

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1137th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 28 September 1962,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SHAGDARSUREN (Mongolian People's Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election to the high position of President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

2. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to put forward today the Mongolian Government's point of view on some of the most important problems of present-day international life.

3. Never in the past has the question of peace and war assumed such overwhelming importance as at the present time. The spectacular progress made in science and technology has led not only to great achievements which serve the cause of the welfare of mankind, but also to the invention of those terrible means of mass destruction, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. That is the reason why the peoples must strive still more earnestly to preserve and strengthen peace and security by every possible means and to banish bloody wars, above all thermonuclear holocausts, from the life of mankind. The United Nations, which has proclaimed its aim and purpose to be the maintenance of international peace and security and the saving of succeeding generations from the scourge of war, must not only appreciate the full gravity of these problems, but also take effective measures to bring about their successful solution. The peoples of the world have the right to expect that at this session the burning questions of the day will be energetically discussed and that constructive decisions will be taken concerning them.

4. In this dynamic age of ours, in which different social systems and different social and political outlooks exist in the world, the only reasonable way in which nations can live together is by peaceful

coexistence and the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means, through negotiation.

5. The States Members of the United Nations have taken a solemn pledge to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. This provision of the United Nations Charter enshrines the principle of the peaceful coexistence of all States, regardless of differences in their political, social, and economic systems. This principle of international relations is not contrived, but is dictated by life itself as an indispensable element in the development of human society.

6. This principle lies at the basis of Mongolian foreign policy, which has its roots in the very essence of our popular-democratic structure and in the sincere efforts of the Mongolian people to preserve and strengthen the general peace and security of nations.

7. Unfortunately, not all countries as yet adhere to this principle in their foreign policy. The monopolistic circles of certain Western countries are sometimes highly displeased when a nation chooses for itself a social system which is not to their taste.

8. While inciting war hysteria against heroic Cuba, the government officials of the United States of America are making no secret of the fact that one of the reasons for their aggressive actions is Cuba's socialist system.

9. At the same time, in order to "justify" their aggression against Cuba, they are trying to convince public opinion that Cuba is carrying on subversive activities against the United States and other neighbouring countries, and is preparing aggressive action against them. Thus, Mr. Stevenson asserted from this rostrum that Cuba is threatening the United States and its neighbours of the Western Hemisphere [1125th meeting]. Is there anyone who can believe such an assertion? It would never enter the mind of any person of common sense that little Cuba could menace one of the greatest and mightiest capitalist Powers of the world—the United States of America.

10. Have Cuban warplanes and warships bombed and shelled peaceful American towns? Have the Cuban authorities assembled and organized hired gunmen for attacks on the United States? No! On the contrary, however, the Republic of Cuba has more than once been the victim of all these types of aggression on the part of the United States of America.

11. The war hysteria against revolutionary Cuba that is now gathering strength in the United States and the outrageous demands made by certain reckless elements for direct military intervention against Cuba are fraught with the gravest dangers to the cause of peace.

12. The United Nations must recognize, at this perilous moment, its high responsibility for the

maintenance of the peace and security of nations and its obligation to take decisive steps to stop United States aggression against the Republic of Cuba, a Member of the United Nations.

13. The present generation, which has experienced the horrors of two world wars, longs for peace and tranquillity, and emphatically demands the taking of effective steps to remove the threat of a new destructive war.

14. In the eyes of the nations of the world, the surest and most thorough means of achieving this aim is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

15. The programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations^{1/} [869th meeting] is today of even greater significance for the preservation of peace. Today, the idea of general and complete disarmament has won the hearts and minds of millions of people all over the globe.

16. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has carefully followed the progress of the discussions of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which have, unfortunately, so far failed to produce any concrete results. I will not at this point go into detail concerning all the reasons for the fruitlessness of the Eighteen-Nation Committee's work—we shall have a chance to do that in the course of the detailed and comprehensive consideration of the problems of disarmament later on—but I would like to say, in the plainest possible way, that the main reason is that certain Western Powers do not really want to reach agreement on disarmament.

17. Now, more than ever, some way must be found for removing without further delay the danger and the possibility of nuclear attack by one State on another.

18. It is for this very reason that our Government fully supports the Soviet proposals, which indicate the real way to achieve this aim: by beginning the process of disarmament with the destruction of the means of delivering nuclear weapons and the simultaneous elimination of all military bases on alien territories.^{2/} Unfortunately, however, these realistic proposals have not met with a suitable response from the Western Powers, and above all from the United States of America.

19. These Powers, as the course of the discussions of the Eighteen-Nation Committee has shown, are striving, not for the quickest possible agreement on disarmament under strict international control, but for the establishment of armaments control without the removal of their military bases and troops from the territory of other countries in order thus to obtain definite military advantages to the detriment of the security of peace-loving countries.

20. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union, motivated by the desire to reach agreement as rapidly as possible, has more than once made additions and amendments to its draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in order to take account of the attitude

of the Western Powers. Very recently, the Soviet Government went still further to meet the wishes of the Western Powers by agreeing to make an exception—in the destruction during the first stage of disarmament of the means of delivering nuclear weapons—for an agreed and strictly limited quantity of certain types of rockets possessed only by the Soviet Union and the United States.

21. We venture to hope that the Western Powers will give this proposal the attention it deserves and will make some concessions in order to make it easier to reach agreement on disarmament.

22. A successful solution of the question of prohibiting nuclear weapons tests would mark and important step along the road to general and complete disarmament. This problem, a solution to which is long overdue, is of vital importance to the whole of mankind.

23. The socialist countries have done all they can to bring about the early and final suspension of nuclear weapons tests. It is with satisfaction that we acknowledge also the tireless efforts of the neutralist States in this direction. In our opinion, the Joint Memorandum^{3/} submitted by the eight neutralist States in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament with regard to the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests has also played a definitely constructive role. So far, the United States and the United Kingdom have always given an unsympathetic reception to all proposals for the cessation of nuclear weapons tests put forward by the Soviet Union or the neutralist countries, and because of the obstructionist policies of the Western powers this problem has not yet been solved.

24. To judge from the statement made by Mr. Stevenson at the present session on the question of the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests, the United States Government may be ready to come part of the way towards meeting the proposals of the neutralist countries and other realistic suggestions in this field. We hope that these intentions will not be limited to a mere statement but will be backed up by practical action.

25. Taking into account the views of the Western Powers, the Soviet Union just recently proposed the signing of an agreement to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, and the inclusion in such agreement of an undertaking by the signatories to continue talks on the discontinuance of underground tests. This proposal would form an excellent basis—if the Western Powers really wanted it—for the rapid and successful settlement of this burning question.

26. Our delegation proposes that the General Assembly of the United Nations should adopt a resolution calling on the nuclear Powers to put forward their greatest efforts to reach agreement as quickly as possible, on this basis, for banning for ever all types of thermo-nuclear weapons tests, so that 1963 may become the year of the complete and unconditional prohibition of the testing of weapons of mass destruction.

27. We consider that the General Assembly of the United Nations should also adopt a resolution condemning propaganda for a preventive nuclear war and imposing on the nuclear Powers the obligation

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda items 67, 86, 69 and 73, document A/4505.

^{2/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961–December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, section C.

^{3/} *Ibid.*, section J.

never to be the first to use nuclear weapons in any war.

28. The adoption of such a resolution is extremely important and apt at the present moment when, in the NATO countries, against the background of the ever-increasing tempo of the nuclear arms race, unbridled propaganda for a preventive war is being carried on, and aggressive voices are calling for the NATO Powers to be the first to launch a nuclear attack. Our sacred duty is to condemn unequivocally this inhuman propaganda and curb the thermo-nuclear warmongers.

29. While fully recognizing the importance of eliminating the military apparatus of States in order to ensure the security of nations, our delegation would like to emphasize the enormous significance of the economic aspect of disarmament.

30. The realization of general and complete disarmament would be of the greatest benefit to the whole of mankind. It would not only save our planet from the threat of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe but would also immeasurably improve the economic situation and level of living of the peoples of all countries without exception. There is no need to lay particular stress on the great advantages which developing countries would derive from the release of vast material and financial resources as a result of disarmament.

31. The Mongolian people have already learned what great benefits flow from the conversion of material resources and manpower from military purposes to peaceful construction.

