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(Afghanistan).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

Opening of the general debate

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

1. The PRESIDENT: As we are about to begin the general debate, I should like to address a special appeal to my distinguished colleagues. Past experience has shown that if meetings do not start on time representatives tend to wait until they do begin before they come into the Assembly hall, and this in turn causes further delay. I therefore appeal to all representatives please to be in their seats on time. I am sure that with the crowded programme which we have this will save a lot of time all round and enable all the Heads of delegations who have inscribed their names to make their interventions on the due dates without the necessity of postponement. Similarly, I should like to appeal to all delegations to inscribe their names on the speakers' list as soon as possible. The secretariat for the speakers' list is at the table to my right.

2. For reasons known to all of us, I should also like to suggest that all rights of reply be exercised at the end of each meeting. I hope that this suggestion will meet with the approval of the General Assembly.

3. Mr. Juracy MAGALHÃES (Brazil): In pursuance of a time-honoured custom, which has become a proud and cherished tradition in the eyes of the people of Brazil, it is now my privilege to deliver the opening address in the general debate of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly.

4. Let my first words be of congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the Chair, a choice which so aptly expresses the respect and affection of this great gathering of nations towards the noble Afghan people and towards their Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I am confident that I speak on behalf of all the delegations present here today when I say that we all place the fullest reliance on your well-known ability to handle with an impartial mind, with calm and unruffled courtesy, and with firm

and unswerving authority, the weighty matters that shall presently appear before us.

5. In the discharge of your duties, Mr. President, you may count on the assistance and sound advice of the illustrious Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Thant, to whom on behalf of my delegation and Government I make an ardent appeal to remain in his present position, which is the general wish. It is my hope that he will overcome his natural hesitation and his intimate objections and will continue to give to mankind the valuable contribution of his efficient action and constant inspiration.

6. As we prepare to deal with the agenda of the twenty-first session, we are necessarily led to examine the results of the labours of the twentieth, which was so ably presided over by that great statesman Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy; and as we do so we may look back with pride at some tangible and encouraging achievements.

7. First and foremost, great credit must be given to the twentieth session for having succeeded in weathering the gravest crisis in the history of the Organization, and for finding a way out of the deadlock which paralysed the nineteenth session.

8. It is true, on the other hand, that no remedy has been found to end the bitter struggle in Viet-Nam, where countless thousands are daily suffering the hardships and misery of war and where so many young lives are daily being lost, both to Viet-Nam and to her allies in the cause of democracy. It is no less true, however, that in other parts of the world it has been found possible to avert conflict and bloodshed, and to dispel grave threats to world peace.

9. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, the timely and efficient intervention of the regional Organization brought about a prompt end to civil strife and cleared the way for the restoration of democratic rule through fair and peaceful elections. In Asia, two great nations, India and Pakistan, already on the brink of a full-scale war, gave heed to the voice of the United Nations and laid down their arms in response to a resolution of the Security Council. Even now those two countries, which must be counted among the most influential and oldest Members of this Organization, are engaged in endeavouring to settle their differences within the framework of the Charter and with due respect for the principles upheld by the United Nations.

10. In the Gaza Strip and in Cyprus, while no appreciable headway has been made toward a permanent settlement, even so, the presence of United Nations forces has continued to keep the peace, to ensure the safety of the population in both areas, and to prevent the outbreak of open violence. Brazil is proud to

contribute one battalion to the United Nations; by the same token, it is proud to have contributed substantially to the Inter-American Peace Force in the Dominican Republic, where Brazilian soldiers and marines have shared with their North American, Central American and Paraguayan comrades the task of enforcing law and order and of saving a sister nation, already sorely tried in the recent past, from succumbing to internal strife and to foreign political aggression.

11. As we review the events of the past year, we are compelled to note with regret that in one domain at least no perceptible success has been achieved. I allude to the problem of disarmament, which we find still bogged down in the discouraging morass of the Geneva talks. Some rays of hope had seemed to be discernible during the last session of the General Assembly, where, for the first time in many years, a number of constructive resolutions were passed. Nothing, however, has come out of them, in spite of a growing consciousness, on the part of all nations, of the dangers of nuclear proliferation. Brazil would like to urge that the highest priority be given to working out some formula that may lead to the concentration, and not the reverse, of the power of decision as to the use of nuclear weapons.

12. This last, of course, is stated as but an immediate goal, for there can be no disguising the fact that the ultimate aim is and must remain total disarmament. We seem to be as far as ever from reaching that goal; but it must also be recognized that certain intermediate steps must necessarily be taken. It is in this respect that General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) must be regarded as a substantial step forward, inasmuch as it has defined non-proliferation as a means toward an end, and as it has just as clearly defined the respective balance of responsibilities and obligations of both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers.

13. It is quite clear nowadays that non-proliferation cannot be assured by a veto of the nuclear Powers. Non-proliferation is really dependent upon voluntary surrender by non-nuclear Powers of their possibilities of eventually joining the "Atomic Club" through their own efforts. In the absence of a really reliable system of collective security, such a surrender would obviously involve a singularly grave and fateful decision, since it would be tantamount to surrendering the most powerful means of ensuring national security against possible aggression, relying ever after on the benevolence and good faith of third parties for that all-important purpose, the protection of the very life of a nation. This would be indeed too much to ask of or to expect from any country, unless we were to achieve a completely trustworthy framework of legal and material guarantees, bearing the stamp of infallibility to the fullest extent attainable by human endeavours.

14. Such a system would obviously place great burdens upon both nuclear and non-nuclear Powers and require them to accept considerable limitations on the exercise of their sovereign rights. I maintain, however, that the best interests, if not the very survival, of mankind demand such sacrifices from even the greatest Powers, and I trust that no Member nation will shrink from its duty to this Organization and to the human race by balking at small or even great sacrifices of pride or

of freedom of action where so much is at stake. It is the manifest duty of all of us, but most especially of such nations as already hold or have nearly within their grasp the awful power of destruction vested in atomic weaponry, to remove from mankind the fear of annihilation, to clear from the farthest horizons that threatening cloud of an all too familiar shape, to give good and sufficient guarantee of our determination to use for good alone, and never for evil, the fateful forces that lie hidden in the very heart of matter.

15. Another issue where, unfortunately, a deadlock seems to have been reached is that of defraying the costs of peace-keeping operations. The Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations appointed to attempt to solve this problem has so far failed to do so, in spite of its earnest labours. The time has come, therefore, to acknowledge frankly the fact that there is little or no hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion in this respect, and that to pursue it further would be simply a waste of time and effort.

16. No country is more deeply convinced than Brazil of the usefulness, and indeed the necessity, of carrying out peace-keeping operations by means of emergency forces every time a situation arises entailing a threat to world peace. Furthermore, we think that no international organization can be really effective unless it has at its disposal the material means to deal with such situations; yet we are the first to advocate a realistic approach to the problem of apportioning the expenses arising from operations of this nature. It has become all too evident that some Member nations will not waver from their position of refusing to acknowledge their common share in expenses made for the common good, and to honour what seems to us their plain obligation. The only realistic approach, therefore, is to carry out a reform of the United Nations Charter, framing explicit rules on the conduct and financing of peace-keeping operations.

17. That future peace-keeping operations may be needed is only probable. Brazil has actively supported them in the past, supplying, as I have mentioned above, one battalion of infantry to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Gaza Strip—a force which was for some considerable time under the command of a Brazilian general—supplying air force personnel for the United Nations Force in the Congo, and having maintained observers, both military and civilian, in Greece, Cyprus, Cambodia, Viet-Nam and Kashmir, as required by the appropriate organs of the United Nations. Brazil feels justified, therefore, in claiming that the time has come to settle, by the only effective means, namely, through a revision of the Charter, the vexing questions of apportioning the costs of such operations.

18. A new field has recently been opened to the fruitful action of the United Nations, that of devising rules to accelerate the development of under-developed Member States and to improve the economic relations between such countries and the more fully developed ones. I refer to the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, an organ for the success of which Brazil voices sincere wishes.

