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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: The other day [880th meeting], on the suggestion of the Prime Minister of India, the General Assembly seized itself of a draft resolution [A/4522] proposed by the heads of the delegations of Ghana, India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia. The text of the draft resolution is in the hands of delegations.

2. In his address this morning [882nd meeting], the Prime Minister of India expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be dealt with as soon as possible. In the absence of objection, I propose to ask the Assembly to deal with the draft resolution after the list of speakers this afternoon is exhausted.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the Secretary-General.

4. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The head of the Soviet delegation to the General Assembly this morning, in exercising his right of reply, said [882nd meeting], among other things, that the present Secretary-General has always been biased against the

socialist countries, that he has used the United Nations to support the colonial forces fighting the Congolese Government and Parliament in order to impose "a new yoke on the Congo"; and, finally, that if I myself cannot muster the courage to resign, in, let us say, a chivalrous way, we [the Soviet Union] shall draw the inevitable conclusions from the situation". In support of his challenge the representative of the Soviet Union said that there is no room for a man who has, "violated the elementary principles of justice in such an important post as that of Secretary-General".

5. Later on he found reason to say to the representatives at this session that they should not "be deluded by the high-flown words used here" by me in "an attempt to justify the bloody crimes committed against the people of the Congo".

6. The General Assembly can rightly expect an immediate reply from my side to a statement so directly addressed to me regarding a matter of such potential significance.

7. The Assembly has witnessed over the last weeks how historical truth is established. Once an allegation has been repeated a few times it is no longer an allegation, it is an established fact even if no evidence has been brought out to support it. However, facts are facts and the true facts are there for whomsoever cares for truth. Those who invoke history will certainly be heard by history. And they will have to accept its verdict as it will be pronounced on the basis of the facts by men free of mind and firm in their conviction that only on a scrutiny of truth can a future of peace be built.

8. I have no reason to defend myself or my colleagues against the accusations and judgements to which you have listened. Let me say only this: that you, all of you, are the judges. No single party can claim that authority. I am sure that you will be guided by truth and justice. In particular, let those who know what the United Nations has done and is doing in the Congo, and those who are not pursuing aims proper only to themselves, pass judgement on our actions there. Let the countries which have liberated themselves in the last fifteen years speak for themselves.

9. I regret that the intervention to which I found it necessary to reply has again tended to personalize an issue which, as I have said, in my view is not a question of a man but of an institution. The man does not count; the institution does. A weak or non-existent executive would mean that the United Nations would no longer be able to serve as an effective instrument for active protection of the interests of those many Members who need such protection. The man holding the responsibility as Chief Executive should leave if he weakens the executive. He should stay if this is necessary for its maintenance. This and only this seems to me to be the substantive criterion that has to be applied.

10. I said the other day that I would not wish to continue to serve as Secretary-General one day longer than such continued service was considered to be in the best interests of the Organization. The statement this morning seems to indicate that the Soviet Union finds it impossible to work with the present Secretary-General. This may seem to provide a strong reason why I should resign. However, the Soviet Union has also made it clear that if the present Secretary-General were to resign now, it would not wish to elect a new incumbent but insist on an arrangement which—and this is my firm conviction based on broad experience—would make it impossible to maintain an effective executive. By resigning I would, therefore, at the present difficult and dangerous juncture throw the Organization to the winds. I have no right to do so because I have a responsibility to all those Member States for which the Organization is of decisive importance—a responsibility which over-rides all other considerations.

11. It is not the Soviet Union or indeed any other big Powers which need the United Nations for their protection. It is all the others. In this sense, the Organization is first of all their Organization and I deeply believe in the wisdom with which they will be able to use it and guide it. I shall remain in my post during the term of office as a servant of the Organization in the interest of all those other nations as long as they wish me to do so.

12. In this context the representative of the Soviet Union spoke of courage. It is very easy to resign. It is not so easy to stay on. It is very easy to bow to the wish of a big Power. It is another matter to resist. As is well known to all Members of this Assembly I have done so before on many occasions and in many directions. If it is the wish of those nations who see in the Organization their best protection in the present world, I shall now do so again.

13. The PRESIDENT: Continuing the general debate, I call upon the first speaker this afternoon, the Chairman of the delegation of Hungary—the Minister of State of the People's Republic of Hungary.

14. Mr. KADAR (Hungary):^{1/} It is beyond doubt that the present fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is one of the greatest importance since its inception and may well become one of historical significance. This follows from the international situation itself and from the fact that two questions of paramount importance in the present-day life of mankind, general and complete disarmament and the complete liquidation of the colonial system, are on the agenda.

15. It is an important fact that the leaders of many countries of the globe, intent on discussions and negotiations, have assembled for the first time in such a large number in one place. It is of no less importance that together with the newly admitted countries the United Nations has now representatives from ninety-eight countries participating in its discussions. As equal Members of the United Nations, the representatives of countries which through long generations had been excluded even from shaping their own fate may, by their admission, make their opinions heard on the great issues of international life. The Government

and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic warmly welcome the peoples of the countries newly admitted to the United Nations, and wish them many successes in their independent development.

16. The Hungarian delegation wishes the General Assembly and its elected officers success in their work.

17. In our world, armed and fraught, as it is, with conflicts, the question of the maintenance of peace is the one that keeps public opinion in all countries active to the highest degree. In this situation the peoples first of all expect the United Nations to do all in its power to promote disarmament. The representatives of the big Powers are probably more familiar than I am with the extent of the present-day arms race, and with the fact that great quantities of the terrible weapons of mass destruction are already piled up. The great danger inherent in the present day situation is, however, known to us all. Public opinion is pressing for agreement on disarmament. We know that the realization of general and complete disarmament calls for further persistent efforts by the peoples and for sober attitude by all responsible Governments.

18. World public opinion demands from the leaders of nations even greater responsibility in the present situation. Consequently, a responsible leader, when addressing his own people or the United Nations, cannot evade the great issues of peace. Upon initiative of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, the untiring defender of peace, a great number of heads of States, prime ministers and other statesmen vested with considerable powers are taking part in the present work of the General Assembly. People all over the world expect them to say frankly whether or not they are in favour of disarmament. I repeat: they must answer this one question and nothing else: Do they want disarmament or not? And if they say "yes", people everywhere expect the leaders also to act in that spirit. Unfortunately, this question sometimes fails to receive a clear and unequivocal answer, but even more often words and deeds do not coincide.

19. In words almost everyone stands for peace, but deeds speak more clearly than words. Everyone knows that while the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have, in recent years considerably reduced their armed forces, the responsible leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Powers come up with slogans of peace only with a view to covering up the arms race conducted by them. It is instructive for the peoples that, while the Governments of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries prepared for 20 September 1960, the opening date of the General Assembly of the United Nations, with new proposals on disarmament and other constructive proposals, the leaders of NATO scheduled for the same day their military exercises called by themselves the biggest ever. True, in his statement^{2/} Admiral Dennison called this a pure coincidence, but we wonder whether there is a single man in the world who believes this. This demonstration was obviously designed to be a show of strength, but in this respect it was a waste of expenditure and a futile effort, because the other party cannot be frightened. And those who can show the peoples nothing else than military exercise do not give evidence of their strength but reveal

^{1/} Mr. Kádár spoke in Hungarian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

^{2/} Admiral Dennison's speech appeared in The New York Times of 29 September 1960.

their complete lack of good will and their political weakness.

20. The most urgent task of the United Nations in the defence of peace, a task which cannot be further delayed, is to condemn most resolutely the sword-rattling, the cold-war manoeuvres and aggression against the sovereignty of States. One of the greatest dangers to the peace of the peoples is presented by aggressive German militarism, revived and increased in strength with the money, weapons, political and administrative support of the NATO powers.

21. Revanchist declarations are an every-day occurrence in West Germany. The memorandum of West German generals demanding atomic weapons stirred up even western public opinion. How is it possible that leaders of nations could so soon forget the sacrifices, the lessons of history, the solemn declarations by which they swore the destruction of German imperialism, and the international treaties concluded to that end? Not to mention now the immense sufferings and sacrifices of other peoples, is it so long ago indeed that French, British and American soldiers were killed in large numbers in the murderous war of German imperialism? No, this was not so long ago. The widows, orphans, the invalids are still alive, and peoples, including the Hungarian people, have not forgotten. On the contrary, they demand a decisive curb on revived German imperialism, the liquidation of the remnants of war, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the existing two German States.

22. The Hungarian people witnessed how their total national income of five years, all the results of five years' work of the entire nation, burnt to ashes in the Second World War. They lost nearly 8 per cent of the adult population, over half a million human lives, approximately as many as did the United States with a population seventeen times as great as that of Hungary. In their own country our people have already wiped out the imperialistic rule of monopoly capital, the source of war. In our country there is no one profiting by armaments and speculating on war. Inciting hatred among peoples and warmongering is prohibited by law. Our people have every reason to hate war and imperialism. They want to live in peace with other peoples. They want to work and enjoy the more and more abundant harvest of their work in peace in the future as well.

