nam, this is also serious and a seemingly intractable problem. As a result of certain initiatives undertaken by Osagyefo, my President, it is clear that the protagonists in this conflict desire a peaceful settlement. However, there is wide disagreement with regard to the basis for a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam. It is regrettable that positions have hardened in this conflict to such an extent that all the many approaches designed to bring about a peaceful settlement have, so far, not borne fruit. My delegation is firmly convinced that Viet-Nam, no less than any other former colonial territory, must be allowed to settle its own problems—and, in particular, those problems which involve the freedom, independence and sovereignty of its people. Any final settlement of the Viet-Nam problem must be on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements [2] and must guarantee the neutrality and unity of the area and lead to the withdrawal of all foreign military presence. It is unrealistic to suppose that there can be peace in Viet-Nam if foreign intervention continues. It is also unrealistic to imagine that the elements of a solution can be found in a situation where North Viet-Nam is subjected to continuous air attacks. It is the view of my delegation that, should these air attacks be halted for a longer period of time—

[2] Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed on 20 July 1954.

say, two months—it is likely that certain initiatives designed to pave the way for a negotiated settlement would have a better chance of success.

33. An alarming feature of recent international behaviour is the assumption by the great Powers that when they wish they can find their own solutions to world problems on a unilateral basis, through the use of force as a major instrument of policy. This is only a one-way street to world war. My President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has been most concerned with ensuring that the major parties to the dispute in Viet-Nam can be brought together to find a peaceful solution to this dangerous conflict. My delegation once again appeals to all concerned to exercise restraint and to create the conditions which can lead to peace in Viet-Nam. My delegation also appeals to all Members of the General Assembly to use their influence in whatever way possible to persuade the protagonists in this conflict that it is possible to achieve a peaceful settlement.

34. For over a year, the Cyprus crisis has continued, despite attempts by the United Nations to hold the ring while efforts are made to secure peace on that island. The delegation of Ghana subscribed to the declaration on Cyprus made at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and we are convinced that a lasting solution of the Cyprus problem can be found only through goodwill and on a basis which guarantees the interests of both communities on the island, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

35. It is the duty of the General Assembly to do everything in its power to find a solution to the problem of Cyprus, particularly since this Organization has assumed responsibility for peace-keeping on that island. In any such endeavour, the Government of Ghana will give the fullest support to the United Nations, and my President will also be ready to participate in any good offices which might be considered necessary to restore peace in Cyprus.

36. This catalogue of conflict, war and tension points to the need for a genuine effort toward the achievement of general and complete disarmament. If this could be done, the international atmosphere would change considerably to enable the many localized conflicts to be contained and eliminated. We therefore support the efforts of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, which is painfully and slowly trying to achieve the basis for disarmament. Two years ago we had hoped that the partial nuclear test-ban treaty[3/] would be the key to a general willingness to persevere toward world disarmament. Regrettably, this hope has not been justified. However, my delegation does not believe that we should despair at the slow progress that is being made in Geneva. My delegation is convinced that the peoples of the world desire peace and freedom within which to develop a higher life. Herein lies the great optimism which is the driving force of efforts toward the achievement of general and complete disarmament. We are confident that the various problems of detail, such as inspection, can be overcome given goodwill and patient effort.

37. Recently, there have been proposals for a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and my delegation hopes that agreement will be reached on this as a major intermediate step toward the complete banning of nuclear weapons. Such a treaty can only be a step in the process toward complete disarmament and cannot, therefore, be permitted to lead to a situation where, while the major nuclear Powers still increase their stockpiles of nuclear weapons, the rest of the world is put in a position of perpetual vassalage to the nuclear Powers. A treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons can only be a necessary preliminary step to complete nuclear disarmament. It cannot seek at one and the same time to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to some countries and institutionalize nuclear weapons among others. Otherwise it will be meaningless and unacceptable. Ghana has always been opposed to the maintenance of foreign military bases in Africa and elsewhere.

38. It is our firm belief that the liquidation of such bases will be an effective step in the right direction toward general and complete disarmament. In this regard I have to point out that the African States have, in the creation of the Organization of African Unity, stated their abhorrence of foreign military bases and have advocated the denuclearization of Africa. This position has been in effect endorsed by a resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session [resolution 1652 (XVI)]. We also stand ready to support the creation of nuclear-free zones in Latin America and Central Europe.

39. A potential source of serious world tension is the progressively increasing gap between the prosperity of the advanced nations of the world and the grinding poverty of the developing world. As long as three quarters of the world population are incessantly haunted by the spectre of starvation, the world shall know no peace. It is, therefore, extremely important that every effort should be made on a co-operative basis to ensure that the development of the less developed nations proceeds at the fastest possible pace. While the developed countries, through generous aid, have contributed to development in many parts of the world, we believe that it is more important to enable the developing countries themselves, by their own efforts, to earn the means to finance the greater part of their development. Thus trade and not mere aid is the key to the solution of the problem of under-development.

40. There is no doubt that as long as commodity markets remain disorganized the developing countries will find themselves in progressively deteriorating circumstances, no matter how hard they work, no matter how much more increased production they can achieve and no matter how comprehensive and rational their development plans. It is imperative, therefore, that without delay agreements on the stabilization of the prices of the major commodities of the world should be undertaken and completed. Only a few years ago we in Ghana, and this perhaps goes for all primary producers, were induced to increase the production of our major export products.

3/ Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

We put every effort into this enterprise, but when more of our products, especially cocoa, came onto the world market, prices began to drop. On the other hand, the capital equipment and manufactured products which we need for our economic development and for maintaining a minimum standard of living for our people have continued to increase in price at an alarming rate. This situation of the progressively deteriorating terms of trade has often led to drastic measures which sometimes have made our over-all problem of maintaining a decent standard of living more acute. And yet we have no alternative. The solution here is one of international co-operation in solving a problem which eventually will harm not only the developing countries but also the industrialized countries as well. Ultimately countries must sell to each other on a freely organized basis or they will have to face the deterioration of economic conditions which will become widespread and universal.

41. This Organization has a great role to play in the ordering of world economic relations on a rational basis. We in the developing countries thus welcome the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, for which we all worked hard, and hope that all Members of the United Nations will co-operate in making it an important and useful machinery in increasing world trade and accelerating economic development. We should not approach this Conference as opposing teams, but as members of the same team working for world progress and prosperity. In Ghana we have ambarked on a seven-year development plan designed to lay the foundation of our socialist society in which ignorance, disease and poverty will forever be eradicated, in which social oppression will be no more and in which social and economic justice is guaranteed to all.

42. One of the most pressing issues before the United Nations is the seating of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. There is often a misunderstanding about this problem. The question is not whether China should be admitted to the United Nations or not. China was a founding Member of the United Nations, and the United Nations Charter declares that China shall have a permanent seat on the Security Council. The only question which arises is: which Government shall be recognized by the United Nations as the Government of China? There is no question of "two Chinas" being represented in the United Nations. The Nationalist authorities themselves on the island of Taiwan, whose representatives at present occupy China's place in the United Nations, claim to do so not as the rulers of that island only, but as the representatives of the whole of China—a claim which we consider untenable.

