

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SIXTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1015th
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 26 September 1961,
at 11 a. m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and myself I would like to offer you our sincere congratulations, on your election as President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. This election is particularly important owing to the fact that this is the first time the highest United Nations office has been assumed by a representative of one of the countries of Africa, a continent which already has twenty-six Members in our Organization and from which new nations expect to take their place soon by our side, free and with equal rights.

2. The work of the sixteenth session is going forward in a situation fraught with difficulties and uncertainties. This situation has been strongly marked by the tragic disappearance of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

3. What has happened in the course of the past year, and how has the present deterioration in international relations come about? I do not want, here, to recapitulate all the events and facts, with which we are all familiar. I shall mention only a few of them, those which I regard as basic.

4. There has been a worsening of relations between East and West which has revealed itself notably in connexion with the German problem, and more particularly the problem of Berlin. The arms race has continued and has been consistently intensified, without there being any hope of an early agreement. The Soviet Union has brought to an end the moratorium which France had not respected on nuclear tests, after which the United States, for its part, has proceeded to make underground tests. At the same time, the Geneva talks have been suspended. The war continues in Algeria, for which France is to blame. In Angola, the fight for liberation, in the face of brutal repression by Portugal, is becoming ever fiercer. The Laos crisis has not been settled owing to foreign interference. For the same reason it has been impossible to normalize the situation in the Congo, the alleged Katanga problem being nothing but an instrument of subversion in the hands of foreign colonizers. Lastly, the negotiations between East and West, which have been conducted on different levels on various subjects, have yielded no appreciable results.

5. What, in our opinion, are the reasons for the negative development of international relations? We think that there are two fundamental causes at work. In the first place, the colonial Powers, aided to various degrees by their allies in the same bloc, are seeking in various ways to maintain for as long as possible their position in Africa and elsewhere. The second cause lies in the ever more inflexible tendency of the major Powers in the two blocs to demonstrate and apply a policy of force, which in fact amounts to a policy of placing the world on the brink of war. The entangling of these two factors further complicates the situation and prevents the real causes of the disputes and crises from being identified.

6. During this same period we have witnessed a powerful statement of position by the so-called "non-aligned" countries. A large number of the highest representatives of these countries met at the Belgrade Conference from 1 to 6 September. On that occasion they gave expression, in a clear and detailed manner, to their judgements and views on the international situation and the major world problems. Several important documents were issued as a result of their fruitful work.

7. Even before the Conference met, its objectives and the line of its work gave rise to various forms of preoccupation. After its conclusion, the most varied and contradictory judgements were passed on its value and its true meaning.

8. Some reproach us with not having been sufficiently practical and with having let slip the opportunity to play our role—by which, of course, is meant a role that would suit the particular interests of one or the other bloc. Others, on the contrary, reproach us with having been too definite in our action, in a manner corresponding, as they say, neither to our material strength nor to our international influence. Others again suspected us of trying to create a third bloc, and announced, when their predictions were not fulfilled, that we had failed because we had not succeeded in that aim.

9. Yet others, both before and after the Conference, posed the problem in completely erroneous terms. Would the Conference, they asked, be more favourable to the East or to the West? We do not in any way consider that a given standpoint is pernicious or is to be rejected simply because it is endorsed either by the Soviet Union or by the United States. Quite the contrary—it gives us sincere pleasure when the number of such common positions is increased.

10. Next—and this seems to me quite obvious—it is in the first place for the countries espousing a policy of non-alignment to define and apply their own policy. Otherwise—that is, if we adopted the criteria of blocs—we should find it impossible to pursue a genuinely independent policy.

11. Again, when some say that we must be regarded as anti-Western because of our attitude on the colonial question, we can only reply: on this point we have nothing to change. We can only cease to be anti-Western if you yourselves, in the interests of the colonial peoples and of world peace and in your own interest, radically change the colonial policies which you have so far followed.