23. It is also the view of the Hungarian people that mankind now has but two alternatives. The issue is whether the epoch-making achievements of science will cause the unprecedented destruction of human lives or whether a rich and happy future is in store for mankind. The choice is not difficult for the peoples, and the solution can also be found. First of all, it is necessary that the influential circles in the United States return to their senses from the bankrupt policy of strength, realize the failure of the cold war, apparent to all, and show, starting from this session of the General Assembly, readiness to start negotiations on general and complete disarmament. This would strengthen peace and would result in new economic prosperity, would give a stimulus to the peaceful competition of the two social systems, and the working people would immensely gain by it both in the East and in the West.

24. On behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic our delegation fully supports the

Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament submitted to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly [799th meeting], which endorsed it unanimously in principle. We also support the latest proposals of the Soviet delegation [869th meeting] because they can enhance the realization of disarmament.

25. The whole of mankind follows closely and with sympathy the large-scale and dramatic struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation. The time is ripe indeed for the complete and final liquidation of the colonial system, all the more so because the colonial system, this shameful product of imperialism, is an ever-present source of conflicts. Its liquidation will represent a great stride forward on the road to the final elimination of wars which threaten the lives of millions of people.

26. The colonialists have for long barred the oppressed colonial peoples from development and subjected them to economic exploitation. In a barbaric way they exterminated the population of colonial countries by the millions. We have heard here the representative of the Belgian imperialists, who had for so long kept the Congolese people in serfdom, praising his masters for giving the Congolese people independence and saying that they performed their latest military actions only in order to protect Belgian women and children. However, they forgot to mention that the security of the Belgian citizens living there was not threatened by the peaceful people of the Congo, but only and solely by the provocations of the imperialists.

27. They forgot to speak about the fact that for many years the Belgian colonizers had cut off the hands of thousands of Congolese men, women and children for refusing delivery of ivory and latex. No word was said either of such horrors as were disclosed by the contemporary author, Edmund D. Morel, in his book entitled *The Black Man's Burden*.^{3/} It appears from data given in that book that at the beginning of the Belgian rule even the most modest estimates did not indicate the Congolese population as amounting to less than 20 million. According to the data of the 1911 census, however, which were not published in Belgium but were reported in a British consular dispatch, the inhabitants of the Congo numbered only 8.5 million. This means that nearly 12 million Congolese were killed in less than 25 years. And this is only the lowest estimate.

28. Some colonialists now put on the white toga in hypocrisy and claim that it is they who liberated the people of the former colony in question. This is a false presentation. The colonialists only robbed the colonial peoples of their freedom, and it is not they who "give" it to them, but the colonial peoples themselves in a strenuous struggle are regaining now their freedom of which they have been robbed.

29. The colonialists claim that they have "civilized" and "educated" the colonial peoples. Moreover, they are even contemplating whether the peoples of their colonies are mature enough for an independent national life. But everybody knows that long before the appearance of the colonizers there already existed the ancient Chinese, Indian, Indonesian cultures and civilizations, the high-standard Arabian astronomy and mathematics, there existed mighty and well-organized

^{3/} National Labour Press, London and Manchester 1920.

African states. They are speaking about education. All of us listened here, in turn, to speeches by Mr. Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, by Mr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, by Mr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, and other prominent representatives of former colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Many of the unsolicited "teachers" and "educators" may well learn from them judgement, sense of responsibility, and ability of judgement worthy of statesmen. Last but not least, they deserve high respect for their great moral courage in the face of imperialism.

30. Those who thus far profited by the colonial system should understand that false excuses or the distortion of truth have no longer any effect in this question. They should take cognizance of the fact that the time for the complete liquidation of colonial rule has come. The course of history has quickened. The foundations of the colonial system have been shaken so much that any attempt at obstructing the progress of liberation will not stop but accelerate it.

31. Some representatives in the general debate attempted to divert the attention from the colonies and from the real colonialists by casting rude slanders at the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. This is a futile attempt. Even children know the world over that the colonies and semi-colonies are in Asia, Africa and South America, and that the main footholds of the colonizers and the colonial system are not in Eastern Europe but in Western Europe and North America. It cannot be laid at the door of the colonial peoples that the countries which were for a long time objects of the colonizers' exploitation have, so to say, no industry, their agriculture is backward and primitive, more than 90 per cent of their population, as is often the case, is illiterate and starving, and the average span of life is 30 to 35 years of age.

32. In my country nearly two-thirds of the national income is produced by industry and agriculture is in progress. The annual rate of industrial development on the average of the years 1920 to 1945 was one per cent, while during the period since the liberation of Hungary, the yearly increase in industrial production has been 11 per cent on the average. During the fifteen years since the liberation, the number of secondary-school students has risen from 52,000 to 204,000, that of university students from 11,500 to 34,500; illiteracy has completely vanished. The average span of life has increased from forty-eight in 1930 to sixty-five years of age in 1960, that is, by seventeen years. Not even in their own countries can the gentlemen of colonialism claim such a rate of development, not to speak of the nations they held in subjugation.

33. How dares anybody slander the relationship between my country and the Soviet Union when my people owe their vigorous development of the past fifteen years to a great degree to the manifold unselfish economic and cultural assistance given by the Soviet Union in accordance with the principles of socialism? There is no foreign capital in our country, and we pay dividends to no one. Within the framework of Soviet and Hungarian trade relations, the Soviet Union gives Hungary more than 80 per cent of raw materials, energy and semi-finished products in exchange for over 80 percent of industrial products. The leaders of the capitalist countries are proficient in trade, and they know what this means. They cannot name a single capitalist country which would maintain such favour-

able trade relations with a smaller and less developed country. None exists, for this would contradict the plundering nature of imperialism.

34. The Government and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic uphold the idea of freedom. They warmly welcome the victorious Cuban revolution and are in solidarity with the peoples of Algeria and the Congo. They wish all peoples who are still in colonial or semi-colonial subjugation to win their complete national independence soon.

35. From the point of view of the liquidation of the colonial system, our delegation would consider it practical if any country whose imperialists were formerly oppressors of a given country were to be excluded from all activities concerned with the liberation of that colonial country. In such a way the United Nations could prevent various possible provocations and the maintenance in some other disguised form of former oppression. The principle of rendering assistance to former colonial countries is just, in so far as it can be ensured that such assistance is rendered without conditions violating the political or economic independence of the recipient countries. It can be imagined and it would be a real proof of good will if the party which earlier extracted large profits from that country would pay a fair and reasonable compensation to the people of the liberated country.

36. The Hungarian delegation supports the Soviet proposal [869th meeting] for the complete liquidation of the colonial system, its discussion at the General Assembly and the adoption of the draft declaration. By adopting the proposal the General Assembly of the United Nations could increase the prestige of this world Organization in the eyes of the peoples.

37. When, by way of the liquidation of the colonial system, all peoples capable of independent national life will have been freed and their countries will have become Members of the United Nations, the universality of this Organization will also be realized in the true sense of the word. It is absurd, however, to talk either about the universality of the United Nations or about the representation of the whole of mankind unless the representatives of the People's Republic of China, comprising 650 million people, have taken their rightful seat in the United Nations. We have only to think of it, and it becomes evident immediately that he who is opposed to the People's Republic of China taking its seat in the United Nations is opposed also to the attainment of a comprehensive agreement on disarmament. The spokesmen of the People's Republic of China are completely right in saying that they consider themselves bound only by those international agreements in the preparation of which they have participated.

38. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to that narrow-minded, selfish great-Power policy, injurious to all, by which the delegation of the United States has for years prevented the People's Republic of China from taking its rightful place in the United Nations. Great responsibility devolves upon every delegation in dealing with this question. The delegation of the United Kingdom, for instance, whose Government maintains diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, knows well enough that the so-called "question of Tibet" is an artificially conceived product of the cold war, the slandering of the People's Republic of China. It is at the same

time a question fiercely debated among United Nations Member States. In spite of this, the delegation of the United Kingdom in the General Committee pronounced in favour of inclusion of the question in the agenda. On the other hand, it went so far as to oppose inclusion of the question of Chinese representation on the grounds that it was a question much disputed among Member States and that the debate on this question would "spoil" the atmosphere of the General Assembly. What is that? Is there nothing wrong in creating antagonisms by a debate on the "question of Tibet"? Is it only the question of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China that we should not discuss in order not to "spoil" the atmosphere of the General Assembly? It is high time to cease to deal with important questions in such a manner. The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is already over-ripe: it should be solved, and it would increase the prestige of the United Nations, the efficiency of its deliberations and the strength of its decisions. My delegation stands for the enforcement of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and is in support of the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Mongolia.