43. As my President said in his speech to the National Assembly—that is, Parliament—on 3 September:

> "The plain issue before the United Nations is therefore a simple question of fact. Who in reality rules China? Is it the Government of an island off the China coast with a population of some 14 million or is it the régime which commands the loyalty of over 650 million Chinese on the mainland; a Government which has undisputed control over the vast areas of China and which, in the sixteen years of its existence, has shown itself to be the most stable Government which China has had for centuries?
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> "The true conception of the United Nations is that it should be not only international, but universal. In other words, the United Nations must be truly representative of all the people of the world, otherwise it will fail to realize the objectives set out in its Charter. It is futile to think that the United Nations can continue to exist merely as an association of like-minded States."

44. Ghana, in keeping with its policy regarding the proper representation of China, is a co-sponsor of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations" [see A/5971 and Add.1 and 2]. We consider this not a cold war issue but rather as an issue whose solution will lead to peace. It is not a question of frantically rallying a few votes to postpone the inevitable decision which the Organization will make. It is a question of common sense and objectivity.

45. It is sometimes alleged by States which oppose the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations that China interferes in the internal affairs of other States and pursues an aggressive policy and, therefore, cannot qualify for membership in the United Nations. Even if that were true, it would be no reason for excluding the People's Republic of China from being represented at the United Nations. If every great Power which interferes in the internal affairs of the smaller nations were to be excluded from the United Nations, this Organization might well find itself without any of the permanent members of the Security Council.

46. The Government of Ghana believes that the People's Republic of China should be seated in the United Ntions as the true representative of China for the following reasons. First, the Government of the People's Republic of China rules a State more populous than any other State in the world. It is a great Power in its own right. On that ground alone, it is absurd to exclude it from the United Nations. Secondly, it should be obvious that there can be no progress towards nuclear or conventional disarmament as long as one of the world's nuclear Powers is excluded from the body whose Charter provides that it shall secure universal disarmament and world peace. Thirdly, one of the most serious problems which confront the world is the bitterness arising out of the widening gap between the increasing poverty of the developing countries and the mounting prosperity of the developed countries. As I said earlier, upon the solution of the problems of "the prosperity-poverty gap" may depend the future peace of the world. Yet one of the greatest nations of the world, with considerable experience in the problems of development, is deliberately prevented from contributing its experience, knowledge and resources to the solution of a problem which should be the common concern of all nations. For that reason those of us who represent developing countries should be the first to support the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Fourthly, there can be no doubt that the seating of the People's Republic of China

in its rightful place in the United Nations would clear the international atmosphere considerably and make more manageable such areas of world tension and conflict as Viet-Nam.

47. It is the hope of my delegation, therefore, that firm decisions will be taken in the General Assembly at this session which will lead to the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations.

48. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the encouraging atmosphere which has so far characterized the beginning of the twentieth session of the General Assembly will continue and carry us through a successful session, and that the signal achievement of the Security Council in bringing about the cease-fire in Kashmir will be a beacon to further achievements by the Organization, which is the only international body for resolving world problems. In the United Nations, Ghana, in consonance with its policy of being friends to all and enemies to none, has always advocated friendly relations and co-operation among all States. In reaffirming the faith and hope of the Government of Ghana in the United Nations, I should like to quote from the speech of Osagyefo, my President, to Parliament on 3 September 1965:

> "The United Nations Organization, in spite of all its imperfections, its fumblings and its mistakes, is the only hope of mankind in its search for peace, prosperity and dignity. We must all therefore redouble our efforts towards the fulfilment of the Charter and also to ensure that this Organization becomes a meaningful instrument for the achievement of peace and harmony among the peoples of the world."

49. Ghana is an avowed champion of peace, prosperity and progress and it will continue to throw its weight on the side of all efforts which will lead to the achievement of these desirable goals.

50. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank Mr. Quaison-Sackey, the former President of the General Assembly, for his statement and, in particular, for his allusion to Virgil.

51. Mr. CARRILLO FLORES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): A few months ago, Mr. President, you went to the plateau of Mexico to take part in the tribute which we paid, on the seventh centenary of his birth, to Dante Alighieri, an ambassador of the Republic of Florence in the thirteenth century. Since then. we count you among the true friends of my country and, on congratulating you upon your election as President of the General Assembly, I express the hope that the love of justice and peace of the greatest poet of the Latin world may inspire you.

52. In a few days, the United Nations will have been in existence for twenty years. During this hazardous period of profound and rapid changes in international relations, in the internal organization of many States and in all fields of human activity, the United Nations has also experienced countless vicissitudes. However, like an inspired precursor of the authors of the Charter of San Francisco, the Abbé Sieyès, when asked what he had done during the French revolution, the Organization could at least reply: I have lived.

53. Twenty years after its creation, its predecessor, the League of Nations, was already nearing its end, without having been able to avoid the most terrible war in history. The United Nations of today is something more and something less than the United Nations of 1945. From a coalition of victorious Powers, it has transformed itself into an almost universal society, with room for not only the representatives but also the feelings, aspirations and ideas of dozens of peoples who not long ago were only the passive object of international relations.

54. On the other hand, it has not been able to institutionalize its armed action as a guarantee of peace because, save in exceptional. cases, the "common ends" on which the Charter based the system of collective security were lacking. Luckily, however, the Organization has been able to add to its arsenal of peace. In 1965, the United Nations is not a better or a worse organization than it was in 1945. It is simply a different organization in many respects and it has inevitably had to adapt to new and changing conditions, which is a proof of its vitality.

55. Perhaps the most significant and at the same time the most encouraging aspect of the international scene over the past few years is the fact that the danger of a nuclear confrontation between the two principal world Powers seems more remote each day. In addition, the combined action of new factors, such as the larger number of independent international attitudes and the creation of large economic groupings—the most famous example being the European Common Market—have produced a radical change in international relations. The most characteristic signs and phenomena of the post-war era—the bipolar distribution of military and political might in the world, the cold war as the pivot of international relations and the violent opposition betweeen ideologically and politically homogeneous blocs—are tending gradually to become things of the past, although there are still important exceptions. As the President of my country said when he took office in 1964: "The outstanding development, internationally speaking, is that the post-war period has ended. The world is on the threshold of a new stage of history, whose characteristics still cannot be clearly defined: we can, however, surmise that it will be different from the immediate past."

56. It is, of course, obvious that political problems have become more complex and difficult and that the areas of conflict seem to have multiplied, with the risk that, if the peace is interrupted, the threat of a nuclear holocaust may reappear at any time and the great Powers would find themselves dragged into a direct confrontation, even against their will. What happened in 1914 could happen again on a catastrophic scale.