12. We persist in our belief that every people has the right freely to choose its own ideology or social system. That is entirely its own affair. We are furthermore convinced that the existence of different ideologies and social systems is not in itself a factor which causes, or must necessarily cause, a worsening of international relations. What brings about this worsening is the policy of placing other peoples in a position of inequality, the policy of interfering in their internal affairs—in short, the policy of force. Such a policy cannot be justified on ideological or any other grounds. We likewise consider, as was clearly stated in the Belgrade Declaration, that the way to peace lies solely in action designed to reduce the area of antagonism between the blocs, to overcome the resulting division of the peoples and to weaken the hold fastened by such antagonism on the rest of the world.

13. We tried, at Belgrade, to consider calmly and objectively the present state of international relations and its causes. In setting out our observations and conclusions, we did not claim that we were able, or were the only ones competent, to propose the best solutions for international disputes. We stated that reliance on force and war as a means of settling international problems has never been more absurd than it is today, and that never more than today have force and war constituted a threat to the very existence of mankind. At the same time we stated that never before has there been, in the world, so great an awareness of this absurdity or so strong a resistance to the policy of threats and war preparations.

14. It was in this spirit that we sent a special message to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev—leaders of the two greatest Powers, on whom the general state of international relations so largely depends—asking them to resume contact in order that, by negotiations, further aggravation of the international situation might be prevented and a way out of the crisis found. It is encouraging to note that, in their replies, both statesmen reacted positively to our appeal.

15. I do not wish to restate my Government's views on the major international problems. They are well known. Besides, we also have the Belgrade Declaration, in which the common positions of the non-aligned countries are clearly set forth. My delegation will make more detailed statements on all these questions in the various Committees.

16. On 20 September the Joint Statement on disarmament made by the United States of America and the Soviet Union [A/4879] was published here. To this we should be happy if the twelve-Power draft resolution submitted at the fifteenth session^{1/} had in any way contributed. We listened very closely to what President Kennedy said yesterday on the subject of disarmament [1013th meeting]. We shall study his proposals most carefully. We are particularly happy

to share his opinion that the risk entailed by disarmament pales beside the risk involved in an unlimited arms race. The fact that an agreement on principles should have been reached is certainly positive and encouraging. Nevertheless, I think it would be naive to believe that this in itself constitutes a decisive step in this field. The experience of recent years is the best evidence to that effect. We then had negotiations without a common platform. No progress was made. Now we have a common platform, but as yet we have no negotiations. We hope they will soon begin. However, even if negotiations should be started on a common platform and within the framework of a jointly designated body, that would not in itself guarantee rapid success. The reason is that the nature of the relations between the great Powers, one basic feature of which is the intensified arms race, militates against the rapid conclusion of an agreement. In other words, so long as the arms race—which in itself is simply the manifestation of a policy based on force—continues and grows more intense, the prospects of arriving at a state of affairs where this policy is really and truly renounced will remain remote.

17. I am not saying that the great Powers do not desire disarmament. But the question is whether, in present circumstances, they are capable of desiring it. In this context, we should not underestimate the influence of specific groups which explicitly favour the arms race.

18. So what can we do? That is the way things are. Must we postpone disarmament negotiations until conditions favourable for them arise? Of course not. Our conclusion must be that in the course of disarmament negotiations it will be very difficult to arrive at an effective solution if we do not, at the same time, make every effort to settle existing questions and disputes by peaceful means, by negotiation. The problem is therefore both a long-term and simultaneously a very urgent one, because of the direct effects which the arms race and the policy on which it rests have on international relations as a whole.

19. We are well aware that there can be no improvement in international relations without direct agreement between the great Powers themselves. Yet the question of war and peace is one which concerns and interests the peoples to the highest degree. Peace is today, more than ever before, one and indivisible. It is therefore essential that all countries should participate in efforts to safeguard and strengthen peace, while pressing the great Powers ever more intensively to negotiate and agree, on the basis of general interests which are, at the same time, the interests of peace. The exerting of such a positive influence in the field of disarmament must also be made possible through the composition of the negotiating body. It is essential that that body include representatives of countries not belonging to any bloc. The experience of the last few years has amply demonstrated that the blocs cannot, by themselves, reach any solution.

20. Here I must make it quite clear that we are not in the least convinced by the objection that this—what I have just said—would mean adopting the so-called "troika" principle. It is absurd to demand the application of the "troika" system to all international bodies; but it is equally unjustified to claim that, in order to avoid approval of such a system, the non-aligned countries must in all fields be treated in a discriminatory manner.

