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President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAK
(Afghanistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GRIMES (Liberia): The Liberian delegation notes with much satisfaction the recently declared independence of Botswana and Lesotho, formerly the colonial territories of Bechuanaland and Basutoland, which we hope will soon become Members of the United Nations. My delegation is also happy that Indonesia, one of the most populous countries in Asia, has resumed its activities in the United Nations after a brief absence. All this should contribute to the progress, albeit slow, being made toward the eventual universality of our Organization.

2. The twenty-first session of the General Assembly meets at a time of increased political tension and in an atmosphere tinged with anxiety. Many times before we have expressed apprehensions about unsolved problems in Asia which trouble us because of the prospects for peace; and about the deteriorating situation in the southern part of Africa, especially in view of its racial overtones, which has caused disenchantment and bewilderment. These unresolved problems threaten the future of this Organization and are a growing menace to the peace of the world and the very survival of mankind.

3. Added to these problems is the fact that our very efficient, able and dedicated Secretary-General, U Thant, who has so faithfully and loyally served the Organization over the last five years and worked earnestly, ceaselessly and untiringly for the cause of world peace, has decided not to offer himself for another term. When one considers the circumstances under which he became Secretary-General and the zeal and devotion with which he has attended to his multifarious duties, we cannot but compliment ourselves on the choice that was made. Because we view his term of office with great satisfaction and pride, my delegation salutes U Thant and hopes that he can be persuaded to accept another term so that his accumulated experience, skill, ability and tact can continue to be brought to bear on the vital and important issues.

4. When the Secretary-General declared that he would leave the Security Council unfettered in its recommendation on the choice of his successor, he expressed grave concern about the lack of universality in the Organization, the war in Viet-Nam, and the financial situation of the United Nations resulting from the lack of agreement on the financing of future peace-keeping operations [see A/6400]. He has also raised questions about the effectiveness of the Secretary-General's role if his functions are to be as limited as they are now. As all delegations have more or less expressed their desire to see U Thant remain as Secretary-General, I should like to emphasize here and now that, in my opinion, it is not enough merely to implore and entreat him to accept another term. The Liberian delegation believes that the comments made by U Thant, which may have influenced his decision, should be inquired into by the Assembly. Let us seek to resolve and remove the causes of his reluctance; for, unless we do this, whether he remains as Secretary-General or another replaces him, we shall be confronted with the same obstacles which have retarded the growth and effectiveness of the Organization and which will continue to do so, if our only effort to remove them remains in the realm of speeches and oratory.

5. Much depends on the success and future of the United Nations. International peace and security depend on it. The whole future of the human race may well depend on it. The United Nations may be the Organization on which humanity's hope for survival hinges. If it fails, then all of us have failed. Let not national honour or integrity stand in the way of the salvation of mankind.

6. Unfortunately, it does not appear to us that any significant advance has been made on the perennial problem of disarmament since our last session. Discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament have not indicated any substantial change in the positions of the principal Powers on the main issues. France is still not participating in the work of this Committee. Atmospheric nuclear tests by the People's Republic of China and France have continued. Underground nuclear tests not at present covered by the test ban treaty are continuing. It has not been possible to make any progress in concluding an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

7. We have to realize that the tremendous arms build-up has not brought about the realization of the security we seek. Instead, the devastating power being built up has increased the insecurity of all countries, including those with the most advanced weapons. Yet we continue to watch a profligate and wasteful dissipation of scarce resources which could go a long way towards improving the general condition of mankind.

8. In this connexion, my delegation favours the proposal made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his

annual report on the work of the Organization, in which he states:

"... that the time has come for an appropriate body of the United Nations to explore and weigh the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons, including problems of a military, political, economic and social nature relating to the manufacture, acquisition, deployment and development of these weapons and their possible use. To know the true nature of the danger we face may be a most important first step towards averting it." [See A/6301/Add.1, p. 4.]

Although scientific knowledge has enabled man to increase the destructiveness of the new weapons he has invented, it has not yet permitted him to bring them wisely under international control. Our ultimate interests require that we redouble our efforts to achieve disarmament and arms control.

9. There is, then, every reason for frustration. Nevertheless, we have to use our every effort and bring our greatest weight to bear on the evolution of satisfactory machinery, as envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations, by which peaceful solutions to international disputes can be found. This is the *raison d'être* of this Organization.

10. Closely connected with the problem of disarmament and the insecurity it generates is that of divided countries. It is unfortunate that such divisions, which were intended to be temporary, should now appear to take on all the elements of permanence because they have been so aggravated by ideological considerations.

11. Among other issues causing the greatest concern in the world today, along with Rhodesia, South West Africa, and indeed the whole question of race relations as well as independence in the southern part of Africa, is that of Viet-Nam. There, a war is raging with the loss of many lives. It has seeds which could result in an escalation dangerous to world peace. My delegation hopes some way can be found either in or outside the United Nations to get the parties to this conflict to the negotiating table so that, on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, an attempt can be made toward finding a peaceful solution, since this is the aim all the parties profess they desire.

12. Recent events in many other divided countries have shown the folly of believing that ideological identity of views is a sufficient guarantee of security for which some countries rightly yearn. People have to be left free to exercise their inherent right of self-determination and thereby select the kind of government they wish. Friendship on this basis may develop into something solid and lasting. It would not be built on shifting sands.

13. We note with satisfaction that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is pursuing its objectives and that its Working Group proposed, at its second session in September 1966, that a conference should be held in 1967, with the aims of examining the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration, as well as the extent to which non-space Powers, especially among the developing countries, might enjoy these benefits, and of examining the opportunities of non-space Powers to co-operate in space activities. We have a mutual interest in assuring that outer space is used not for military purposes

but for peaceful ends and in seeking co-operation in this field for man's benefit rather than for his destruction.

14. The more countries achieve independence, the more we see that self-determination as an inherent right of all peoples is being pursued with some success. Nevertheless, there are pockets of entrenched resistance based on the self-interest of a few die-hards who believe that they can turn back the clock of progress to the dark ages. Such blindness is pathetic and would merely evoke pity were it not that this situation is fraught with dangers not only for those who hold such erroneous ideas to the extent of being fanatics, but also for those who are tolerant and believe in progress and peaceful change. These reactionaries propagate racial hatred, incite race conflicts and thereby endanger world peace.

15. The matter of African territories under Portuguese administration was once again brought before the Security Council last October and November. The Security Council, in its resolution 218 (1965), affirmed that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both as regards the African population of its colonies and the neighbouring States seriously disturbed international peace and security, called upon Portugal to give immediate effect to the principle of self-determination and among other things requested all States:

"... to refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the people of the Territories under its administration, and take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government for this purpose, including the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition to be used in the Territories under Portuguese administration."

It is very ironic that Portugal still shows its obstinacy by refusing to adhere to the resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, thereby failing to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. It is indeed rash for it to think that it can hold on indefinitely to these Territories. This is impossible, and time is not on Portugal's side.

16. Rhodesia has become a serious problem. This matter has been before the United Nations for the past few years. In the general debate last year [1353rd meeting], I pointed out that, by stating in advance that the United Kingdom would not act militarily if the Ian Smith régime unilaterally declared its independence, the United Kingdom Government had acted in such a way as to give the rebels the free hand they needed in offering exactly what it had itself termed "defiance and rebellion". The Assembly will recall that immediately after the unilateral declaration of independence on 11 November 1965, the United Kingdom called for a meeting of the Security Council to condemn that unilateral declaration of independence and to ask other countries to refrain from recognizing the illegal régime. Subsequently, on 9 April 1966, an emergency meeting of the Security Council was called, and it declared, by its resolution 221 (1966), that the situation constituted a "threat to the peace"; it authorized the United Kingdom to prevent by the use of force if necessary the arrival at Beira of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for

Rhodesia and called on Portugal not to receive at Beira oil for Rhodesia and not to permit oil to be pumped through the Beira pipeline.

17. In order to make an objective evaluation of the action proposed by Britain and reluctantly accepted by the Security Council, one must ask why no action against South Africa was urged by Britain, especially since it is widely known that oil was being shipped quietly in large quantities through that country to Rhodesia and financial aid is being given sub rosa by South Africa to Rhodesia.

18. Quite recently, upon decisions of members of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom has indicated that, if some solution is not found to the problem about the end of 1966, the United Kingdom will seek mandatory sanctions from the United Nations.

19. Eleven months have elapsed since the unilateral declaration of independence was declared, and there have been no positive developments despite all the assurances of the United Kingdom. I believe we have to weigh that Government's optimism about a solution of this crisis with the statement of its Prime Minister at Lagos last January that the measures his Government had taken "might well bring the rebellion to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months".

20. Thus, the President of Liberia, speaking to the Liberian people on 26 July 1966 declared:

"In this connexion, I cannot emphasize too strongly the very grave responsibility which the United Kingdom has in the unfortunate situation that has developed in Rhodesia. A crisis involving confidence has been created among all African States as a result of what is considered an attitude of irresoluteness in this all-important matter, which can lead to unfortunate consequences. The fundamental rights of 4 million Africans should not be sacrificed for about a quarter of a million Whites by policies which appear to be wavering and half-hearted. The cause of justice will prevail in the long-run because it is right."