57. We are living at a time which requires from all—strong and weak—calm, imagination and, above all, the strong and constant determination to recognize that there is no national or regional interest whose pursuit justifies the suicide of mankind.

58. Mexico firmly believes that all international disagreements can be settled by peaceful means. For this reason, it viewed with particular concern the dispute which has arisen between the two great countries which share the Indian sub-continent. The conflicting positions seem irreconcilable. One of the parties is invoking the self-determination of the people of Kashmir, while the other bases its case on national integrity. Without passing judgement on the intrinsic value of these positions, we regret that it has so far not been possible to transform the partial agreements which the United Nations has achieved from time to time in the difficult problem of Kashmir into a final solution.

59. The action taken by the Security Council to put an end to the hostilities [Security Council resolution 210 (1965)] was particularly welcome. Although the cessation of hostilities has been only partially implemented, we still hope that the authority of the Security Council will be respected and that a spirit of moderation and mutual understanding will prevail.

60. In response to the Secretary-General's appeal, my Government felt in duty bound to agree to send ten military observers to Kashmir, if they should be needed.

61. Mexico hopes that a peaceful solution will be found to the conflict in Viet-Nam. It would seem that existing conditions do not lend themselves to direct action, either by the Security Council or by the General Assembly. It has been thought that, for the time being, the discreet efforts of the Secretary-General offer the best changes of success. It would, however, be desirable in our view for the Secretary-General to have the support of the Organization in what he is doing, expressed in whatever terms are considered suitable, even if only by a consensus in this general debate. This does not necessarily imply either consideration of the case by the Organization at this time or, a fortiori, prescribing terms of settlement or instructions for the Secretary-General. As I say, it would consist merely of the Organization supporting the voluntary personal efforts of the Secretary-General to bring the parties to the dispute to the conference table.

62. The serious events which occurred in the Dominican Republic at the end of April created one of the most serious political problems which has arisen in our continent since the end of the Second World War. Mexico, which in the Organization of American States (OAS) found itself differing from the majority of its sister nations of Latin America and from the United States on the subject of certain action taken, is glad that the matter seems to have been dealt with in such a way as to permit—with strict respect for the sovereignty of the Dominican people—a start to be made on the vast work of reconstruction of all kinds: economic development, justice and the strengthening of democracy.

63. We are convinced that the action taken by the United Nations in this case was very valuable, demonstrating once again that the world Organization can act to support and, whenever necessary, supervise the regional organizations, as provided in the Charter of San Francisco. The United Nations could not, without abdicating its responsibility, admit that it has no jurisdiction in the areas in which regional bodies operate.

64. This is one of the reasons why Mexico, with the sincerity and frankness which characterizes its foreign policy, has clearly and unequivocally disagreed with the idea of creating an inter-American force under the auspices of OAS.

65. The world is faced with a new and serious threat: the proliferation of nuclear weapons. By a strange and dramatic paradox, rapid technical progress in this field and the fact that it will be relatively inexpensive to manufacture atomic weapons in the next few years have created one of the greatest threats to peace.

66. My country has steadfastly supported the efforts being made in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to prepare a treaty to prevent such proliferation. It believes, like other States represented on the Committee, that the security for which we long will not be achieved solely by preventing new States from acquiring nuclear weapons. The nuclear Powers will have to stop manufacturing new atomic weapons and eventually reduce their stockpiles.

67. But it does not follow that the treaty must, as an essential condition, include the obligation that the nuclear Powers should destroy or reduce their stocks of nuclear weapons immediately. This would be like opposing the establishment of a quarantine until the sick were cured in the midst of an epidemic.

68. We know that negotiations to reduce the existing level of armaments are, by their very nature, long and difficult, among other reasons because of the problem of control and, unfortunately, the danger of proliferation is increasing. The risks are immediate and grave. We therefore think that the first step could and should be taken as soon as possible, namely, to stop proliferation now, establish a quarantine and embark immediately upon the following stages. In addition, an initial agreement on non-proliferation could act as a catalyst which would speed up future negotiations and lead to wider agreements.

69. Furthermore, although my Government is convinced that disarmament will only come through negotiations among the great Powers, since the latter have not made any appreciable progress, we also support the proposal submitted to us by the Disarmament Commission that world conference should be called to explore new ideas and new paths, for it is not only those Powers but all peoples of the earth whose interests are at stake.

70. Although very little headway was made in 1965 at the world level, either as regards measures directly designed to secure general and complete disarmament under effective international control or, on a more modest scale, as regards so-called partial disarmament measures, at the regional level Latin America can justly pride itself on being able to submit an encouraging report on this last kind of measures.

71. On the basis of the resolution [1911 (XVIII)] on the denuclearization of Latin America adopted by the General Assembly in 1963, the Latin American countries held a preliminary meeting at the end of 1964 in Mexico City, at which two important resolu-

tions were adopted. The first established very specifically, in view of the advantageous situation which fortunately exists in the countries of Latin America, that denuclearization should be understood to mean the absence of nuclear weapons and nuclear launching devices. Thus, when the denuclearization treaty is signed, it will mean that nuclear weapons are banned for ever in Latin America, whatever State may have control of such weapons. This, of course, will create no obstacle—quite the contrary—to the peaceful use of the atom, from which there is reason to expect such beneficial effects for the economic and social development of our peoples.

72. The second resolution established a preparatory commission, which has its headquarters in Mexico and which has already held two sessions this year.

73. In this matter the Latin American countries have been guided by a double conviction: firstly, that the nobility, generosity and loftiness of the aims pursued are in themselves a guarantee of ultimate success and, secondly, that to overcome the difficulties which cannot fail to arise in an undertaking of this scope, it was and is necessary to proceed without undue haste and with the prudence and caution that the circumstances require. Progress towards the achievement of those aims has therefore been slow but sure and steady, following a straight path, without the slighest deviation or faltering.

74. At its first session, the Preparatory Commission set up three working groups. The work of one of these bodies has already resulted in a useful preliminary draft of articles for inclusion in the future treaty concerning verification, inspection and control, for the preparation of which the Secretary-General of the United Nations kindly provided the valuable technical services of the United Nations Secretariat. The other groups have also accomplished laudable work, trying to increase the number of States and territories in the region which may become parties to the proposed treaty through the free consent of their Governments and seeking to obtain from the nuclear Powers an undertaking that they will strictly respect in all its aspects and implications the legal status of the denuclearization to be covered in the treaty.

75. In connexion with those matters, the Preparatory Commission set up a negotiating committee, which during the present session of the Assembly will seek mainly to obtain such a commitment in negotiations with authorized representatives of the nuclear Powers.

76. The Preparatory Commission has agreed unanimously to call upon the Governments of Member States to redouble their efforts and take such measures as they deem appropriate in order that the preparation of the preliminary draft of the treaty may be completed at the session that will begin on 19 April 1966. Mexico is confident, and I am bold enough to hope that this confidence is shared by all the other countries of Latin America, that the nuclear Powers will prove willing, at the appropriate time, to undertake to respect the denuclearization treaty which is fervently desired by our peoples and Governments.