19. Far be it from us to advocate any form of "class struggle" between nations, opposing "haves" and

"have-nots". Such a confrontation would be not only sterile, but definitely harmful to the cause of unity and friendship among nations and to the best interest of mankind. Yet I must emphasize with equal firmness that it would be no less disastrous to reject the self-evident truth that close and intelligent co-operation is called for between the fully developed States and the less developed ones, in the best interests of all. I say "intelligent" co-operation, because it is too late in the day to propose inadequate formulæ for or to apply evasive tactics to a problem that is not to be denied and which brooks no postponement. It would indeed be folly, and dangerous folly at that, to reject this postulate, that the achievement of an adequate rate of economic development, and of an adequate degree of social welfare and security, is the common concern of all mankind. Man has long ago conquered the ends of the earth; he is now conquering outer space and the celestial bodies far beyond the orbit of our planet. Even now, man-made objects already lie on the face of the moon, and other objects, also the handiwork of man, speed silently through interstellar space. At a time when almost unimaginable resources are devoted to these staggering achievements, when these same achievements seem to prove that there are no limits to the ingenuity and enterprising resourcefulness of man, it is a cruel mockery to our fellow-man, and a blasphemy against Divine Providence, to allow poverty, hunger, sickness and fear to stalk the earth.

20. I am well aware that prosperity is the result of effort, and that those who need help must be disposed to help themselves. Yet it is also very evident that the gifts of nature have not been equally apportioned among all countries; and it is equally evident that the under-developed countries, whatever the reason for their initial disadvantage, are severely handicapped in the struggle to bridge the gap between themselves and the more highly developed States. To channel resources where they are needed, resources in money, in men, in technical and scientific knowledge, is the great challenge of our times. To improve terms of trade, to make free the access to old and new markets, to open up economic vistas, to break down the barriers of narrow self-interest—all this I believe to be consistent with the highest aspirations, and indeed with the ultimate interests, of the highly developed countries themselves.

21. In view of the immense possibilities to be explored for the future welfare of the world, in view of the immense tasks that challenge in our day and age the creative spirit of man and set us such high standards of mutual solidarity, it is deeply regrettable that the United Nations Cocoa Conference,<sup>1/</sup> convened to prepare an international agreement to safeguard the cocoa market against disruptive influences, should have been such a dismal failure.

22. Some countries still apparently fail to understand that some measure of protection is imperative for such basic commodities as are vital to the exchange-earning capacity of any individual country. Under-developed countries must rely on their ability to earn foreign exchange in order to obtain the capital goods essential to their development effort. In so far as basic commo-

dities are concerned, often their main or only source of such income, protection against ruinous price fluctuations is a condition of the very survival, economically speaking, of such countries. The best interests of the highly developed countries are surely more consistent with the spread of prosperity and increased earning capacity to new areas and new potential markets, rather than with the impoverishment of struggling countries and the decline of their respective national economies to bare subsistence level.

23. The failure of the Cocoa Conference must be remedied; the United Nations must set itself resolutely to the task of ensuring to all Members fair access to world markets, and also fair access to those technological and scientific resources which today bid fair to change the very face of the earth. In the latter respect, I welcome with particular satisfaction the steps that have been taken to establish the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development. That will be a fitting complement to the United Nations Trade and Development Board as well as to the United Nations Special Fund. Financial assistance for development projects, technical guidance for the operation of industrial projects, adequate protection for prices of essential exports of the under-developed countries: those three parallel lines of attack can and should lead to victory in the struggle for full economic development—the decisive and vital struggle from the viewpoint of the immense majority of all men and women who inhabit this earth. It is greatly to be desired, therefore, that the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development may soon achieve full operational status, that a United Nations conference may soon be convened to decide on this point, and that the United Nations Development Programme, of which the Special Fund is now a part, may soon reach the \$200 million level set for it at the twentieth session of the General Assembly. It is also greatly to be hoped that the new forms of economic association, now so prevalent in the world, shall not operate as walled-in enclosures behind high tariff barriers, nor resort to import restrictions to discriminate against the products of other areas. Latin America looks uneasily upon the thorny network of rules and regulations that hinder its trade with Western Europe, and its uneasiness and displeasure are by no means allayed by the unequal treatment granted, to the detriment of Latin America, by the European Common Market to other non-European countries.

24. In the field of social problems and of human relations, Brazil is proud to have been the first country to sign the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, as approved at the last session of the General Assembly. Within the boundaries of Brazil, indeed, small need would be felt for such a document, since Brazil has long been an outstanding, and in fact I would be tempted to say the foremost, example of a true racial democracy, where many races live and labour together and freely mix, without fear or favour, without hate or discrimination. Our hospitable land has long been open to men of all races and creeds; no one questions, or cares, what may have been a man's birthplace, or that of his forebears; all enjoy equal rights, and all are equally proud of being part of one great nation. While the new

<sup>1/</sup> Held in New York, 23 May-23 June 1966.

Convention is, therefore, superfluous in so far as Brazil is concerned, we none the less welcome it as a useful pointer to other countries placed in less favourable circumstances. And I would take this opportunity to suggest that racial tolerance should be exercised by all races towards other races: to have been sinned against is no valid reason for sinning against others. May the Brazilian example, and the moderation without effort, easy tolerance and mutual respect in our racial relations be followed by all multiracial nations.

25. In in this connexion, what I had the opportunity to note during the trip I made before arriving in this metropolis gives additional strength to my hopes. I have in fact, come from Portugal, Italy and the Vatican. In Portugal and in Italy I felt at close hand the Latin spirit which inspires Brazil and leads it on the path of tolerance and understanding. Those two countries, which have already given so much to world civilization, are still called upon to perform great deeds, both for the benefit of their populations and in the interest of other peoples linked to them by political or sentimental bonds. And the Holy See, thanks to the actions and to the nobility of spirit of Pope Paul VI—whose visit to this Assembly was certainly the highest moment of its session last year—abounds in ability, interest and dedication to the tasks of international conciliation and of the spiritual and social perfection of mankind on the basis of the sacred teachings of the Gospel.

26. The satisfaction of opening this debate becomes deeper because it gives me the opportunity to extend a welcome to Guyana, a country I take special pleasure in greeting, not only as a neighbour, but also as a friend of Brazil, one which, for the first time, takes its seat amongst us. Membership in this gathering of the sovereign Powers of the world is a high privilege and, thanks to the labours of previous sessions, one that entails no small material advantages. However, not only rights, but also duties are the portion of Member States. First and foremost, of course, is the duty to abide by the United Nations Charter, faithfully observing both its letter and spirit. This implies respecting the rule of law in international relations, accepting the decisions reached by the majority in the General Assembly or its Committees, abstaining from any form of aggression against other countries, and observing the rule of international courtesy in all dealings with other States. If all States enjoy equal rights in this august Organization, so also are they all bound by equal obligations and by reciprocal rules of mutual respect. Too often in the past this Assembly has been the scene of shrill recriminations, with bitter accusations often couched in unseemly language. I sincerely trust that we shall be able to avoid this in the future. The General Assembly is indeed a proper court for the statement of legitimate grievances, for the hearing of occasional differences, a fit place for those seeking relief and justice; but we must never forget that concord is our goal, that a spirit of mutual tolerance should be our guiding rule, that reason, right and impartiality should reign supreme among us. Wrongs should not be merely pointed out, but patiently righted as a result of the sincere efforts of us all. This Organization will stand in our eyes, in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of

posterity, as high as our efforts will place it, not according to how much we ask of it, but according to how much we give to it. Many Members of this great fellowship of nations have freely and consistently given to the Organization of their wealth, their effort, their loyalty, of the blood of their sons. All honour to such nations: may they be an example and an inspiration to us all. Loyalty, good faith, devotion to the common good, forbearance and mutual respect are the necessary conditions for success in our task. If we fail, we shall have forfeited the greatest, and possibly the last, hope of mankind for peaceful coexistence among the sons of Adam, and we shall know that the curse of Cain is still upon us. If we succeed, and succeed we must, it will be through slow and painful progress, but we shall know that some day our children, and our children's children, will come to live out their days in peace and comfort under skies which no longer hold the daily menace of sudden annihilation, upon an earth made bountiful to their labour and from which, God willing, poverty, pain and violence will be gradually banished.

27. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): As the General Assembly convenes in this twenty-first year of the United Nations, we of the United States of America are aware, as indeed every delegation must be, of the great responsibilities which all of us share in the work of this world Organization. No one, I am sure, feels these responsibilities more, or more keenly, than the Secretary-General, U Thant. In the past five years, he has filled his office with distinction and effectiveness. And indeed this is the most difficult office in the world. We know how much selfless dedication and energy have been exacted from him on behalf of the world community, and we can well understand how the burdens of his office led him to his decision not to offer himself for a second term as Secretary-General.

28. But the United Nations needs him. It needs him as a person. It needs him as a Secretary-General who conceives his office in the full spirit of the Charter as an important organ of the United Nations, endowed with the authority to act with initiative and effectiveness. The Members, in all their diversity and even discord, are united in their confidence in him. His departure at this crucial time in world affairs and in the life of the United Nations would be a serious loss both to the Organization itself and to the cause of peace among nations.