This matter of Rhodesia is indeed serious. Once more the interests of 4 million Africans are being systematically flouted and the inherent right of all men to be free denied. What makes it worse is that the United Nations is being used in a way which makes it appear as an accomplice. This is indeed shameful. Firm action is necessary on the basis of the unanimous Declaration already made by the Security Council that the situation with regard to Rhodesia is a threat to peace. Article 41 of the Charter provides in such cases for the application of measures not involving the use of armed force, and, if these are inadequate, then action under Article 42 becomes not merely permissive but absolutely necessary.

21. The invidious and abominable practice of apartheid is being vigorously pursued by the South African Government without any sign of change. This policy, which violates the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter by depriving the majority of South Africa's population of fundamental rights, could surely cause a racial explosion unless a change is effected.

22. On 11 February 1966 there was a declaration¹ establishing the centre of Cape Town as a white area. It is reported that this will uproot about 20,000 non-whites from an area where they have lived for centuries; and the removal of a quarter of a million Africans from homes in the Western Cape to a distant "Bantustan" is reported to have started.

23. Quite recently, the International Commission of Jurists alleged that the South African Government was removing hundreds of political opponents through discreet trials conducted in remote villages and that these trials were for the most part unreported and unnoticed.

24. It is, in my opinion, most lamentable and tragic, in what is considered the most enlightened century of man's existence, that such a vile and nefarious practice, previously unheard of, should be winked at and that some should even find specious reasons for not permitting this Organization to take effective action to bring it to its deserved ignominious end. Speaking before this Assembly about a year ago, I said:

"Apartheid is not only morally repulsive. It is a clear and mounting threat to world peace and as such amply fulfils the requirements for the application of sanctions. The evidence is not lacking that the African population is being reluctantly but inevitably driven to adopt violence as a solution to its desperate plight in the face of repressive laws.

"If we are to fulfil in good faith our obligation solemnly assumed under the Charter to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion', then we must act resolutely to prevent one Member nation from flouting its obligation and from acting in contemptuous defiance of all our decisions and recommendations." [1353rd meeting, paras. 34-35.]

25. Although the matters of the African territories under Portuguese administration, Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa have been taken up separately, each one is an element of a single problem. In this connexion let me refer to an item from London which appeared in the Sunday News of 25 September 1966, reporting a "secret military alliance linking Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal". Thus it requires joint action to settle these problems. They can no longer be taken as separate problems.

26. At the twentieth session it was noted that the territories of Fernando Póo and Río Muni had been merged and named Equatorial Guinea, and the administering Power—Spain—was requested to set the earliest possible date for independence after consultations with the people on the basis of universal suffrage under United Nations supervision. The Assembly also invited the Special Committee of Twenty-four to follow the progress of implementation and to report to it thereon at the current session. [See resolution 2067 (XX).] My delegation is anxious to see this report and will examine it carefully.

¹"District-Six Proclamation", issued by the South African Minister of Community Development.

27. It is gratifying to note that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as a permanent organ of the Assembly is practically a reality, as the annual report of the Secretary-General shows. We note with satisfaction that the Trade and Development Board's main Committees have begun to function.

28. The economic situation of most developing countries is unsatisfactory and improvement is negligible. Meanwhile, it is confirmed that there is a slowing-down of aid from rich countries to poor ones. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report that, if the growth-rate target for developing countries in the United Nations Development Decade, which was set at 5 per cent, is to be attained, it will be necessary for loans to be granted on more liberal terms, and that intensified efforts by all nations will need to be made, as well as more realistic measures undertaken; otherwise this rate of growth is not likely to be achieved.

29. In addition, the findings of the group of experts appointed to consider international monetary issues in relation to trade and development show that, in indicating the need for a reform of the international monetary system, the experts were persuaded that such a reform should facilitate the adoption of trade and aid policies that would contribute to the solution of the problem of structural disequilibrium of developing countries; that the developing countries have a legitimate and pressing need for additional liquidity; and that they should participate in the decisions on monetary reform.

30. The Trade and Development Board has considered the Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States, as well as the recommendations made in two resolutions adopted in 1965 by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on Transit Trade of Land-locked Countries. My delegation considers the views expressed therein to be constructive in providing instruments for dealing with special trade problems of land-locked countries.

31. All these considerations indicate concern about the economic conditions in developing countries. The long-term interests of developed countries clearly demand that serious attention be given to the study of satisfactory solutions and the initiation of remedial policies which will enable developing countries to overcome the existing economic crisis and thereby provide a better life for their people. This is in the interest of world peace.

32. While there has been some readiness on the part of some developed countries to participate in development projects in the developing countries, these projects have not always been designed to remove the existing bottlenecks in the economies of the developing countries. An accelerated flow of capital is not enough in itself. Capital must be given on a long-term basis with low rates of interest. At present, capital from the developed countries is very expensive.

33. Several efforts are now being made in different areas for the promotion of regional and interregional trade. These are encouraging signs of progress towards increased world trade. However, there are still many artificial barriers that tend to slow down this development. The developed countries could help to further these efforts by reducing or removing such barriers as high-tariff policies, high freight rates, preferential policies and foreign-exchange restrictions.

34. Of course, it would not be fair to pin all the blame for the slowness of progress on the developed countries, since internal frustrations and conditions in some developing countries have caused instability, resulting in some of the sluggishness that is being experienced. To overcome this, we in the developing countries have to realize that, while we need external economic assistance, greater combined internal efforts by the people, coupled with a greater degree of realism, are essential in mastering those socio-economic and political problems whose solution can foster more rapid growth.

35. Liberia has always maintained that peace-keeping operations are an important function of the United Nations. The crisis in the Organization during the nineteenth session grew out of our inability to agree on satisfactory means of financing such operations. We therefore regret that, in spite of efforts made at both the nineteenth and twentieth sessions of the Assembly, not much progress has been made towards evolving a permanent solution to this very important problem. Peace-keeping contributes to the possibility of resolving conflicts and to the process of peaceful change, especially if the time gained by the mounting of such operations is used in finding a solution to the dispute that is the real issue.

36. This is an era where we have to strive for agreement, just as we need to work incessantly to find peaceful solutions to the many questions that generate tensions in so many parts of the world. This requires greater use of existing United Nations machinery. Many frustrations in the political field exist, but this should not discourage us. We should devote greater attention to the problems connected with human welfare, since one of the aims of the United Nations is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

37. In the period since the Organization was first established, modern technology and inventions have brought about much change. As change is one of the great constants of history, we should always review institutions of our creation and adapt them to change. I believe the aims and ideals of the United Nations are as genuine and good today as they were twenty-one years ago, but it is absolutely necessary that there be a profound change in our general attitudes towards the question of international peace. More especially, there needs to be a revolutionary change in our ideas on the role of force as a means of protecting our national interests and as an instrument of national policy. To attain this, we may even need to think more of the larger interests of a world community rather than of our own national interests. A careful examination of the alternative leads us to one thing: possible disaster.

38. I therefore urge that we pledge ourselves anew to the fulfilment of the ideals of our Organization; that we make more honest efforts to find the solutions that will strengthen our Organization; and that we rededicate ourselves to the cause and pursuit of peace. It is my hope that when historians write of the present session they will be able to say that some concrete steps were taken on the long and arduous road to peace.

39. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Mr. President, my delegation has had the opportunity on a previous occasion to congratulate you on your election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly. It is a well-deserved honour for a man who has done so much for the United Nations and whose ability, knowledge and experience have been generally acknowledged. Before I proceed any further, I consider it also my pleasant duty to express our whole-hearted congratulations to the Foreign Minister of Italy, Signor Amintore Fanfani, who, in his capacity as President of the twentieth session of the Assembly, discharged his duties in a manner that has won for him the appreciation and respect of all.

40. It is never easy, in our contribution to this general debate, to deviate from the established pattern. We may try to use, each time, different phraseology and be original in so far as the wording and construction of our statements are concerned; but the substance is almost always basically the same. The reason is simple: unfortunate though it may be, we have to acknowledge the fact that the problems with which we have to deal every year are the same or very similar. The fundamental problem of war and peace is the same. The questions of colonialism and disarmament are the same. Most of the other specific international questions are the same, and appear every year before us for reconsideration. Every year, we state our views on the international situation; we reaffirm our positions and our policies. We reiterate our dedication to the ideals of the United Nations and our determination to do our utmost towards securing conditions for lasting peace. We speak every year and we are almost unanimous on the necessity to realize our common objectives of complete freedom, of the universal application of the principle of self-determination, of the universal respect for human rights, of equality amongst States and equality amongst individuals. We condemn every year those who, in violation of our principles and convictions, endeavour to halt or delay the process of complete decolonization; and we denounce those who, in their effort to keep themselves in power and suppress the will of the people, employ discriminatory and other oppressive practices. We emphasize every year the necessity to eliminate the injustice resulting from economic or social inequality. We underline, every year, the need to apply technological and scientific achievements for the benefit of man, rather than for his detriment and perhaps his destruction. All this, we always, and every year, uphold in the course of this annual general debate, and we are almost unanimous that the realization of these objectives, the objectives of the United Nations, is absolutely essential if our basic aim for lasting peace is to be attained.