77. Our confidence is based on numerous facts which are self-evident: the fact that the treaty will greatly help to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons; the fact that the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been unanimously recommended by the General Assembly; the fact that the representatives of the nuclear Powers themselves, both in the Assembly and in the Disarmament Commission and the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee have unequivocally and repeatedly declared themselves opposed to such proliferation; and, finally, the fact that the Latin American denuclearization treaty, as a juridical instrument, freely concluded by a group of sovereign States, will enter fully into force from the very moment at which it is ratified by the contracting parties.

78. My Government has been considering for some time whether other aspects of the general problem of disarmament would not also lend themselves to a regional approach. The progress achieved towards denuclearization and the guarded optimism we feel on evaluating this progress has led us to take a closer look at other possibilities. After mature reflection, Mexico has decided to revive an idea which was to some extent current about five years ago and then had the support of some Latin American Heads of State. I refer to the possibility of making a serious effort to consider and possibly agree on disarmament measures among the non-nuclear Powers, the majority of which are developing countries.

79. I shall refer specifically, as an example, to Latin America. The enormous obstacles which have so far prevented a world-wide agreement are not of the same magnitude or significance in our countries. Thus the need to balance the cut in nuclear weapons against a cut in conventional weapons and armed forces simply does not arise in Latin America, since our countries have no nuclear weapons. Similarly, the stubborn problem of verification and control, which in the last analysis derives from mutual distrust, takes on a completely different aspect in a community of nations which is relatively more integrated.

80. From another point of view, the heavy burden of armaments represents, in Latin America more than anywhere else, an absolutely unjustified squandering of resources. Nobody can fail to see that the conventional arms in our countries would be totally inadequate to defend the continent against outside attack. As far as their function within the continent is concerned, i.e., to defend each country against its neighbours, there would likewise seem to be no justification for maintaining large-scale military establishments in Latin America. At all events, what the Latin American countries need is a more effective system for settling disputes between them peacefully.

81. Needless to say, our peoples are in urgent need of the financial resources that disarmament would release for development. One of the reasons for the high rate of economic development in Mexico may be that, political stability having been won as a result of the social reforms introduced fifty years ago, military expenditure has come to represent a smaller and smaller proportion of our national income.

82. Naturally, we are not unaware that the defence of our institutions makes it necessary to have adequate military forces. When we suggest the advisability of

studying the possibility of regional disarmament, referring specifically to Latin America, what we have in mind, therefore, is that an effort should be made to eliminate everything that is not indispensable for our defence.

83. Mexico welcomes the fact that the political and financial crisis which paralysed the General Assembly has come to an end. The deadlock was resolved, in the last analysis, by applying the principle of voluntary contributions, which my delegation has proposed and advocated on various occasions since 1956. There remain to be solved, however, certain underlying political problems, which have been maturing for some time and which the crisis itself helped to spotlight.

84. Both in the Ad Hoc Committee concerned with the problem and in the Assembly itself, stress has been laid on the need to review the United Nations peace-keeping machinery in the light of the experience gained since the establishment of the Organization.

85. A thorough study of this matter would be constructive and valuable. In supporting the proposal for such a study, I should like to make the following point: we consider that any review of the present situation should be prompted solely by the permanent interests of the Organization and that a proper balance should be maintained between the Security Council and the General Assembly which will facilitate the Organization's work for peace as a whole.

86. The Assembly has embarked upon another study, which is somewhat parallel and complementary to the first and to which my Government attaches the highest importance. It concerns the formulation of certain principles relating to friendly relations and co-operation among States, namely, the prohibition of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention, and the sovereign equality of States.

87. The function of the Assembly is nothing less than to determine and define the political and legal scope of those propositions on which the very structure of the United Nations is based in the light of the highly important changes that have occurred in international society since the war. These paramount principles are not only the corner-stone of the Charter but also of all international law. If properly formulated, they would greatly help to ease and clarify relations between States and thus to strengthen peace.

88. The prohibition of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention, the legal equality of States and free self-determination of peoples are and always have been guiding principles of Mexico's foreign policy. They have been so not because we arrived at them by a logical process, but because our history made them so. We are, therefore, in favour of a formulation which will strengthen them by its clarity and simplicity and we are resolutely opposed to anything which restricts or weakens them.

89. I shall conclude by referring to some economic matters. I believe that no one now denies that the greatest and most difficult task of our time—if, as we must all hope, the threat of a nuclear conflict can finally be averted—is to promote economic development and, as a result, to raise the level of living of the countries in which two thirds of the world's population live.

90. The decade whose first half is drawing to a close was appropriately and perspicaciously designated as the United Nations Development Decade. It was even found possible to fix a specific target: the achievement of an average growth rate of 5 per cent in national income by the end of the Decade. Nevertheless, as was shown at the last session of the Economic and Social Council, the results so far achieved fall very short of that target.

91. In Latin America, to deal with the region which is naturally closest to Mexico's thoughts, the countries members of the Organization of American States four years ago embarked on a common enterprise which they called the "Alliance for Progress" with the object of modernizing their economies by reforming obsolete social structures—particularly the land ownership system—the modernization of their fiscal systems and the establishment of programmes of planned basic investment, in order to produce, with the added incentive of a larger volume of public and private capital channelled to that area and the diversification of exports, an average annual growth of 2-1/2 per cent in per capita income.

92. In the first three years of the current decade the average development rates of the region as a whole were extremely low. The year 1964, however, was a favourable one, because of a combination of propitious circumstances. Mexico, which has fortunately managed to maintain an average growth rate of slightly more than 6 per cent since the end of the war, is convinced, as our Head of State recently stated, that in spite of all difficulties the course mapped out by the Charter of Punta del Este, which defined the noble purpose of the Alliance in terms of specific goals and obligations, is the right one.

93. We recognize that considerable progress has been made since 1950 in improving the study and identification of problems, largely due to the activities of the United Nations and of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and in the strengthening and expansion of the network of world and regional institutions responsible for inter-governmental economic co-operation. The Inter-American Development Bank, despite its youth, is now a vigorous and very effective organization.

94. We are, however, concerned that the measures which some of the great industrial nations have taken to protect their balance of payments are affecting the volume of capital which has for years been flowing to the developing areas. We accordingly attach great importance to efforts to strengthen the machinery for improving international liquidity. The developing countries must participate in the review of this machinery for both technical and political reasons.

95. We recognize, of course, that the role of international co-operation can be only an auxiliary one, that it should supplement and not replace the fundamental responsibility of every country to raise its productivity by hard work, proper development planning, better use of its savings and training its technical and management cadres.

96. Moreover, we are convinced that the progress, and particularly the industrial progress, of Latin America will, once the first stage of producing foods and other consumer goods has been passed, necessitate an expansion of markets which in the long run can be brought about only by the economic integration of our region; this is unquestionably the most important matter being debated at present in our hemisphere.