39. I should like to raise another question as well. In accordance with the rules of procedure the so-called provisional agenda was already distributed to the Member States in July of this year. In that agenda the respective agencies of the United Nations and different Member States proposed seventy-three items to be included in the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. Whoever is interested in the pressing issues concerning mankind, in disarmament, Algeria, the Congo, and in other great issues, took this document in hand with expectation. We were surprised that the Government of the United States, which in words is a follower of peace and has a high opinion of the United Nations, had not submitted any questions in this provisional agenda.

40. It is not without interest, however, that when thereafter, on 20 August 1960 the Soviet Union proposed a new item, on that very day the United States submitted another proposal, so to speak, in reply to the former. The proposal of the Soviet Union was numbered 8, and that of the United States bears number 9. The Soviet Union proposed to the General Assembly to discuss the aggressive actions of the United States against the Soviet Union. The United States proposed a debate on the so-called "question of Hungary". This in itself makes it clear to anybody concerned with questions of international life when and for what purposes the United States needs the so-called "question of Hungary" in the United Nations.

41. Everybody is well aware that the much-disputed 1956 events in Hungary are outworn questions, settled by history and belonging to the past. It is also commonly known that the so-called "question of Hungary" in the General Assembly or in its Committees is nothing else but a pure intrigue in the service of the cold war and a campaign of slanders against two Member States of the United Nations, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. The main target is, of course, not the Hungarian People's Republic. We Hungarians are sometimes inclined to believe that the earth revolves around us, but even we do not believe that the influential circles

of the United States would see Hungary as the main obstacle in the realization of their plans for world domination.

42. Everything that has happened in the United Nations so far in regard to the so-called "question of Hungary" is unworthy of this world Organization but is equally unworthy of the Government of the United States of America. The people in different countries, including the Hungarian people, today would expect this Government to take clear and positive steps with a view to lessening tension and to promoting disarmament and a lasting peace. The responsible leaders of the United States are gravely mistaken if they believe they can substitute the expected positive steps with U-2 flights in springtime and by repeatedly raising the trumped-up "questions of Hungary and Tibet" in autumn. Today people are familiar with politics to such an extent that no Government can with such things save its prestige and influence in their eyes. The so-called "question of Hungary" in the United Nations has to do with the cold war and many other things, but it has nothing to do with Hungarian reality, nor has it anything to do with the objectives laid down in the Charter of this world Organization. It has also something to do with United States-Hungarian interstate relations, which are commonly known not to be good as yet. There are, indeed, a number of unsettled issues in our relations. These issues with one exception can be settled extremely easily. We are ready to settle them and we are firmly confident that sooner or later they will be solved in a manner satisfactory for both parties. We are confident because we are aware that even the most malevolent people are unable to point out any single question in which the interests of the United States and the Hungarian peoples are conflicting. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that the Hungarian and the United States peoples have common interests in safeguarding peace, shaping friendship between them and normalizing relations between the two countries.

43. I have something to say about the only serious issue in United States-Hungarian relations, an issue difficult to settle because it also has international aspects. In times of peace, United States-Hungarian relations have been correct ever since it had been possible to establish them. These relations have deteriorated, I have to stress, since 1947—not, as many seem to believe, since 1956. United States-Hungarian relations were good, even cordial, at a time when aristocrats, landlords and big capitalists were in power in Hungary. These relations have been giving trouble only since the government and power in Hungary had passed into the hands of workers and peasants. From this we have drawn the conclusion that what lies behind our unsatisfactory relations, and even behind the pressing in the United Nations of the so-called "question of Hungary", is actually the fact that only one thing really annoys the Government quarters of the United States: they do not like the social system of the Hungarian People's Republic.

44. As is well known, the United Nations was created by various countries with socialist and capitalist systems exactly with a view to ensuring peaceful coexistence among countries with differing social systems, their friendship and co-operation in solving common problems concerning the vital interests of mankind. The founding Members knew full well, and it is time for everybody to acknowledge, that there

exist in the world countries with differing social systems. Moreover, they have all to understand that these countries must coexist simultaneously, in peace, in normal interstate relationship side by side. This is inevitable.

45. The Hungarian working people have definitely put an end to the power and exploiting activity of big capitalists and landlords and have created for themselves a socialist State and society. In this they live now and will live in the future as well. This is a historically accomplished and unalterable fact, a result of the laws of society which are effective independently of the will of individuals. United States-Hungarian relations would at once return to normal, and even the United Nations would at once extricate itself from a conflicting cold war issue imposed on it, if the Government of the United States, listening to reason, were to acknowledge this fact, the alteration of which actually is beyond its competence and possibilities.

46. The social order of the Hungarian People's Republic is a domestic affair of Hungary, in which the Hungarian people and their constitutional organs alone are competent. I rendered account of the Government measures much discussed here to the Hungarian National Assembly on 9 May 1957. The National Assembly, whose session was attended by all representatives but two, unanimously approved of all measures taken by the Government. Under Hungarian law, the Hungarian Government is responsible only to the National Assembly, to no one else in the world. The latest general elections in Hungary were held in November 1958. In our country there is universal and equal suffrage by secret ballot, and all citizens over eighteen years of age have the right to vote. The candidates of the Patriotic People's Front received 97 per cent of the votes cast by those enfranchised. This is now the present National Assembly was constituted, which elected our present Government. Our lawful Government conducts the affairs of the country, enjoying the confidence of the people. This is known also to those who are intriguing against us. They also know full well that in vain do they cast aspersions at us; neither slanders nor resolutions enforced in the United Nations can alter this fact.

47. The Hungarian delegation has come to participate in the work of the General Assembly with the intention of contributing as best it can to a constructive solution of the really great and important problems. To cold war intrigues and slanders the Hungarian delegation answers, fully aware of the justice, of the moral and material strength of the Hungarian people and of the whole socialist camp, in the spirit of its efforts at easing international tension. These efforts require us to take a clear position. I have to say frankly that we regard the resolutions adopted so far by the General Assembly on the so-called "question of Hungary" as inadmissible attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. We are confident that the day will come—if not now, then at a later date—when the General Assembly itself will invalidate its own unlawful resolutions on the so-called "question of Hungary" as actions contrary to the Charter.

48. There are some who ask for information on the situation in Hungary. Is there indeed anybody here who would not know that for several years in Hungary

a legal order and regular public life have been prevailing which might be envied by many a capitalist country?

49. Our people are working unremittingly and zealously, and as the result of their work industrial production has increased about 36 per cent, agricultural production 12 per cent during the last four years. Living standards on the average have gone up 24 per cent, and the real wages of industrial workers increased 32 per cent in the last three and a half years. Sanitary and cultural conditions are equally good. Seventy-five per cent of the population is covered by health and accident insurance free of charge. May I mention, for example, that the eminent United States scientist, Dr. Sabin, has been to Hungary recently. He could see that in our country there was not a single case of infantile paralysis in the critical months of this year. He suggested that Hungarian physicians should undertake to instruct specialists of other countries, since they had organized free vaccination covering all children, as well as other necessary measures, in an exemplary manner.

50. Let those who are interested in our conditions visit us and see the situation in our country with their own eyes. Since the well-known events, thousands of tourists and hundreds of newspapermen from the West, including many United States citizens, have visited Hungary. There have been among them high officials of the United Nations, United States State Department aides, Senators, public figures, and so forth. In Hungary there are diplomats of the United States and of all the other big Western capitalist countries. Represented in the General Assembly are a number of neutralist countries whose leaders, eminent statesmen, have been to our country in recent years. Please ask them about the situation in Hungary.

51. I admit that we did not furnish official information to some gentlemen who had been charged with so-called "commissions". Neither did we give information to Sir Leslie Munro, in respect of whom, the other day, at a meeting of the General Committee, the representative of the United States, replying to the question whom Sir Leslie Munro actually represented, said—obviously in a slip of the tongue—that he represented the United States. Nor did we supply information to Mr. Hammarskjöld at the time when he had been commissioned to investigate. The General Assembly must know, however, that since Mr. Hammarskjöld has got rid of his burdensome commission we have repeatedly invited him to visit Hungary. It seems he could not come owing to pressure of work. I can assure you, this time as well, that whenever any officer of the United Nations wishes to visit Hungary without being specially commissioned to deal with a cold war issue, we shall receive him with the courtesy and hospitality due to a high-ranking guest.

52. I stress all this in order to make it clear that we do not raise objections to certain personalities, nor do we hide any secrets; it is simply our firm standpoint that we do not allow anybody to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. Many recent experiences have only strengthened the Hungarian Government's faith in the rightness of this attitude.

53. It was not long ago that Mr. Lumumba, Prime Minister of the lawful Government of the Congo, relying

on the justice of the cause of his people, found it advisable to ask the United Nations for assistance in overcoming certain difficulties. The Secretary-General of the United Nations complied with the request and the fundamentally correct decision of the Security Council in such a way that all difficulties have remained, and even increased; he has completely undermined the foundations of that Government, and ignoring even the standpoint of the legislative body of the country, he has made its functioning impossible. Everybody knows that that is what happened. No one should be surprised, then, if peoples and countries, however just their cause may be, are compelled for the time being to express reservations about any co-operation with the United Nations apparatus.