41. Every year, however, faced by the realities, we reach the same conclusion, namely, that to a lesser or greater extent, peace is threatened, and our expectations are being continually jeopardized. The mere fact that we repeat ourselves every year serves, in itself, to confirm that we have not come appreciably nearer our target; and, what is worse, to a certain extent, this year we meet in circumstances that we may fairly describe as more critical, more confusing and more dangerous. Our inability to make enough progress in almost all fields, coupled with the truly explosive situation which today prevails in more than one part of the world, and which is not very difficult for anyone to apprehend, can easily explain our frustration,

which has grown, and our anxieties, which have increased, concerning the future of mankind. It is not too difficult for any one of us to sense and appreciate how real the present dangers are. We shall no doubt make certain that our awareness of the existing dangers is registered and that our fears and our warnings are recorded.

42. Not only have we failed to achieve our objectives and create conditions in which war would be permanently ruled out and peace secured on a lasting basis, but we are, on the contrary, faced with a situation of actual war, the further escalation of which cannot be ruled out a situation fraught with many other greater consequences, the magnitude of which no one should underestimate. I am referring to the situation in Viet-Nam; but before considering this subject I should like to deal briefly with the international situation in general.

43. It is easy to ascertain that, despite the progress that has been achieved in certain fields, we are still falling behind in what should have been our schedule. The liberation of a number of colonial territories and the pace of the process of decolonization over the past few years should have increased our optimism that colonialism would soon come to an end. But, while many Non-Self-Governing Territories have been liberated, the progress towards the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not been sufficient, and we still find ourselves today confronted with some of the most difficult and potentially dangerous colonial problems. Whilst we should not lose sight of, or tend to forget, the still pending issue of the liberation of territories such as those under Portuguese administration - Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea our attention since our last meeting has been rightly focused as a result of the intervening developments, on the questions of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. In both of these cases, colonialism has become doubly obnoxious through its combination with racism.

44. All colonial problems present a challenge to the United Nations, but in particular the issues of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa constitute at this very moment, in my submission, cases in regard to which the United Nations can either succeed or fail. As I pointed out the other day, speaking on the question of South West Africa in this Assembly [1431st meeting], the United Nations must act. We are long past the stage of arguing and debating the merits of these issues, and by merely using high-sounding words and adopting well-meaning resolutions, without taking practical steps, we do not, in my humble view, serve effectively the purpose which we have the duty to realize.

45. It always gives us great pleasure to welcome to the United Nations newly independent States which have recently acquired their freedom, and indeed we have had the happy occasion to do so, this year, with Guyana. It is with the same pleasure that we look forward to welcoming later in this session three more new States, namely, Botswana, Lesotho and Barbados. But in welcoming these new States we should at the same time remember that other Territories, less fortunate, are in need of our active and effective assistance if they are to take their seats amongst us in the United Nations. On each of the colonial problems still existing, we must make up our minds that we must

consider and take practical steps in each case. We must utilize fully the existing machinery of the United Nations. We must pursue our objectives with resoluteness and not merely state them.

46. The political inequality as expressed in the various forms of colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination is not the only cause which is responsible for the danger to peace which today exists in the world. Economic and social equality and justice are far from being achieved. In this field also, no doubt, many commendable efforts have been made, in particular within the framework of the United Nations, with a view to bridging or at least reducing the gap which lies between the developed and the developing countries. We all appreciate this intensified effort which has found expression in the launching of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in the forthcoming establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. The United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development are two further manifestations of these constructive and useful efforts. We must also express our appreciation for the manner in which the United Nations Development Programme is carrying out substantial and diverse technical assistance projects in developing countries and we trust that its range of activities will increase; indeed, we strongly believe that multilateral assistance given through the United Nations is the most appropriate type of aid to developing countries.

47. These are not the only efforts that have been made to improve the international situation in so far as economic and social development is concerned. Yet, despite all these efforts, and despite the fact that we are now well advanced in what was designated as the United Nations Development Decade, we again have to acknowledge that the inequality between the rich and the poor nations not only is not reduced, but by and large is further increased, and with it the dangers to the maintenance of peace. Exploitation is still a method that is being used at the expense of the poor and for the benefit of the rich. Economic subjugation and oppression is still a prominent feature in international relations.

48. When we turn to review the many political problems which becloud the international horizon, we again have to acknowledge that, while some are in a less acute state than before, they are still menacingly outstanding and that no basic solutions to them have been found. They still constitute sources of anomaly, dispute and danger.

49. The one bright spot, perhaps, is presented in the improvement in the relations between Malaysia and Indonesia, as a result of the agreement recently reached between the two countries, which, we all hope, will open a new and promising era in their relations. We very much welcome this development, and I take this opportunity to say how happy we are to note that Indonesia has decided to resume co-operation with the United Nations and that its delegation has reoccupied its rightful seat in this Assembly.

50. It is also true that the present relations between India and Pakistan have relatively improved since last year, and most notably since the Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966, which constitutes a very reasonable basis upon which these relations could be further improved. Nevertheless, the

differences of view still remain with regard to the problems artificially created by the colonialist policy of "divide and rule", problems which should never have arisen.

51. The problem of the Palestinian Arabs has made no perceptible progress, and indeed the situation is far from satisfactory. This question, which has both humanitarian and political aspects, has yet to be solved and we would deceive ourselves if we were to believe that it no longer presents a threat to peace. The potentially most dangerous problem of Germany and that of the other divided nations have still to be solved.

52. There are indeed many other areas of crisis and uneasiness. Of these, the problem of Cyprus naturally looms largest in our minds. It is not my intention to deal at any length with the question of Cyprus in the course of my present statement. This question is not on the agenda of this session, since the General Assembly had the opportunity at last year's session to discuss fully and exhaustively its various aspects and, after proper consideration, to adopt a resolution [2077 (XX)] which is in conformity with the principles of the Charter and in accordance with the ideals for which the United Nations stands.

53. Since the last session, the situation in Cyprus has been on the whole quiet, despite occasional incidents, with which this is neither the appropriate place nor time to deal. My Government, in co-operation with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force and I should like in this connexion to express once again our sincere appreciation to all those connected with its direction, composition and financing has been doing its utmost to reduce tension and to bring about as far as possible a return to normality.

54. Our views on the solution of the problem of Cyprus are well known to all. Our positive attitude towards all the efforts by the United Nations, both in regard to the peace-keeping as well as to the mediation, are again well known and need no further elaboration. Our basic position remains unchanged, namely, that the future of Cyprus must be determined in accordance with the wishes of its people. In our desire to further all efforts towards a solution, we have raised no objections indeed we have consented to the confidential talks which were undertaken a few months ago between the Governments of Greece and Turkey. If, as a result of this dialogue, tension in the Eastern Mediterranean is further reduced and if a solution to the problem of Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter and acceptable to the people of Cyprus, is facilitated, then such a result will be warmly welcomed by my Government. It is our earnest hope that this effort may succeed. Should it fail, however, other initiatives will have to be considered in conformity, always, with the Charter and in the light of resolution 2077 (XX), adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 1965. In the meantime, and until the solution is reached, there seems to be the necessity for the United Nations presence in Cyprus to continue. I shall not dwell on that because that specific issue will be taken up by the Security Council in due course.

55. With reference now to the question of peace-keeping operations in general, we find ourselves in the disappointing position of having to note that no progress has been made. That problem, which almost wrecked the United Nations, must be solved without much further delay. We share the

Secretary-General's opinion that, in view of the significant role that those operations play in maintaining peace in sensitive parts of the globe, a more determined effort should be made to tackle effectively both the constitutional and the financial aspects of such operations. No doubt there are questions of principle involved which one cannot ignore or underestimate, but on the other hand, is it beyond the ability of statesmen—if they really believe in the role of the United Nations in that respect—to reach an understanding? After all, the purpose of those operations is not to assist any one of the power blocs in gaining advantages at the expense of the other. None of the great Powers individually have to gain or to lose, except that they all collectively have something to gain in so far as peace is concerned, an area in which, under the United Nations Charter, they bear a special responsibility.

56. The deterioration in the international situation is in my view also marked by the fact that no progress has been made in the field of disarmament and nuclear testing. Despite the various efforts in the United Nations and at Geneva, complete disarmament remains an ever-elusive goal. Instead, we witness an increase in the stockpiles of nuclear weapons, and whilst the Moscow test ban treaty, which has been the main positive achievement in this respect, has been observed by those Powers who have signed it, it has not yet been possible to reach an agreement to ban underground tests. Even more disappointing is the fact that, although there seems to be complete agreement on the necessity for a non-proliferation treaty, an agreement on that issue has not been possible and the negotiators are still in search of a formula.

57. In my humble submission, the failure to make any progress in the field of disarmament reflects the realities of the present international situation. What has always lain at the root of that problem is the lack of trust and confidence concerning the intentions of the one towards the other in the big and dangerous game of power politics, which the small nations have to watch patiently, and most of the time helplessly, in an agony of apprehension.