97. A great deal remains to be done in this field and Mexico is convinced that in the next few years we shall, by strengthening and improving the existing machinery and by recasting it, wherever necessary, inevitably reach the goal we all desire: the Latin American Common Market which, though it may be confined to that region, will have not the slightest hostility towards the great industrialized areas of the world since, as the President of Mexico stressed when he opened the session of ECLA in our capital last May, our countries "are not trying to go against anyone, but rather to combine their efforts to work for their own benefit".

98. It would be a mistake to think that integration is going to be easy and that the mere fact that our Governments are determined to foster or accomplish it will result in the acceleration of our economic development. We must demolish any obsolete and unjust structures which still exist, or whatever vestiges of them still remain; this, however, must be done by each country under the guidance of its own people and depending on its capacity to take such action. Social reform is possible only in so far as it is nourished and guided by the desires of each people. This is what Mexicans believe on the basis of the experience of their own revolution.

99. The Government of Mexico has from the outset vigorously supported the efforts of the United Nations to secure a revision of international trade policies and thus redress century-old injustices. The developing countries' awareness of the justice of their aspirations, the co-ordination of their endeavours and their unshakeable unity have contributed decisively to the adoption of principles and agreements from which a new concept of international economic co-operation in trade is emerging. Nevertheless, we find it deeply disquieting that, as the Secretary-General points out in the introduction to his annual report [A/6001/Add.1], the principles approved at United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva have as yet had little or no effect on the policy which in fact, rather than in theory, governs commodity trade.

100. International commodity agreements may not be perfect, but they are undoubtedly useful and we must continue to strive for their conclusion, for the incorporation in them of the principles approved at Geneva and for the application and constant improvement of those already concluded.

101. Latin America cannot continue for ever to allow the bulk of its exports to consist of raw materials, usually fetching unremunerative prices, while it imports manufactures at very high prices. We must press the demand, made at Alta Gracia and approved at Geneva, that preferences should be granted for our exports of manufactures, a demand which is not incompatible with the further request that our primary commodities should be given preferential treatment, since we must not forget that the industrialized countries are the leading exporters of some of these same products. This was recommended by a group of United Nations experts which met here early in 1961[4]. That recommendation deserves to be heeded. The industrialized nations should not begrudge the poor the primary commodity market which is, in any event, essentially a very hard way of financing their development.

102. We noted at the last session of the Trade and Development Board that there was a strong body of opinion in favour of establishing the headquarters of the Conference in the capital of a developing country and we have therefore made it known that we would be delighted if Mexico City were chosen, since it is fortunate enough to combine the facilities—in the important matter of communications, among others—of one of the world's major capitals with the social environment of a country which has for almost half a century been encouraging economic development in social justice.

103. Since its independence, Mexico has believed that its greatness is founded on the welfare of its citizens, on the peaceful development of its own personality and on its efforts to make freedom prevail throughout the world. It accordingly holds that its economic development must be accompanied by respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms. The provisions of the Mexican Constitution, which emerged from the revolution, leave no room for doubt. Time and again we have chosen the path of freedom and we do not accept that national progress justifies any deprivation of personal rights.

104. My Government hopes that, now that last year's serious constitutional crisis has been overcome the United Nations will exercise to the full its function as a forum in which the most serious international questions are raised and discussed, and that its organs and specialized agencies may develop into a system of growing effectiveness, authority and prestige, directed towards the fulfilment of the noble purposes of the San Francisco Charter.

105. I shall conclude by repeating the wish expressed by the President of Mexico, Mr. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, in his statement to his people on the anniversary of the start of our struggle for freedom and independence in September 1810; after the panegyric on our heroes, which is a long-standing tradition with us, he also extolled peace and friendship among all the peoples of the earth.

106. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): After Virgil, we have just heard a reference to Dante Alighieri. I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico for this reference and also for his statement.

107. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (translated from French): Mr. President, I am particularly happy to convey to you once again, on behalf of the people and Government of Haiti, my most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twentieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. This choice

[4] International Compensation for Fluctuations in Commodity Trade (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 61.II.D.3).

made by the delegations here assembled is a tribute to your fine qualities of wisdom and moderation, a supreme recognition of your gifts as a diplomat. It is also an honour to your illustrious country, Italy, whose contribution during recent years to the safeguarding of international peace and security has earned it an enviable place in the meetings of our Organization.

108. Allow me to accompany this sincere tribute with one to the out-going President, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who stands out in this Organization just as his ancestors, those negro giants, stood out in mother Africa and, in times gone by, built the mighty empire of Ghana in the heart of ancient Africa. His skill and tact made it possible for us to avoid many pitfalls last year during the unusual nineteenth session of the General Assembly when each one of us was careful to avoid broaching the important questions on the agenda. Undoubtedly, his advice will still be valuable to those who have the rare and hazardous privilege of belonging, in any capacity, to the higher ranks of our Organization.

109. Lastly, the good wishes of the people and Government of Haiti go to the three nations recently admitted to membership of the United Nations. May they encounter nothing but success and prosperity in their new status as sovereign peoples.

110. In his message of 24 October 1964, on the occasion of United Nations Day, Mr. Francois Duvalier, life President of the Republic of Haiti, a wise statesman and eminent sociologist, defined in felicitous terms his view of the kind of international collaboration likely to fulfil the needs of nations. This collaboration, based on equality of rights, respect for the interests of States, non-interference in their internal affairs and the need for disinterested assistance for the deprived countries, was, he suggested, an essential prerequisite for peace, stability and friendship between States.

111. May I quote again the remarkable passage from the message of the Haitian Chief of State with which I concluded the statement that, as head of my country's delegation, I made during the general debate at the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly nearly a year ago [see A/PV.1304, para. 46]:

> "As I reaffirm, on behalf of the Haitian people and Government, my devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, I should like to propose to this human society, so often deluded by makeshift solutions, a more satisfactory adaptation of the principle of co-operation to the positive values and pledges of nations. Without such co-operation, we cannot foster world prosperity or stability which are the essential prerequisites for peace and friendly relations between States. Such co-operation imposes the obligation of working together on the basis of equality of rights and mutual advantage, the obligation to respect the interests and needs of other States and not to interfere in their internal affairs; the obligation, finally, to provide assistance in every way to the less favoured nations, in the interest of human dignity, preservation of the peace and the happiness of peoples."

112. Is it not because we have failed to achieve such international collaboration, which is the essential guarantee of the world's political stability and, consequently, of international peace and security, that, twenty years after the signing of the San Francisco Declaration, in which the peoples of the United Nations defined the purposes, standards and lofty principles of the Organization as expressed in the preamble to the Charter, we now find ourselves facing the problem of peace indivisible, of that world peace which it is so difficult to safeguard whether the threat comes from South-East Asia, from Cyprus or from the troubled area of the Caribbean?