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 67, 86, 69 and 73, documents A/C.1/L.259 and Add.1 and 2.

21. We still believe that the disarmament negotiations must be conducted exclusively under United Nations auspices. For all these reasons, we continue to insist that a special session of the General Assembly, or a special world conference, should be convened to consider the question of disarmament, as proposed in the Belgrade Declaration.

22. At present we are all agreed on the principle of general and complete disarmament, accompanied by strict international control. The joint Soviet-American statement has enunciated other vital principles. Effective negotiations must therefore be started as soon as possible, with a view to making this common platform effective.

23. Since we know that many more difficulties have to be overcome before general and complete agreement is reached, my delegation considers that a formula must be found which will hinder or prevent, from now on, the continuation of the arms race. If we are already tackling this major task of achieving general and complete disarmament—which we rightly regard as realistic—why should it be less realistic to try immediately to prevent the extension, at least, of the existing arm race? It is for this purpose that we again submit, here, the urgent proposal that an agreement be reached as soon as possible to freeze military budgets at a level fixed by common consent, and to set aside, as a guarantee, a fixed percentage of the funds thus obtained for special international purposes—preferably, in all probability, for the establishment of a fund to aid the less developed countries. We must not forget that the world is spending about \$14 million on armaments every hour—which makes \$336 million a day and \$120,000 million a year.

24. As for nuclear tests, France has committed a very serious offence by carrying out tests during the moratorium. This responsibility cannot but be shared, to a considerable extent, by the other Western and allied Powers. This in our opinion is, of the reasons advanced by the Soviet Government in explanation of its decision to resume nuclear testing, the only valid one. If it is true, as it seems to be, that a series of nuclear explosions has recently been undertaken in the Soviet Union, such action is very disturbing and the Soviet Government, in taking it, is assuming an extremely grave responsibility.

25. We have always been and we remain in favour of a moratorium—which this time would be compulsory, on pain of severe penalties—for all types of nuclear testing and for all countries without exception. We also advocate the urgent resumption of negotiations on the definitive prohibition of tests, which, likewise on pain of severe penalties, would be obligatory for all. Moreover, we are convinced that the problem of adequate control is not insoluble, if the parties concerned show mutual good will.

26. In the case of problems whose present and future repercussions may weigh so heavily on the fate of mankind as a whole, we think that no Power should be entitled, simply because it possesses the technical and other necessary material resources, to take decisions as it thinks fit.

27. In the light of these views, we favour the urgent resumption of negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear tests, either within the framework of disarmament talks, or separately. As in every other case, we have always been opposed to attempts to make the solutions of different problems interdependent.

28. One of the problems at present weighing most heavily on international life is that of Germany and Berlin.

29. We all know what makes the Berlin situation abnormal, so to speak, on the material, geographical and political level. The arguments of the main parties to the dispute are also, largely, familiar to us. They naturally reflect those parties' different interests. My Government's position with regard to the Berlin problem and problem of Germany is likewise well known. We take, as a starting-point, facts which are themselves the result of a state of affairs established after the Second World War—namely, that the Berlin situation is in a certain sense abnormal, that there exist two German States, incorporated in mutually conflicting alliances, and that the Oder-Neisse frontier is definitive. At the same time we recognize that an agreement must guarantee the freest possible access by the Western countries to West Berlin, as well as the right of the West Berlin population to choose its own political and social system. We also regard it as abnormal that a peace treaty with Germany has not yet been signed.

30. The fact that we are led to wonder how we are to find a way out of the present Berlin situation proves that the problem exists. Nevertheless, we think the main reason why it has assumed its present importance and acuteness is that the interests of the two great contending Powers are directly committed there. And this can prejudice a proper evaluation of the importance of other situations, no less serious, outside Europe.

31. I say this as representative of a European country for which, geographically and politically, this problem is neither remote nor unimportant. It nevertheless seems to us that, objectively, by their real content and specific weight—that is, by the way in which they concern the basic interests of peoples committed to independence and freedom—problems such as those of Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Laos and Cuba are certainly more serious.