29. We reiterate our earnest hope that he will heed the unanimous wishes of the membership and permit his tenure of office to be extended. His affirmative decision on this question would give all of us new impetus to deal with the many great problems on our agenda.

30. The peoples of the world expect the United Nations to resolve these problems. With all their troubles and aspirations, they put great faith in our Organization. They look to us not for pious words but for solid results: agreements reached, wars ended or prevented, treaties written, co-operative programmes launched—results that will bring humanity a few steps, but giant steps, closer to the purposes of the Charter, which are our common commitment.

31. Realizing this, the United States has considered what it could say in this general debate that would improve the prospects for such fruitful results in the present session. We have concluded that, rather than attempting to review the many questions on the agenda to which we attach importance, we could make a more useful contribution by concentrating on the serious dangers to peace now existing in Asia—particularly the war in Viet-Nam—and by treating that subject in a constructive and positive way.

32. The conflict in Viet-Nam is first of all an Asian issue, whose tragedy and suffering fall most heavily on the peoples directly involved. But its repercussions are world-wide. It diverts much of the energies of many nations, including my own, from urgent and constructive endeavours. It is, as the Secretary-General said in his statement of 1 September: "... a source of grave concern and is bound to be a source of even greater anxiety, not only to the parties directly involved and to the major Powers but also to other Members of the Organization" [A/6400].

33. My Government remains determined to exercise every restraint to limit the war and to exert every effort to bring the conflict to the earliest end. The essential facts of the Viet-Nam conflict can be stated briefly.

34. Viet-Nam today remains divided along the demarcation line agreed upon at Geneva in 1954.<sup>2/</sup> To the north and south of that line are North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam. Provisional though they may be, pending a decision on the peaceful reunification of Viet-Nam by the process of self-determination, they are none the less political realities in the international community.

35. The Geneva Agreement which established the demarcation line is so thorough in its prohibition of the use of force that it forbids military interference of any sort by one side in the affairs of the other. It even forbids civilians to cross the demilitarized zone. In 1962, at the Geneva Conference,<sup>3/</sup> military infiltration through Laos was also forbidden. Yet, despite those provisions, South Viet-Nam is under an attack, already seven years old, by forces directed and supplied from the North and reinforced by regular units—currently some seventeen identified regiments—of the North Viet-Nameese Army. A manifest purpose of this attack is to force upon the people of South Viet-Nam a system which they have not chosen by any peaceful process.

36. Let it be noted that this attack by North Viet-Nam contravenes not only the United Nations Charter, but also the terms of General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX), adopted unanimously only last December—the resolution entitled "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty".

<sup>2/</sup> See Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China signed on 20 July 1954.

<sup>3/</sup> Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

That resolution declares, among other things, in its operative paragraph 1, that:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State."

It further declares in operative paragraph 2 that:

"... no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow ... of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State".

It would be hard to write a more precise description of what North Viet-Nam is doing and has been doing for years in South Viet-Nam. Certainly, the prohibition of the use of force and subversion—both by this resolution and by the Charter itself—must apply with full vigour to international demarcation lines that have been established by solemn international agreements. This is significantly true not only in Viet-Nam but also in all divided States, where the recourse to force between the divided parts can have far-reaching consequences. Furthermore, solemn international agreements, specifically the Geneva Agreements, explicitly prohibit recourse to force as a means of reunifying Viet-Nam.

37. It is because of the attempt to upset by violence the situation in Viet-Nam and its far-reaching implications elsewhere, that the United States of America and other countries have responded to appeals from South Viet-Nam for military assistance. Our aims in giving this assistance are strictly limited. We are not engaged in a holy war against communism. We do not seek to establish an American empire or a sphere of influence in Asia. We seek no permanent military bases, no permanent establishment of troops, no permanent alliances and no permanent American presence of any kind in South Viet-Nam. We do not seek to impose a policy of alignment on South Viet-Nam. We do not seek to overthrow the Government of North Viet-Nam. We do not seek to do any injury to mainland China nor to threaten any of its legitimate interests. We do not ask of North Viet-Nam an unconditional surrender or indeed the surrender of anything that belongs to it. Nor do we seek to exclude any segment of the South Viet-Nameese people from peaceful participation in their country's future.

38. Let me state affirmatively and succinctly what our aims are. We want a political solution, not a military solution, to this conflict. I repeat: we want a political solution, not a military solution, to this conflict. By the same token, we reject the idea that North Viet-Nam has the right to impose a military solution. We seek to assure for the people of South Viet-Nam the same right of self-determination to decide its own political destiny, free of force, that the United Nations Charter affirms for all, and we believe that reunification of Viet-Nam should be decided upon through a free choice by the peoples of both the North and the South without outside interference, the results of which choice we are fully prepared to support.

39. These then are our affirmative aims. We are well aware, as we have studied them carefully, of the stated position of Hanoi on these terms. But no dif-

ferences can be resolved without contact, discussion or negotiations. For our part, we have long been—and remain today—ready to negotiate without prior conditions. We are prepared to discuss Hanoi's four points, together with any points which other parties may wish to raise. We are ready to negotiate a settlement based on a strict observance of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, which observance was called for in the communiqué which was recently issued by the Warsaw Pact countries at Bucharest.<sup>4/</sup> We will support a reconvening of the Geneva Conference or an Asian conference or any other generally acceptable forum. At the same time, we have also been soberly considering whether lack of agreement on peace aims has been the sole barrier to the beginning of negotiations. We are aware that some perceive other obstacles, and I wish to make here today three proposals with respect to them. First, it is said that one obstacle is the United States bombing of North Viet-Nam. Let it be recalled that there was no bombing of North Viet-Nam for five years during which there was steadily increasing infiltration from North Viet-Nam in violation of the Geneva accords, during which there were no United States combat forces in Viet-Nam and during which strenuous efforts were made to achieve a peaceful settlement. Let it be further recalled that twice before we have suspended our bombing, once for thirty-seven days, without any reciprocal act of de-escalation from the other side and without any sign from them of a willingness to negotiate. Nonetheless, let me say that in this matter the United States is willing once again to take the first step. We are prepared to order a cessation of all bombing of North Viet-Nam the moment we are assured, privately or otherwise, that this step will be answered promptly by a corresponding and appropriate de-escalation on the other side. We therefore urge before this august Assembly that the Government in Hanoi be asked the following question to which we would be prepared to receive either a private or public response: would it, in the interests of peace, and in response to a prior cessation by the United States of the bombing in North Viet-Nam, take corresponding and timely steps to reduce or bring to an end its own military activities against South Viet-Nam?

40. Another obstacle is said to be North Viet-Nam's conviction or fear that the United States intends to establish a permanent military presence in Viet-Nam. There is no basis for such a fear. The United States stands ready to withdraw its forces as others withdraw theirs so that peace can be restored in South Viet-Nam, and favours international machinery, either of the United Nations or other machinery, to ensure effective supervision of the withdrawal. We therefore urge that Hanoi be asked the following question also: would North Viet-Nam be willing to agree to a time-schedule for supervised phased withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of all external forces, those of North Viet-Nam as well as those of the United States and other countries aiding South Viet-Nam?

41. A further obstacle is said to be disagreement over the place of the Viet-Cong in the negotiations. Some argue that regardless of different views on who controls the Viet-Cong, it is a combatant force and, as

such, should take part in the negotiations. Our view on this matter was stated some time ago by President Johnson, who made it clear that, as far as we are concerned, this question would not be an insurmountable problem. We therefore invite the authorities in Hanoi to consider whether this obstacle to negotiations may not be more imaginary than real.

42. We offer these proposals today in the interests of peace in South-East Asia. There may be other proposals. We have not been and we are not now inflexible in our position, but we do believe that whatever approach finally succeeds, it will not be one which simply decries what is happening in Viet-Nam and appeals to one side to stop while encouraging the other. Such a position can only further delay a peace which we all desire and fervently hope for. The only workable formula for a settlement will be one which is just to the basic interests of all who are involved. In this spirit, we welcome discussion of this question either in the Security Council, where the United States itself has raised the matter, or here in the General Assembly, and we are fully prepared to take part in such discussion. We earnestly solicit the further initiative of any organ, including the Secretary-General, or any Member of the United Nations whose influence can help in this cause. Every Member has a responsibility to exercise its power and influence for peace, and the greater its power and influence, the greater is this responsibility.