113. Is it not because we have failed to organize such international collaboration that mankind, filled with anguish, is today faced with the difficult problems of disarmament, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the peaceful uses of outer space, and the cessation of atomic tests of all kinds?

114. Lastly, is it not because we have failed to ensure a wise distribution of wealth that the peoples are now divided into favoured nations and deprived nations and that the Third World, in Asia and Africa as well as in our unhappy Latin America, is legitimately claiming its right to happiness through a just and equitable participation in the benefits of a civilization built at the cost of its blood and sweat?

115. Is it not because of a systematic failure to recognize and a deep-rooted contempt for man's high dignity that the black and coloured populations of South Africa are still weighed down under the terrible yoke of the so-called policy of apartheid and that the wishes and resolutions both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council have proved powerless to bring full citizenship to those sons of Africa whose labour has formed the basis of the prosperity so brazenly presented to the civilized world in numerous statistics?

116. But history pursues its irrevocable course. Many Powers, sacrificing their own material interests, have not hesitated to offer loyal support for the recommendations adopted by United Nations bodies. The greatest hope of the negro Republic of Haiti is that this movement will spread and win the unanimous support of both the permanent and the non-permanent members of the Security Council, and that that high United Nations organ will, by adopting a resolution, decide upon action, binding on all Members, to force South Africa to eliminate this offence to civilization, the shameful policy of apartheid.

117. But now, twenty years after the signing of the San Francisco Declaration amidst the difficulties with which we are faced, the question of the efficiency and usefulness of the United Nations arises; some say that it is merely a forum where the great Powers can air matters which are of concern to them. In support of this pessimistic view they readily adduce: first, the power politics pursued by two great States in disregard of the standards, purposes and principles of the United Nations, which they invoke only when their own personal interests are at stake; secondly, the powerlessness of the United Nations to impose its will on even secondary Powers in fundamental matters concerning the noble aims of the Organization; thirdly, the disparity between

the material and moral progress of mankind which makes hope illogical for man, like the sorcerer's apprentice, seems to have set in motion forces which have overtaken him and which, sooner or later, will end by crushing him; fourthly, the inability of the United Nations at the present time to achieve its goal of universality; fifthly, and lastly, the continued widening of the gap which separates the industrial Powers from the under-developed nations. Progress seems to generate misery and poverty in the Third World, whose situation appears to be hopeless.

118. The Haitian delegation, without questioning the relevance of the views I have just quoted, has nevertheless noted in the present international circumstances facts which lead it to think that, despite the gropings and retreats, which have been constant features of mankind's history, men will not, to paraphrase the words of the poet, refuse to unite with other men in order to realize their hopes.

119. Among the signs which presage better times for our suffering mankind, I should like to mention: first, the generous and constructive proposal put forward by the United States Government concerning the control and limitation of nuclear weapons. Was it not in fact Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg, the distinguished head of the United States Permanent Mission to the United Nations, who, in the course of his statement in the general debate at the present session of the Assembly, spoke in the following terms:

> "The United States is ready to transfer 60,000 kilogrammes of weapons grade U^{235} to non-weapon uses if the Soviet Union would be willing to transfer 40,000 kilogrammes. If the USSR accepts this proposal, each of us would destroy nuclear weapons of our own choice so as to make available for peaceful purposes such amount if fissionable material." [A/PV.1334, para. 75.]

120. Secondly, the conciliatory attitude of the United States Government with regard to the question of South-East Asia which has been made known in many public statements by the President of the United States of America, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson. The Chief Executive of the American nation, while proclaiming the determination of the United States not to yield to totalitarian aggression, is firmly resolved to sit at the negotiating table with any competent spokesman.

121. Thirdly, and lastly, the progress made in decolonization, thanks to which three nations have attained political independence without conflict and have just been admitted to membership of the United Nations. The Haitian delegation interprets this important event as a sign presaging the complete liberation of Africa and the early accession to the ranks of sovereign States of the last remaining territories of the martyred continent which still have the status of colonies.

122. The Haitian Government can only deplore the fact that political expediency and a spirit of prudence do not favour the admission to the United Nations of a certain great Power which, in recent times, has distinguished itself more by its aggressive actions and its obvious desire to change the form of institutions which have been freely adopted by other nations, institutions which are part of their moral and cultural patrimony and which are the guarantee of their survival and evolution.

123. I should also like to mention, as an encouraging sign of the future of mankind under the auspices of our Organization, the cease-fire obtained through the intervention of the United Nations and the intelligent endeavours of the Secretary-General, U Thant, in the dispute between two sister nations, India and Pakistan, both Members of the United Nations and both called upon to promote the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the procedures of conciliation and arbitration.

124. With regard to the Third World and its requirements the ever-widening gap between the affluent Powers and the deprived countries, and the need for international co-operation to bring new vigour to impoverished economies, I should like to refer to the situation in my country, which is similar to that of other unfortunate countries of the Third World which are seeking the general welfare of their people and which live under the threat of that macabre trio—hunger, ignorance and disease.

125. Haiti is among the most deprived countries of the Western hemishpere, with a very high population density per square kilometre and one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world. My country is caught in a veritable economic tragedy, and is struggling in the midst of a vicious circle: poverty and deprivation engender ignorance, and in addition there is the tragic inability to break the circle by national resources alone. Our appeals to international co-operation, to the solidarity of peoples, and to the Alliance for Progress, which was set up to further economic and social welfare, have found little or no response. Thus, abandoned to its own resources, and in the midst of indifference bordering on hostility to arguments which have been constantly repeated, the first black Republic on the American continent and its leader, the distinguished Dr. François Duvalier, strengthened by the almost unanimous support of the nation, are carrying on a struggle—so far unsuccessful—against the only real enemies, of the Haitian people: disease, ignorance and poverty.

126. It was to condemn this state of affairs that the Haitian Chief of State, in one of his messages to the people, declared:

> "In a country where want, poverty, illiteracy, hunger and slums, are rife, there is no place for peace, not even the peace of the grave."

Indeed, despite the tremendous efforts made by the Government of the Republic, there is economic stagnation throughout the country. It is growing worse every day following the disturbing signs of recession in the Haitian economy, a recession which is attributable to internal as well as external causes.

127. One of the principal internal factors of recession is population growth, with an annual rate of 3 per cent, while the projected annual rate of growth of the gross national product is 2.5 per cent, but has remained well below that level. This has led to a basic imbalance between the soaring population and the development of resources.