32. As a result of the formation of the world socialist system after the Second World War and the victory of the great Chinese people in 1949, favourable conditions were created for the peaceful building of socialism in our country. The Mongolian People's Republic, being surrounded by fraternal countries, had the opportunity of sharply reducing the size of its armed forces. Whereas in the 1940's military expenditure represented almost half of the national budget, it now accounts for only 2.9 per cent. The great material and financial resources released in this way became an important factor in the accelerated advance of the country's economy and culture.

33. In 1961, by comparison with 1947, total capital investment in the national economy had increased 11.6 times, this including an increase of twenty-two times in capital investment in industry and of more than 100 times in agriculture. Over the same period, capital investment for the development of national health services and culture increased fourfold. As a result of all this, new branches of industry—fuel and power, mining, wood-working, construction and so forth—have been set up in our country in recent years. In addition, a complete innovation has been introduced in agriculture in the form of mechanized farming.

34. The Mongolian People's Republic, which in the past was one of the most backward feudal and colonial countries in the world, has today become an agrarian-industrial country with a flourishing and diversified economy and culture.

35. I have put forward here the specific example of but one small country. Think, then, what great benefit the peoples of all countries would receive, and first and foremost those of the young developing

States, if the disarmament plan became a reality. It has been estimated that at the present time the military expenditure of all countries is at least five times greater than the total capital investment of the under-developed areas.

36. Our delegation hopes in this connexion that the "Economic Programme for disarmament" [A/5233] proposed by the Soviet Union will be discussed in a thoroughgoing manner at this session and that the General Assembly will adopt the Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament [*Ibid.*].

37. The complete and final liquidation of the outdated colonial system is also one of the important and urgent tasks facing the United Nations. The shameful colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating under the pressure of the national liberation movements.

38. Progressive forces throughout the world regard the peoples' national liberation movements as the most important revolutionary event of the second half of our century.

39. The Mongolian people, which themselves experienced in the past the horrors of alien enslavement, have great sympathy for the struggle of the peoples for national independence, and they hail each new victory in this battle as their own. They welcome with all their heart the historic victory of the heroic Algerian people, the formation of a peace-loving and neutral Laos, the attainment of independence by the peoples of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, and the settlement of the question of West Irian by peaceful means.

40. Allow me to offer hearty congratulations to our colleagues, the representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, the young independent States which have joined the family of the United Nations, and to wish the peoples of these countries great success in further strengthening their political independence and in rehabilitating and developing the economy and culture of their countries.

41. The imperialist Powers are trying in every way to preserve their colonial domination and impose new forms of colonialism on peoples who are attaining freedom. The colonial Powers are disregarding the clear demands of the General Assembly's Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. Despite the aspirations of the oppressed peoples, the colonizers are still keeping many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Oceania in colonial bondage. Thus, for example, in Africa alone more than 36 million people are still languishing under the colonial yoke.

42. The imperialist Powers are trying to replace or supplement, wherever possible, the old classic colonialism with new and subtler forms of domination. Neocolonialism manifests itself in the most diverse forms, ranging from such a very obvious method for the subjection of weak countries as luring them into bilateral and multilateral military alliances and the establishment of military bases on their territory, to the granting of so-called "aid" tied to political and other conditions.

43. The question of the complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations will brook no further delay. Colonialism is not only a shameful form of oppression and exploitation of the

peoples of the colonies which retards their development in all respects, but it also represents a threat to general peace and security. As yet not completely defeated, it continues its evil deeds. Blood is being shed by the peoples of Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Oman and other countries. The cruel repression wreaked by the colonizers is rampant in Mozambique, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South West Africa and other colonies.

44. The Western Powers continue their crude interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of the Congo in order to protect the mercenary interests of their monopolies, which are making fabulous profits from the exploitation of the Congo's natural resources. The United Nations should not overlook such facts. It has the duty to take effective measures against those colonial Powers which fail to comply with the United Nations Declaration on the liquidation of colonialism and do not heed the legitimate demands of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

45. Our delegation considers it important for the present session to take a decision on accelerating the complete liquidation of colonialism and to fix definite and very early dates for the granting of independence to those countries which are still under the colonial yoke.

46. The question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is one of the important problems of contemporary international life. The absence of legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations not only contradicts the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter but also does serious harm to its effective functioning. It is indisputable that only one China exists—the People's Republic of China—and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate representative of the great Chinese people. There can likewise be no doubt that there is not one important international problem which can be solved without the participation of the People's Republic of China the weight and authority of which is recognized by the overwhelming majority of States. We all know that the Government of the People's Republic of China was one of the sponsors of the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence among States. It was the first to come out in favour of creating a peace zone free from atomic weapons in the Far East and the Pacific basin, and of concluding a non-aggression pact between all countries of Asia and the Pacific littoral.

47. Our delegation considers that the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China should be discussed with a full awareness of its significance for the prestige and normal functioning of the United Nations and for the cause of peace and international co-operation.

48. There can be only one solution, and that is to expel from all organs of the United Nations the Chiang Kai-Shek clique, which represents no one, and restore the Chinese People's Republic to its rightful place.

49. It is high time also that the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea be solved. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea and the transformation of the country into a United States military base are aggravating tension in the Far East and constitute the main obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. In particular, the occupation of South Korea by foreign

forces prevents the Korean people from reunifying their country peacefully and democratically.

50. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, you will remember, submitted at the last session of the General Assembly a draft resolution^{4/} inviting all States with forces in South Korea to withdraw them without delay from Korean territory.

51. If the United Nations could bring about a satisfactory solution of the question of withdrawing foreign forces from South Korea, it would greatly assist the Korean people in settling their internal affairs and would make a significant contribution to the noble cause of strengthening peace not only in the Far East but throughout the world.

52. It is seven years since the Geneva agreement on an armistice in Indochina was signed, but the United States of America, having refused to withdraw its forces from South Viet-Nam, has converted that country into a military base of its own. This has created a source of tension in South Viet-Nam which is a menace to the peace and security of the peoples of South-East Asia and the entire world. It is imperative to put an end to this abnormal situation at once. The United States Government must immediately withdraw its forces from South Viet-Nam, desist from interference in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nameese people and adhere strictly to the principles of the Geneva agreement.

53. We have been informed that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has addressed a note [19 September 1962] to the President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly drawing the attention of Members of the United Nations to the highly dangerous situation which now exists in South Viet-Nam.

54. Our delegation calls upon the General Assembly to bring the weight of its great authority to bear and to condemn the aggressive actions of the United States and demand the withdrawal of its forces from South Viet-Nam.

55. There are also a number of other unresolved international problems which are a serious threat to peace and general security.

56. The most acute of all these problems continues to be the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the solution of the West Berlin problem on that basis.

57. Any solution of the German problem including the question of West Berlin must take into account the actual situation in Germany since the Second World War, and the existence of two German states, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

58. Events in the Federal Republic of Germany are a source of legitimate concern to all peoples, and particularly those who have experienced more than once all the horrors of the bloody wars unleashed by German imperialism.

59. The revenge-seeking militaristic elements in West Germany, having restored their military potential with the direct support of the Western Powers, and especially the United States monopolists, have begun openly to demand "equality of armament" and the rapid equipping of the "Bundeswehr" with nuclear missiles, and are making territorial claims.

^{4/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 20, document A/C.1/L.302.

60. Furthermore, the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany, in collaboration with the United Kingdom, United States and French occupying Powers, are systematically using West Berlin, which has in effect been turned into a NATO military base, for the purpose of carrying out against the German Democratic Republic provocative acts which are fraught with great danger because they are apt to start another world conflagration.

61. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic calls upon the States concerned to sign as soon as possible a peace treaty with the two German States actually existing on the territory of Germany and to settle, on that basis, the problem of making West Berlin a demilitarized free city with a special international status.

62. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that in order to strengthen world peace, prompt and effective action must also be taken on such important problems as the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, a ban on the further dissemination of nuclear weapons and the creation of atom-free zones in various parts of the world.

63. The Mongolian People's Republic as an Asian country warmly supports the proposal to create a peace zone free from atomic weapons in the Far East and the Pacific basin.

64. The implementation of this proposal is particularly urgent in view of the seriousness of the situation which has arisen in some areas of the Far East, especially Japan. The construction of United States military bases in Japan, the feverish restoration of Japan's war potential and the equipping of the country with nuclear missiles can only cause concern to the peace-loving peoples of Asia and the entire world.