43. Now I turn to another problem related in part to the first, the problem of how to foster a constructive relationship between the mainland of China, with its 700 million people, and the outside world. The misdirection of so much of the energies of this vast, industrious and gifted people into xenophobic displays, such as the extraordinary, difficult to understand and alarming activities of the Red Guards, and the official policy and doctrine of promoting revolution and subversion throughout the world—these are among the most disturbing phenomena of our age. Surely among the essentials of peace in Asia are reconciliation between nations that now call themselves enemies and, specifically, a peaceful mainland China.

44. Let me say to this Assembly categorically that it is not the policy of the United States to isolate Communist China from the world. On the contrary, we have sought to limit the areas of hostility and to pave the way for the restoration of our historically friendly relations with the great people of China. Our efforts to this end have taken many forms. Since 1955, United States representatives have held 131 bilateral diplomatic meetings at Geneva, and later at Warsaw, with emissaries from Peking. We have sought without success to open numerous unofficial channels of communication with mainland China. We have made it crystal clear that we do not intend to attack, invade or attempt to overthrow the existing régime in Peking. And we have expressed our hope to see representatives of Peking join us and others in meaningful negotiations on disarmament, a nuclear test ban, and a ban on the further spread of nuclear weapons.

45. But the international community, if it is faithful to the Charter and our resolutions, cannot countenance Peking's doctrine and policy of intervening by violence and subversion in other nations, whether

<sup>4/</sup> The issue of this communiqué followed the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, 4-6 July 1966.



under the guise of so-called wars of national liberation against independent countries, or under any other guise. Such intervention can find no place in the United Nations Charter nor in the resolution of the General Assembly. Yet dozens of nations whose representatives are seated in this hall have had direct experience of these illegal activities. It is in the light of these facts and of our ardent desire for a better atmosphere that the United States has carefully considered the issues arising from the absence of representatives of Peking from the United Nations.

46. Two facts bear on this issue and on the attitude of my country towards any attempted solution. First, the Republic of China on Taiwan is a founding Member of the United Nations and its rights are clear. The United States will vigorously oppose any effort to exclude the representatives of the Republic of China from the United Nations in order to put representatives of Communist China in their place. The second fact is that Communist China, unlike anyone else in the history of this Organization, has put forward special and extraordinary terms for consenting to enter the United Nations. In addition to the expulsion of the Republic of China, there are also demands to transform and pervert this Organization from its Charter purposes—some of them put forward as recently as yesterday.

47. What can be the cause of this attitude? We cannot be sure, but we do know that it comes from a leadership whose stated programme is to transform the world by violence. It comes from a leadership which openly proclaims that it is opposed to any discussion of a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam. It would also seem that these leaders wish to isolate their country from a world, and from a United Nations, that they cannot transform or control. Indeed, they have brought their country to a degree of isolation that is unique in the world today, an isolation not only from the United States and its friends and allies, but from most of the non-aligned world, and even from most of the Communist nations. Many, not only the United States, have sought improved relations and have been rebuffed.

48. At this moment in history, therefore, the basic question about the relation between Communist China and the United Nations is a question to which only the leaders in Peking can give the answer. And I put the question: will they refrain from putting forward clearly unacceptable terms; and are they prepared to assume the obligations of the United Nations Charter, in particular the basic Charter obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State?

49. The world—and my Government—will listen most attentively for a helpful response to these questions. We hope it will come soon—the sooner the better. Like many other Members here, the United States has the friendliest historic feelings toward the great Chinese people, and looks forward to the occasion when they will once again enrich, rather than endanger, the fabric of the world community, and, in the spirit of the Charter, "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

50. I have dwelt on these great and thorny issues of Asia, because they are of more, far more, than regional importance. Progress towards their solution would visibly brighten the atmosphere of international relations all over the world. It would enable the United Nations to turn a new corner, to apply itself with renewed energy to the great tasks of reconciliation and peaceful construction which lie before us in every part of the globe.

51. Surely, peaceful construction is needed above all in the less developed areas. It is needed in South-East Asia, today a region of conflict but also a region of vast under-developed resources, where my country is prepared to make a most substantial contribution to the development of the whole region, including North Viet-Nam. It is needed in the Western Hemisphere, where, under the bold ideals of the Alliance for Progress, the States of Latin America are already carrying out a far-reaching, peaceful process of economic and social development.

52. Indeed, in no area are the tasks of economic development more important than on the continent of Africa—represented in this hall by the representatives of thirty-seven nations. Last May, in commemorating the anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, the President suggested ways in which the United States, as a friend of Africa, might help with some of that continent's major economic problems. Our efforts in his field are now entering a new stage as we begin to carry out the recommendations of a special committee appointed to review United States participation in African development programmes, both bilateral and multilateral.

53. But the economic side of this picture cannot stand alone. The time is past when either peace or material progress could be founded on the domination of one people, or one race or one group, by another. Yet attempts to do this, and just this, still continue in southern Africa today. As a result, the danger to peace in that area is real and substantial.

54. My Government holds strong views on these problems. We are not, and never will be, content with a minority Government in Southern Rhodesia. The objective we support for that country remains as it was stated last May: "to open the full power and responsibility of nationhood to all the people of Rhodesia—not just six per cent of them".<sup>5/</sup>

55. Nor can we ever be content with such a situation as that in South West Africa, where one race holds another in intolerable subjection under the false name of apartheid. The decision of the International Court of Justice, in refusing to touch the merits of the question of South West Africa, was most disappointing. But the application of law to this question does not hang on that decision alone. South Africa's conduct remains subject to obligations reaffirmed by earlier Advisory Opinions of the Court whose authority is undiminished. Under these Opinions, South Africa cannot alter the international status of the territory without the consent of the United Nations; and South Africa remains bound to accept United Nations supervision, submit annual reports to the General Assembly, and "promote to the

<sup>5/</sup> See Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (Office of the Federal Register, Washington, D.C.), vol. 2, No. 21, 30 May 1966.

utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants".

56. This is no time for South Africa to take refuge in an overly technical finding of the International Court, which did not deal with the substantive merits of the case. The time is overdue, the time is long overdue, for South Africa to accept its obligations to the international community in regard to South West Africa. Continued violation by South Africa of its plain obligations to the international community would necessarily require all nations, including my own, to take such an attitude into account in their relationships with South Africa.

57. Many other questions of significance will engage our attention during this session of the General Assembly. Foremost among them are questions of disarmament and arms control, of which the most urgent are the completion of a treaty to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and the extension of the limited test-ban treaty.<sup>6/</sup> Remaining differences on this issue can and must be resolved on the basis of mutual compromise.

58. Finally, I wish to speak of one further matter of great concern both to the United Nations and to my country, and that is the draft treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies. Major progress has been made in the negotiation of this important treaty, but several issues remain. One of these concerns the question of reporting by space Powers on their activities on celestial bodies. A second issue concerns access by space Powers to one another's installations on celestial bodies. On both of these points the United States of America, at the most recent meeting of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space made significant compromise proposals—again reaffirmed in the present Committee—in the interest of early agreement.

59. Unfortunately, and regrettably, the USSR has not responded constructively to these proposals. Instead, it has insisted on still another matter: a provision requiring States which grant tracking facilities to one country to make the same facilities available to all others, without reciprocity and without regard to the wishes of the granting State. The obligation proposed by the USSR, as was apparent in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, was unacceptable to many countries participating in our negotiations, and was supported indeed only by a very small number of Eastern European States. Tracking facilities, our discussions demonstrated, are a matter for bilateral negotiation and agreement. The United States has held such discussions and reached such agreements with a number of countries on a basis of mutual commitment and common advantage. France and the European Space Research Organization have also established widespread tracking networks on a similar basis. It is, of course, open to the USSR and any other space Power, without objection from my Government, to proceed in exactly the same way.

60. I should like to state today my Government's interest in bilateral co-operation in the tracking of

<sup>6/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow, 5 August 1963.

space vehicles on the basis of mutual benefits, and I should like now to make an offer to help resolve this dispute. If the Soviet Union desires to provide for tracking coverage from United States territory, we, on our part, are prepared to discuss with Soviet representatives the technical and other requirements involved, with a view to reaching some mutually beneficial agreement; and our scientists and technical representatives can meet without delay to explore the possibilities to this end.

61. For indeed, the outer-space treaty is too important and too urgent to be delayed. This treaty offers us the opportunity to establish, in the unlimited realm of space beyond this planet, a rule of peace and law—before the arms race has been extended into that realm. It is all the more urgent because of man's recent strides towards landing on the moon. By far the greater part of the work on the treaty is now behind us. We have agreed on important provisions, including major obligations in the area of arms control. We should proceed to settle the remaining subsidiary issues in a spirit of conciliation and understanding, so that this General Assembly may give its approval to a completed treaty before the Assembly adjourns.