58. That is perhaps even more true of today, when a full-fledged war is raging in Viet-Nam in which some of the great Powers are directly or indirectly involved. The situation in Viet-Nam is clearly the most serious since the end of the Second World War. It is a situation terrible in itself, even if there were no dangers of further escalation—which unmistakably do exist. The extreme gravity of the situation as we witness it makes it our imperative duty to consider as a matter of urgency what steps should be taken in order to prevent what might turn out to be a major catastrophe. It is indeed tragic to find ourselves confronted with a situation in which we must strive to stop actual war, instead of pursuing our efforts to secure conditions of permanent peace.

59. We have reached the stage at which no useful purpose is served by arguing who is to blame in the war in Viet-Nam. The still greater explosion that may develop out of that situation, as well as the continuous suffering and loss of life, which day by day increases, have reduced the question of who is to blame to a matter of secondary importance. What the objective of all should be is how and how soon the war can end. If, for historical reasons, or any other reasons, it may be at all necessary to apportion

blame, that we can all do later and indeed we shall have ample time to do that only if the war does not further escalate but instead comes to a speedy end. We do not lose sight of the fact that wider issues of power politics are involved, as well as perhaps questions of prestige, but none of these or any other reasons are sufficient to justify the continuation of the bloodshed that might well lead to a wider conflict, the consequences of which most of us here would simply refuse to contemplate.

60. There have been many commendable efforts and many initiatives to remedy the situation. In that respect, I should like to praise in particular the most constructive and realistic approach to that problem by the Secretary-General. I believe that the Secretary-General's three points provide the way out from the present tragedy: the ending of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, de-escalation of fighting, negotiations with the participation of all, including the Viet-Cong. We shall get nowhere if each one of the parties involved waits for the other to take the initiative. One has to take courageously the first step in the right direction. I am quite convinced that a new situation would arise if the United States, which has manifested its wish for pacification, as reaffirmed most recently by Ambassador Goldberg, were to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam, without any conditions or limitations and while this session of the General Assembly is in progress. From the reaction to such a step it would be clear to everybody what might or should be done next. There should be a start—and we feel that the most powerful must pave the way. Any such move by the United States no doubt would be regarded by some as a gesture of statesmanship, by others as a concession, by others as a retreat under pressure, by others as a logical development, but they all would welcome it. Such a first step would, I hope, create the necessary conditions for the Secretary-General to pursue further his peace-making initiatives, in the name of peace and in the name of humanity. The argument that some of the parties involved are not represented in the United Nations may be put forward as a reason for not having this question as a special item on the agenda or for not raising it in the Security Council; but I am confident that the Secretary-General, not only because of the position he holds but in particular because of the great international stature he possesses, would be in a position to assist positively. We must all agree that anything and everything is worth trying. There must be an end to this war.

61. We may be disheartened and discouraged at finding ourselves not any nearer to achieving our objectives, and indeed in certain respects farther away. We are, no doubt, at the end of this debate, going to reach the same lamentable conclusion: that in spite of our academic discussions and our declarations and our almost unanimous agreement on what international relations should be based upon—whether it be termed equality, whether it be termed non-interference and non-intervention, whether it be termed peaceful coexistence, whether it be termed tolerance and co-operation, political and economic—we have not succeeded, and we must not hesitate to admit it. But that conclusion must lead us unavoidably to another conclusion and to an imperative necessity, which is to utilize and strengthen the United Nations—strengthen it to achieve its purposes, which are our purposes; to make sure that the same mistakes and the same unfortunate developments that

led to the collapse of the League of Nations and those which followed that event will not be repeated. Mankind cannot afford failure a second time, and the second time may be the last one. That is not an exaggeration—it is reality, and we should not try to hide from reality and the truth. Instead of undermining the authority of the United Nations, whether it is in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on colonialism, or in connexion with the reduction of the efficiency and role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping, we must reconsider our attitude, and this time we must really make a determined effort to strengthen our own instrument of peace, our own instrument of justice, freedom and equality.

62. It is, I believe, appropriate in that connexion, and in conclusion, to express the view that the Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant, should remain in his post; we sincerely hope that he will find it possible to do so. U Thant has proved to be a great Secretary-General. His ability, his knowledge, his experience, his patience, his objectivity, his faith and his dedication to the purposes and ideals of the United Nations, and above all his absolute and universally acknowledged honesty, are more than adequate reasons, in my submission, for him to retain the post of Secretary-General—and in particular at this most difficult time for humanity. The United Nations and the world cannot afford to lose his services. In appealing to him to continue to offer his services as Secretary-General, an appeal which has been unanimous—a most remarkable experience in history, which I am sure has made him feel that he belongs to the world—we must, at the same time and in turn, facilitate his task and assist him to fulfil his great mission. In that, we all have a duty to perform, and in particular the great Powers. Let us all make a determined effort to enable a dedicated servant of peace to continue discharging his duties effectively for the benefit of mankind.

63. Mr. KOTOKA (Ghana): Since this is the first intervention of my delegation in the general debate, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your well-deserved election to the Presidency of the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your long experience in the councils of this Organization assures my delegation that, under your guidance, the work of this Assembly will be fruitful and constructive. To that end, my delegation pledges to you its full support and co-operation. My delegation also pays a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Amintore Fanfani of Italy, who so successfully conducted the business of the twentieth session.

64. The delegation of Ghana is proud to witness the admission of Guyana to membership of the United Nations. That event represents the fruitful result of difficult negotiations in the United Nations and is a significant milestone in the achievements sparked by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial Countries and peoples. We salute the people of Guyana and look forward to continued co-operation with them in this Organization. We also salute the people of Botswana and Lesotho, who became independent on 30 September and 4 October, respectively. Ghana looks forward to the membership of these new countries, and also, in due course, that of Swaziland and Barbados, in the United Nations. My delegation is also gratified to see Indonesia back in its seat

and resolved to resume its important role in the Organization.

65. Before proceeding with the main part of my statement, I should like to reaffirm the pledge of the Ghana Government to support the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. Ghana is proud to be a Member of this Organization and is always determined to meet the obligations of membership of the United Nations. In particular, Ghana is always prepared to make a meaningful contribution, in co-operation with other Member States, in the pursuit of the ideal of a peaceful and prosperous world. In pursuance of that objective, Ghana's foreign policy is based on non-alignment and African unity, which we see in the development of the closest co-operation among African nations at all levels—political, economic, social and cultural. My Government has already taken steps towards achieving co-operation in these fields with our neighbours, and we are determined to expand these contacts to embrace all African countries. It is our conviction that the best contribution that Ghana can make to the achievement of peace is a policy free from military and political entanglement in great-Power bloc politics. The Government of Ghana is also convinced that African unity, properly conceived and implemented, is the only way of achieving African progress and ensuring a constructive African contribution to the shaping of a world of interdependent nations. In that connexion, Ghana welcomed General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965, which calls for closer co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. My delegation would like to see the translation of the terms of that resolution into concrete acts of co-operation between the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Office of the Organization of African Unity in New York.

66. The desire of our able Secretary-General not to seek another term in office presents the Organization with a difficult problem. My delegation wishes to join all the others in the tributes which have been showered upon U Thant since the opening of this session. We have always supported him and will continue to support him in his efforts at discharging his great responsibilities as Secretary-General. My delegation, however, understands the frustrations and anxieties which have prompted him to decide to retire from his onerous post. It is not enough for Members of this Organization merely to exhort U Thant to stay on. It is more important for us to try to create some of those conditions which will make it possible for him, in good conscience, to accept another term as Secretary-General.

67. The crises of last year are still with us, and the international atmosphere is as gloomy as it was at that time. Progress, if any, in easing international tensions has been marginal and insignificant. It would be no exaggeration to suggest that the war in Viet-Nam is the gravest crisis facing the world at this time. The inhuman suffering and destruction resulting from this war is incredible, and the risk of the conflict escalating into a wider war is extremely great. This war should be brought to an end as quickly as possible. Yet under present circumstances the United Nations can do very little to achieve that objective. At any rate, no concrete proposals have been advanced in this debate which have any chance of acceptance by those directly involved in the conflict. In such a situation, may

not private initiatives and consultations have much better chances of, at least, getting those involved to begin to communicate on the same wave-length about the basic considerations that must go into a negotiated settlement? My delegation thinks that such consultations may be a better avenue to some fruitful reaction than the public restatement of well known positions. In such private initiatives Member States which have the necessary channels of communication can play an invaluable role.

68. My delegation considers that the search for peace in South-East Asia is made more difficult by the still unresolved question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. The universality of the United Nations is guaranteed under the Charter, and for the world body to function effectively its membership must ensure the representation of all the peoples of the world. It is pointless here to go over the old arguments as to why the representatives of the People's Republic of China should or should not be seated in this Assembly and in the Security Council. What should be quite clear is that the 700 million people of mainland China should be properly represented in this Organization. If the problem can be viewed in this way, it can be solved without harming the interests of others.