65. The lessons of the recent past are still fresh in the minds of the peoples, and unless decisive action is taken in time to stop this dangerous course of events, the world may be subjected to the catastrophe of another war.

66. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of the expansion of economic co-operation and the development of fair and mutually beneficial trade between all countries of the world without discrimination.

67. Our delegation, realizing the importance of normalizing and extensively developing world trade on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, supports the proposal by the Soviet delegation for holding an international conference on trade problems [A/5219].

68. The interests of the peoples of the world demand that all States Members of the United Nations should join in a full discussion of the question of setting up an international trade organization covering all countries and areas of the world.

69. The establishment of such an organization would greatly facilitate international economic co-operation and fair, mutually beneficial trade.

70. The present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will make a big contribution to strengthening international economic co-operation if it takes specific decisions to promote the broad development of world trade in conformity with the real interests of nations.

71. Those who have spoken before me have stressed the need for further strengthening of the United Nations in order to make its work more fruitful and effective. The United Nations should be the centre for concerted action by all States without exception. Our delegation consequently considers that the proposals for appropriate changes in the structure of the United Nations, especially as regards equal representation of all three main groups of States in the leading organs of the United Nations, are in complete accord with these requirements.

72. In conclusion I would like to give an assurance that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will do everything in its power to co-operate with all peace-loving States in preserving and strengthening world peace and the security of nations in the spirit of the lofty aims and humane principles of the United Nations.

73. Mr. MONTALVO (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, on behalf of Colombia and as Minister for Foreign Affairs I have pleasure in congratulating you on the honour which the world Organization has conferred upon you in electing you President of this Assembly. Because of your outstanding qualities, you are exceptionally well fitted to direct our debates at this grave juncture.

74. I wish also to extend my warmest greeting to the other distinguished delegates and to thank them most sincerely for electing my country, by an almost unanimous vote, to one of the Vice-Presidencies of the General Assembly.

75. The impressive spectacle of this august Assembly, in which outstanding personalities from every corner of the world and from every country are taking part, suggests that mankind, whether feeling itself to be powerful or puny, is impelled to make open confession of its disquiet and to seek, in its perplexity, a solution that will alleviate the uncertainty which assails us all in these troublous times.

76. Two cataclysmic wars resulted in the founding, first of the League of Nations and then of the United Nations.

77. The purposes of this vast international effort could not have been better: the statements of principles, and the precepts of the Charter, constitute a volume of wisdom which is truly to be treasured.

78. Despite these noble efforts, however, the international scene is not a bright one. After the Second World War, there was an almost instinctive banding-together of most nations, to defend human freedom and democracy against the nazi-fascist ideology which the great leaders of that period felt to be the most harmful for the free and peaceful existence of peoples.

79. In their eagerness, men usually believe that, once the immediate difficulties are overcome, all problems have been solved. However, the antagonisms which caused the last great war and which were thought to have been eliminated by an agreement between the countries opposed to the nazi and fascist ideologies were later replaced by a violent clash between two new and even more radically conflicting groups of ideas and interests: on the one hand a materialistic and atheistic, and on the other a spiritual, concept of man and the world. Under the materialistic concept, all human difficulties and aspirations can

be reduced to economic terms; under the spiritual concept, while economic problems are not underrated, it is held that man has other nobler and more imperative interests, inasmuch as he was created by God and not by or for economics.

80. This conflict of ideas has led to hatred between social classes and between peoples, to absorption of the human personality by omnipotent and tyrannical State, to the urge to subjugate other peoples and impose political domination upon them by force, and to the proclamation of a false democracy in which the minority dictates to the majority. Another result of the first-named ideology is the thirst to possess new territories, to govern great masses of men and subject them to the absolute sway and domination of an idol, temporarily represented by some man but actually embodied in a monstrous State.

Mr. Liu (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

81. This dreadful panorama of slavery and denial of human dignity is perhaps the greatest political error that man has ever conceived or engaged in. Thank God that the spiritual forces in the opposite camp have so far been able to counterbalance that destructive force.

82. But the world balance resulting from the titanic struggle between these two forces is not really a balance of peace and calm. As the Supreme Pontiff, Pope Pius XII, once said, what we have is "a peace of fear". Neither nations nor individuals enjoy real peace, the peace which, according to our philosophy, lies in an ordered tranquillity. Without tranquillity there is no peace, even when there may be apparent order; and without order, or with an order which is not governed by right, all there can possibly be is a false and precarious tranquillity, which is not peace.

83. We must admit that the United Nations, despite the high purposes and wise principles enshrined in the Charter, has not been able to solve this problem of an ordered tranquillity. This is partly due, so far as the history and provisions of the Charter are concerned, to initial errors when that instrument was drafted and signed.

84. In his magnificent speech [1125th meeting], the United States representative, Mr. Stevenson, made an encouraging evaluation of the United Nations. He recognized the existence of problems, difficulties and perils which we have not yet been able to solve or overcome; but on the credit side is the Organization's effective action to avert international conflicts, to end existing wars, and to strengthen peace by the application of law, together with the valuable help which the specialized agencies have given to the less developed countries.

85. But Mr. Stevenson admits that, despite all the good which has been done by the United Nations, very gloomy prospects face the world, because there can be no certainty of peace while the arms race and nuclear tests for war purposes continue.

86. I should like the United Nations to have greater powers of decision. If the General Assembly, or the Security Council, or the International Court of Justice, or a "Court of Safeguards" had adequate powers of decision, and if all States, from the smallest to the biggest and strongest, had decided or were to decide to submit to that supreme authority, the world

would not be in that state of anxiety which has afflicted it for so many years.

87. But when they discussed and finally agreed on the San Francisco Charter, five great Powers of that time established what has come to be known as the "veto", which gives any of those States the power to prevent the world Organization, through any of its bodies, from enforcing peace.

88. At the risk of being tedious and repetitious, I would recall that Article 2, sub-paragraph 1, of the Charter states: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members". It might have been more correct to say "the juridical equality" of all its Members, the expression used by Mr. Stevenson in his speech. But whichever concept is adopted, the equality of States is considerably diminished by the decisive predominance of the "permanent members of the Security Council", which are popularly called "the great Powers" and which, not even in enforced unanimity but by the sole decision of one of them, can stultify any action by the Security Council to discharge its "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", as Article 24 of the Charter describes it. On the other hand, Article 2, sub-paragraph 7, provides that:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter";

and this sub-paragraph, although it continues: "but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII", obviously leaves each State free to decide what matters are "essentially within" its "domestic jurisdiction".

89. I am aware of the almost insuperable difficulty of finding a perfect formula which would give the United Nations all the necessary powers to impose peace and order while leaving the sovereignty of each State intact.

90. For this reason I shall merely point out that, if we had wanted to safeguard peace effectively, it would have been necessary for States, without abandoning their sovereignty, to agree to submit their disputes, their armed power and their ambition to dominate, to an entity above the interests of any nation or group of nations.

91. And while there was the drawback that the General Assembly and the Security Council were essentially political in nature, nonetheless with the establishment of the International Court of Justice, as a body dedicated to the study and exercise of the highest juridical disciplines, the Court could have been designated as the great arbiter and ultimate court of appeal competent to settle the problems of peace with impartiality and integrity, after receiving and hearing the parties which were in dispute or whose security was threatened.

92. I know only too well that the Members of this great Assembly are thoroughly familiar with these problems and these difficulties. I also know that it may be useless and even out of place to raise these matters; but I wished to do so for two reasons. First, I take pride in the fact that Colombia, as early as 1945 and at the San Francisco Conference, opposed

the establishment of the veto and urged the advisability of vesting the main power in the International Court of Justice. Secondly, in the present circumstances of the world it is a moral duty for anyone representing a nation to state his thoughts with complete frankness, however humble or ignorant of the subject at issue, as in the present case, he may be.

93. Now that the two greatest war potentials in recorded history are arrayed against each other, we must try out every possible means of preventing the world situation from worsening. Either every country must impotently look on while the two colossi threaten each other, or they must join in seeking some means, some formula, to prevent disaster.

94. Colombia, as a nation wholly law-abiding and peaceful in its way of living, has the right to propose, proclaim and urge solutions of this kind.