32. However that may be, we naturally favour a rapid solution of the Berlin problem, through negotiations and on the basis of existing reality. We are assuredly not alone in wondering how it is that effective negotiations have not been embarked upon sooner. As long as it remains unsolved, and as long as States continue to make it the subject of displays of force, declare themselves ready to use force, and engage in various preparations confirming such declarations, this problem will continue to weigh heavily on international relations as a whole.

33. As for the question of the German people's right to self-determination, which some quarters like to raise in an apparent desire to reduce the whole problem to that issue, I can state without hesitation that we favour self-determination for all peoples, and consequently for the German people; but we would desire that those raising the question should also favour a consistent application of this principle on all continents. In the case of Germany, however, and if the problem at issue is primarily that of the country's reunification, certain facts cannot and must not be ignored. The fact of two German States stemmed from the Second World War, and this situation has been maintained as a result of a policy determined by the great Powers and by the state of their mutual relations. Moreover, the question of self-determination for the German people cannot be raised separately from that

of European security. Germany has been the aggressor in two world wars. At the end of the second, the members of the anti-Hitler coalition reached an express understanding to prevent any possibility of a rebirth of militarism, revenge-seeking and a policy of aggression on the part of Germany. For reasons which are well known, this goal has not been achieved. On the contrary, we are witnessing the remilitarization of Germany, whereas the right to self-determination can be conceived and conceded only within the framework of Germany's guaranteed demilitarization. Only subject to the same condition can a lasting solution for the Berlin problem be expected.

34. The death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations has resulted in the post he occupied becoming vacant. It is in the interest of the normal functioning of the Organization that this post should be filled as soon as possible. If opinions differ as to the procedure to be followed, and if it proves impossible to reach a rapid solution, my delegation considers that a provisional solution must be sought. Here again, we are in the presence of different arguments, polarized in advance by what one or other of the great Powers regards as in line with its present or future interests. Naturally, we cannot ignore these arguments. The common interest requires us to reach a solution agreed upon by us all.

35. Our principal concern should none the less be to find the solution which will best serve the general interests of the United Nations. That is why we favour a provisional solution whereby a qualified person chosen from amongst the non-aligned countries would exercise these functions which have fallen vacant. This must in no way prejudice the definitive solution, which will have to be reached by common consent.

36. As regards the definitive solution, we hold to our original opinion that the person nominated should come from one of the countries outside the blocs but be less powerful, politically, than the former Secretary-General. In addition, my Government still considers that it would be desirable to flank the Secretary-General with an advisory body of at the most five members, chosen from the different regions of the world. These proposals are based on our conviction that the authority and role of the United Nations must be transformed. The Declaration of the Belgrade Conference recommends a whole series of measures designed to strengthen this Organization, and especially to adapt its structure and aspect to the positive changes which have come about on the international scene and hence to the Organization's numerical composition, so that the bonds which unite the world may, through the United Nations, be strengthened.

37. It is precisely because we are pursuing such an aim that we should all oppose any attempt to limit or reduce the role of the United Nations in the settlement of major international problems. For the same reasons we cannot approve any reinforcement of the privileged position already enjoyed by the great Powers in this Organization. We are convinced that the authority and role of the United Nations, as the supreme body of the international community, can be strengthened only through a guarantee of its universality and the promotion of ever greater equality between all its Members.

38. Mr. AKO-ADJEI (Ghana): We have met at a critical period in world history. Today, as never before, the nations of the world live under the shadow of war,

and mankind is even threatened with the prospect of total annihilation from the face of this planet.

39. While the capacity of the human intellect has been expanded into regions of thought hitherto unexplored in the history of learning, and while the scientific achievements of our age have widened the consciousness of man in his efforts to unravel the secrets of the universe, it appears that mankind has failed to learn the most elementary of all lessons—namely, how to live in this world with our fellow men in peace and in harmony.

40. There is a lag between our scientific and technological advancement, on the one hand, and our social life, or inter-human relationships, on the other. The situation is, indeed, a poor reflection on our age. If mankind is to survive, and if millions of ordinary people throughout the world are to be assured of a steady advance towards higher standards of living, it is essential that we must all work together to find lasting solutions to the problems of war and peace.