128. In an already small country, the population explosion leads inevitably to the fragmentation of cultivable land and to the proliferation of under-productive or non-productive minifundia. Since 1962, the most significant economic indicator, the level of exports, has shown a marked decline. The disappearance of plantain from the list of export commodities since 1957, the fall in the price of sisal since June 1964, and the downward trend in sugar and cocoa prices on the world market, have thrown the whole weight of our economy entirely on coffee, a principal export commodity which is subject to all the risks of price fluctuation. The economy of Haiti is feeling and will long feel the disastrous effects of two devastating hurricanes—hurricane Flora and hurricane Cleo—struck Haiti within a period of less than nine months, affecting live-stock and all crops, including young plantations, for two consecutive fiscal years. They were followed by a long and severe drought which ruined the efforts and hopes of our brave and courageous peasants. Then famine took a hand. In order to meet his critical and painful situation, as the few reserves available had quickly been exhausted in the south, the south-east, the south-west and the north-west of the country, the President for life of the Republic of Haiti officially requested, through the organization responsible for the country's food—the Department of Public Health and Population—an urgent plan from international organizations and the United States Government for the continuation of assistance to the stricken people.

129. The industrial sector, which already forms only a small part of the economy and which fifteen years ago represented only 11 per cent of the gross national product, has felt the backlash of the agricultural recession and has not been able to maintain itself at that level. The agricultural losses and the reduction in industrial activity have had a disastrous effect on the level of the State income and expenditures. To these internal factors of recession in the Haitian economy must be added other external factors, in particular, the political conspiracies hatched abroad by agitators in the pay of international communism, or former political leaders driven out of power by the angry people.

130. The repeated invasions of Haitian territory, sustained from outside by this corrosive propaganda, which has been rightly characterized by numerous jurists and eminent statesmen as indirect aggression, have forced the Government, in order to safeguard the integrity of its national territory, to divert available labour and capital from production.

131. The heaviest blow dealt to the Haitian economy by propaganda conducted from abroad was the steep fall, in 1963 and 1964, in tourist earnings which contributed substantially to the Haitian economy, and the depletion, not to say total disappearance, of private capital, whether domestic or foreign, which was frightened off by this unhealthy propaganda, thereby reducing still further the amount of money in circulation.

132. It is to this psychosis, aimed at toppling a Government which is firmly anchored in the hearts and minds of the peasant masses and the middle classes, that we must attribute the lack of interest shown towards my country by international or inter-American financing organizations, except for the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank, which, in 1961, granted Haiti a loan of $3.5 million for agricultural development, and has just granted another of more than $2 million for studies on the supply and distribution of drinking water in the capital and its surroundings.

133. It should be emphasized that, of all the countries of the Western hemisphere, the Republic of Haiti is the one which has received the least per capita international aid. When the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress last met to discuss Haiti, at the session from 2 to 6 August 1965, it was admitted that Haiti was the only country which had not benefited from the Alliance for Progress at all.

134. Between the Charter of Punta del Este [5/] of August 1961 and September 1965, Haiti received nothing, not even a single dollar in per capita aid, whereas all the other countries on the American continent benefited greatly from such aid, whether in grants or in loans. We rejoice with them if they are satisfied. Together, the internal and external factors of recession in our economy have had a deplorable effect on the balance of payments, which is still very precarious.

135. Net receipts from tourism, which in 1961 reached $7.5 million, fell in 1962 to $4.6 million, and since then they have fallen still further, and even reached negative levels in 1963 and 1964. Inevitably, the result has been a continual reduction in reserves. According to expert estimates, the deficit on current account for 1964-1965 may amount to $3 million. Drawings under stand-by agreements signed with the International Monetary Fund supplement government credits below the level of $3 million, an insignificant sum in relation to the volume of external trade. Only the austere fiscal and monetary policy of the Government of Mr. François Duvalier has made it possible to lessen the expected effect of external payments on reserves.

136. Despite the complex interplay of recession factors, the Government of the Republic of Haiti has made strenuous efforts to improve the process of economic planning which was started in 1962. It has streamlined the servicing of the public debt, which now operates in a normal manner; it has taken vigorous action to stimulate tourism again by building an international airport for jet aircraft at Port-au-Prince and by establishing several tourist offices in the United States and Canada. The scarcity of available resources has not prevented investment in the agricultural, infra-structural and social sectors; although relatively modest, these investments nevertheless signal a resumption of economic activity by starting up infra-structural projects.

137. In July 1963 a special fund for the public debt was established, under the administration of the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti and financed by various coffee and sugar receipts and by certain

5/ Adopted at the extraordinary meeting at the ministerial level of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, from 5 to 17 August 1961.

customs duties. Through this fund for the public debt the country is able to settle satisfactorily all its debts to international loan organizations or foreign private firms. The Haitian economy therefore remains in the unfortunate position of being dependent on foreign markets, a position brought about by the policy of certain international financing organizations.

138. In the study which the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress carried out, during the first week of August 1965, on the internal effort and the external financing required for the development of Haiti, the secretariat found it necessary to emphasize the desperate situation in Haiti and the paucity of the efforts so far made by the international community to help solve the problem. The net disbursement of loans granted by financial institutions is 9.32 dollars per inhabitant of Latin America since the establishment of the Alliance for Progress. The net disbursements for Haiti are insignificant, less than one dollar per inhabitant for the same period, or the lowest figure per inhabitant for the whole hemisphere.

139. The economic situation in Haiti will become tragic if all the appeals to international solidarity remain unheeded, and it will fully justify the bitter statement of our distinguished President for life, Mr. François Duvalier, in one of his moving messages to his people: "Do we defy all hopes?"

140. It is now twenty years ago that the representatives of the peoples of the United Nations, meeting in the historic city of San Francisco, declared in the preamble to the Charter:

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

"to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

"to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

"AND FOR THESE ENDS

"to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

"to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

"to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

"to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples".

141. Once more, as the head of my country's delegation, I am proud to proclaim the fullest adherence of the nation of Haiti to the ideas, purposes and principles so eloquently expressed in the Charter, the nation of Haiti, which after paying tribute with its blood to the cause of independence of the thirteen British colonies of America, dared, as a small negro State whose newly-won independence was precarious because it was disputed, to support by force of arms the cause of independence of the Spanish colonies, the fantastic dream cherished by Miranda and miraculously realized by Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, with the disinterested assistance of Dessalines and Pétion, the immortal fathers of my country; the nation of Haiti, which has never hesitated to make its contribution to the cause of international peace and security; the nation of Haiti, which believes with all its heart in the future of the world organization, without which the dark shadows of force and egoism will soon cover the future of mankind.

142. The Republic of Haiti cannot fail to recognize the need to amend the statute which gave birth to the Organization and to adapt it to the new requirements of the atomic civilization and to the wishes of the peoples, who aspire to greater prosperity, justice and freedom.

143. Finally, I should like, as the representative of a country where 95 per cent of the population is Catholic, to welcome the imminent visit to the United Nations of the Vicar of Christ, His Holiness Pope Paul the Sixth, as the herald of a new era in which the supremacy of the spirit, which alone is capable of restoring mankind to the path of his true destiny, will be increasingly proclaimed.

144. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of the United States, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

145. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): We have heard, since the general debate commenced, unfounded and scurrilous charges against my Government. I exercise my right of reply to reject categorically these charges and distortions, made by the representatives of a few countries.