69. On disarmament there does not seem to have been much progress, although we all hope that those who are most closely involved in the problem desire to reach agreement. My delegation has been particularly concerned at the lack of any significant progress in the efforts at limiting and controlling the development of nuclear armaments. France and China, which are not signatories to the 1963 partial nuclear test ban treaty, test nuclear devices in the air, while the two great nuclear Powers still continue underground testing. A treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear capability is still nowhere in sight, while the ability to acquire nuclear weapons becomes progressively easier with the advance of technology. One wonders whether our repeated discussion of nuclear arms and their control has not led to a certain complacency about the incredible waste of material and human resources involved in the development of these horrible weapons and about the dangers inherent in nuclear arms. That is why my Government would like to support the view held by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization:

"... that the time has come for an appropriate body of the United Nations to explore and weigh the impact and implications of all aspects of nuclear weapons, including problems of a military, political, economic and social nature relating to the manufacture, acquisition, deployment and development of these weapons. . ."

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

70. Peace-keeping is a primary function of this Organization. Yet, owing to financial difficulties and constitutional problems, the United Nations is today less equipped promptly to perform this function than it has ever been. The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which was charged with the responsibility for recommending an agreed formula for invoking and financing the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, has come back to us empty-handed. The appeal for voluntary contributions, even to meet the cost of past peace-keeping operations, has

not been very successful. In the view of my delegation, this is a very serious state of affairs. The peace-keeping functions of the United Nations are indispensable, not only to the continued existence of the Organization itself as a force for peace in the world, but even more to the integrity and independence of the smaller nations. It is, therefore, imperative for the smaller States Members of this Organization to ensure that at this session the Assembly finds a solution to both the financial and the constitutional problems of peace-keeping. The matter will come up for more detailed discussion in the appropriate Committee. My delegation will, therefore, reserve any concrete contributions to a solution of this problem for that occasion.

71. Africa still continues to dominate the proceedings of this Assembly. The reason for this is not difficult to find. Africa is the last remaining continent where the principles of the Charter are brazenly and repeatedly flouted; where the freedom and human rights of millions are trampled under foot and where the degradation of man is made a systematic objective of state policy; where economic and political exploitation is rampant and unchecked. Africa is the last ditch of residual colonialism and rampant racism. Current events testify to all of us how dangerous the situation is for world peace and harmony.

72. The situation in southern Africa gives cause for grave concern to the Members of this Assembly. In our view the problems of South West Africa, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories at present administered by Portugal are all part of the same problem: that of colonialism and racialism. With regard to South West Africa, the recent decision of the International Court of Justice² has been a serious blow to efforts aimed at resolving the problem of this Mandated Territory by peaceful means. My delegation hopes that there is still a last chance to resolve this problem peacefully. In an earlier intervention [1419th meeting] my delegation had the honour of introducing the Afro-Asian draft resolution on South West Africa [A/L.483 and Add.1-3], which is now before this Assembly. The case against South Africa, which has led to this draft resolution, is simple and incontestable. The racist régime of South Africa has proved itself wilfully incompetent and by inclination completely incapable of discharging "the sacred trust of civilization" entrusted to it by the Mandate Agreement. Only two out of our membership of 118 will dispute this fact. We are convinced that the United Nations inherited the rights and responsibilities of the League of Nations and has supervisory authority over the administration of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. We also know how the Republic of South Africa has arrogantly and repeatedly prevented the United Nations from exercising its responsibilities over the Territory. We are further convinced that the Mandated Territory of South West Africa is a colonial territory to which the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are fully applicable. The people of South West Africa are therefore entitled to the exercise of their right of self-determination and independence.

73. In such a situation as I have briefly sketched, where lies the duty of the General Assembly? I submit that the

²South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.

Members of this Organization can do no less, if they are to remain faithful to their pledges embodied in the Charter, and in numerous resolutions of the Assembly, than to endorse the revocation of the South African Mandate over South West Africa as called for in the above-mentioned draft resolution. That is the very least that we can do. We are, of course, aware of the fact that this implies administrative and financial arrangements which, we are sure, all those who endorse this draft resolution will co-operate in working out. We must not allow ourselves to be distracted by arguments that the course recommended is difficult. If this Organization is to survive and its prestige to grow, it must not refrain from facing its responsibilities merely because they are difficult. For in this kind of prevarication lurks the germ of inactivity and defeat.

74. In Southern Rhodesia, the situation remains the same as it was nearly twelve months ago. Ian Smith's illegal régime is still in power and will continue to strengthen its position as long as we merely talk about the problem of Rhodesia without taking any concrete steps to influence the situation. The proceedings of the September 1966 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government have revealed the depth of feelings on this crucial question. Slowly, but inevitably, events in Rhodesia are ominously moving this unhappy Territory towards the brink of catastrophe. If anything, the trend of affairs in Rhodesia has confirmed the view which Ghana has always held that only force would topple the illegal régime and pave the way to the setting-up of a truly democratic government based on the widely accepted principle of universal adult suffrage. We have never been convinced that the imposition of voluntary sanctions will succeed in compelling the Ian Smith rebel régime to abandon its misguided policy of setting up a racist minority government in Rhodesia. The Government of Ghana is, therefore, not surprised that the voluntary economic sanctions invoked against Rhodesia have been a dismal failure, thanks to South African and Portuguese intervention. This failure, if allowed to go uncorrected, will discredit the whole idea of sanctions. In the view of my delegation, the only effective action, short of the use of force, which can make an impact on the Smith régime, is the application of total mandatory sanctions, rigidly and consistently applied. It seems that the United Kingdom Government is belatedly coming round to the same conclusion.

75. The Government of Ghana has given careful consideration to the six principles enunciated by the United Kingdom Government as the basis for granting independence to Rhodesia [see A/6300/Rev.1, chapter III, para. 632]. While these principles are generally acceptable, I should like to emphasize our opposition to the granting of independence before majority rule is effectively established in Rhodesia. The intransigence of the illegal Smith régime and its reaction to the communiqué of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference should serve as a warning to those who are tempted to adopt an unduly optimistic attitude in the solution of this problem. It is now up to the United Kingdom Government to devise more effective measures to safeguard the rights of the African majority in accordance with the principles of the Charter of our Organization and the trend of our time.

76. With regard to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, the duty of the United Nations is simple and clear.

No effort, including the possible use of sanctions, must be spared until Portugal joins the twentieth century and grants independence to these colonial territories. The colonial wars which Portugal is waging against the nationals in these territories are futile. Whatever happens, Portugal will one day leave these territories. It would be better if it left now, gracefully and peacefully.

77. A discussion of the sorry record of colonialism in southern Africa leads easily into a consideration of racialism, which finds its most abhorrent expression in the policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. I need not go into the nature of the appalling policy of apartheid. Representatives are well aware of the depths of degradation and exploitation which this policy entails. It is sufficient for me to say that the policy of apartheid is the most outrageous mass violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms which is practised as a systematic policy of government. Repeated appeals by this Assembly and by the Security Council have **been** of no avail. The South African Government not only **persistence** in its policy, but progressively intensifies the **repression** and degradation of the majority of the citizens of that unhappy country, merely because their skins are black and not white. The United Nations has been **impotent** to resolve this problem, mainly because the major trading partners of South Africa which possess the only means of bringing the South African racists to heel are too concerned about their pocketbooks to worry about the human rights of millions of Africans, beyond the annual rehearsal of pious statements of good intentions. In this connexion I must commend the efforts of the United States Government in heeding the United Nations resolutions banning certain commercial transactions, particularly in armaments, with South Africa. I hope others will take note and emulate.

78. My delegation is convinced that the situation in South Africa poses a threat to international peace and security and that economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is the only way of peacefully achieving a settlement in South Africa. Of course, it is not going to be an easy task, but, as I said earlier, this is precisely why the challenge must be accepted now.

79. Against the dismal picture of the Organization's failure in dealing with apartheid, we can set with encouragement the signal success of the adoption, at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)] and the measures for its implementation. Ghana is proud to have had the opportunity to play an important role in the preparation and drafting of this Convention. Ghana is also among the first to have acceded to and ratified the Convention. My delegation hopes that other Governments will soon ratify the Convention so that it can come into force without delay.

80. The whole world anxiously awaits the adoption by the United Nations of the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights. Let us repeat our recent success in this area by adopting, at this session of the General Assembly, these draft covenants. This will be a most fitting end to the International Year for Human Rights.

81. The economic and social development of the developing areas is one of the most pressing and crucial problems of

our time. It was a recognition of this which prompted the United Nations to designate this decade as the United Nations Development Decade, during which growth rates in developing countries would attain the modest objective of 5 per cent of aggregate national income by 1970. We are already past the mid-point of the Decade and a review of progress so far offers no hope, let alone any assurance, that the objective of a 5 per cent growth rate will be achieved.

82. The pace of economic development of the developing countries has been disappointingly slow, with the result that the gulf between the rich nations and the poor nations--the gulf which the Development Decade seeks to bridge--is wider now than it was at the beginning of the Decade. A major cause of this slow rate of growth in the developing countries is that the substantial flow of capital from the developed to the developing countries, which characterized the last decade, has levelled off since 1961; that is, ironically, since the year in which the United Nations Development Decade was launched by this Assembly. The flow has, in fact, declined from 0.84 per cent of the national income of the developed countries in 1961 to 0.65 per cent in 1964, thus delaying further the realization of the 1 per cent target flow stipulated as one of the essential requirements of the Development Decade.