41. This is why the problem of disarmament appears to us to be the most important problem in our world today. The Government of Ghana believes that every effort should be made by the United Nations to ensure complete and general disarmament in its various manifestations. This should include agreement on the cessation of the manufacture and the testing of nuclear weapons.

42. The danger facing the world today is heightened by the concentration of weapons of destruction in the possession of the two great Power blocs, namely, the Western Alliance, held together by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), on the one hand, and the Eastern Alliance of socialist countries, held together under the Warsaw Pact. In reality, the struggle for ascendancy between these two Power blocs is a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Each of these two countries professes its dedication to the cause of peace and security in the world.

43. The Government of Ghana believes that both the United States and the Soviet Union are sincere in their professions of peace. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of either one of them. However, a deep sense of distrust and suspicion exists, and this sense of suspicion has made it difficult for these two giant nations to agree on the basic issues for the preservation of peace in our time.

44. In this great Power conflict, we believe that the various States, which are not aligned nor committed to either one of the great Power blocs, have an important and significant part to play in bringing about stability and understanding among the nations in the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

45. It is with a realization of this urgent need to be of useful service in the cause of the common good that a number of non-aligned States, including Ghana, recently held a conference in the city of Belgrade to discuss some of the major problems in current international affairs and to explore possible avenues for a solution of these pressing problems.

46. The Belgrade Conference has a history which originates from the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations held last year. Representatives, who were here last year, will remember that several Heads of State and Heads of Government attended that session. Taking advantage of their presence in New

York, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, President Tito of Yugoslavia, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Prime Minister Nehru of India, met together on several occasions and exchanged views.

47. As a result of their meetings, they presented a joint draft resolution^{2/} to the General Assembly in which a solemn appeal was made to the United States and to the Soviet Union to come together in order to reduce the high tension which was then prevailing in international relations. It was later agreed by these five leaders that it would be useful if a conference was organized at a later stage on a wider basis to give an opportunity to the Heads of State or Heads of Government of other non-aligned countries to participate in this effort to ensure peace. This, in brief, is the historical background of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which was held in Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

48. The organizers of the Conference, as well as the Heads of State or Heads of Government who attended, had no illusions about the enormity of the responsibilities involved, nor did they pretend to have in their possession any ready-made answers or solutions to all the problems which afflict mankind in our world today. In fact, the States who met in Belgrade did not claim to be the only non-aligned or non-committed countries in the world. There are other non-aligned and non-committed States, who were not able to attend the Conference for several reasons.

49. The important point to emphasize is that there was a duty to be performed—a service in the interest of humanity. In rallying to participate in this great endeavour, there was no need to wait until all the non-aligned States in the world had agreed to attend the Conference. Time was of the essence, and the gravity of the situation required courage and vision and men of action to take the initiative before it was too late.

50. While the Belgrade Conference was in progress, the Soviet Union exploded a nuclear device, we are told, in the atmosphere. The United States immediately reacted and declared its intention to resume the testing of nuclear weapons. This decision was, in fact, carried out underground by the United States.

51. At the time the Soviet Union exploded its nuclear device in the atmosphere, Osagyefo the President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, expressed his shock and his horror at the resumption of nuclear tests. We consider it unfortunate that the Soviet Union should have found it necessary to resume nuclear testing, thus giving the United States an opportunity or pretext also to resume nuclear testing.

52. In our view, it is not really important whether nuclear weapons are tested in the atmosphere or whether they are tested underground. The essential point is that, whether in the atmosphere or underground, the devices tested are weapons intended for the mass destruction of human life.

53. We protest against the manufacture and the testing of nuclear weapons generally, whether by the Soviet Union or by the United States, or by any other nation in the world. On behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, we take this opportunity to make a

solemn appeal to both the Soviet Union and the United States and to every other country, to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. In our view, nuclear science and nuclear technology, which man has been able to develop in this century, should be used only for peaceful purposes, and not for the arts of war and mass destruction.