54. There are some who are eager to know when the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Hungary. Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary pursuant to the relevant agreement concluded by States members of the Warsaw Treaty. Their withdrawal is subject to the decision of the contracting parties, including the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, not to the desire of Western strategists. This, in fact, is a problem for Western military leaders, not for the United Nations, let alone for the Hungarian people. The Hungarian people get on well with those Soviet troops that liberated them from the rule of terror of nazi-fascist armies and from the counter-revolutionary, fascist forces of the Horthy régime which had played the country into the hands of the Hitlerites. Our people are indebted to the Soviet Army for their reconquered national independence and their present peaceful and secure life.

55. As is well known, the States members of the Warsaw Treaty proposed to the States members of NATO to conclude a non-aggression pact, and even simultaneously to liquidate the organization of the Warsaw Treaty and of NATO. In concert with the Governments of all socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union in its proposal on general and complete disarmament also proposed the withdrawal, behind their own frontiers, of all military units stationed abroad. Well, here are ways and means, here are proposals, which are still valid. All that is necessary is to accept and implement them, and then there will be no foreign military units in any of the countries of the world.

56. Some say that with the help of Soviet troops we defeated an uprising which they claim was "national". What we defeated, however, was not a "national" uprising but a counter-revolutionary "putsch", and we did so in a couple of days. This counter-revolutionary "putsch" was organized abroad; it had been prepared for many years in international reactionary forces. International reaction mobilized for this attempted "putsch" the small groups of reactionaries existing in the country and misled a few people, but it could not get close to the main masses of the Hungarian people which are loyal to socialism.

57. Perhaps the French delegation could tell the General Assembly what a really national uprising looks like. Let anybody cast a glance at Algeria. What is happening there? Not a couple of days, but even six years have not been enough for the French colonizers' half-million-strong army, equipped with all kinds of modern weapons, to defeat that uprising, even after having killed hundreds of thousands of

Algerian patriots. They cannot and never will defeat it, for it is a really national uprising that is going on there with the support of the main popular masses, not a counter-revolutionary "putsch", as was the case in Budapest in 1956.

58. Certain well-known quarters, by which Chiang Kai-shek, Adenauer, Speidel, the Nazi general, and their ilk, are qualified as "democrats", maintain that we are not democrats. To be quite frank, we do not even wish to be the kind of democrats they like. Our system, however, is more democratic than the system of those who are blaming us. The Hungarian people's power brushed aside the dictatorship of monopolies—fascism. It put an end to religious discrimination and racial persecution, to privileges derived from birth and financial standing, and it has ensured free development for the whole nation, for every citizen of the country.

59. True, the courts of the Hungarian People's Republic passed and will continue to pass sentence upon those who plot against the lawful order of the country, upon murderers of progressive people. There has been much ado about this in certain quarters. Our slanderers, however, keep quiet about the fact—although they are well aware of it—that more than three fourths of those who were taken to task for the counter-revolutionary acts they had committed in 1956 have been set at liberty owing, for the most part, to an amnesty and have gone back to the normal life of citizens. They keep quiet also about the fact that the number of those in prison in Hungary now is less than it has ever been since Hungary was established as an organized State.

60. What lies behind all this is, of course, not the humanitarianism of our accusers. The present-day critics of the Hungarian People's Republic were very much reconciled to Horthy, the sanguinary hangman of the Hungarian people, and his fascist system. He butchered the best sons of the Hungarian people indeed, and made them languish in prison. This, however, did not annoy our accusers, because those people were not enemies of the people's power, but communist and non-communist patriots fighting against fascism.

61. These are the kind of accusers who raise such charges against us. We also could put a question of pure principle to the General Assembly, without naming anybody. Is it all right for a Government, if it does not like the lawful Government, say, of Guatemala, or Laos, or any other country, to finance a "putsch" by supplying arms and hiring traitors in order to overthrow that government? Is it all right for a Government, if it does not like the social system of the socialist countries, to allocate a fund of \$100 million a year to maintain radio stations for the express purpose of instigating revolt, and to hire fascist, counter-revolutionary renegades to undermine that system?

62. If it were not known whom all this concerns, and if some were not dependent on them or were not afraid of them, everybody would say, "No, that is not quite right". Everybody would say that this is contrary to all accepted rules of international law and to the Charter. We would suggest to the United Nations General Assembly that, instead of tolerating aspersions to be cast at the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, which does not threaten a single

country, it should denounce the Government which, even at present, is instigating from outside discord, unrest, civil war and bloodshed in the life of the peoples of so many countries.

63. Despite the cold war campaign, the Hungarian People's Republic is strengthening and developing further. But there are also victims in the cold war. We regard the overwhelming majority of Hungarian absconders as unfortunate victims of cold war propaganda. From among the people who under the influence of mendacious imperialist propaganda had left their country, more than 40,000 have already returned home, and a still greater number of them would gladly return if they were not prevented from doing so for the time being by various obstacles and financial difficulties. Every Hungarian living far from his country, unless he has definitely lost his human character, is waiting for the day when he will be able to go home. The absconders lead mostly a storm-tossed life. But even those who get along financially know full well that their place is wherever their people live, and there is no such wealth as could substitute for the homeland, the home's bread, the relish of the waters of the rivers Danube and Tisza. The affairs of my country are in order. It offers every honest working man rights, human dignity, good living and a home not to be found outside the country, and waits for the return of its sons who went astray.

64. I am going to speak of two more questions concerning Hungary. Our delegation has come here to attend the United Nations General Assembly session. The United States and the Hungarian People's Republic maintain diplomatic relations. The United States authorities should have, therefore, even a double reason for ensuring us, here in New York, the rights and conditions required by international practice. Despite all this, the United States authorities informed me of a measure restricting my movement, a measure offending my people and my Government. Although it is not to us and to our colleagues who have been treated similarly—and even not to our peoples—that this measure is a disgrace, but only to those who had devised it, I protest against it on principle.

65. I personally have often been a target of attacks in this hall. Allow me, therefore, to make a personal remark. I am a Hungarian worker. For my ideological conviction I had to suffer a great deal of persecution by the Horthyite fascist system and by German fascists who occupied my country at the time. But I have always acted in accordance with my conviction and conscience. Man can make mistakes and be in error, but I feel I am serving a just cause, and I am proud that, at a grave moment in history, taking a stand for my working class and my Hungarian people that had suffered so much, I was together with my faithful colleagues where I had to be, and I did what I had to do.

66. I am going to conclude my speech. Our delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly, putting aside the issues which serve only cold war purposes, must concentrate its attention on questions of really high significance. We must strive for success in the questions of disarmament and the colonial system.

67. Certain quarters are trumpeting in the Western press that the United Nations has come to a crisis because the socialist countries have proposed to

create, instead of the post of Secretary-General, three posts of Secretary. As a matter of fact, the present situation absolutely requires that, in order to avoid partiality, the NATO bloc, the socialist countries, and the countries that do not belong to either group, be represented by one Secretary each. Such an executive body could very well function, possibly with the three Secretaries alternating with one another in presiding at the monthly meetings of the Secretariat. Why should there be only one Secretary-General who, in interpreting and implementing the resolutions, is partial to the interests of one of the existing groups of States, and prejudiced against the interests of the two other groups?

68. The United Nations has not come to a crisis; it can rather now become what it ought to have always been according to the intentions of its founders. True, a crisis is confronting the conception that has thus far been prevailing here, namely, that the United Nations cannot be anything else than a dependency of the Department of State of the United States. This may have been good for the Government of the United States, but it has not been good for the Member States, nor for mankind. The United Nations will only be in crisis if it allows its activity to be paralysed and allows itself to be reduced to the rank of an arena of mere talk.

69. A dangerous attempt to achieve this aim is, in fact, the plot concocted in the General Committee by the United States delegation in order to paralyse the work of the General Assembly. The General Assembly must not tolerate that. By submerging the problems of vital interest to mankind in the maze of committee deliberations, it will have to discuss in plenary session, besides the question of the Congo proposed by the Soviet Union, only two cold war issues fabricated by the United States, the so-called questions of Tibet and of Hungary. This would be a fatal mistake. A considerable part of the delegations here are unable to accept such a proposal, and this could place the United Nations itself in a grave and, at the same time, a ridiculous situation before the whole world. Maybe this is the very intention of the United States delegation.

70. It is obvious that the imperialist forces and tendencies are still present and are active in international politics; so in the United Nations as well. Those who cling to the past do not easily give up their aims. But, luckily for the peoples, one of the present main features of the international situation is that the forces of peace and progress are immense and do not cease growing. They are able to curb the sinister forces of war. Mankind has every reason to nurture the hope for a peaceful and happier future.

71. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker in the general debate, I give the floor to the representative of Belgium in exercise of the right of reply.

72. Mr. MOREAU DE MELEN (Belgium) (translated from French): I am grateful to the President for allowing me to speak. I have asked to be permitted to exercise the right of reply because my country, Belgium, was subjected this morning to criticisms which were particularly serious in view of the identity of the person who pronounced them.

73. Prime Minister Nehru is justly regarded as a man who is desirous of remaining neutral in all

things and as a lover of justice. I am happy to acknowledge that he possesses these characteristics. I would add, however, that these are characteristics which impose on their possessor a certain obligation, namely, to use only such information as is strictly accurate.

74. I must say that some of the affirmations which he made here could not be so described [882nd meeting]. I do not propose to engage in polemics and shall confine myself to pointing out two facts which are easily verifiable. I shall do so on the basis of documents.

75. Firstly, Prime Minister Nehru said—and I quote—that the Congo was a very backward country, thanks to Belgian colonialism, which had left the Congolese people "utterly poor and backward".

76. In replying to that statement, I shall have recourse, as I have just said, to the help of documents.

77. Let us take first of all the economic situation. Hitherto, we had heard only words of praise concerning economic conditions in the Congo. I shall not, however, simply repeat appreciations but shall base myself on publications issued by our Organization.

78. We find the following statement in the current year's report^{4/} of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories [A/4371]: "It was further noted by the representatives of Brazil, India"—this I emphasize—"and Iraq that, although there had been some gains in the manufacturing and processing industries, the growth of industrialization had been slow, except in the Belgian Congo".

79. I repeat that this is the opinion of the representative of India. So much for the industrial situation.

80. Now what about "per capita" income? Again I shall take my information from a reliable source, namely, the documents of our Organization. This is what we read in Statistical Papers, Series E, No. 4.^{5/} "Per capita" product in 1952-1954: Belgian Congo, \$70; India (I hope I may be pardoned for making comparisons, but as I have been attacked I am going to use information relating to my assailant's country, a procedure I believe is perfectly fair and legitimate)—India: not \$70 as in the Congo, but \$60.

81. I do not underestimate the great difficulties which the vast area and the highly prolific population of India present for its Government; I am merely stating a fact.

82. So much for economic conditions. Let us turn now to social conditions and first of all let us consider the question of health. There are 2,600 hospitals, clinics and maternity homes in the Belgian Congo for a population of 14 million. Sleeping sickness has been overcome, as everyone knows. Leprosy has been brought under control. These are praiseworthy achievements and, as the representative of Luxembourg has said [880th meeting], Belgium will be given credit for the work it has done in this field as in many others.

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No.15, part 1, para. 27.

^{5/} See "Per Capita" National Product of Fifty-Five Countries, 1952-1954, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 57.XVII.2, p. 8, table 2.

83. Let us now take primary education. In the World Survey of Education under Belgian Congo, 1950-1954, I find that the enrolment ratio for children of five to fourteen years was 37 per cent; in the case of India—again I apologise for the comparison with that country, I cannot give figures for all other countries, and this is the one I have chosen—the figure for India, for the year 1953, was not 37 per cent but 22 per cent.^{6/}

84. Finally, as we have more recent information on the Congo, which has not yet been reproduced in UNESCO documents, I can quote the figure for 1959. According to a brochure published at Leopoldville (Republic of the Congo) in 1960, the enrolment ratio in 1959 was 56 per cent of the primary school grade population from five to fourteen years of age.

85. If the Congo can bear favourable comparison with an ancient country having an old and high civilization—and I gladly acknowledge that India is such a country—then things cannot have been so bad in our former colony which, I personally am happy to say, is now an independent State.

86. Secondly, Belgium, according to Prime Minister Nehru, had taken vast wealth out of the Territory. I already gave a partial reply to that allegation when I cited certain economic statistics. I should like, however, once again to state that the assets of Belgium were kept completely separate from those of its former colony. There were two distinct currencies; there was a Belgian franc and there was a Congolese franc. There were separate reserves of gold and of foreign exchange. Finally, the companies which had been granted the right to mine the ores that everyone is talking about today were required, under our legislation, to assign to the Congolese authorities, at that time the Government-General of the Congo, a large proportion of the shares which they issued. The amount varied, depending on the terms of the concession, but it amounted in some cases—in fact almost always—to not less than 25 per cent and sometimes rose to more than 50 per cent. That portfolio was the property of the colony; it has been transmitted intact to the Republic of the Congo, to which it belongs today. It is currently valued at from \$600 to \$800 million.

87. Furthermore, Belgium did not limit itself to mining the ores of the Congo but made large public investments, including inter alia investments totalling 43,000 million Belgian francs under the famous ten-year plan, over and above the ordinary annual budget of the colony. And in 1960 the present Government of my country had provided for the grant to the independent State of a subsidy of \$100 million, in other words, of a sum equal to that which will be provided by the whole United Nations in the same year.

88. This, then, is what I wanted to say, as objectively as possible, in reply to Prime Minister Nehru, for whom I have the greatest esteem.

89. I should like to use this opportunity to reply briefly to the representative of Hungary, who has spoken of horrors committed over a period of many years in the territory of our former colony. This allegation, echoing as it does slanderous statements made long ago and long ago refuted an allegation made today by the representative of a régime that helped to

^{6/} See UNESCO, World Survey of Education, vol. II: Trends in Primary Education (1958, ED.57.IX.2A), pp. 151 and 541 respectively.

suppress the revolution of the Hungarian people in 1956, is one which I think I may be permitted to say has little value.

90. He has said that the population was about 20 million inhabitants at the time the Belgians arrived in the Congo. But we must not lose sight of reality. Who could have established such a figure at that time, when almost the whole area was impenetrable and many decades were to pass, many expeditions were to be made, before a census could be taken?

91. Finally, the representative of Hungary harps again on the old complaint of Belgian aggression. I would ask him to credit us with a little more logic and consistency in our thinking. On 30 June last we granted independence to the Congo; we did so unconditionally and without reservations; that being the case, is it likely that we would have attacked it on 10 July, ten days later? Why? For what purpose? To keep it? To take it back? Surely it would have been much simpler not to have granted the Congo its independence at all! We are not as illogical as that. Aggressors we have never been. Ours is a small country sandwiched between two other countries; we have always had to defend ourselves, to defend our freedom, and we have always respected the freedom of others.

92. As regards the Congo, we did not conquer the territory against the will of its inhabitants. We entered all parts of the territory in accordance with treaties concluded by Leopold II, our great King, with the lawful chiefs of the Congolese. The only wars which we had to undertake over there were those waged against the slave-dealers who came to seize their tribute of black human flesh from the centre of the African continent. Those slave-dealers were neither Belgians nor Congolese and I might even add that they were not communists, either.

93. This, then, is the truth. When I hear the Belgians accused of aggression because we sought to save human lives and defend the honour of our women, I am astonished. You are the distinguished representatives of civilized countries all of which, whether they be Moslem, Buddhist or Christian in their culture and philosophy, have respect for women and acknowledge that they must be defended. I seem to remember an ancient paean of the Greeks which after having exhorted the children of the Hellenes to "deliver the fatherland" and then went on to define what is the fatherland and mentioned, first, "paidas", the children and, secondly, "gunaikas", the women.

94. All that we did was to apply that ancient precept and I should like to conclude by asking the Assembly to try to imagine what the drama of the Congo has meant for my people. It has caused us deep distress to find that certain parties, whether for lack of information or because they have been misled by false propaganda or by systematic efforts, always emanating from the same source, to foment racial hatred, seem to forget or to be unaware that independence was granted unconditionally to our former colony. We have granted that independence and we do not propose to go back on our decision. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs has given the Assembly a quite categorical assurance to that effect. We have recognized that independence and we are surprised to find that we are credited with heaven only knows what intentions. I ask those who cherish objectivity not to attack Belgium unjustly but to form their judgements on the basis of

real facts and to turn a deaf ear to those who foment racial hatred.

95. Surely we must base the peace of the world on some other foundation. We must base it on fraternity among peoples. For my own part, I have put great trust in the United Nations and there are those in this Assembly who know that I have done more than simply make speeches and vote on resolutions, who know how deep is my faith in the international ideal of our Organization. Therefore I ask them, if they must pronounce judgement against my country, to do so with moderation, with objectivity, with understanding. The peace of the world is not founded on hate, it is founded on love.

96. Mr. Francisco MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): First of all, may I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the General Assembly's felicitous choice in electing you to preside over our deliberations at the present session; may I also, on behalf of the Government and people of Honduras, congratulate the fifteen African countries and Cyprus on their recent admission to the United Nations family; I should like to wish them every success in their economic and political development, and to express the conviction of my Government and people that their contribution to the solution of the grave problems facing mankind will be of inestimable value.