62. I conclude by expressing our earnest hope that the words of the United States today on all these issues may contribute to concrete steps toward peace and a better world.

63. We know the difficulties but we are not discouraged. In the twenty-one turbulent years since the Charter went into effect, we of the United Nations have faced conflicts at least as great and as difficult as any that confront us today. The failure of this Organization has been prophesied many times. But all these prophecies have been disproved. Even the most formidable issues have not killed our Organization—and none will. Indeed, it has grown great and respected by facing the hardest issues and dealing forthrightly with them.

64. There is no magic in the United Nations save what we, its Members, bring to it. And that magic is a simple thing: our irreducible awareness of our common humanity, and our consequent will to peace. Without that awareness and that will, these great buildings would be an empty shell. With them, we have here the greatest instrument ever devised by man for the reconciliation of conflicts and the building of the better future for which all mankind yearns.

65. The United Nations will live. We, its Members, must and will make it live and flourish, and whatever the troubles we face, we must and will make its purposes of peace more and more come true.

66. M. BINDZI (Cameroon) (translated from French): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to offer you, on behalf of the delegation of Cameroon, my warmest congratulations on your brilliant election as President of the twenty-first session of the General Assembly. I take even greater pleasure in doing so because I have been privileged to know you for a number of years. During this time I, like others, have admired your great intelligence, the power of your imagination and your keen analytic mind, your ability to perceive all aspects of a problem and your genius for com-



promise—all qualities that predisposed you quite naturally to face the tasks that will fall to you during the consideration of the items on the agenda of this session. There is no doubt that, armed as you are, you will be able to guide our work, in a spirit of justice, fairness and respect for law, to constructive solutions acceptance to all.

67. My delegation would also like to express its great pleasure at seeing the Assembly welcome a new Member, Guyana, that multiracial and once strife-torn nation, which has just attained independence amid the joy and unanimity of its people. We hope that it will preserve this unanimity so that it may work—independence being only a beginning and a means—in peace and harmony towards its full development, bringing with its youth a new and enriching vitality to our Organization.

68. May I also be permitted to hail another addition to this Assembly—the return of Indonesia. I am indeed fortunate on the occasion of my first return to the United Nations. When I was last here I saw the departure of Indonesia with sadness, a feeling which I am sure was shared by all who were present. Now our satisfaction at its return is as great as was our regret when we saw it leave.

69. The annual meeting of the General Assembly provides the States represented here—which actually amount to practically the whole of the human race today—with the opportunity to assess the relations in our society: in other words, to study the evolution of these relations during the period between sessions to appraise the sources of tension and to seek ways to guarantee conditions for co-existence and co-operation, so that the entire international community may benefit, in accordance with the requirements and the objectives of our Charter. To this end, each of us must come to this rostrum to describe the situation in his own part of the world, as the President of the Republic of the Philippines did so admirably yesterday [1411th meeting], like the characters in La Fontaine's fable *Les animaux malades de la peste* but without their hypocrisy and prompted only by the genuine intention of the fabulist.

70. It has become an established fact during the past few years that at the opening of each session this Assembly finds itself in the grip of a crisis. Or, to be more precise, it suffers from endemic crises. These are certainly not all alike, nor are they equally grave.

71. A year ago we celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. At the very solemn observance of this event all men of good will eagerly looked forward—and my delegation candidly expressed this hope aloud at San Francisco—to the rebirth of our Organization, to its revival, to universal compliance with the Charter, to the achievement of the resolute aspiration of each State for peace through respect for the sovereignty of others, to universal agreement to carry out joint resolutions honestly and wholeheartedly, and to commitment to respect for law and justice.

72. Instead of this, what do we see? We are witnessing a disturbing and progressive deterioration of the relations between States, an aggravation of frictions and conflicts, a fresh outbreak of violence and, even

worse, a vindication of this violence almost to the point of a repudiation of law in the very international institutions established by laborious common effort to affirm and defend justice.

73. And this is happening throughout the world. In order not to offend anyone, I shall merely outline briefly the present situation in my native continent of Africa, where, all things considered, there are no hotbeds of war, despite the persistent efforts of evil forces to find a favourable ground for all their machinations. This continent, which throughout its history has experienced the most disastrous upheavals and the most cruel humiliations, with countless periods of invasion and servitude, in which the cream of its race was taken from it and its most resistant individuals exported for the enrichment of other lands—this Africa, now valiantly awakened, believed at the start of this decade that the day was at last dawning when after the liberation of most of its peoples, it would be able to devote itself to peaceful development and progress. Africa was mistaken. In the interval between two sessions, very few of the Governments in its many States went untroubled or free from menace. Many of them, even among those reputed to be most firmly established, trembled on their foundations and a great number were actually overthrown. We have only to glance at the map and count these troubled nations to see how widespread this instability is. Not that the *élite* have failed. On the contrary, it is enough to be familiar with Africa, or simply to cross the continent, to appreciate the contrast between the formidable accomplishments attained in so few years and the long night of stagnation under colonial occupation. Throughout the continent, and almost without exception, the new national Powers have understood their obligation and have resolutely set out to build their States, despite colossal difficulties.

74. To be sure, the recent accession to independence bears within itself the seeds of disintegration of these newly established entities. We recognize our ethnic and linguistic differences, the impatience of the masses to demand everything at once, as if, as the saying is, Rome could be built here in a day, and the thirst for reform among some members of the *élite*, which rapidly becomes a thirst for power alone. We are aware of all this and we shall not forget it.

75. The basic problem resides in the fact that Africa has become the object of a far-reaching formal offensive movement which seeks to undermine the freedom won in recent years through courageous fighting. At the same time, the last strongholds of colonialism and racism have grown more powerful as if by magic. Portugal and South Africa can exchange glances of malicious satisfaction at having been able to resist and victoriously to defy a condemnation that was universal only on the surface, but within which tacit and powerful complicity lay concealed.

76. How can anyone be surprised that Ian Smith, emboldened by this situation and secure from the sanctions which the United Kingdom had declared would prove fatal to his régime, has followed the example of South Africa and is calmly establishing a duplicate of that régime? The embargo demanded

by Africa has been pushed aside and circumvented. Organized maritime smuggling is being practised. What has happened to the days of maritime expeditions? Perhaps the example of the United States, now a great Power, is the decisive factor which deters the famous navy of the United Kingdom from combating rebel Englishmen abroad with anything but loud-speakers.

77. Even international organs have joined in this battle against Africa. On 18 July 1966 the International Court of Justice delivered its verdict on South West Africa.<sup>2/</sup> The unanimous censure which this evoked throughout the world and the rejoicing that followed in South Africa are eloquent testimony and need no comment. Sound justice does not consist in the casuistic declamation of legal mysteries. It lies, rather, in popular acceptance and in the knowledge that the just cause and the good law have been defended. In the circumstances, the verdict may be interpreted as follows: "Ethiopia and Liberia should mind their own business! South Africa is right in annexing South West Africa! The mode of administration is in conformity with the Charter and its objectives." Over-simplification, the jurists will say! I retort: a translation of scientific subtleties into practical and concrete realities. Besides, it is easy to discuss the legal basis of the decision without being a jurist, for what is at issue is the very future of this Territory, which is under an international mandate and which has never formed an integral part of South Africa. The Charter and the historical Declaration appearing in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) call for the granting of independence to all countries and territories which are still dependent. How can this future be guaranteed by the verdict of The Hague?

78. This Judgment has demonstrated once and for all, and in the clearest possible fashion, the crisis facing certain organs of the United Nations. Here you have an organ based on the Charter, and this organ hands down a verdict contrary to the Charter! It is quite simple: the law itself is vitiated, and the machinery established expounds the "law" for which it was created. The privilege of the veto enjoyed by some members of the Security Council is a result of this same concept. Why, then, should we be surprised that international problems remain unresolved? Their solution is not considered just unless the great Powers alone are satisfied with it; too bad if it is injurious to the peoples directly involved. This curious subjective morality might be summed up in a single sentence: "Everything is well which is accepted by the great Powers".

79. I have just sketched rapidly the negative side of the contemporary African situation. It would be easy to apply this Judgment to what is going on elsewhere in the world. Why are there so many divided nations: Germany, Korea, Viet-Nam? Why these hotbeds of war? The guns are silent as soon as the "great" Powers have found a *modus vivendi* acceptable to them, even if it means martyrdom for the peoples directly concerned; the guns begin to thunder again as soon as

one of these Powers decides that it is no longer to its liking.