95. We are deeply concerned that the United Nations should be preserved and its prestige increased; and we believe that its prestige will increase if we give it tools better and more effective than those which it has had so far, not to wage war but to maintain peace and safeguard the rule of law.

96. With all the fieriness characteristic of a tropical people, the two major political parties in Colombia fought bloody civil wars in the nineteenth century, and after that there were bitter clashes between them. However, in 1957 an agreement was reached between these two great traditional movements which had fought with such violence and stubbornness.

97. Under our Constitution, we have a presidential system in which the Chief of State is also Head of the Government, as in the United States. In accordance with a recent amendment to the Constitution, however, the President of the Republic has to form his Cabinet in such a way that it reflects, proportionately, the representation of the political parties. In this way, although we do not have a parliamentary system, any Government that is formed reflects the make-up of the Congress as constituted as a result of the free and honest democratic elections which are the rule in Colombia, as anyone, whether a Colombian or a foreigner, can testify. This system has yielded very good results; it led to the election of a liberal President for the four-year period 1958-1962, and subsequently to that of a conservative President for 1962-1966. Both were elected by an overwhelming majority of, and with complete agreement between, the two parties.

98. This political system of government shared by the two major political groups in our country shows the Colombian people's determination to live in domestic peace. It is not surprising, therefore, that Colombia should also be resolutely pacifist internationally.

99. Moreover, as well-known journalists from Europe and America have found, Colombia is one of the States which have instituted as perfect a constitutional control of legislation as possible.

100. Under our Constitution, the three branches of public authority—legislative, executive and judicial—are independent of each other but work together to achieve the high purposes of the State. Despite this relative autonomy or "sovereignty", however, the Congress (although possessing legislative powers) and the Government yield to the Supreme Court of

Justice when the latter hands down decisions on petitions, which may be submitted by any citizen, alleging the unconstitutional nature of laws.

101. It is perhaps because of this attitude of Colombia that I have ventured to suggest that the United Nations might consider the possibility of finding new formulae for the revision of the Charter.

102. I am of course aware of the drawback, under the Charter's Articles 108 and 109, that if one of the great Powers vetoes any relevant proposal the proposal will be blocked. But we should not despair. To make such an effort would show our longing for peace; otherwise, we should have to resign ourselves to keeping up the "cold war", with all the perils and evils which it entails and with the risk of seeing it become a real war, which would last but a short time and would result in the annihilation of us all.

103. In connexion with the administration of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, Colombia has maintained an attitude of constant support for United Nations action to eliminate colonial systems. Our position on these questions is in keeping with the traditions of our own independent life, and with our Government's policy. We believe in justice and in the need for perseverance by the Organization in the calm, balanced and objective implementation of principles laid down in Chapters XI to XIII of the Charter.

104. Colombia favours the autonomy and independence of peoples and supports their right to self-determination. It does not wish, however, to offend or condemn friendly nations summoned, by the world Organization, to liberate territories under their administration. Nevertheless it assists in this action by the United Nations, in so far as these territories attain to a standard enabling them to govern themselves.

105. If countries which are not tyrannical are asked and even required to free such of their Territories as can be self-governing, it is unjust to allow modern imperialism to turn ancient nations into new colonies.

106. On this occasion, as in the past, Colombia is exceptionally pleased and happy to welcome to the United Nations the new Member States which the General Assembly has admitted upon the recommendation of the Security Council. These are now Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Rwanda and Burundi. They bring to the august precincts of our Organization the generous promise and impulse of peace-loving peoples, and represent continued reaffirmation of its universal character and the hope, shared by all men and women of good will, that the United Nations will continue to seek, with ever-increasing success, the achievement of its lofty purposes for the benefit of all mankind.

107. The preservation of peace, the fulfilment of the juridical and political tasks of the United Nations, and the improvement of international co-operation through the Organization in the economic, health, cultural and scientific fields, are enthusiastically supported by Colombia and are explicitly stated as objectives of its Government's policy.

108. Economic development, as an essential condition for the achievement or maintenance of social well-being, is an objective of paramount importance for the preservation of peace. Together with the other free American Governments, the Colombian Government is taking a full part in implementing the programmes, instituted under the regional system

for the expediting of economic development and hence for the raising of levels of living. It has co-operated and will continue to co-operate sincerely and resolutely in the Economic Commission for Latin America, whose branch we hope, soon to see established in our country in accordance with the Commission's own decision.

109. We also fully support the measures to promote economic development, recommended by the Economic and Social Council. These measures in themselves constitute a balanced and harmonious plan designed to meet the tremendous needs of the world in this field; we are, in fact, convinced that the reform of social structures, so as to improve the health, educational and housing conditions of the broad masses of the people, will contribute decisively to the creation of conditions favourable to the maintenance of peace.

110. Colombia has gladly welcomed financial aid from the competent international organizations. Under its economic and social development plan, whereby operations have been planned with a view to the improvement of the country's economy, Colombia is actively co-operating so that the maximum benefit shall be obtained from international financial assistance received either from international organizations or on a bilateral basis.

111. Colombia is very pleased to tell the world, so generously represented here, that the development plans which we prepared and submitted to the International Committee of Experts not only met with the experts' approval but resulted in Colombia being chosen as a pilot country in the plan of the Alliance for Progress, and that the Bankers' Conference recently held in Paris likewise concerned itself exclusively with the Colombian plan in connexion with investments in our country.

112. At the same time, in order that these co-operative efforts may not be blocked, Colombia contends that it is necessary to continue to adopt international measures calculated to improve the terms of trade of countries which export primary commodities. In this connexion, we have enthusiastically welcomed the results of the United Nations Coffee Conference, 1962, recently held in New York, which with the approval of the International Coffee Convention constitutes a first step forward and a satisfactory measure to protect the coffee-producing countries against further declines in prices and to raise prices gradually to the equitable levels which are essential for monetary stability and social tranquillity.

113. The United Nations Coffee Conference was one of the most important economic events of our time. It was attended by both producer and consumer countries—within the producer group, by countries which are natural competitors; but an agreement was reached, to which, it is only fair to say, the Colombian delegation contributed very effectively. The world's largest producer is Brazil, and coffee is our principal product, with other Republics of the hemisphere following in order of production; it has therefore rightly been said that the world coffee plan is an expression of the solidarity of the American continent, and that competition can be replaced by co-operation.

114. Colombia's foreign policy is guided by its traditional principle of good faith in the fulfilling of

its obligations, including those which form its status as a loyal Member of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States. Within the framework of these obligations, we proclaim our unalterable will to struggle constantly in the defence of law, order, justice and freedom, as the present President of the Republic, Mr. Guillermo León Valencia, said when his Government took office fifty days ago.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

115. It is only natural therefore, that Colombia should practise in its foreign relations the principles which it sincerely professes and which are reflected in the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter and in the rules of the American regional Organization. As a peace-loving nation, it has throughout its history demonstrated its lasting attachment to the ideals of justice, human solidarity and peaceful agreement in the international sphere.

116. We advocate democracy and liberty for ourselves and for others. This political stand, which has become a part of Colombia's very being, explains and justifies our constant concern for the universal implementation of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, conceived by the peoples of the world as leading to the attainment of the supreme objectives of international peace and security. They constitute the ever-recurring "leit-motiv" of the Charter; they give expression to what the peoples insistently demanded at the end of the world conflagration which gave birth to our Organization; they are a mandate for its Members and represent the aspirations of all men of good will, everywhere in the world; and upon their application may depend the future of mankind.

117. It is a noble and arduous task which the United Nations is performing in defence of these principles, in the achievement of these aspirations and in the discharge of this sacred mandate: Colombia has helped and will continue to help in the fulfilment of that task, to the best of its abilities, as it has been able to demonstrate at difficult junctures of struggle and sacrifice in the combating of aggression. With the moral authority which this confers, and in keeping with the principle of the equality of Members of the Organization—an equality which the Charter calls "sovereign" but which should rather be called "juridical" we consider it our duty to point out, in a friendly but unambiguous manner, the dangers which in our view beset the maintenance of international peace and security, a cause which all Member States have constantly to further and for which our Organization has to work effectively.