97. At this beginning of the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly, the peoples of the world, torn between anxiety and hope, are looking towards us United Nations representatives who have been entrusted with the task of achieving universal peace, harmony and happiness.

98. Fourteen regular sessions have been held since the authors and signatories of the Charter met in San Francisco to discuss their aims; four emergency special sessions have been held, the Security Council has met 907 times, forty-eight new Members have been admitted, over 5,000 million words have been spoken and two international armies have been organized by the United Nations to watch frontiers and keep order. I could go on to give many more statistics illustrating the virtues and the defects, the successes and the failures of this great world Organization.

99. But, to keep matters in perspective, since we have eighty-six items on our agenda and several dozen statements to hear, my delegation will merely refer briefly to some matters of concern to the Western hemisphere which require urgent solution.

100. There is no doubt that the spread of communism is the major problem confronting the free world. This problem is, however, bound up with that of the low level of living in the Latin American countries and with instances of the infringement and violation of the territorial integrity of one or a number of those countries.

101. Poverty or rather the precarious existence led by peoples and the lack of respect shown for their dignity, integrity and sovereignty are continuing causes of the weakening of the ties which should bind us firmly together without fears, suspicions or reservations.

102. Thus, Honduras, and I think this applies to any other Latin American country, is much more concerned with the spread of communism in our conti-

ment than with reaching an agreement on the use of outer space; Honduras is much more concerned that the United States should respect its sovereignty over the Swan Islands than that nuclear tests should be suspended; Honduras is much more concerned with finding an honourable solution to the Cuban problem than with discussions on disarmament, which are never conducted in good faith; Honduras is much more concerned with raising the level of living of its people than with the strident hysteria of the cold war; and, lastly, Honduras is before all and above all concerned with the future of Latin America, which is also its own future.

103. The Swan Islands have been included in Honduran territory since colonial days when Honduras formed part of the Captaincy General of Guatemala; they have, in fact, formed part of Honduran territory throughout the country's history.

104. Article 6 of the constitution of Honduras, in describing the national territory, refers clearly and specifically to the Swan Islands, among many others, as an integral part of its soil or land area.

105. Historically, geographically and legally, the Swan Islands were, are and always will be Honduran territory.

106. Nevertheless, the United States Government, which maintains diplomatic relations with my country, and has thereby recognized the Government and the Republic of Honduras, as they are defined in our constitution, is in *de facto* occupation of the Swan Islands, quite illegitimately and against the wishes of the Government and people of Honduras.

107. My Government is already taking appropriate measures within the framework of the American system and is ready to use all means recognized by international law to defend the territorial integrity of Honduras and its position as a free, sovereign and independent Republic.

108. A few days ago we were given further evidence of the economic gap separating us from the United States. A candidate for the Presidency of this country accused the United States Government of having "deprived" United States families of an average per caput income of from \$7,000 to \$10,000 during the last eight years.

109. Now, let us compare this amount, which is not the income of the average person in the United States but only the sum he failed to receive, with our average per caput income, which in many parts of the country is not even \$500 per year, and we shall understand why communist teaching finds ready listeners in America. In the light of this humiliating inequality, it is understandable why the Cuban revolution has been popular in the Latin American countries.

110. Until we realize that God has placed us in the same hemisphere to share one another's fate like true brothers; until we understand that the first and last concern of an American must be America; until we strengthen the backbone of the continent; until, with united hearts and wills under our various flags, we devote ourselves loyally to the fulfilment of America's destiny to achieve democracy in the true sense of the term, we shall not have accomplished the great mission history has entrusted to us, but rather we shall have been guilty of self-betrayal.

111. What protection or, rather, what assistance does Latin America need today to prevent its peoples from being tempted to try communism? Promises have been made, and agreements, conventions, treaties and formulas have been signed with a view to finding an answer. Although we have the Declaration of San José,^{7/} as well as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio on 2 September 1947,^{8/} and the Conferences of Buenos Aires,^{9/} Santiago de Chile^{10/} and Caracas^{11/} and although we have now recently signed the Agreement or Act of Bogotá,^{12/} the important thing, in our view, is to ensure that this last Agreement does not remain a pious hope but is translated forthwith into assistance for the effective development of the countries forming the backbone of the American continent.

112. President Eisenhower, in outlining his plan for the social development of Latin America, gave as its basic principle the fact that a well-fed man, with a degree of education, owning a piece of land and with a roof over his head, will better defend his way of life and more vigorously resist the blandishments of the Reds than a poor and hungry man living in a hut or hovel in the forest; and that the number of people in the latter category must be reduced and the way cleared for the achievement of the aspirations of the masses to a better life, with the moral and material support of the United States.

113. Thus, in the face of the threat of war, which may not come about because the great Powers are so armed that their very armament is the best guarantee of peace, or in the face of any other threat, America's fundamental task involves two courses of action—closing the ranks of truth against communist infiltration and simultaneously strengthening the economies of the under-developed countries of the continent.

114. If democracy is not allowed in communist countries either in the form of a political party or as a theory or doctrine, communism, by the same token, should not be allowed in a democracy either as a political party, as a doctrine, or under any other guise. If to deny existence to any form of communism in the democratic countries is to be undemocratic, if this is to commit a crime against the very essence of democracy, then I am in favour of such crime.

115. Our only possible course is to rise together in protest and propose a united, effective front to check the spread of communism, which is trying to undermine the entire foundation of our way of life.

116. And, lastly, the United States must surely revise its policy with regard to the Latin American countries and treat their dignity, integrity and sovereignty with respect, so that the level of living of these peoples will not remain so low that they may be tempted by the constant appeals of communism.

^{7/} Approved by the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, held at San José, Costa Rica, 22-29 August 1960.

^{8/} United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 21 (1948), No. 324.

^{9/} First Inter-American economic Conference, held at Buenos Aires in 1957.

^{10/} Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, held in Santiago de Chile 12-18 August 1959.

^{11/} Tenth Inter-American Conference, 1954.

^{12/} Approved by the Special Committee to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of Twenty-One) at its third session, held in Bogotá, Colombia, 5-13 September 1960.

117. Democracy is a sacred course, and if we are to live and die for it, it is imperative that it should be both sacred and indivisible in practice, that it should be both political democracy and economic democracy.

118. Mr. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, may I add my most sincere congratulations to those of the many eminent persons who have spoken before me on your well-deserved election to the high office of President of this fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly. Your election is a proof of the high esteem in which we all hold you for your ability, your impartiality and your devotion to the cause of the United Nations.

119. On behalf of my country and my Government, I should like to give a warm welcome to the representatives of the newly independent States admitted to the United Nations at this Assembly. This has been a matter of special rejoicing for us in Venezuela, since we deeply cherish the ideals of independence, freedom and sovereignty which have brought your peoples into the community of sovereign States, masters of their own destiny.

120. At the opening of the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly, we stand at a decisive moment in the history of mankind. A single false move could lead to chaos and the destruction of our civilization. We have lost the optimism with which the last Assembly began its work. Unfortunate circumstances and events during the year have replaced hope and confidence with anxiety and fear. Instead of drawing closer together, the two main Powers, in whose hands the future of mankind may lie, have moved alarmingly far from one another, and the so-called cold war is in one of its most dangerous periods. In Europe, Asia, Africa and even America, bitter conflicts are being constantly aggravated by ideological influences and struggles which all have their roots in the cold war.

121. We are in a dangerous situation and, if disaster is to be avoided, all States, great and small, which would suffer the appalling consequences of a continuation of this state of affairs to an equal degree, must unite their efforts to reach an agreement, to remove the fear of a holocaust and to restore peace and tranquillity to the hearts of men.

122. In the world in which we live, with the means of total destruction available to man, such agreement is no longer an ideal, but an essential, condition of survival. No one in his right mind can now imagine for a moment that war could solve any of the burning problems of our time. Negotiation is therefore the only possible way, and the body best fitted to create the necessary atmosphere and conditions for negotiation is the United Nations. Here the voice of all the world's peoples can be heard and all the weight of world public opinion can make itself felt.

123. It is therefore in everyone's interest constantly to strengthen this Organization and to bring their problems to it for discussion and for the elaboration of solutions, which, being based on the principles of the Charter and worked out in this world gathering, will inevitably reflect the judgement of world public opinion and satisfy the common interests of all nations.

124. In the fifteen years of the existence of the United Nations, its various organs have dealt with crucial problems by relying on the moral authority of their

recommendations and, when necessary, by sending emergency forces. United Nations intervention has often stopped the spread of a conflict which might otherwise have led to a world conflagration.

125. Apart from this political action, the economic and social action of the United Nations and its work for the cause of independence of peoples are other examples of the benefits which all mankind has derived from this Organization.