54. In our view, colonialism is the greatest evil of the modern world, the source of all the troubles which presently afflict mankind. It is the root-cause of the desire to possess arms and therefore the root-cause of the arms race and the problem of disarmament. Colonialism and neo-colonialism are a perpetual threat to the peace and security of the world. Colonialism is the cause of war and conflict among nations and is, therefore, the greatest danger to world peace. Africa, of all the continents, is the only one where colonialism still holds sway over millions of people, people subjected to the worst form of human degradation. For our part, we would emphasize yet again that Ghana is dedicated to the complete eradication of colonialism and foreign rule on the continent of Africa. It is therefore prepared, at all times, to give encouragement and support, material and otherwise, within the limits of its national resources, to nationalist movements and Freedom Fighters engaged in various parts of Africa in the struggle for independence and self-determination.

55. In pursuing this high objective, Ghana invites all peace-loving peoples to support the cause until victory is achieved and all Africa has become free and independent. As Osagyefo the President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, has often stated:

"We regard our independence to be meaningless, unless we are able to use our freedom to help in the total liberation of Africa from foreign rule".

To us, the concept of African freedom, independence and unity is a cardinal act of faith and not merely a matter of national policy. It is a basic principle of our constitution—the fundamental law of our State.

56. With the accession of African countries to national independence, there has come another danger, more subtle in its allurements than colonialism itself. This new danger is neo-colonialism. In the light of African nationalism the colonial Powers have realized, and admitted, that the time has come for them to withdraw, to concede independence to the African people. They try, however, to use all possible means of depriving the new African States of the real substance and meaning of their national independence by such devices as military pacts, economic and cultural agreements and the granting of scientific and technical assistance in the form of recruitment of personnel from among their own nationals.

57. This new technical assistance device could be used to exploit the newly-independent States of Africa in an even more subtle and devastating manner than the mechanism of colonialism itself. This is the danger against which the new States in Africa must stand guard if they are to maintain their sovereignty, independence and freedom of action in all things affecting their national interests and the over-riding interests of all African peoples.

58. The war in Algeria is now in its seventh year and the end is not yet in sight. We believe that France can never win a military victory in that country. We urge it, therefore, to accept the realities of the situation and concede to the Algerians the national independence

^{2/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 9, document A/4522.

and sovereignty to which they are entitled as of right. We shall continue to give every encouragement and support, material or otherwise, within the limits of our resources, to the Provisional Government of Algeria until victory is complete and the people of that country become free and independent.

59. The situation in Angola continues to deteriorate. The Government of Portugal continues to commit inhuman atrocities, and every day large numbers of innocent men and women are killed by the most barbarous and oppressive measures. On the orders of the Government of Portugal, the Portuguese Army and the colonial oppressors in Angola have begun a campaign aimed at liquidating every African in Angola who can read and write: the aim is to kill all educated Africans in the country so that the nationalist movement will be deprived of enlightened and effective leadership in its struggle for independence.

60. In Angola it is a crime for an African to be seen riding a common bicycle. Indeed, to be found in possession of a bicycle, whether riding it or not, is to be shot and killed on sight. Our information is that more than 100,000 innocent Africans—men, women and children—have been killed by the Portuguese in Angola in the last few months. I would emphasize that the dead include old men and women, and even children. These barbarous operations continue unabated.

61. The delegation of Ghana subscribes to the view expressed from this platform last week by my friend, the Foreign Minister of Senegal, that Portugal, and the Union of South Africa as well, should be expelled from membership of the United Nations. Such action is necessary because Portugal and the Union of South Africa have refused flagrantly to carry out their obligations under the Charter, or to co-operate with the United Nations in carrying out resolutions of the General Assembly. Ghana invites all other African States in this Assembly to join in the effort to expel Portugal and the Union of South Africa from membership of the United Nations. In the final declaration adopted at the recent conference in Belgrade, the non-aligned countries demanded:

"... that an immediate stop be put to armed action and repressive measures of any kind directed against dependent peoples to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and that the integrity of their national territory should be respected. Any aid given by any country to a colonial Power in such suppression is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations".

In the interests of peace and security in Africa, we call upon Portugal to stop its military aggression and repressive measures against Africans in Angola and to grant national independence immediately to the people of that country.

62. The Government and people of Ghana are happy in the knowledge that the national liberation movement in Africa continues to prosper; that the emergence of new African States occurs with ever-increasing rapidity.