118. Present events and situations of undeniable gravity seem, indeed, to indicate that we should reflect objectively upon the causes of the major tensions throughout the world. Colombia wishes to express the conviction, to which the vast majority of its people recently gave voice in a free and democratic election campaign, that the international turmoil of today is not the result of spontaneous reactions alone. We cannot fail to note, in the bellicose atmosphere which surrounds and sustains the present malaise, contrived elements which do not reflect the freely expressed will of the peoples.

119. We believe that justice and law, the two warders of peace, can be protected and reinforced only by truth. For this reason, all proceedings which imply

subterfuge or deceit, deception or intentional distortion are inimical to peace. And just as the "cold war" is not peace and slavery cannot be presented as freedom, so we cannot accept that certain concepts such as "self-determination of peoples", "democracy", "peaceful coexistence" and "neutrality" should be identified with their opposites.

120. We cannot accept, for example, a tranquillizing idea of the "self-determination of peoples" unless this comprises the necessary democratic means to enable the peoples themselves to express their true ideas and their true will. There can be no democracy or democratic processes without representative government set up through comprehensive suffrage, a plurality of parties, and responsible freedom in the dissemination of ideas.

121. The right of each State to enjoy self-determination cannot include the right to renounce self-determination in favour of another Power or State which wishes to reduce it to slavery, especially if such renunciation is prejudicial to other members of the international community.

122. The concept of non-intervention—a principle laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, and taken up and stressed by the Organization of American States in its own Charter—has also been distorted or set at naught, primarily through subterfuges whereby interventionist forces seek to lay hold upon Governments in order to subjugate their peoples, craftily avoiding a frontal attack so as to avoid bringing into play the machinery for collective security and for defence of the true principle of non-intervention. The events in Hungary can shed much light on these subtle interventionist practices, as will be seen from a careful study of the report of the United Nations Special Representative on the Question of Hungary, a question which is on the Assembly's agenda.

123. Colombia has always upheld the principle of non-intervention, but for us this principle does not imply an attitude of indifference or tolerance towards those who violate it.

124. Intervention must be understood to mean the abusive act or acts which one State undertakes in order to impose its authority upon another State. It is not an opinion or a decision or even collective action by the world body for the purpose of ensuring collective security or safeguarding the human rights proclaimed in the Charter. Intervention implies the commission of some kind of assault and it is inconceivable that the international community would be guilty of assault.

125. It is quite natural that in attending this world gathering Colombia hopes that the boundary between truth and error may be clearly marked out, that a true order of ideas and a genuine sense of values may be restored, and that there may be no more false invoking of principles which a nihilistic philosophy seeks to rob of their high moral sense: order without justice, coexistence without freedom, social harmony through the class struggle, law used for the a posteriori sanctioning of abuse, free self-determination solely for the purpose of changing masters, non-intervention as a safeguard for those who have committed intervention, anti-colonialism for those who have shown their eagerness to colonize, pacifism behind which lurks aggression, neutrality for those who are already prepared to take sides

and to become satellites. These are the props that support this scaffolding of co-existence without equity and peace without mercy which threatens us daily with annihilation simply through the unforeseen explosion of an atomic bomb. It would appear that man in our atomic age, having disintegrated matter after rejecting the soul, having freed the blind energy of the elements after shackling the restraining force of morality, still confides his illusion of life to the uncontrollable workings of an atheistic science and conscience, as though between the lowly entity of the atom and the supreme entity of the universe there was no such thing as the human soul; as though above man himself, above this august forum on which his hopes and fears are centred, above the heads of you great men of the earth, there was no Deity. It is in rising to contemplate Him or bowing to invoke Him that, in the view of my Christian country, the fundamental road to salvation lies.

126. Mr. PHOLSENA (Laos): Mr. President, in addition to the many tributes which have been so eloquently paid to you, I would like to offer you, in my turn, on behalf of the Royal Government and the people of Laos, my warmest and most sincere congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that, through your wisdom, your qualities, your breadth of vision, and great competence—in international law in particular—you will lead the work of the United Nations to a successful conclusion.

127. May I also be permitted to welcome, on behalf of the people of Laos, the representatives of the four countries which have just been admitted to the United Nations. Their admission is an important event which is worthy of special attention, as, in faithfully matching its membership each year to the realities of the international situation, the United Nations comes nearer and nearer to universality. This new raising of the status of countries which were still colonies yesterday is no more than the justification of their struggle for liberty and consummation of their legitimate ambitions of independence. We wish these new Member States a peaceful and prosperous future.

128. In spite of the state of tension which persists in international relations, and despite the only too familiar atmosphere of the Cold War, this session is commencing its work in a relatively peaceful international climate. The year which has just passed has been marked by the elimination of several trouble-spots. In North Africa, Algeria has won its independence after a bitter war lasting seven years, and my delegation is overjoyed to think that an independent Algeria will be taking its place amongst us in a few days.

129. In New Guinea, the agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands [A/5170]^{5/} has put an end to a thirteen-year old dispute which had threatened on several occasions to deteriorate into a large-scale conflict.

130. In the Congo, attempts have been made during the past few months, notably by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to bring about a final settlement of the Congo imbroglio, but

^{5/} Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian), signed at United Nations Headquarters, New York, on 20 September 1962.

to our regret, direct or veiled foreign interference has held up the solution of this problem. Nevertheless, recent developments would seem to open up fresh prospects of peace for the Congo. I hope that these prospects will soon become a reality, and that all those who can exert any influence, in no matter what connexion, will give their sincere help in finally barring the way to foreign interference, so that this country, which has been torn by strife for so long, can be made into an independent and prosperous nation.

131. In our own country, the internal conflicts which were fanned by the wind of foreign interference have now died out as a result of the compromise reached at the Geneva conference.^{6/} Thus, the atmosphere which was poisoned with hatred and bitterness and anxiety and doubts kept alive by the flames of conflict has now gradually cleared, creating suitable conditions, first for a compromise, and later for a gradual understanding. Unfortunately, this relaxation of international tension is not general. The old quarrels, the settlement of which has been put off so many times, are once more on our agenda, and the old sores are ready to burst open at the slightest rise in international tension. Disarmament, Berlin, the Congo, Korea, colonialism—these questions, which have been debated on several occasions and which stir up passion and acrimony each time they are considered by the General Assembly, may at any moment develop "bouts of fever" and put international peace and security to a severe test.

132. Speaking of international co-operation, my delegation is in favour of any moves for the equitable development of international trade, as such trade is the *sine qua non* of international life in our days, when autarky is no longer possible. We are convinced that prosperous international trade, in which great and small nations alike could participate under the same conditions and without any discrimination, would be an effective contribution to the upholding of peace. It is essential that there should reign in this family of nations a true state of equality whereby the scantily-industrialized countries can trade freely on an equal footing with their more powerful and more industrially advanced partners. A multilateral international agreement, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations, is highly desirable for the benefit of all.

133. After several years of tragic strife and fratricidal struggle, the Kingdom of Laos has just turned over a fresh page in its history. The agreements of July 23rd last, in which the neutrality, independence and unity of Laos were recognized, and which were the result of our righteous and strenuous struggle and the fruit of co-operation between peace-loving Powers, have generated a great wave of approval and relief in our country. Those agreements, by putting an end to foreign intervention in all its forms, marked the achievement of national reconciliation.

134. I do not need to remind you at length from this platform that Laos, which has been a victim of foreign interference, has known the horrors of war. For twenty years, the people of Laos have known neither true peace nor even the respite of a cease-fire. Foreign arms have been poured into our country in spite of us. Nevertheless, the people of Laos, no

matter what their political convictions, wish only to live in peace and keep their little country strictly neutral. That is the only way to avoid foreign covetousness and conquest. Neutrality is implicit not only in the geographical situation of our country, but also in our people's traditions of peace. Laos intends henceforth to remain a land of tolerance and peaceful co-existence. The Agreement signed on 23 July 1962 at Geneva consists of two documents which form a whole. The statement on the neutrality of Laos which is incorporated in the thirteen-Power Declaration and refers to the solemn undertaking entered into by the Royal Government of Laos to follow the path of peace and neutrality contains eight important points which, with the President's permission, I shall proceed to enumerate:

"The Royal Government of Laos ... solemnly declares that:

"1. It will resolutely apply the five principles of peaceful coexistence in foreign relations, and will develop friendly relations and establish diplomatic relations with all countries, the neighbouring countries first and foremost, on the basis of equality and of respect for the independence and sovereignty of Laos;

"2. It is the will of the Laotian people to protect and ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity, and territorial integrity of Laos;

"3. It will not resort to the use or threat of force in any way which might impair the peace of other countries, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries;

"4. It will not enter into any military alliance or into any agreement, whether military or otherwise, which is inconsistent with the neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos; it will not allow the establishment of any foreign military base on Laotian territory, nor allow any country to use Laotian territory for military purposes or for the purposes of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, nor recognize the protection of any alliance or military coalition, including SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization);

"5. It will not allow any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos in any form whatsoever;

"6. Subject to the provisions of Article 5 of the Protocol,^{7/} it will require the withdrawal from Laos of all foreign troops and military personnel, and will not allow any foreign troops or military personnel to be introduced into Laos;

"7. It will accept direct and unconditional aid from all countries that wish to help the Kingdom of Laos build up an independent and autonomous national economy on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of Laos;

"8. It will respect the treaties and agreements signed in conformity with the interests of the Laotian people and of the policy of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom, in particular the Geneva Agreements of 1962, and will abrogate all treaties and agreements which are contrary to those principles."