83. My delegation also notes with appreciation that there was a slight increase in reserves of about \$1 billion last year and it is our hope that this welcome trend will continue. The difficulties to which the flow of capital has been subjected in the recent past have thrown into sharp relief the imperative need for the immediate establishment of a capital development fund to stimulate the flow of capital to the developing countries for investment financing. It cannot be denied that the international institutions already in existence engage in investment activities, but the resources of these institutions have proved wholly inadequate for the capital investment requirements of the developing countries. The present situation, therefore, calls for the establishment of a capital development fund without further delay.

84. Moreover, the heavy burden of debt-servicing in developing countries has reached such serious proportions that unless immediate steps are taken to ease the situation the developing countries will soon find themselves in the untenable position of borrowing only to service existing debts. To prevent such a catastrophe, intensive efforts should be made to liberalize the conditions of loans and to re-schedule loan payments. My own country is at the moment saddled with all the burdens of debt-servicing. I am, however, happy to say, in this connexion, that our creditors have shown great understanding and sympathy, and I hope that they will continue to show the same understanding during the forthcoming negotiations with regard to the payments and servicing of these debts.

85. The accelerated industrialization of the developing countries is one of the measures that was considered essential for the attainment of the objective of the Development Decade. It is with satisfaction, therefore, that my delegation notes the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development [A/6229]. The Ad Hoc Committee has sought, in the draft resolution which is before this Assembly [see A/6508, para. 12] to ensure for the new Organization the central

role which it must play in the field of industrialization within the United Nations. My delegation hopes that the draft resolution will be unanimously adopted by this Assembly in order to avoid any further delay in the execution of the tasks to which the new Organization must address itself. The establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development will open a new era in which the natural resources of all developing countries will be deployed for the benefit of those countries themselves.

86. It should be obvious that what most developing countries require is not so much aid as trade on terms which will enable these countries, most of whom are exporters of primary commodities, to earn the means for the major part of their development. It is a cardinal fact that while free grants are welcome and beneficial when properly conceived and utilized, developing countries will have to make the effort to earn the major part of the means of their development. That is why the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development generated so much hope and enthusiasm, particularly among developing countries. Unfortunately, a review of progress so far made by UNCTAD reveals that the recommendations of the first Conference have resulted only in isolated and limited measures by individual countries. No systematic programmes have yet been formulated by any country with a view to implementing the recommendations of the first Conference in any effective way. Consequently, the share of the developing countries in world trade continues to decline, and the markets for their exports continue to manifest great instability with resultant periodic disruption of economic activity in those countries.

87. It is against this background that my delegation regards the failure of the 1966 United Nations Cocoa Conference as a serious setback for UNCTAD in its efforts to secure remunerative, equitable and stable prices for the primary commodities of the developing countries, through commodity agreements. Hopes have been expressed for a resumption of negotiations on cocoa leading to an agreement by the end of this year. As the biggest producer, Ghana is always ready to co-operate in the achievement of a meaningful agreement on cocoa, an agreement which will mean a great deal to producers and consumers alike. Such an agreement, however, can only result from concessions on both sides. My delegation would therefore appeal particularly to the consumer countries for their fullest co-operation in this enterprise.

88. Regarding the trade problems of the developing countries in general, we hope that the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, scheduled for next year, will make a breakthrough in the world pattern of trade and redress the imbalance which exists to the detriment of the developing countries. This Conference should be essentially a negotiating conference. It should concentrate on a few subjects with a view to reaching agreement on concrete and necessary action.

89. Among the legal questions before this Assembly are those of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States, and United Nations technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law. Ghana has participated in the work of the

Committees set up to study these matters and we are always ready to co-operate in the development and dissemination of international law as the only sure way to a peaceful international order.

90. The recent decision of the International Court of Justice on the South West Africa case has undoubtedly detracted from the prestige and reputation of the Court. But it is the view of my delegation that every attempt should now be made to strengthen the Court and to make it an effective instrument for the development of a body of international law which will have as its main objective not the mere interpretation of static legislation, but principally the dispensing of justice and equity within the framework of an evolving international morality.

91. Since I have come here as a member of the National Liberation Council which has taken over the administration of Ghana since the overthrow of the Nkrumah régime on 24 February this year, it behooves me to say a few words about the new régime.

92. Ghana, which at its independence in 1957 had raised great hopes that it would develop into a stable, prosperous and democratic State, was not only brought to the verge of bankruptcy by the corruption and inefficiency of the Nkrumah régime, but was also deprived of essential civil liberties and fundamental human rights through oppressive laws and intolerable dictatorship. Thousands of people were thrown into prison without trial, and all citizens lived under a pall of fear and insecurity. The country was left no alternative but to regain its freedom through the action which was taken by the military and the police. Those who are the best qualified to judge, namely, the people of Ghana themselves, have left no doubt, by their spontaneous approval and support, that the action of the military and the police gave expression to the popular will. We are aware that there are certain people in countries outside Ghana who appear to think that they can arrogate to themselves the right to determine who should rule or should not rule in Ghana. This, as you all know, contravenes the Charter of the United Nations. The people of Ghana have expressed in no uncertain terms their joy at the opportunity the take-over now affords them to build a truly free and prosperous country. The National Liberation Council has not only repeatedly declared its determination to restore representative, democratic civilian rule as early as possible, but has also given evidence of its sincerity by appointing committees which are working on the necessary steps for implementing its policy.

93. I would also like to draw attention to the policies I have already mentioned in the earlier part of this address. On African unity, I have made it clear that we believe it is through close and active co-operation in all fields—economic, social, cultural and political—that it should be achieved; hence the steps we have already taken towards closer co-operation with our neighbours. It is our hope that such active co-operation will grow, through joint regional projects and unions, to the wider unity of Africa.

94. We are determined, nevertheless, to preserve our independence and to defend it against interference and intrusion from any quarter. We believe in living in peace and harmony with all; that is why we again pledge our

support for the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

95. I would like to conclude my statement with the observation that in spite of all its financial difficulties, the internal differences of its Members, the constant ideological undercurrents and considerations of national self-interest, which often inhibit a sane approach to the problems before us, the United Nations is the only international agency available to us in our search for peace and the resolution of differences among nations. By our shortcomings and indecisions, we as Member States are responsible for its failure and ineffectiveness. The success of the United Nations can only be assured by the co-operation of each one of us working together in the belief that the Charter of our Organization has been designed to promote the best interest of all nations and of all men.

96. Mr. ACHKAR (Guinea) (*translated from French*): In the introduction to his annual report the Secretary-General, after making an objective survey, free from complacency, of present conditions in the international situation as it appears at this time, when the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations are meeting in New York at the Assembly's twenty-first session, pointed out that "These are conditions which, even if they strongly underline the need for the United Nations, are at the same time not conducive to the most effective action of which the Organization is capable" [A/6301/Add.1, p. 1]. In other words, our Organization, because of international realities, the evolution of which it can influence favourably only in so far as the Member States, particularly the great Powers, provide it with the means to do so, has not lived up to the hopes aroused by its creation twenty-one years ago. This pertinent observation, the obviousness of which some people try too hard to deny, very opportunely brings out the reasons prompting certain circles, despite their good intentions towards the United Nations, to talk about its demise.

97. No one has expressed better than U Thant the anguish and genuine anxiety felt by all who believe in the United Nations and in the universal values it represents. In the letter in which he announced his grave decision not to seek a further term of office [A/6400], U Thant clearly and explicitly stated his reasons for that decision. The Government of the Republic of Guinea fully sympathizes with those reasons. We are, indeed, convinced that the United Nations will continue unendingly to labour under the quasi-permanent crisis resulting from the lack of consonance between the actions of Member States and the Purposes and Principles of the Charter until such time as just, equitable and speedy solutions are found to the war in Viet-Nam, to the dangerous problem of the liberation of southern Africa, to the question of the planning, execution and financing of peace-keeping operations and to the pursuit of effective and just means for the elimination of under-development. Plain common sense shows that without a sincere and unanimous will to put an end to behaviour and acts which seriously impede the normal, harmonious development of peace—that is to say, interference in the domestic affairs of other States, giving rise to conflicts involving more or less bloodshed, and the enslavement of one people by another—the United Nations will never become that magnificent instrument for peace and international co-operation but, on the contrary, will tend to

become a mere forum for echoing contradictions and antagonisms, as well as pious hopes, and a factory for the mass production of quickly forgotten resolutions, while it slides irretrievably into the abyss of being ignored and discredited, to suffer an inglorious death.

98. Nevertheless, we all want the United Nations and all its organs to survive and function vigorously and effectively, because we realize that its disappearance would toll the knell of international co-operation and the fruitful dialogue of States with one another; that would be the prelude to the chaos and disaster which would inevitably take hold of the international community, for this is the time when man, with the weapons of mass destruction he has accumulated, holds in his own hands the greatest threat to his own survival, development and well-being, whereas he could, instead, become the architect of the greatest happiness that mankind in its entirety has ever known, if he but used aright the vast wealth of scientific and technological knowledge he has acquired.