63. On 27 April last our sister country, Sierra Leone, gained its independence. We look forward with pleasure to welcoming this new State to membership of the United Nations.

64. We are also happy that, early in December, Tanganyika also will gain its independence. We hope

that before this session closes in December we shall have the opportunity of welcoming the new Republic of Tanganyika also to membership of the United Nations.

65. So far as the situation in the Congo is concerned, Ghana has always held that no outside authority can force the issue or impose ready-made solutions of Congolese problems upon the Congolese people; that those peoples alone can solve such problems. To this end, we have always advocated the reconvening of the Congolese Parliament so that the elected representatives of the Congolese people may deliberate upon their difficulties and devise their own solutions.

66. In Ghana we say that we prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility, and the same applies to the Congo. We are therefore happy that the Congolese Parliament has reconvened and that a new Central Government has emerged. If the unity of the Congo is to be maintained, it is essential that the secessionist movement should be arrested, and that the Province of Katanga should remain as an integral part of the national territory of the Congo.

67. The position of the Government of Ghana, with regard to the United Nations operations in the Congo, and especially with particular reference to the secessionist movement in Katanga, is clearly indicated in a statement which the President of Ghana, Osagyefo the President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, recently sent to the President of the General Assembly. The statement,* which has been circulated, is as follows:

"There is a serious danger that owing to the sudden death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the temporary military set-back of the United Nations Forces, a cease-fire will be arranged in Katanga before the main objectives of the United Nations action in Katanga, namely, the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo, has been secured.

"Ghana fully and completely supports the action taken by the United Nations in Katanga. The Government of Ghana considers it essential that all Member States of the United Nations, and particularly those from Africa, should come to the immediate aid of the United Nations. The United Nations Forces may have suffered a military set-back, because they have been opposed by large numbers of mercenaries.

"The Government of Ghana has already drawn the attention of the United Nations General Assembly this year to the supply of Fouga Magister Aircraft, made in France for Belgium under a North Atlantic Treaty Organization Agreement, to the rebel forces in Katanga. According to the information of the Government of Ghana, these very aircraft are attacking at this moment the Forces of the United Nations.

"By the decision of the United Nations, the Forces sent to restore order and secure the independence and territorial integrity of the Congo were lightly armed and were not furnished with military aircraft.

"Certain powers from outside the African Continent, who are intent on destroying the prestige of the United Nations and on maintaining colonial rule and exploitation in the African Continent, have taken advantage of this. They have flooded Katanga with heavy modern armaments of all kinds.

*By the delegation of Ghana.

"The object of these powers is clearly to maintain a puppet régime in the Province of Katanga in absolute defiance of the General Assembly and the views of the Government of the Congo and of the decisions of the Security Council.

"In the opinion of the Ghana Government, a cease-fire based upon a de facto recognition of a separatist State would have fatal consequences on international order and on the prestige and the very future of the United Nations.

"There should therefore be no cease-fire in Katanga until that Province has been absorbed completely into the Congo as a unitary, sovereign and independent State."

68. We hope that the United Nations will give every assistance to the Central Government of the Congo in its efforts to restore law and order in the country and maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Congo as it was before the accession to independence on 30 June 1960.

69. In the Union of South Africa, more than 10 million people, constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, including Africans and persons of Indian and Pakistani origin, continue to suffer humiliation in their struggle against the pernicious system of "apartheid".

70. A small but well organized minority of people of Dutch descent have appropriated unto themselves the main organs of State power, which they use in oppressing the overwhelming majority of the people to the lowest level of human degradation.

71. Distinguished representatives are already aware of the operations of the "apartheid" laws in South Africa and also in the Territory of South West Africa for which the United Nations has responsibility. The existence of this system is a perpetual threat to peace and security in Africa, and to harmony and tranquility in international relations.