^{7/} The text of the Protocol to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos is printed after the texts of the two declarations contained in the agreement of 23 July 1962.

^{6/} International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, held from 16 May 1961 to 23 July 1962.

135. I would like to point out that this statement of neutrality by the Royal Government of Laos will be promulgated constitutionally and will have the force of law.

136. In response to his solemn statement by the Royal Government, the thirteen Powers participating in the International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question have, in their turn, entered into the following undertakings:

"1. They will not commit or participate in any way in any act which might directly or indirectly impair the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity, or territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos;

"2. They will not resort to the use or threat of force or any other measure which might impair the peace of the Kingdom of Laos;

"3. They will refrain from all direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos;

"4. They will not attach conditions of a political nature to any assistance which they may offer or which the Kingdom of Laos may seek;

"5. They will not bring the Kingdom of Laos in any way into any military alliance or any other agreement, whether military or otherwise, which is inconsistent with her neutrality, nor invite or encourage her to enter into any such alliance or to conclude any such agreement;

"6. They will respect the wish of the Kingdom of Laos not to recognize the protection of any alliance or military coalition, including SEATO;

"7. They will not introduce into the Kingdom of Laos foreign troops or military personnel in any form whatsoever, nor will they in any way facilitate or connive at the introduction of any foreign troops or military personnel;

"8. They will not establish nor will they in any way facilitate or connive at the establishment in the Kingdom of Laos of any foreign military base, foreign strong point or other foreign military installation of any kind;

"9. They will not use the territory of the Kingdom of Laos for interference in the internal affairs of other countries;

"10. They will not use the territory of any country, including their own, for interference in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos."

137. Furthermore, they "appeal to all other States to recognize, respect and observe in every way the sovereignty, independence and neutrality, and also the unity and territorial integrity, of the Kingdom of Laos and to refrain from any action inconsistent with these principles or with other provisions of the... [thirteen-Power] Declaration".

138. They also decided that the withdrawal of all foreign troops and foreign military personnel, to be carried out under the surveillance of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, composed of India, Canada and Poland, should be concluded by 6 October 1962.

Thus if all the Powers will scrupulously apply the Agreement of 23 July 1962 without reticence or mental reservations, the Kingdom of Laos will be

freed from the spectre of foreign interference and will truly become a neutral, independent and sovereign country. It will then be able to devote itself to specifically national works in order to rebuild its ruins, dress its wounds, settle its economy and start afresh towards a peaceful and prosperous future. On several occasions the Royal Government has proclaimed its wish—for it is in its own interest—to apply this agreement fully and sincerely, and I reiterate today from this rostrum our unshakable determination to do so. We shall do everything in our power to ensure that the work done at Geneva may rest on a firm foundation. I hope, in turn, that all the signatory Powers will apply and respect, without reservation, the agreement which has just been concluded. There is certainly no doubt that special responsibility lies with the great Powers.

139. It gives me much pleasure to pay a sincere tribute, on behalf of the people and Government of Laos, to H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia, whose apt initiative at the Conference made it possible to bring peace and neutrality to Laos. I wish also to thank all the countries which took part in the Conference for their patient efforts throughout the fourteen months of negotiations and for the understanding and sympathy they showed in seeking a peaceful settlement for so complex and difficult a problem.

140. That is why, after this almost unique experience, we are more than ever in favour of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, whatever their scope and gravity. We firmly believe in the merit of human contacts and of peace negotiations. My delegation does not claim to have an exclusive recipe for the settlement of all international problems or disputes, but we have noted in the past that a large number of them have been settled, either within the United Nations or outside the Organization, through recourse to direct and frank negotiations. Current problems must be solved, in our view, through understanding and reciprocal goodwill and not through violence, hatred and bloodshed. For our part, we shall continue to solve our internal difficulties, and indeed our international difficulties, by the same methods, on the basis of an impartial and objective consideration of the facts and inspired by the principles of law, justice and good faith.

141. The Kingdom of Laos does not, in accepting new friendships, reject its older ones. It does, however, place its devotion and loyalty to the principles of independence, national sovereignty and neutrality which will henceforth govern its national life above its personal preferences and affinities. There is no possibility of compromise or bargaining where respect for our national sovereignty is concerned. Our foreign policy is not and will not be marked by any feelings of hostility towards any country or group of countries which respects our principles. We are determined to reach an understanding and establish friendly relations with all countries which so desire, on the basis of mutual respect and equality and irrespective of their social or political systems. We are prepared to accept any foreign assistance which is not accompanied by political conditions that might jeopardize our neutrality.

142. It was with this desire for equity and this appreciation of realities that my Government recently decided to establish diplomatic relations with various

countries, among them the Government of the People's Republic of China. This recognition was due not only to the active and effective participation of that Government in the recent settlement of our problem but also to a proper estimation of realities. It was but a corollary of the strict application of our policy of neutrality. We consider that a great people numbering 650 million, with all its economic and military potential, cannot long be excluded from international life. The restoration of its rights in the United Nations must in our view come about as quickly as possible, for that might contribute usefully to the consolidation of peace and the reduction of world tension.

143. My delegation hopes that we can make room in our Organization for all countries which show a desire for peace and that we can finally reject the distinction which some make between the notion of admitting a State and that of recognizing it.

144. With respect to the proposal advanced by H.R.H. Prince Sihanouk regarding the neutralization of Cambodia, my Government both endorses the proposal and fully supports the idea of convening an international conference on the matter. It is also prepared to adopt any other procedure which Cambodia considers adequate as a means of hastening or facilitating its entry upon a course of guaranteed neutrality. An enlarged neutral zone in South-East Asia, where war still rages, cannot but aid the development and strengthening of international peace and security in that part of the world.

145. In our opinion it is not a question of displacing hotbeds of war from north to south. It is a question of completely extinguishing them by putting an immediate end to foreign intervention. The continuance or harmful extension of foreign interference represents a serious threat to peace and invites the danger that South-East Asia might at any moment be set ablaze. The teachings of history have amply demonstrated that at all times and places nothing can defeat the will of a people battling for its freedom.

146. Today there is no responsible Head of State who does not know that in the age of weapons of mass destruction war is an absurdity which can solve nothing and which would destroy with equal ferocity the two contending camps. My country, which has experienced suffering and destruction, has always been an advocate of general and complete disarmament. All weapons, whether conventional or nuclear must be outlawed, for there is no possible alternative to peace. We shall also support, as we have for years, the permanent cessation of nuclear testing underground, underwater and in the atmosphere.

147. The rapid development of the technology of death and destruction should not in our opinion be considered a positive achievement of civilization. What is the good of the immense amount of work done by man if it is only to bring mankind to an end? The fabulous sums of money spent to develop the techniques of collective suicide should be diverted towards fulfilling the purposes of the Charter by combating hunger, ignorance and disease.

148. My country wishes to stress once more that it will continue to give its support, within its limited means, to all peoples fighting for their freedom. Colonialism, whether overt or covert, thrives on the ignorance and humiliation of the weaker peoples. It must disappear from the face of the earth, giving way to a new form of co-operation based on equality

and mutual respect. It is only by uniting our efforts to wipe out this scourge that we will be able to prepare for peace and give real expression to the spirit of the Charter.