99. It is for this reason that all responsible men in all States are duty-bound to turn their minds in the most serious possible way to the main causes of conflict, whether open or latent, so that through an objective and courageous analysis of them they may be able to devise ways and means of reducing these conflicts and progressively eliminating them from the face of the earth.

100. All who have spoken in this general debate have been unanimous in recognizing that of all the conflicts convulsing the world today, the war in Viet-Nam is the most dangerous and the most disturbing, because it could spark off a general conflagration extending well beyond the frontiers of South-East Asia and involving a great part of Asia, perhaps even unleashing a third world war. In other words, the war in Viet-Nam is creating the conditions for a situation which could call into question the very reasons which prompted the creation of our Organization immediately after the Second World War "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". No people has known so much of this "untold sorrow" as the martyred people of Viet-Nam, a people which, for a quarter of a century, has been the victim of every form of aggression, from that of Japanese fascism in its desire for territorial expansion, to the aggression generated by an ideological crusade following on an outright colonial war. One might be tempted today to seek the causes for this grave breach of the peace in South-East Asia, this direct threat to world peace embodied in the semi-colonial war now ravaging Viet-Nam and threatening the other parts of former French Indo-China, that country which was so badly decolonized, but which, nevertheless, set in motion the process of the downfall of the French colonial empire. One might also be tempted to apportion the blame among the parties to this conflict. The conflict in Viet-Nam could, indeed, have remained within the limits of a civil war engaging the political factions of a country seeking its stability and its own road to development in social justice, had it not been for the direct intervention of the United States of America on the side of one of these factions. We may deplore the state of affairs that led to this direct intervention by one of the two greatest military and economic Powers of the world in the imbroglio in South Viet-Nam, an intervention that has gone beyond its original bounds to take such violent and abominable form as the

bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the fatherland of President Ho Chi Minh, that apostle of decolonization and of independence for enslaved countries. Reality, however, cannot be ignored. It consists in a courageous and determined quest for means of ending this foreign intervention, so that the Viet-Nameese people may at long last know peace and security. Among the numerous proposals made for this purpose, the three-point programme suggested by Secretary-General U Thant merits particular attention. This three-point programme consists in the cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam, the reduction of military operations and the inauguration of negotiations in which all the belligerents would take part, including the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, which, without any doubt, is more representative in the political scene in South Viet-Nam than is the junta of generals. For us, this three-point programme would constitute a reasonable approach in so far as the negotiations contemplated lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Viet-Nam and to the effective exercise of the right of self-determination by the Viet-Nameese people as a whole, with the aim of achieving its real independence and unity in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

101. The war in Viet-Nam, with its trail of victims—among them, the *détente*, decolonization and the development of the "third world"—gives us a living example of the great dangers inherent in foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States and of the absolute necessity scrupulously to respect the provisions of the Charter in this respect and those of the Declaration, adopted at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)]. The Viet-Nameese tragedy also teaches us the imperative lesson that we must respect international agreements, such as the one concluded in Geneva in 1954 by the parties to the conflict in Indo-China and by other Powers capable of guaranteeing the peace, security and neutrality of Viet-Nam. In the forefront of those Powers is the People's Republic of China, for the security of that great country is constantly threatened by any conflict which has part of Asia as its theatre and involves a great Power whose relations with China are unfriendly and even amount to provocation.

102. It is obvious, moreover, how absurd is the policy of trying to keep the great Republic of China outside of all international organizations directed to the maintenance and development of peace and to the achievement of fruitful international co-operation—a Republic which, whether one likes it or not, casts its shadow not only over the whole of Asia and over all questions concerning that part of the world, but also over all the great topical problems for which solutions are sought both in the United Nations and elsewhere. It is plain that our Organization will not be able to function fully and discharge its responsibilities effectively so long as States, for ideological reasons or in order to maintain hegemony, violate the principle of universality, which remains one of the essential and ultimate purposes of the United Nations. As the Secretary-General so well put it in the introduction to his annual report:

"It is impossible, moreover, to view some of these outstanding problems—whether it is the position of the

United Nations with regard to the crisis in South-East Asia, or the lack of progress in disarmament—without relating them to the fact that the United Nations has not yet attained the goal of universality of membership. In the long run the Organization cannot be expected to function to full effect if one fourth of the human race is not allowed to participate in its deliberations.” [A/6301/Add.1, p. 15.]

103. The considerable harm caused to us by the attitude of those States which, with so little clear reasoning oppose restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations could not be brought out more eloquently. In this matter it must be clearly realized that there exists only one China, with a part of its national territory, the island of Taiwan, occupied by a régime which would have already been swept out of that temporary refuge but for the support of foreign military forces. This means that the prerequisite for restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations is the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek régime from all the bodies in which it claims to speak on behalf of China and, accordingly, depriving it of its seat as a permanent member of the Security Council, a seat reserved for the great Powers alone. The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations, it must be said, does great disservice to the interests of our Organization and the international community than to those of the great country victimized by this insufferable ostracism.

104. Our hope would be that all States whose existence cannot be doubted may, no matter what juridical considerations there may be regarding the different interpretations of their international status, be associated with the work of our Organization. It is not natural that in the divided countries only those parts which are recognized by the West should enjoy the status of observers in the United Nations, while the other parts are simply ignored. Such a state of affairs impels certain circles to treat our Organization as an instrument of Western policy, whereas our will is that the United Nations should be the instrument of no country or group of countries, but only of the whole international community.

105. Because the search for solutions capable of strengthening the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations has reached deadlock in regard to both their conception and their execution and financing, there is an uneasiness in the Organization today, which it would be vain to pretend not to see. Apart from the question of financing itself, there is the more important question of the usefulness and efficacy of the United Nations in its main task of maintaining international peace and security. While we hope that voluntary contributions will soon alleviate the budgetary deficit, it looks as though we shall have to continue making efforts, not only through the intermediary of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, but also at the level of the General Assembly itself. In this connexion it would be advisable, in our opinion, to show a little more interest this year in the Irish initiative,³ which at least has the merit of offering practical suggestions for possible solutions to the question of peace-keeping operations as a whole. In the same connexion we should be

gratified at the results of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Its recommendations [A/6343] will, when they have been examined and approved by the General Assembly, help towards sounder management of the finances of our Organization. The achievement and maintenance of peace, as well as the development of international co-operation, are conditioned by other factors, among which the fight against under-development is not one of the least. The disastrous economic situation of the developing countries, a situation characterized by a constant decline in the prices of primary commodities, which at the same time are in competition with synthetic products manufactured by the developed countries, should cause us all, developed as well as under-developed countries, real concern. The failure of the United Nations Cocoa Conference⁴ and the United Nations Sugar Conference⁵ has been a most convincing illustration of the negative attitude of certain industrialized countries when it is a question of contemplating the stabilization of primary commodity prices. Here we must pay a tribute to the experts of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for having proposed practical solutions in relation to the questions of compensatory financing, solutions designed to prevent the development programme of the developing countries from being upset by unforeseen losses of export revenue.

106. Moreover, the growth rate, for which a target of 5 per cent was set for the United Nations Development Decade—a target which was in any case too low, in view of the vast needs of the developing countries—has not passed the 4 per cent mark. Aid to the developing countries from developed countries fell from 0.83 per cent in 1961 to 0.69 in 1965. These figures give an idea of the distinct slow-down in the transfer of capital from developed to developing countries.

107. Be that as it may, it should be said here that external aid, however useful, can be no more than a support for local efforts at economic development. The economic development of the developing countries must depend essentially on national efforts. Let us remember in this connexion that there can be no real economic development without the will to develop and awareness of what it implies. As President Ahmed Sékou Touré said recently, awareness of the need for development, the will to development and the mental outlook required for development are determining forces in their influence on the object and content of the choices promoting the evolution of man and society. Such awareness, such will, such a mental outlook are achieved only when young States devote themselves to transforming the social and economic structures inherited from the colonial system and imperialist exploitation. This necessary social revolution must not be effected for the profit of a feudal oligarchy with a set mentality of exploiting the majority of the people, whose well-being must be the ultimate concern.

108. In too many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, these oligarchies continue to set up as agents for foreign interests in contempt of the fundamental interests of the peoples, through a neo-colonialist or neo-imperialist

³Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 101, document A/5966/Rev.2.

⁴New York, 23 May to 23 June 1966.

⁵Geneva, 20 September to 14 October 1965.

economic policy. So long as such economic policies persist, there can be no reasonable expectation of political stability, which is the essential condition for any economic development, this, far from consisting in the spectacular display of apparent but artificial well-being of a privileged class, is, on the contrary, an imperative requirement, a long-term commitment expressed, not through extravagant achievements effecting no qualitative transformation of a given society, but through the material, spiritual and moral satisfaction of all the components of that society in an harmonious and balanced development.