72. However, there is another danger to which I wish to direct the attention of representatives in this Assembly. In addition to their flagrant disregard for human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of the Union of South Africa has now embarked upon a policy to undermine the authority and prestige, and also to paralyse the activities, of the United Nations in Africa. The Union Government has started to classify certain types of United Nations documents, which are unpalatable to them as "objectionable literature". For example, the South African Government has classified the speech which Osagyefo the President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, made to the General Assembly on 23 September 1960, as "objectionable literature". This speech of President Kwame Nkrumah appears in document A/PV.869 in the Official Records of the United Nations.^{3/}

73. Any person in the Union of South Africa, or in the Territory of South-West Africa, who is found in possession of a copy of this official document of the United Nations, which contains President Kwame Nkrumah's speech, is liable to a sentence of five years' imprisonment, or to a fine of £1,000, that is approximately \$3,000, or to both such fine and imprisonment.

74. This is the first time that an official document of the United Nations which contains a statement made by a representative of a Member State has been treated by the Government of another Member State with such contempt.

75. This action of the Union Government is an affront to the United Nations as a whole. And the delegation of Ghana will insist that the General Assembly should consider whether, in these circumstances, the Union of South Africa should not be expelled from membership of the United Nations.

76. Distinguished representatives may wish to know that the proscription of official United Nations documents as "objectionable literature", to which I have drawn their attention, appears in the Official Gazette of the Union of South Africa as Gazette Notice No. 814 in issue No. 6694, published on 26 May 1961.

77. For ten years, the General Assembly has been prevented from discussing the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This was due to the attitude of the United States, whose delegation had always succeeded in rallying enough support for their policy to prevent a debate on this important issue. In our view, the Chinese Nationalists in Taiwan do not represent the Chinese people. Perhaps they represent only themselves.

78. We believe that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the lawful Government of the Chinese people, and that the logic of the situation demands that the representatives of that Government should be allowed immediately to occupy the Chinese seat in this Assembly as well as in the Security Council.

79. About half of the total number of States Members of the United Nations, including Ghana and even the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries, recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China and have diplomatic relations with that Government.

80. We believe that the United Nations would benefit immensely from the presence and participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of this world Organization.

81. The delegation of Ghana is of the opinion that the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations is detrimental to the interests of humanity and to the maintenance of world peace.

82. Significant political developments have taken place in the world—especially in Asia and in Africa—since the United Nations was established in 1946.

83. The membership of this world Organization has nearly doubled with the admission of new States, which have acceded to independence in Asia and in Africa during the past sixteen years.

84. It is admitted on all sides that the political realities of the world today make it necessary that the Charter of the United Nations should be revised, and that the structure of the Organization itself should also be reconsidered in the light of the changing circumstances of our time.

85. This would mean a reorganization of the structure and functions of the United Nations Secretariat, so that it can be made to reflect more realistically the political complexion of the world today based on an

^{3/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 869th meeting.

equitable geographical representation of the membership.

86. With regard to the Secretariat, last year the President of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah, in his statement to the General Assembly on 23 September, proposed that while the post of Secretary-General should be retained, it is essential that three Deputy Secretaries-General should be appointed.

87. This proposal still remains the policy of the Government of Ghana in this important matter.

88. The sudden death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld has raised a problem which was not foreseen when the Charter was drafted some sixteen years ago.

89. There is need for reaching agreement on an interim arrangement so that the powers and functions of the Secretary-General could continue to be exercised by a competent authority appointed by the General Assembly for that purpose until the substantive issue is ultimately settled.

90. The delegation of Ghana will continue in its efforts to explore, in consultation with other delegations, the elaboration of an interim arrangement, whereby the powers and functions of the office of Secretary-General will continue to be exercised along the lines I have indicated.

91. As we work together in this Assembly in finding solutions to the compelling problems of our time, we are encouraged by the knowledge that we are working in the best interests of humanity.

92. The enormity of these problems imposes upon us a heavy responsibility. It is a test of our endurance. But it also provides us with an opportunity to demonstrate our faith in action and to prove the nobility of our spirit.

93. If we are to measure up to our responsibilities with credit and with honour, the situation would demand of us the courage, the breadth of vision and that magnanimity of outlook which are so essential as a useful basis for constructive thinking.

94. Let us learn to live together with our fellow men in harmony and in mutual trust and truth.

95. Let us reorganize our international life on the principles of universal brotherhood and expand our consciousness into higher conceptions of human good.

96. In the cause of this noble ideal we shall dedicate our efforts and exercise our highest endeavour. Together we shall move forward with steady confidence towards the future.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.