149. These are the principles which guide the Royal Government of national unity presided over by His Highness, Prince Souvanna Phouma. Jealous of our sovereignty, we do not propose to compromise or sacrifice our neutrality for any illusions or for any momentary tactical or ideological considerations.

150. We come to this meeting our hearts filled with hope. We trust that this seventeenth session of the General Assembly will be one of rapprochement, of concord and of peace.

151. Mr. FELLMAN VELARDE (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): To begin with, I should like to congratulate the President heartily on his election.

152. On behalf of the people of Bolivia, I wish to extend a fraternal greeting to all the peoples represented here and to speak from this, the highest rostrum, first about the ideals and aspirations which have shaped our principles in international affairs and then about our opinions on the problems confronting this Assembly.

153. Bolivia is a small country of great contrasts which for the past ten years has been undergoing a revolution. This revolution is being carried out at the national level in order to ensure that Bolivia's natural riches shall benefit the Bolivians, and at the individual level in order to achieve two ideals—economic security and freedom—which we believe to be the inalienable right of the human person.

154. Bolivia has been generously endowed by nature. It undoubtedly possesses all the resources it needs to sustain a healthy and expanding industry and to feed its population more than adequately. Suffice it to note that with the produce of Potosí a bridge of silver could have been extended across the Atlantic. Nevertheless the possibility of utilizing these resources to promote the well-being of the bulk of the population was denied us until ten years ago.

155. In 1952, the year in which our revolution began, the principal sources of Bolivian wealth were the mines and the land. Of our mining production, which accounted for 94 per cent of our total exports, 76 per cent came from mines owned by three individuals, while 70 per cent of the usable land, which had to feed some 4 million inhabitants was in the hands of 100 families.

156. The mining barons and great landowners not only amassed fabulous fortunes but, what was worse, invested their wealth outside Bolivia, giving rise to such world-wide monopolies as that of tin. On the other bleaker side of the medal, the average individual income of the great majority of the population was barely \$40 a year. These great contrasts of such clear and dramatic injustice both explain and justify a revolution.

157. Our revolution began with the nationalization of the mines owned by the three individuals and thus we did away with a concentration of private economic power which was greater than that of the State itself and whose influence on the Government had been decisive and corruptive. Land reform was carried out on the principle that the land belongs to those who work it, and today we can assert with justifiable

pride that there is not a single Bolivian peasant who does not possess an adequate piece of land.

158. The nationalization of the mines and the land reform were decisive factors in the effort to bring the benefits of Bolivia's wealth to the Bolivian people and they made a fairer distribution of wealth possible. The substantial reduction in the disparity between the excessively rich and the excessively poor has resulted in an increase of 120 per cent in the average annual income per caput. The peasants have entered the consumer market, expanding it fivefold, and the working people and middle class now enjoy an advanced social legislation which protects them from birth to death.

159. The better distribution of wealth not only brought the ideal of economic security closer but opened the doors which had barred our way to freedom. The peasant, who could be sold with the estate on which he worked, is today no longer a serf but a citizen. The number of schools has risen more than tenfold and the right to vote, which was restricted to 60,000 persons—those with a certain level of income—is now exercised by all who are of age, without any distinctions whatsoever.

160. The Bolivian man, master of his country's fate, has found a new dignity in his responsibilities and is entering the mainstream of world culture with a worthy contribution which retains his own distinctive stamp.

161. The Bolivian revolution, despite the features it has in common with other similar processes in under-developed countries, has its own individual character, since it arose as an expression of the deepest yearnings of a particular people at a particular stage in its historical development. It acknowledges its sources of inspiration but does not recognize ideological or political vassalage, and it does not claim to be an example but simply an experiment which other peoples might find helpful.

162. It is inevitable, however, that the principles which inspired the Bolivian revolution should determine the conduct of Bolivia's representatives in matters relating to international affairs. It is because we waged a long struggle to possess our own country that we resolutely support the principle of self-determination, and it is because we recognize the right of all other peoples to do likewise that we resolutely defend the principle of non-intervention.

163. At the root of the principles of self-determination and non-intervention lies, we believe, the will of the common man. We think that it is the people who are called upon to decide the destiny of their land and that once they have taken this decision it must be respected by all others. We do not think that our role as representatives of our countries is to deliberate on the fate of other nations, but rather to co-operate in helping the peoples of these nations to deliberate for themselves.

164. That is why we feel, too, that in relations between nations no form of economic dependence or political subjugation can be justified. We sometimes hear it said that a certain people is not ready for freedom. But this argument advanced internationally inevitably brings to mind the argument that all national tyrannies have used to justify their existence. It may well be that a new nation will need the co-operation of others in its early days, but in our opinion there is no denying that preparation for freedom

is acquired by the practice of freedom and in no other way. For that reason we have invariably supported the emergence of new States, which today are an adequate reason to justify the existence of the United Nations and the best proof that mankind is moving forward.

165. Disregard for the principles of self-determination and non-intervention has brought about a dramatic and artificial situation in which we find peoples that are denied the possibility of expressing their wishes, countries that are involuntary fields of battle between other countries, nations that are occupied and nations that are divided. In the existing circumstances it might well appear naive to claim that in every case the common man should be enabled to decide the fate of his country considering that this dramatic and artificial situation is largely dependent on the conflict of interests between the great Powers. Despite this, however, we firmly maintain our view that these interests, however powerful they may be, do not beget rights and that where the fate of nations is concerned the only right worthy of that name is the right of the common man who is born in each nation and who is therefore its true master.

166. Furthermore, we believe that the element of force in international affairs must be replaced once and for all by obedience to the law. We think that the means to this end lie in disarmament with sufficient control to avoid suspicion, in the development of the machinery of international law and in the continuous strengthening of the bodies responsible for its enforcement.

167. As regards disarmament, our conduct is governed by a long-standing conviction. As early as 1954 Bolivia urged the necessity of disarmament for Latin America in order that the resources expended on military preparations prompted by mistrust could be directed to the more important task of combating backwardness, ignorance and want. Today we reiterate this opinion and do so with even greater force. It is easy to foresee the severity with which history will judge the incredible paradox of today's huge expenditure on the technical development of atomic weapons that are destined to streak through the skies of foreign countries whose masses are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.

168. The small nations cannot disregard this paradox, when a mere fraction, one twentieth of the military budgets of the great Powers would be enough to accelerate their progress considerably and when today the danger of a conflict is total, as are also the threats.

169. The inauguration of the United Nations Development Decade by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session has aroused increasing hopes throughout the world and has thus placed upon the United Nations a heavy responsibility.

170. I trust that it is not out of place for me to describe some of the problems which Bolivia faces as an under-developed country, for I do so in the knowledge that other countries in the same position are facing similar problems and in the belief that our experience may be of use to them.

171. Once we had put a stop to the outflow of our wealth, had distributed it more equitably and had thus created an adequate framework for fuller freedom, we turned our efforts towards increasing the volume

of that wealth by developing and diversifying our production.

172. In that field, first alone and then with the co-operation of other countries, to which we pay a tribute, we have achieved some worthwhile results. Ten years ago we were importing 60 per cent of the hydrocarbons we needed from abroad; today, we export hydrocarbons. We are self-sufficient in sugar and rice, which we formerly had to import; we have greatly increased the volume of our exports with the addition of new products, and our industry is growing at a significant rate. Furthermore, under the terms of the Charter of Punta del Este, we are launching a ten-year plan, at the end of which we hope to have doubled our per caput income for the second time.

173. Notwithstanding these achievements, we still have much to do. We believe that three factors must operate concurrently if we are to succeed: our own efforts, international co-operation and fair treatment for our raw materials.

174. The overwhelming majority of the Bolivian people have vigorously and seriously applied themselves to the task of overcoming their present state of under-development and becoming an integral part of the century in which they live. They are well aware of the urgency of that undertaking and of the need for sacrifice.

175. We rely to a certain extent on international co-operation. Indeed, it seems obvious that the task of overcoming under-development and reducing the wide gulf separating the rich and the poor nations is a duty and a necessity for both groups: for the rich nations because, firstly, they must have a continuously expanding market in order to preserve their prosperity and, secondly, it is wise to avert the explosive effects of resentment and frustration built up when those who have everything live side by side with those who have nothing; for the poor nations because their peoples are rightly clamouring for their share in the enjoyment of the wealth which they have helped to create.