80. This highly explosive and dangerous situation governs even the machinery of our work and the life of the United Nations, so much so that the confusion and lassitude have finally affected our Chief Executive, the Secretary-General himself. The entire world has paid a tribute to the outstanding services which the United Nations owes U Thant. His work bears the indelible mark of his lofty and unique personality. My delegation associates itself, in all modesty, with this work, which will long be remembered by the international community. My delegation, together with all those present here, will regret his eventual departure. For this reason, we join in those urgent pleas, already uttered, that he will remain at his post. We are pleased to note that he has already accepted the beginnings of a compromise.

81. If, however, U Thant, to our dismay, remains steadfast in his decision, my delegation earnestly hopes that the Organization will find a worthy successor to him. But in that case, we utter an immediate warning: the same causes will always produce the same effects. Another Secretary-General, with a different temperament but a no-less inspired outlook, served the United Nations until his supreme sacrifice: Dag Hammarskjöld, whom we remember with sorrow. One cannot help comparing these two terminations of office and finding some similarity in them: one man fell and the other is leaving us. In both cases, their work remained unfinished.

82. The international community must rapidly, on pain of self-delusion, become sensible of this loss of most gifted men. If the present Secretary-General has become convinced of his powerlessness, it is hard to believe that, as long as the world situation and the United Nations machinery remain as they are today, a successor would not be confronted with the same invincible obstacles.

83. For the last few years, the small and medium-sized Powers have constantly denounced this situation. The concept of a United Nations designed to prevent war only between the great Powers must give place to the concept of one designed to prevent any war. For war always begins with small nations. This happened in 1914, for the First World War, at Sarejevo, and again in 1939, for the Second World War, in Ethiopia and Spain. That is why what is going on in Viet-Nam is dangerous and is liable to develop into a wide-spread conflict. As the Secretary-General so aptly put it:

"... the pressure of events is remorselessly leading towards a major war, while efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind" [A/6400].

84. The advances of space science have admittedly brought with them the possibility of open sky espionage by means of observation by satellites and according to the most highly qualified strategists this lessens the danger of total war. But the danger of escalation remains real, because it can bring into the conflict both China, which is close by, and the Soviet Union, which is not very far away. Ever since 1939, Viet-Nam—

<sup>2/</sup> See *South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966, p. 6.*

whether North or South—has been engaged in war and has been suffering martyrdom. It is obvious that Viet-Nam owes this situation solely to the fact that it is so close to the giant nation of China. Indeed, every small country in the vicinity of China—Korea, Laos, Cambodia and the rest—is a prey to the same insecurity.

85. What the United Nations must do, therefore, is reverse the trend; it must adapt its structure in order to prevent war between small Powers. This would destroy the evil at its roots, remove sources of temptation for the great Powers to intervene, in short, protect these latter Powers against themselves. For the danger of power and force lies in the demon of expansion. The possession of power breeds the temptation to use it. If you take away the opportunity to use a weapon, it can be discarded.

86. Only in such an atmosphere will it be possible to talk of disarmament, when the United Nations, having once again become a dynamic and active force and being no longer in its present state of passivity, will have convinced all mankind of the uselessness of armaments. Why should the great Powers—for only they are involved—disarm? They live in a perpetual state of war through local conflicts introduced in small countries. That being so, they must continue to improve their weapons, since a final direct confrontation is not impossible. But that event must be anticipated and in the meantime the enemy must be forced to expose himself more and more by displaying his successive innovations on the various trial battlefields.

87. Why be surprised, then, when our diplomats gather at Geneva and "chat" endlessly, while here and there sub-machine guns open fire and sow death? It is surely a grave error for some to minimize these so-called "small" wars. They are the sporadic and localized manifestation of a greater tension, of a more menacing psychosis reflected elsewhere in the arms race and in nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. Thanks to the Moscow Treaty, this competition has now shifted from the atmosphere to below ground and into laboratories. Are we then to be reassured by the knowledge that our air is less contaminated? Not at all, for now the laboratories are preparing the death ray. We thus continue to live in a state of perpetual suspense, at the mercy of an incident that can trigger the earth's destruction. There is also the arms stockpile, which constitutes a permanent threat, and no progress towards an agreement on its destruction is yet in sight.

88. Fortunately, it is not only these signs of despair and universal suicide that we perceive. Throughout the world greater and greater forces of good will are gathering. The determination of peace-loving men is appearing, is rising and is already echoing on high. This voice, louder than thunder, will eventually drown the clamour for war.

89. This voice was heard in Africa last April, at Dakar, during the vast, unique and significant gathering of the First World Festival of Negro Arts. It was certainly an exceptional celebration of beauty, a mass of the sublime, an exaltation of Negro culture. The peoples of the Negro race who met there had no intention of creating—as others had done—a cult or

adoration of a racial concept based on some notion of superiority. Quite the contrary; I have only to quote the inspired organizer of the festival, Mr. L. Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, who stated in his opening address:

"We feel deeply honoured to welcome here, at this First World Festival of Negro Arts, so many talented persons from the four continents, who represent the four horizons of the mind. But what honours us above all and what enhances your merit is the fact that you will have participated in an undertaking far more revolutionary than the exploitation of outer space: the elaboration of a new humanism, which this time will embrace all men throughout our planet Earth."

And the President added further on:

"... we are aware that the humanism of the twentieth century, which can only be civilization of the universal, would be impoverished if it were to lack a single value of a single people, a single race or a single continent. Once again, the problem is posed in terms of complementarity, of dialogue and exchange, not of opposition or racial hatred. Besides, how could we Negroes reject the scientific and technical discoveries of the European and North American people? For it is thanks to these discoveries that man sees man transforming himself along with nature."

90. We have also witnessed the resurrection of OCAM, the Joint African and Malagasy Organization, which was buried by some before it was dead. We feel it is a good thing that, in a continent as varied as ours, the States between which there are affinities should gather together, form a group and build a common foundation for co-operation. So long as there is no exclusiveness and so long as the organization is not directed against anyone, this is a positive help towards regrouping and consequently a step towards African unity.

91. This unity must be neither monolithic, uniform nor composed of identical and interchangeable elements. We are well aware of this in Cameroon, a country so diversified that an eminent African has called it the microcosm of Africa. It is varied in its physical conformation as well as in its inhabitants, among whom Bantus, Semi-Bantus, Sudanese and Nilotic peoples live together. A colonial division of two cultures—English and French—has been superimposed upon these human, ethnic and linguistic differences in a Republic which, by its very nature, has become a federal republic. The fiery emotional temperament of its people soon led some to despair of building a viable and stable State on a foundation of so many and varied opinions and so many political parties.

92. As those who were here in 1959, when the thirteenth session of the General Assembly was resumed in order to settle its future finally well remember, my country caused much concern and even created battles of conscience. But peacefully, through persuasion, without governmental law or decree, the entire country has found itself, and all political parties have willingly and freely held meetings and decided to dissolve and to merge into one great national party: l'Union nationale

camerounaise. On 1 September, only a few days ago, all the people of Cameroon enthusiastically and joyfully celebrated this great victory over themselves. Announcing the event over our national radio, his Excellency El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, the Head of State, declared:

"Thus 1 September 1966, five years after reunification, marks the advent of the Cameroon National Union; this is another 1 September, rich with meaning, which will be both an example and a symbol in the eyes of future generations. . . .

"What audacity and self-effacement all we Cameroonians have required! How much enlightened patriotism and clear-sightedness, savoir faire and tenacity, and what a keen sense of conviction we have needed to accomplish together so many difficult tasks!"

93. On 21 August, at the closure of the congress at which the Union Camerounais, the majority party of French-speaking East Cameroon was dissolved, the Head of State declared:

"On 1 September next we shall have won a great battle. Instead of passing a law in the National Assembly, in Parliament, in order to create a single party, although since independence we have enjoyed a comfortable majority, if not unanimity, in Parliament, we have succeeded, through free discussion and consent, in gathering all Cameroonians into one great united national party."

94. Apart from exerting a healthy influence on the political atmosphere, this genuine internal revolution, peaceful and fruitful, constitutes a mobilization factor for our people at the very moment when we are launching our second five-year plan. In the report of our Head of State to the National Assembly, we read the following:

"This plan entails a total investment sum of 165,000 million francs CFA, or an average of 33,000 million per annum, which represents a substantial effort on our part when one considers that investments in 1963-1964 amounted to 19,000 million francs. The distribution of these investments by broad sectors is as follows:

	In thousands of millions
1.4% for education. . . . .	2
45.6% for production. . . . .	75.5
35.1% for infrastructure and trans- port. . . . .	60
15.8% for social services. . . . .	26
2.1% for administrative services. . . . .	3.5"

This five-year plan is obviously ambitious. That is why political unification was hailed here with indescribable enthusiasm as a contribution to peace and stability, for a nation cannot be built amid disorder.