109. In the majority of the under-developed countries, most of them characterized by micro-economies, economic development, which must be based on criteria of profitability and the market, can find its full meaning only in regional economic integration. To be viable, national economies must necessarily expand their markets. This policy of regional integration, to which my Government fully subscribes, within the framework of the Senegal River Riparian States Committee, the West African free exchange zone and the Organization of African Unity, must be conceived primarily for the betterment of the peoples inhabiting the region concerned. In the specific case of Africa, the OAU provides encouraging stimulus for the introduction of this policy of integration into the practice of African planners, in close co-operation with the Economic Commission for Africa. We hope that, with the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, this policy of regional integration will be implemented on a steadily expanding scale, at the level of geographic regions--which must not be confused with zones of influence or with linguistic, cultural or merely neo-colonial preserves.

110. But can we really allow ourselves to think of harmonious economic development without being somewhat concerned about the political stability which is the condition for it? The recent upheavals in certain African States have not, no matter what attempts are made at mystification in order to conceal their true character, been such as to promote this harmonious economic development, not to speak of all the harm that they have done to Africa in its fight against colonialism and racialism, the scourges of our continent. So long as racialism and colonialism persist in Africa, that continent will never be able to make its full contribution to the quest for peace. For decolonization and the elimination of racism constitute, before disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the major problems of Africa and the inescapable prerequisites for the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security in that great continent situated at the crossroads of other continents, the stability and security as well as the development of which it influences in large measure.

111. Belated decolonization of the rest of the African continent, achieved only through violence, might have incalculable consequences for the peace and security of the whole continent, a situation that will not fail to have the greatest repercussions throughout the world. The phase which the African revolution of liberation is now passing through is one which should be a constant source of anxiety to all who are devoted to the cause of world peace.

112. Behind the bastions which they have erected for themselves, mainly in southern Africa at the frontiers of the two Congos, Zambia, Tanzania and Malawi, the upholders of white supremacy are resolutely engaged in a policy of violence towards the overwhelming African majority in order to perpetuate their system of exploitation and of exorbitant, illegitimate privileges. The behaviour of these settlers, whether in Mozambique, Angola or Rhodesia, whether in South West Africa or in South Africa, indeed in the three territories under British Mandate--Bechuanaland, which has now become Botswana, Basutoland, which has now become Lesotho, and Swaziland--clearly prove that there is a de facto, if not de jure alliance among the colonialist and racist forces in this rich and attractive part of the African continent; their role in the ferocious economic exploitation of the wealth and the people clearly proves that they are nothing but mercenaries, policemen richly paid to defend the interests of financial and economic circles and of certain Western Governments.

113. There are accordingly good grounds for seeing the situation of the colonies and semi-colonies of southern Africa as a single problem, the solution of which calls for a single struggle. The character of that struggle is henceforth dictated by two factors: one is the obstinate refusal of the settlers to contemplate a fruitful dialogue with the nationalist forces in order to find a negotiated solution to the problem of the liberation of these countries, while the other is the helplessness of the United Nations caused by systematic obstruction on the part of the great Western Powers, which are members of the Security Council, of any positive action capable of setting in motion a process of peaceful liberation. In other words, this struggle has now become an armed struggle, methodically organized and resolutely supported by all freedom-loving States; in keeping with the resolutions of the General Assembly, States--all States--are invited to give material and moral aid to the liberation movements in Africa. By systematically aiding the armed struggle in Angola and Mozambique we create the best possible conditions for the development and success of the same struggle in Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. As Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, recently said, "... let a national liberation front in the image of the Viet-Cong be constituted in Rhodesia--and I would add, to some extent throughout southern Africa--with the support of the African countries and all their friends, and the solution of the problem of the liberation of southern Africa will be accelerated thereby". If this is done, it is to be hoped only that no great Power will try and find I know not what kind of communism in it, or will come and take part in this struggle on the side of the oppressors in the name of a so-called "defence of freedom".

114. As far as we are concerned, we are aware that no one, not even the United Nations, is going to liberate Africa for the Africans. On the contrary, Africa will be liberated by the Africans. That is why, rather than merely blaming and denouncing the non-African Powers, the Africans must examine their own consciences and find effective methods of assisting the liberation movements which will have to be organized as a consequence. That is the price that must be paid before the United Nations will take decisive measures, after factories, dams, mines and plantations belonging to

the trading and economic partners of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, or financed by those partners, have exploded or been burnt under the devastating blows dealt by African-type Viet-Cong. It must be unequivocally said that peaceful solutions to the problem of liberating southern Africa are becoming more and more elusive so far as the international community is concerned. One does not need to be an expert in violence to understand that armed struggle is becoming more and more imperative as the sole solution to this grave problem.

115. The United Nations, for its part, can still continue to alert world public opinion and perhaps prepare to face, in the more or less near future, the chaos and devastation which will ravage these bastions of white supremacy. Does the United Kingdom ask for United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia? Let them be granted. Does the Portuguese Government ask to have conversations with the Secretary-General about its colonies? Let those conversations take place, provided their object is to find ways and means for the effective exercise of the right of self-determination of the Portuguese colonies. Does South Africa seek to engulf the world in a torrent of mendacious and malicious propaganda? Let it be thwarted by United Nations action and let our Organization persist in seeking peaceful solutions to the problem of apartheid within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter concerning enforcement measures.

116. None of this alters the fact that the war in southern Africa, which, we fear, will become more and more a racial war, has already started in Angola and Mozambique and must henceforth move towards Cape Town, with the assistance of all the States, throughout the world, that love freedom and desire and brotherhood of man and with the blessing of the United Nations. This war of liberation has already thrown Portugal out of half the territory of so-called Portuguese Guinea. There is no doubt that Portugal will suffer its Dien Bien Phu in this small enclave of western Africa which has been arrogantly driven into the heart of the Republic of Guinea with all the attendant provocation and intrusions which are liable to entail a violent confrontation between the Portuguese soldiery and the Guinean forces.

117. We, for our part, had real hopes for the independence of the three territories under British Mandate—Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. We believed that the international community had only to give its material and moral support to those countries for them to preserve their independence and territorial integrity and that it had only to help their economic and social development for them to enjoy real independence and exert a salutary influence over South Africa, through the example of democratic societies, free of all discrimination, which they would give. But we cannot suppress our grave disquiet at the trend apparent in those countries which have Governments that seem anxious to become the accomplices of South Africa and Portugal—countries for which a Head of Government has already become the spokesman, during a humiliating visit to the former Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Verwoerd. We address an appeal to those States to show courage and determination to safeguard their independence and to trust the international community and their African brother

States. It is certainly not by becoming or by acting as disguised Bantustans that they will aid the victory of the African cause and the achievement of their peoples' legitimate aspirations.

118. Recent colonial events have thrown French Somaliland, one of the last colonial possessions of France, into the forefront of world concern. That territory, which occupies a geographical situation of obvious strategic importance, has the right, like all other colonial territories, to enjoy complete and unrestricted independence. To those who see fit here and now to engage in blackmail against the peoples of that small country, threatening it with what they call "Guinean-type" independence, we would loudly proclaim that, for our part, we wish French Somaliland a "Guinean-type" independence, for it is real, genuine independence, which has allowed Guinea to destroy all the structures and set about eliminating all the after-effects of colonialism, so that the Guinean nation can consistently and harmoniously develop in a real national democracy. "Guinean-type" independence will always be regarded by discerning Africans as a boon offered to a people anxious to free itself completely and to develop according to its own methods and in its own interests.

119. In regard to the decolonization of Africa, we are deeply convinced that the African States, in the difficult phase which they are going through, must become vigilant and must faithfully apply the decisions of the Organization of African Unity without hesitation or evasion. That is the only way we shall give strong, unswerving support to our brothers in southern Africa and elsewhere in their effort to free themselves from the oppression and exploitation of which they are victims.

120. The Government of the Republic of Guinea was one of the first to express publicly its great admiration and its unreserved support for our Secretary-General, U Thant. That shows how much we regret his decision not to seek another term of office. Nevertheless, as I had occasion to say at the beginning of this statement, we agree with the reasons given by U Thant. We consider that, rather than renewing their confidence in U Thant and reiterating their appeals to him to remain in office, Member States should evince a little more justice towards him and a little more respect for his conscience by giving him reasons and means to stay. We believe that there are States, in particular certain great Powers, which have those means. We say to them: find those means for U Thant and give him those reasons unequivocally, and we do not doubt that the Secretary-General will remain at his post. If, unhappily, those great Powers do not furnish any real proof of their will to persuade the Secretary-General to reverse his decision, then we shall undergo a much more serious and prolonged crisis. Indeed, whoever may be elected to succeed U Thant, he too will have to be given grounds of assurance that he will be able to discharge his high functions as Secretary-General under conditions and with the means that seem to have been so lacking to our Secretary-General during the last part of his term of office.

121. These were U Thant's words in concluding the introduction to his annual report.

"At the same time, I believe that the ideological differences that have divided the world are beginning to

show signs of losing their sharp edge, and I approach the end of my term of office with some confidence that, over the years, the United Nations will prove to be the means by which mankind will be able not only to survive but also to achieve a great human synthesis." [A/6301/Add.1, sect. X.]

That is also the hope of the Government of the Republic of Guinea and my delegation expresses the most fervent wishes for its realization in the interest of the human race and in the interest of future generations.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.