176. Nevertheless our own efforts and international co-operation are not the only factors in the task of overcoming under-development. Fair treatment for the raw materials produced by the under-developed countries is just as important, or even more important.

177. Dependence on the price of raw materials is one of the most striking features of under-development. For example, Bolivia today depends to the extent of 65 per cent on its exports of tin in order to cover its import needs, which amount approximately to 90 per cent in machinery, 60 per cent in manufactured goods and 30 per cent in foodstuffs.

178. Consequently, the price of tin is of paramount importance to Bolivia. In the last ten years, however, while the price of tin has remained the same, the price of the machinery required to produce it has increased by 30 per cent. Moreover first the Soviet Union and then the United States have invaded the international tin market, upsetting its normal equilibrium by offering large quantities for sale.

179. To take the example of Bolivia, it is fair to say that no under-developed country can hope to develop if the price of the raw materials it exports remains the same while the price of the machinery it has to import to produce them goes up. Any country has

reason to despair of its future when the normal equilibrium of the primary commodity markets on which it depends remains at the mercy of the big countries, which can upset them with impunity.

180. The United Nations would not be living up to the responsibilities it has assumed in launching a **Development Decade** if it failed to develop an effective, workable and adequate method of protecting primary commodity prices as a factor in international co-operation.

181. The problems of under-development and its possible solutions, namely the country's own efforts, international co-operation and fair treatment for raw materials, are common to many countries. Bolivia, however, has a further problem of its own which is a serious obstacle to all its efforts: namely, the lack of its own direct access to the major channels of world trade.

182. Of course, Bolivia is not the only land-locked country. It is, however, one of the very few which have no waterway linking their large population centres with the rest of the world and whose commercial traffic is therefore subject to foreign laws and the will of other countries. Moreover, it is the only country in the whole world which was deprived of its coastline—over 150,000 square kilometres—by an unjust war. Every Bolivian, without exception, burns with an unquenchable desire to return to the sea. In this era of the rule of law, when new concepts of international solidarity are being established, there is no reason why a nation, an entire nation, should continue to remain imprisoned.

183. Bolivia will appeal in due course to the spirit of solidarity of all peoples, to which it has contributed so much, so that a just remedy may be found for the tragedy of its isolation.

184. In conclusion, I would express the most fervent hope that the ideals of this Organization, in which so many place their faith, will soon be realized in the interest of the happiness of all peoples.

185. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Chile, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

186. Mr. MARTINEZ SOTOMAYOR (Chile) (translated from Spanish): In the statement he has just made, the Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs referred to the land-locked position of his country.

187. Since Chile is one of the republics with a common frontier with Bolivia, we think it relevant at this juncture to tell the General Assembly briefly what facilities my country offers to the Bolivian import and export trade so that it may have the widest and freest access to Pacific ports through Chilean territory.

188. In view of the remarks made by the Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs, I am glad to state that no country has granted more extensive facilities to any land-locked nation than those that Chile grants to Bolivia.

189. In the first place, Bolivia, has the right to full and free transit of goods through Chilean territory and through all our ports, a right which it exercises without restriction. Two railways link the Chilean ports of Arica and Antofagasta with the Bolivian capital. Freight and port costs for those services are so low that they create budgetary deficits, to the detriment of Chile's exchequer.

190. Bolivia is free to install its own customs-houses, warehouses and shipping terminals in Chilean ports. Bolivia is also able to transport cargo through the territory and ports of Chile with its own personnel and without any interference from Chile.

191. Prior to the breaking off of diplomatic relations, provoked by Bolivia, conversations had been started, on Chile's initiative, for the construction of two major highways linking Bolivia with Chilean ports. As a result of my country's efforts, there are air lines operating between the two countries.

192. During the first term of office of Mr. Paz Estenssore, the present President of Bolivia, Chile granted Bolivia facilities for the construction of an oil pipeline which would carry Bolivia's petroleum products as far as the port of Arica.

193. The passage of Bolivian goods through Chilean territory is not subject to any administrative formalities, not even those normally required for statistical purposes.

194. The carriage of passengers is not governed by any regulations other than those required to identify persons travelling in vehicles. In its desire to improve Bolivia's position in international trade, Chile is now engaged, at great expense, in the construction of a modern port in Arica which will simplify all the handling of Bolivia's international cargo.

195. In those and in other ways which in the interests of brevity I shall not mention, Chile is always anxious to grant Bolivia all possible facilities so that its foreign trade may develop without hindrance.

196. With regard to communications across Chile, Bolivia's international trade is not subject either to the laws or to the will of foreign countries, as the Bolivian Minister for Foreign Affairs has just asserted. On the contrary, it is subject to the sacred law of the treaties in force between the two countries—which is a law for Chile as well as for Bolivia—which grant our neighbouring country all the rights of free transit through Chilean territory and through Chilean ports.

Statement by the President

197. The PRESIDENT: I would at this stage like to submit to the General Assembly some observations on the progress of its work. Forty-three speakers have so far participated in the general debate, and I should like to thank all delegations for their understanding and their co-operation in expediting the work of the Assembly, particularly those delegations whose names were inscribed as the first speakers at each meeting. When called upon to speak, the first speakers in the morning, I noticed, had to embark as it were on an act of faith, which did, however, in each case soon justify itself.

198. Thirty-one delegations have inscribed their names on the list to speak during the course of the next week. When they have spoken, a total of seventy-four Members will have taken part in the general debate. Eight representatives have signified their intention to speak during the week commencing 8 October, and that would make a total of eighty-two who have either participated in the general debate or expressed a desire to do so.

199. Last year, out of a total membership of 104, 80 Members participated in the general debate. If one were to attempt an estimate on the basis of

averages, about 82 or 83 delegations would desire to speak during the general debate at this session. This does not in the least constitute an indication that any delegation which desires to speak should refrain from doing so.

200. In view of this, I would suggest, but only suggest and no more, that the eight representatives who have signified their intention to speak during the week of 8 October might consider whether it might not be to their convenience to inscribe their names on the list of speakers for next week. For instance, on Monday afternoon, 1 October, no speaker is inscribed for taking part in the general debate, and on Friday, 5 October, there is a total of five speakers only for the day, two in the morning and three in the afternoon.

201. As I have said, delegations will no doubt consult their own convenience and act accordingly. I have submitted these observations as the General Assembly has done me the honour of placing upon my shoulders the responsibility for the conduct of this session, and I felt I should continue to place before the Members what the situation is so that they can decide how to make the best use of their time.

202. As there might still be a number of delegations which have not yet inscribed their names on the list of speakers, and may wish to do so, I propose to fix 5 p.m. on Wednesday, 3 October, as the time when the list of speakers in the general debate will be closed.

203. We shall see how we proceed during the next week, but it is the thinking on this side that if the inscriptions continue as they are, and there is not full work for each sitting for the general debate, other items might be added, more or less in the order in which they are inscribed in the list for the plenary session, to be disposed of during such meetings when there may be only one or two speakers in the general debate. I mention that just as a possibility.

204. We are hoping that the Committees will soon start organizing their work and commence their regular sittings, and there is some possibility that the First Committee and the Special Political Committee might also be able to organize themselves and arrange their programmes of work during the next week, so that they might start sitting during the following week to deal with the items allocated to them.

205. I call now on the representative of Bolivia, who has requested to speak in exercise of his right of reply to the delegation of Chile. May I state to the representative of Bolivia that a settlement of the question of the access of a land-locked State to ports and oceans will not be sought this afternoon in the plenary.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

206. Mr. FELLMAN VELARDE (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): I am truly sorry to take the floor again but I feel it my duty to do so in order to explain certain facts.

207. It is true, as the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated, that there is a treaty on free transit between Chile and Bolivia. Unfortunately, there is a difference between the treaty and the facts and I should like to give a few examples to illustrate it.

208. In 1932, when Bolivia was engaged in a war, ships bound for Bolivia were embargoed in Chilean ports.

209. In 1952, when we nationalized our mines, goods in transit to Bolivia were held in Chilean ports.

210. And barely two months ago, by order of the Chilean Customs Administration—Order No. 725—

we were required to exhibit the quality of the mineral which Bolivia normally exports.

211. Moreover, so far as Bolivia is concerned, the essential point is not so much to enjoy certain facilities of access as to have a port of our own.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.