126. When we, the peoples of America, remember the long and bloody wars before we achieved our independence, and when we see how the peoples of other continents are now gradually reaching self-government under the protection of the United Nations, we understand more clearly than ever how vitally important is the existence of this world Organization in the march of peoples towards the highest possible standard of living.

127. I should therefore like to express once again my country's agreement with, and support of, the United Nations cause, and our endorsement of the Secretary-General's leadership in the discharge of his duties.

128. The matters to which I have just referred and the considerable increase in the number of Member States, bring us to the question of a possible revision of the Charter, affecting the composition of the main organs of the United Nations. My delegation believes that any revision should include an increase in the number of members of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council, so that the composition of these Councils may be more representative of the total membership of the United Nations.

129. We should also be in favour of abolishing the veto in the Security Council, so that this Council may be more effective and the rights of Member States more fairly represented.

130. As regards the Secretary-General, although we respect the opinion of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, we think that that office should remain vested in one person. To replace the Secretary-General by a tripartite administrative body made up of one representative of countries in the Western bloc, one representative of countries in the socialist bloc and one representative of the countries considered neutral would, in our opinion, have the disadvantage that the division of the world into hostile blocs of nations would thereby be written into the very Charter of the United Nations. This would be against the spirit of the Charter, which was designed to bring the individual nations of the world together without any distinction regarding their political or social systems. If such a tripartite body were set up to replace the Secretary-General, the highest administrative office of the United Nations would lose all of its flexibility and efficacy.

131. The Secretary-General is only the agent of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which are the sole political bodies qualified to determine the course of action of the United Nations.

132. This Assembly will have to discuss many questions, but there is no doubt that the most far-reaching, the most important and the most urgent is that of disarmament. For many years this problem has received the attention of all statesmen, but it

is still very far from solution. Now, unfortunately, we are witnessing an uncontrolled arms race and the growing production and stockpiling of weapons which could destroy all life on our planet in a few seconds.

133. We were deeply concerned at the failure of the negotiations of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva and the consequent deadlock on the disarmament problem. The great Powers are caught in a vicious circle, calling one another's proposals "disarmament without control" or "control without disarmament", both of which would be unacceptable.

134. It is therefore necessary that this Assembly's discussions should lead to the breaking of this vicious circle, so that the great Powers may resume the negotiations which are an essential condition of any solution of the problem.

135. I shall not go into details of the proposals sponsored by the United States and other Western Powers and by the countries of the socialist bloc, but I should like to make clear the position of my Government and country on the disarmament problem.

136. Firstly, we think that this problem cannot be solved without an agreement between the great Powers, and we therefore appeal to them, thereby voicing the anxiety and concern of the entire Venezuelan people, to reach such agreement.

137. We also think that disarmament negotiations should be kept within the framework of the United Nations, in the sense that that Organization should always be kept informed, through the Disarmament Commission, of the course of the negotiations, and that it should also be able to make any recommendations or suggestions which it may think necessary or useful. In other words, we think that the ultimate responsibility for disarmament, and the power of final decision in the matter, should remain with the United Nations.

138. Lastly, it is my Government's opinion that disarmament cannot be achieved without the necessary measures of international control. Otherwise the danger of war might become greater instead of smaller, for it would then be possible for any party to violate the terms of the agreement and so to upset the balance of forces.

139. We believe that disarmament can only be achieved in stages and progressively, and by the concurrent application of disarmament measures and of the corresponding measures of international control. This, of course, is a pragmatic approach, since the ideal would obviously be total disarmament, under effective international control, carried out by a single step and in a very short time.

140. One of the aspects of disarmament which is of deep concern not only to the Venezuelan people but also the other peoples of the world is the testing of nuclear weapons. Each of these tests is not only a further step in the arms race but also a real and immediate danger to mankind, for it increases radioactivity and therefore endangers the health and development of present and future generations.

141. The conclusions [A/4119] of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, are perfectly clear on the subject. My country is therefore strongly against the resumption of such tests, quite apart from any other problem connected

with disarmament. For the reasons I have given, this aspect of disarmament deserves special consideration and cannot be subordinated to other aspects of the general problem.

142. Another question connected with the disarmament problem is that of the use of outer space. We must prevent the arms race from spreading to those areas. We therefore thought that the President of the United States made some very wise suggestions when he dealt with the matter in this Assembly [868th meeting]. In 1958, when the problem first came up for discussion by the United Nations, Venezuela put its view in these words:

"We stand at the threshold of a new era from which we can obtain either great benefits or dire evil for humanity. It will all depend on how we enter this new field. If we are able to leave aside the mistrust and rivalries that have so far obtained in other fields, then the conquest of outer space will redound to the great benefit of all. But if we transplant into this new field all the seeds of hatred and mistrust which unfortunately have been prevalent in the field of international relations, then the conquest of space will be but another scourge for humanity."^{13/}

143. Nowhere is there such manifest and urgent need for united, dynamic and imaginative action, based on historic and social realities, as in the economic field. Here the wide gaps in international society are more glaring than anywhere else. We live in an age of contradictions where, paradoxically, abundance and misery stand side by side and extraordinary technical and scientific development coexists with the hunger of multitudes.

144. Who could deny that there is a close relation between under-development and the political and social crises which affect large parts of the planet? To face economic problems resolutely is, in a way, to prevent the ills of society. This is why we believe that the world Organization has a high responsibility in this field.

145. We are bound to recognize that, in the fifteen years of the life of the United Nations, apart from some praiseworthy efforts, little has been done in the economic field. The problems of instability, both of markets and of the prices of raw materials, have not yet been solved; and only a few hesitant steps have been taken towards financing development.

146. We think that this situation cannot and must not continue. The Secretary-General himself says in his Annual Report on the Work of the Organization [A/4390] that fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities have continued to present a major problem, particularly to the under-developed countries. In spite of many intergovernmental studies and fairly exhaustive analyses, both by the United Nations and by other bodies, the problem still exists and seriously affects the economy of developing countries.

147. We believe that more intensive practical efforts should be made to reach agreements on commodities, so as to bring order and stability into international trade, to guarantee to consumers a normal flow, at reasonable prices, of the raw materials needed for industry, and at the same time to assure the producing countries of a regular revenue, without sudden and unexpected fluctuations.

^{13/} A/C.1/PV.990 (mimeographed only).

148. Nor should we abandon the basic principle that there must be a fair and balanced relation between the prices of commodities and those of manufactured products. We understand that it is theoretically and practically difficult to determine such a relationship, but there can be no doubt that the effort must be made, since the almost constant deterioration in the terms of trade which afflicts the under-developed countries every year is seriously damaging their chances of progress.

149. A policy of stable and reasonable prices and a market free from abrupt fluctuations are certainly necessary for all commodities. And when it comes to commodities which constitute non-renewable resources, such a policy is absolutely essential.

150. Non-renewable resources, by their very nature, are depleted at the rate at which their exploitation is intensified. If the economies of the countries which possess them are not to become seriously unbalanced, it is urgently necessary that equivalent resources be found to make up for the gradual diminution in a country's wealth brought about by such intensive exploitation.

151. It is therefore necessary that the prices obtained should be related to the intrinsic value of the commodity exploited, and that the exploitation should be rational and consistent with the real needs of the international market. We believe such a policy should be laid down in appropriate agreements.

152. For our part, as an iron producing and oil producing country, we are ready to take part in such agreements. As far as oil is concerned, we are happy to point out here that the first steps have already been taken, by the main oil-exporting countries of the Middle East and Venezuela, to ensure that trade in this commodity is carried out in conditions which safeguard the reasonable interests of producing countries, consumer countries and investors. To this end, an Agreement was signed at Baghdad on 14 September 1960, between representatives of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Venezuela. The text of this agreement recognizes that any fluctuations in oil prices must affect the carrying out of the development programmes of producing States as well as the economies of consuming nations; it was therefore decided, among other things, that member states of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), set up under the agreement, should study and work out a system to ensure stable oil prices, taking into due account the interests of both the producing and the consuming nations. One of the means used will be the rational regulation of production, which will be combined with the essential policy of conserving this invaluable natural resource in order to prevent an unnecessary and anarchical price war. The producing countries are also firmly resolved to provide an efficient, economic and regular supply of this source of energy to the consuming nations.

153. We think that the application of the agreement will lead to three advantages: it will ensure that the producing countries receive a stable revenue, without violent fluctuations; a non-renewable resource will be exploited rationally, to prevent the depletion of a source of energy which is part of the heritage of mankind; and lastly, the consuming nations will have a regular and economic supply, at stable prices, of a commodity which is essential for their industry.

154. We wish to place it explicitly on record that any country with substantial oil exports can become a member of the new organization, provided that it fulfils the conditions laid down in the Baghdad Agreement.

155. The grave tensions of international political life are generally held responsible for the lack of wider co-operation between the great Powers in developing the less advanced areas of the globe. It is reasonable to ask ourselves, however, whether many of these tensions would not vanish if a bold plan of economic and social development were carried out under the auspices of this world Organization.