95. We have mentioned at this rostrum the fortunate evolution taking place in Cameroon because it represents a test that proves at its level that African unity—and perhaps even world harmony—is possible in diversity and not necessarily in uniformity. That is why, faithful to the joint African and Malagasy Organization, we also remain faithful to the Organization of African

Unity. We have attended all the meetings of the latter organization, even those at which certain problems of the hour had provoked defections, for, just as the best is the enemy of the good, so the search for unanimity at all costs is very often the surest way to prevent a large majority.

96. Along with the signs provided by national events or by the actions of groups of States, the growing tendency of eminent world figures to take the initiative can be cited as a positive contribution. Foremost among these is His Holiness Pope Paul VI, whose illustrious voice still resounds in this hall. The echo still rings within each and every one of us of the Pope's homily for the cause of peace [1347th meeting], his condemnation of war, his impassioned appeals to the wealthy to turn with heart and reason towards the solidarity they owe their fellow men. And has he not, in his paternal solicitude, just bid all believers offer up a novena, imploring God to bring peace to Viet-Nam?

97. It is with great pride that I recall, too, the recent visit, just last week, of our Chief of State to His Holiness Pope Paul VI. In defining the full significance of this visit, the Pope himself said:

"We ourselves like to think of your visit as a solemn tribute to the spiritual values upon which all civilization rests. We have, moreover, appreciated the sympathy with which you followed developments in the Oecumenical Council by being officially represented at the opening and at the closing of that solemn conclave, from which a wave of love and admiration has surged over the modern world. It was likewise with joy that We Ourselves recently approved the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Cameroon and the Holy See. We recognize this with pleasure as an additional contribution to harmony and understanding among nations, and hence, an additional milestone along the road to peace among all men."

98. This was indeed the purpose of the visit: to place another milestone along the road to peace among men. In his reply to the Pope, our Chief of State concluded:

"We bring to Your Holiness the fervent wishes of our people for your personal health, and for the spiritual strength necessary in order to continue with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to watch over the Church of Christ; and we trust that we can contribute effectively at all times to your efforts to establish an era of peace and brotherhood among all men."

The same fervent wishes are, of course, shared by my delegation.

99. The political problems which we have just outlined from the viewpoint of our own Government are significant only in the light of our common will, the will of the Members of the United Nations to create a harmonious international community from which injustice has been banished, where the man of the twentieth century will find the conditions necessary for his full development. But this desire, you will surely agree, cannot possibly be realized as long as the disparity in living conditions is part of the basic structure of the modern world. We shall never grow weary of

repeating that the lofty ideals of peace, justice and brotherhood solemnly proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations will remain a dead letter and a pious wish until adequate solutions are found to the distressing problem of under-development, and until the majority of men, the victims of particular historical conditions are given the chance of a fair share in the material and moral riches of this world, which today more than any other time are our common heritage.

100. The disparity in living conditions within the international community is thus a major problem, if not the most important one, which the United Nations must study and solve if it is to remain true to its task. It is therefore gratifying that this question occupies the prominent place it deserves among the major concerns of the United Nations. Evidence of this is the present Development Decade, which has raised so many hopes. The Decade was proclaimed in 1961 [resolution 1710 (XVI)], and now, after five years, it would seem that enough perspective has been gained to enable us to evaluate the results attained thus far. The guiding principle of the United Nations Development Decade, as is self-evident, is that under-development can be conquered only through a close combination of the efforts of the developing nations themselves with both bilateral and multilateral international co-operation.

101. People in a hurry or seeking to salve their conscience have always minimized the gigantic struggle waged by our countries against under-development. We thus derive some satisfaction from the words of the Secretary-General, who declared in this connexion to the Economic and Social Council:

"The World Economic Survey, 1965 rebuts the arguments of those who have contended that the developing countries have done little in the last five years to mobilize their domestic resources. It shows that in the first half of the Development Decade, despite disappointments and failures, the developing countries did succeed over a broad front in increasing their own contribution to their development."<sup>8/</sup>

We quote this text with satisfaction, not in order to draw from it the illusion that the development struggle can be won solely through the efforts and resources of the developing nations, but in order to indicate more clearly where the responsibilities lie. It is generally agreed that despite the efforts of the developing countries themselves and despite the progress recorded here and there, the goals of the Decade will be reached by 1970 only if the developed countries abandon what the Secretary-General calls their "immediate and relatively narrow interests", and are prepared to give a vigorous and unqualified impetus to international co-operation.

102. The record of international co-operation for this first half of the United Nations Development Decade is somewhat disappointing. The first thing to be pointed out is the inadequacy of financial resources made available to the developing nations by the developed countries. Not only have these funds not

reached the volume expected, but also the terms on which they are granted have become more stringent and hampering, thereby causing an increase in the balance of payments deficit of the developing countries which is detrimental to their development.

103. It is urgent—need we reiterate—that steps be taken to alleviate these difficulties. The developed nations have approved the principle and goals of the Development Decade, and it does not seem beyond their means to set aside 1 per cent of their gross national product to assist in the development of the less prosperous countries. The proof of this is that certain developed nations, such as France, have already reached this minimum objective, and that others, such as Japan, are not very far from doing so. While we do not wish to underestimate the problems of reforming the international monetary system and creating new liquidity, it would seem that it is not the means that the developed nations lack, but rather, we are forced to say, the political will to root out under-development from the structures of the modern world.

104. This lack of will is also evident from the difficulties encountered by the developing nations in international trade. We had the right to expect that the developed countries, all more or less advocates of the very respectable maxim "Trade, not aid", would give us the opportunity to find in this area, through a rational, stable and equitable organization of world markets for our main exports, the additional resources necessary for our economic growth. It was with this in mind that we enthusiastically hailed the new United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, whose primary goal, after all, is precisely to make the international community aware of the decisive impact of international trade and development.

105. The experience of UNCTAD, although limited in time, hardly suggests that the developed nations have resolved to open up their markets to the products of the developing nations at remunerative and stable prices. We need not say how much we regret the failure of the United Nations Cocom Conference which the under-developed countries cannot help but consider as a test of the effectiveness of UNCTAD. In the interests of the international community, it would be dangerous to sow the suspicion among these countries that the developed nations prefer direct aid, which can be politically manipulated and easily maintained at a desired level, rather than a market organization which is based on mutual interests and which would give the developing nations a large measure of security for their development policies. We would personally see nothing wrong in each of the developed nations choosing the form of aid best suited to its national genius and most in keeping with its individual capabilities. What seems to us altogether outrageous is the permanent deficit—in our opinion deliberately maintained—of development aid in relation to our needs and to the lion's share of the benefits obtained by the developed countries from the present structure of international exchanges as reflected in the unequal evolution of prices for manufactures as compared with basic commodities and raw materials. How else are we to interpret this attitude on the part of the developed countries, which are also the principal

<sup>8/</sup> For the summary text of this statement, see Official Documents of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first Session, 1421st meeting.

consumers, with regard to the financing of buffer stocks, the keystone of effective organization of the cocoa market? Only if this financing were exclusively taken over would the under-developed countries be convinced that the developed nations were really determined to make international trade an effective stimulus to their development.

106. The failure of the Cocoa Conference is not the only source of concern we feel as a result of the attitude of developed nations vis-à-vis the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Virtually all of them up to now have paid lip service to the principles set forth by that organ. With his characteristic lucidity and courage, the Secretary-General has not hesitated to indicate where the responsibility lies:

"The slow rate of progress on virtually every recommendation of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, even those adopted unanimously, might also in part reflect a preoccupation with immediate and relatively narrow interests."<sup>9/</sup>

107. As of course we are well aware from La Rochefoucauld, self-interest speaks many tongues, and it motivates the actions of States, as of individuals, more often than do the lofty moral principles proclaimed in charters. But how can one help but feel disquiet in the face of this discrepancy between word and deed at such a crucial moment in the history of mankind? We sincerely believe that it is time we learned, all of us, to suit our actions to our words, for the noblest interest is always—as history has amply shown—that of all mankind.