146. When I first spoke to the General Assembly on 1 September 1965 [1331st meeting], I made two points: that I had come to the United Nations to curse no one, but that I would not hesitate to keep the record straight lead to misunderstandings.

147. I believe my speech of 23 September [1334th meeting] proved the first point.

148. The brief remarks I wish to make now are addressed to the second point: that of keeping the record straight.

149. There is no country in the world more anxious than mine to bring an end to the conflict, and the destruction and suffering it entails, in Viet-Nam. Over the past few months we have repeatedly stated, both publicly and through private channels, our willingness to enter into negotiations with any Government, at any place, at any time, and without conditions, in order to find a formula which would end that conflict on honourable and just terms.

150. This has been made clear by President Johnson in his Baltimore speech and in other speeches and statements, as well as by other spokesmen of my

Government, and, most recently, in the remarks I made to this august Assembly.

151. The responses to all of our efforts—ours and and those of many others—to move towards negotiations have been disappointing, to say the least. The responses have ranged from contemptuous rejection, on the part of Peking, of any negotiations, to the laying down by Hanoi of what are rigid and entirely unrealistic preconditions, and to the type of public fireworks, inflammatory statements and polemical distortions which have been heard from a few representatives in this Assembly during the general debate so far.

152. The fundamental and controlling facts in the Viet-Namese conflict are clear and simple: the war against the Republic of Viet-Nam is directed and controlled by the Lao Dong Party, which dominates the Government of North Viet-Nam. The so-called Liberation Front for South Viet-Nam was created by Hanoi, and remains today a subordinate unit of the governmental machinery in Hanoi. The key leadership of the Viet-Cong has been trained, equipped and supplied in the North, and sent illegally into the Republic of Viet-Nam, under military orders issued in Hanoi; furthermore, regular units of the military forces of North Viet-Nam, as well as thousands of infiltrators, have intruded clandestinely into the Republic of Viet-Nam.

153. These facts lead to only one conclusion—which cannot be obscured by any amount of distortion, from whatever source: the Republic of Viet-Nam is the victim of aggression.

154. Nor can distortion, from whatever source, change that aggression into some form of liberation. There is simply no evidence that the people of South Viet-Nam look to the Liberation Front or to Hanoi for guidance—let alone liberation. The feelings of the South Viet-Namese people with regard to the Liberation Front and Hanoi have been attested to repeatedly in the most tragic ways. They have fought against liberation at the hands of the Front and Hanoi at an appalling cost in death and misery—some 80,000 military and civilian casualties since 1959: the equivalent of about 1 million casualties for a country the size of the Soviet Union.

155. Within South Viet-Nam, moreover, there is no evidence of any voluntary movement of people, either toward the North or towards areas in the South that are subject to Viet-Cong control. On the contrary, the movement is all one way: away from the communist-controlled areas.

156. Immediately after the signature of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, between 900,000 and 1 million Viet-Namese voted with their feet in favour of South Viet-Nam: that is, they chose to leave North Viet-Nam and make their permanent homes in the South. And since then—particularly since the intensification of Hanoi's aggression, beginning in 1959—there has been a continuing flow of people away from communist-controlled areas into the South, until the present time, when the Republic of Viet-Nam is caring for over 500,000 individuals who have preferred the hardships and uncertainties of life as refugees to living in areas controlled by the Viet-Cong. There is not one South Viet-Namese political force of any significance—be it the Catholics, the Buddhists, the Montagnards, the various other sects, or the Viet-Namese of Cambodian ancestry—which has looked, or is looking now, to the North or to the Viet-Cong for the fulfilment of its aims and ideals.

157. Finally, no amount of distortion can change into imperialism the temporary military assistance which my Government and others have given to South Viet-Nam in its prolonged hour of need. There is not a single sovereign Member of this Organization which would not resist with arms—as the Charter entitles it to—the kind of aggression being perpetrated against the Republic of Viet-Nam. There is not a single State among the smaller Members of this Organization which, if subjected to such an attack, would not appeal to other nations to come to its aid.

158. The United States, together with many other countries, has responded to the requests for assistance from the Republic of Viet-Nam, and will continue to do so, so long as necessary.

159. Our military response has been—and will continue to be—measured by the military challenge. Whether further assistance will be needed will depend upon events, especially upon whether the other side continues to escalate its aggression.

160. And I repeat, let there be no doubt: we will continue to respond to the requests of the Republic of Viet-Nam in whatever measure and so long as may be necessary to fulfil our commitment to the people of South Viet-Nam—a commitment to ensure that the armed aggression being waged against them is effectively repelled; to ensure that they will not be subjugated by force directed and supplied from outside; and to ensure that they remain free to fashion their future in their own way, by the principle of self-determination.

161. Behind our military response lies no intention to bring about a change in the political or economic régime of North Viet-Nam, nor to see any special military, economic or political position in Viet-Nam or anywhere else in South-East Asia. Our actions stem quite simply from our deep conviction that the principle of self-determination, so often spoken about here, the principle of a nation's right to decide its own destiny free from external pressure, the principle of preventing the take-over of national entities by force or subversion, such as North Viet-Nam is now engaged in, is a prerequisite for peace and happiness not only for the countries of South-East Asia, but also for the smaller countries throughout the world. Our ultimate objective is no more than the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Viet-Nam can exercise the right of self-determination; that is, determine their own future free from external influence and under conditions of peace, free from violence and free from terror.

162. When this fundamental and simple condition has been created, a condition which our Charter contemplates, the United States will be ready and eager to withdraw its forces from South Viet-Nam.

163. I would conclude my remarks by noting simply that we remain determined to seek an end to the

conflict in Viet-Nam. We have so indicated to the Security Council, we have so indicated to the Member States and we have so indicated to our Secretary-General. We remain determined to find the key to the conference room, but that key today is hidden not in the United States but somewhere in Hanoi. When that key is found—and only when that key is found—will this conflict be moved from the battlefield to the peace table where it properly belongs. I appeal to the Members of this Organization to use all their ingenuity, wisdom and influence to join in that search for peace.

164. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I call upon the representative of Spain, who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

165. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) (translated from Spanish): I shall refer very briefly to some words in the statement made here this afternoon by my distinguished friend, Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana. He has informed us that the President of the Republic of Ghana, in a message addressed some weeks ago to the National Assembly of his country, referred to Spanish Guinea as a land harnessed to the yoke of imperialism.

166. I regret that the information which the President of Ghana has received on this point is so deplorably incomplete that he is unaware of the very definite fact that, since the referendum held there in December 1963, the official title of that territory is "Equatorial Guinea".

167. As to whether the people of Equatorial Guinea are living under the yoke of imperialism, the accusation which some ill-informed person has brought to the notice of the President of Ghana is absurd and really laughable. This, however, is a matter which the President of the autonomous Government of Equatorial Guinea, Mr. Ondó, may in due course wish to clarify.

168. That is all I have to say here at the moment.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

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