108. While we are disappointed with the results attained thus far in the context of the United Nations Development Decade, we cannot deny the importance of the measures to which it has given rise. There is every reason to welcome the establishment of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, the regional development banks in Africa and Asia, and other organs. But the most positive achievement in the area of international co-operation is, indisputably, the spirit and method which the Decade has brought to international relations. As was emphasized by the representative of Canada during the forty-first session of the Economic and Social Council, the virtually universal acceptance of its goals represents in itself a step forward, and exerts a noticeable influence both on the work of United Nations organs and on the national policy of Governments. It makes the struggle against under-development the responsibility of each and every one of us, a concrete opportunity for experiment in human solidarity, and it implies the stimulating idea of the evaluation not only of individual contributions to the common effort to free man from servitude to hunger, ignorance and disease, but also, of the general progress made towards the realization of specific goals.

109. We also hail as a positive step the establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development. This, we trust, will mark the end of that

gratuitous theory that the mission in life of our countries is limited to agriculture and to the supplying of raw materials to industrialized nations. UNOID must help to accelerate industrialization in the developing nations. All progress in those countries—as even the most reactionary economists admit today—is intimately bound up with industrial development, without which there can be no upswing in the economy nor any rapid growth in labour productivity. The very numbers of the institutions which have sprung up during the Decade and are attempting to attain its goals increasingly raise the problem of the co-ordination of United Nations activities in the area of development. We feel that the work of rationalization which has led up to the United Nations Development Programme must be carried on in order to avoid duplication and eliminate all but those organs which meet real needs and have effective means of action.

110. But while co-ordination is desirable, it must not be overdone. Over-centralization might have the effect of allowing the work of the Development agencies of the United Nations to become entangled in a bureaucratic maze instead of progressing smoothly, rapidly and effectively. Whatever the policy pursued, we are convinced of the need to maintain, and even to extend, the autonomy of the regional commissions. The results already achieved by those commissions are, generally speaking, outstanding. Because they are closer to the problems confronting our countries, the commissions are in a better position to translate our aspirations in the direction of development into concrete programmes and to organize whatever regional co-operation there must be.

111. We believe that regional co-operation can contribute substantially to the growth of national economies. The struggle against under-development requires the co-ordinated efforts of the developing countries themselves to ensure that foreign aid and modern production techniques have adequate underpinning and optimum conditions of effectiveness on which to build, and that these nations can rationalize their industrialization process. With this in mind, we established the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UNDEAC). This institution, which already has encouraging achievements to its credit, will be smoothly incorporated, when the time comes, within the sub-regional structures of Central Africa administered by the Economic Commission for Africa. For we do not wish to organize for selfish purposes, but rather, to enable man's effort everywhere to free him from the bonds of under-development, with the support of a series of increasingly concrete focal points of co-operation.

112. The question of development henceforth concerns us all, collectively and individually, in a world where technical progress is hastening unification at a dizzy pace. It would be a grave error on the part of the developed nations to continue to think we are asking for charity when we appeal for their aid in our struggle against under-development. It is not a question of charity, but of man's responsibility to his fellow man, of solidarity as a supreme duty, for without it there can be no hope for humanity.

113. "Development is peace" said His Holiness Pope Paul VI recently, in a striking and most significant

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid.



statement. Indeed, world peace is inseparable from the reign of justice, and injustice is incompatible with universal brotherhood, which is the ultimate goal of the United Nations. It is incomprehensible that the great developed nations, driven by an unmoderated desire for power, should continue to spend enormous sums on atomic or conventional weapons, or for wars—about which the least that can be said is that they will yield no result—in a word, for destructive purposes, and that they should become apathetic about fulfilling their duty for the development of man, the development "of the total man, and of all men", as François Perroux so neatly put it.

114. We are well aware that mankind is not yet morally ripe for a universal tax for development; yet this is the inescapable consequence of our common destiny in the modern world. But how can one resist the temptation of citing to this august Assembly the noble gesture of the Shah of Iran, the ruler of an under-developed nation, who recently offered to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization the equivalent of one day's military expenditure of his Government? The theoreticians of European socialism have repeatedly stressed the moral superiority of the proletariat over the satiated bourgeois of developed societies. Are we to think today that it is the under-developed nations, the proletariat of international society, that must henceforth bear the torch of mankind's most lofty ideals? If this prospect fills us with pride, it is nevertheless a privilege which we would joyfully share with all men of goodwill. For the stake is so important and our destinies so intertwined that we can never overdo our joint efforts to restore hope to mankind. But no matter what answering echo the gesture by the Shah of Iran may evoke within the conscience of men throughout the world, new means must still be found to ensure that the second half of the United Nations Development Decade will be successful and that the majority of human beings may finally glimpse the prospect of a world in which man will fully regain his dignity—a world rid of injustice, hunger, ignorance and disease—the world of brotherly love for which we all most fervently yearn.

115. These means can emerge only from an honest dialogue within the United Nations. The developed nations will of course have to make increased efforts commensurate with the needs of the Third World. In addition, the rationalization and co-ordination of the economic organs of the United Nations are essential to their effective functioning in the area of development. But perhaps we should now think of giving the Development Decade a basic philosophy such as it must have for its success. Its original targets might be reduced as a result, but its effectiveness would certainly be enhanced.

116. It is far from our intention to try here and now to define such a philosophy. I would nevertheless like to share with you several ideas which we consider fundamental in this connexion. The dispersal of efforts is always harmful to any human undertaking. It would seem desirable to apply the funds made available during the Decade to well-defined and limited projects chosen as far as possible in such a way as to have a catalytic effect on the national economies of the de-

veloping countries. The United Nations Organization for Industrial Development could play a valuable role in the selection of such projects, inasmuch as these will be primarily of an industrial nature, since industry lends itself best to such ends. We do not, of course, wish to belittle the importance of the other aspects of development, including infra-structure equipment. But in our opinion that should be left to the capital equipment fund, which would handle long-term projects, as opposed to the United Nations Development Decade, which should aim at an immediately detectable rise in the standard of living of the developing nations.

117. And since the creation of new liquidity as part of a reform of the international monetary system is now being discussed, we wish to add that this can have no real value unless it is looked upon as a supplementary means of assisting the developing countries in their struggle to break through the vicious circle of under-development. In this connexion, we feel that the new liquidity proposals should serve first of all to finance the capital equipment sector; this would then accelerate an upswing in our economies, and at the same time greatly improve our balance of payments. For the fundamental objective remains the same: to bring about, through appropriate collective efforts, a transfer of real resources from the developed countries generally to the developing nations.

118. I have tried to outline our main difficulties and to diagnose as far as possible the deep-seated ill—the antagonism that exists between the principles of the Charter and the machinery established to carry them out. Thus apartheid continues in Africa; the Republic of South Africa seizes South West Africa by force with the blessing—which no one can understand—of the International Court of Justice; war and violence grow more and more rampant; the Secretary-General resigns out of discouragement and helplessness; the United Nations Development Decade is at a standstill, or rather losing ground; and the economic situation of the smaller countries is not improving at all.

119. Yet a great wave of enthusiasm greeted the observance of the twentieth anniversary of our Organization; for twenty years is sufficient time to allow us to step back and reflect, and judge things dispassionately. Those twenty years clearly show how short people's memories are. In 1966, after a mere score of years, 1941 seems so distant! But in 1941, when the famous Atlantic Charter was proclaimed, the world was divided into two camps; that of law and justice, in a word, of good, and that of racial superiority, brute force and violence, in a word, of evil. It was because of this basic cleavage that the lofty principles of the Charter were formulated, adopted and solemnly written down for posterity. But all this very soon fell into decay as the years passed, and that is why we are faced with our present difficulties.

120. The remedy is nevertheless simple. Let us examine our conscience together; let us once more become imbued with the spirit of the Charter. Let us meditate upon its noble and solemn preamble, which I should like to quote once again:

*"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge*

of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and  
 to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and  
 to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and  
 to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

*"And for these ends*

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and  
 to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international

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

121. I know, of course, that every representative here present knows these words by heart. The remedy is in this preamble, for we must recognize today that the machinery set up in its train has had the effect of emasculating its lofty objectives. To err is human; but is it so difficult, once we have recognized the error, to make use of this recognition like a lever, operated according to the eternal principle of Archimedes, to disperse the evils of our century? When that time comes, like the angels in the "Song of the Blessed Spirits", we too shall be able to declaim: "We are blessed spirits come down from our heavenly thrones to show ourselves on earth. Having seen the world a prey to so many evils and waging such a cruel war for such trivial reasons, we wished to show those who have strayed how pleased Our Lord would be if men were to lay down their arms and live in peace."

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*