156. It has been calculated that the great Powers spend \$100,000 million a year on armaments. Is it not conceivable that, if part of these vast resources were invested in the creation of better economic and social conditions throughout the world, there might be considerably less need for such armaments?

157. We think that international economic assistance should be given mainly through the United Nations and the regional agencies established in accordance with the Charter. In this connexion, we are in favour of the proposals submitted to the General Assembly to the effect that the economic, social and educational co-operation needed for the proper development of the African continent should be channelled through this world Organization.

158. The economic development of under-developed areas calls for a co-ordinated effort to make full use of technical knowledge and resources. Our Organization is well endowed with technical knowledge. The studies and analyses made by the competent organs of the United Nations deserve our warmest support. In particular, I should like to mention the valuable co-operation of the Economic Commission for Latin America.

159. The Technical Assistance programmes are also very important to development, and the same may be said of the work of the United Nations Special Fund. I am happy to announce that my country is ready to increase its contribution to this Fund.

160. However, the work which these organs are doing is not enough. The United Nations must have available wider resources if it is to contribute effectively to the progress of under-developed areas. This is why we still support the idea of setting up a United Nations capital development fund.

161. In the Latin American region, certain particularly significant events have taken place during the past two years in the economic and social fields as a result of Operation Pan America, which was first proposed by the President of Brazil. The most recent such development took place in Bogotá at the beginning of September. New measures were adopted on that occasion to strengthen the co-operation of the American Republics in the matter of social improvement and economic development, recognizing that the preservation and strengthening of free and democratic institutions in the American Republics requires the acceleration of social and economic progress. Under Operation Pan America, and through a concerted effort, the American countries will undertake measures for the improvement of housing and community facilities, educational systems and training facilities, programmes designed to assist the small farmer, public health etc. At this meeting it was also

decided that a Fund for Social Development should be set up, to be administered mainly through the existing mechanism of the Inter-American Development Bank. The purpose of this Fund will be to support the efforts of the Latin American countries to employ efficiently their own resources with a view to achieving greater social progress and more balanced economic growth.

162. In the promotion of economic development, foreign capital is often essential. The nature of the contribution which this capital can make will vary according to the particular conditions of each country. In some there will be a clear need for public capital, while others can help their economies by absorbing capital from private sources; and most countries may well find it best to have capital from both those sources.

163. It is the firm policy of the Venezuelan Government to accept the co-operation of foreign investors, since the domestic capital alone is not enough to ensure the full use of all the sources of our country's wealth for the benefit of our people. Under the existing policy, the Government endeavours to direct foreign private investment towards those fields which have not yet been developed by our nationals, either because of the great capital needed or because of particular technical circumstances. We think it especially desirable to have foreign capital and national capital invested in common ventures.

164. We think a healthy flow of foreign investment can prove beneficial to many under-developed countries. We believe that such capital investment should have as its aim not only to earn reasonable returns, but also to contribute to the development of the existing potential of the under-developed countries; the legitimate interests of the investors can thus be reconciled with those of the nation which opens its doors to their investments.

165. Economic development is not an end in itself. It is only an instrument for the attainment of human well-being, for helping man to achieve everything of which he is capable. We therefore reject any idea which suggests dehumanizing development or depriving man of his essential qualities, ideals or rights for the sake of a purely material increase in goods and services. One of the fundamental values which my country is not ready to sacrifice is freedom.

166. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, as a result of historical circumstances well known to this Assembly, the idea has spread over a large part of the world that freedom and economic well-being for all cannot be smoothly combined. We, however, do not think there is any such incompatibility between economic development and freedom.

167. A vast four-year plan is now being carried out in Venezuela, in order progressively to develop the main sources of production and, in particular, to industrialize the country. To carry out this plan, we rely not only on the encouragement given by our own Government, but also on the wide co-operation of private enterprise.

168. My Government has also paid particular attention to plans for agrarian reform. On 5 March 1960, the Venezuelan Agrarian Reform Act came into force. It is designed to transform the agrarian structure of the country and to give the rural population a part in

its economic, social and political development, by replacing the *latifundia* system with a fair system of land ownership, tenure and use. This Act was inspired by a spirit of justice and fairness, and it takes into account the interests of the whole nation.

169. The vast transformation of Venezuelan rural life which that Act implies will be accomplished without violating the legitimate rights of third parties. Nor have we forgotten that agrarian reform means much more than merely a redistribution of land; it also means credit and economic assistance to farmers, rural schools, rural electrification, rural road systems, promotion of agricultural co-operatives and the modernization of agriculture. In the next four years, Venezuela intends to invest 2.5 million million bolivares, that is, about \$800 million in this vast agrarian reform. We believe that this relatively substantial investment is fully justified from the social and economic point of view. Large masses of Venezuelan peasants will for the first time enjoy the advantages of civilized living and the introduction of mechanization and a rationalization of the land tenure system will greatly stimulate agricultural production.

170. Agrarian reform in Venezuela, founded on the principle that the land should be placed at the service of society and worked out by a unified and balanced régime, enjoys the support of all sectors of the country and may be regarded as one of the most genuine manifestations of the spirit of unity and social justice which reigns in Venezuela today.

171. The next few years will be the years of the orderly development of Venezuela's economic resources. That development, together with the extensive programmes being carried out in other fields—in particular in education, health and housing—and the political harmony prevailing in the country, will help to strengthen the position of Venezuela in the community of nations and to demonstrate clearly, as other States in the same geographical region and throughout the world have done, that progress and freedom, far from conflicting, can give each other strength.

172. In our philosophy of life, we regard individual freedom as the foundation of political democracy and respect for fundamental human rights as the necessary condition of society both nationally and internationally.

173. Many of the questions before this Assembly have to do with the colonial problem. We should congratulate ourselves on the fact that, since the establishment of the United Nations, there has been much progress in that respect and every day we have witnessed the emergence of new independent States. The work of the United Nations in protecting peoples which have not yet attained their independence and in applying the provisions of the Charter designed to promote the progressive development of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories towards full self-government has effectively contributed to the gradual eradication of the colonial system.

174. Unfortunately, there are still cases in which the struggle for independence is a cruel one, and I should like to state here that the people of Venezuela unequivocally support those peoples who are being forced to fight for that sacred cause.

175. In the young nations of America like ours, the principle of self-determination of peoples is one of the

most deeply rooted. We cherish it as a precious bequest of our liberators and, in proclaiming it, the people of Venezuela pay tribute to the illustrious name of Simon Bolívar.

176. It is our fervent desire that problems like that of Algeria will soon be settled by peaceful negotiations; and we still hope that can happen, for we cannot forget the generosity of France and its dominant role in history as the champion of freedom and protector of the oppressed.

177. The problem of the Congo is another of the burning questions on the current political scene. In that connexion, my delegation wishes to confirm the principle by which it was guided when it supported the resolution recently adopted by the General Assembly at its fourth emergency special session [1474 (ES-IV)]. We believe that for a prompt solution of the Congo conflict it is essential that all States, without exception, should refrain from any direct or indirect intervention in that conflict and, consequently, without prejudice to the sovereign rights of the Republic of the Congo, should send no arms or other war material, military personnel or other military aid, directly or indirectly, while the United Nations is temporarily providing military assistance to the country, except at the request of the United Nations made through the Secretary-General. At the same time, the United Nations should continue to help the Republic of the Congo to organize its public administration and its essential services, as well as its economy and social institutions. We feel that only in that way can the unity, territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo be maintained and world peace preserved.

178. This year, as it did last year, Venezuela has, together with many other States, co-sponsored the inclusion in this Assembly's agenda of the question of race conflict resulting from the policies of "apartheid" of the Government of the Union of South Africa. This is a situation which, instead of improving, has unfortunately deteriorated to a great extent as a result of the events occurring during the past year. The United Nations must take vigorous steps to prevent the continuance of a situation which is flagrant violation not only of the principles of the United Nations Charter, but of the very concept of equality among men created by God in his own image. Moreover, in the second half of the twentieth century, laws which discriminate among men solely on the grounds of the colour of their skin are an absolute anachronism.

179. The concept of equality of all men, without distinction as to race, language, sex or religion is also one of the most deep-rooted among our people, and that is why we are actively co-operating in the United Nations, to secure the universal application of this principle which is so closely allied to that of human dignity.

180. I should not like to conclude without a reference to the importance of regional organizations and, in particular, so far as the American continent is concerned, of the Organization of American States, in implementing the principles of the United Nations Charter.

181. The action of that regional body this year has been extremely significant, and the sixth and seventh meetings of Foreign Ministers of the American States

held in San José, Costa Rica, have reaffirmed the basic principles of our American system, so ably defined by the Foreign Minister of Brazil in his speech before this Assembly [868th meeting] in these words:

"...The régime accepted by the American peoples as compatible with their traditions and collective aspirations is that régime characterized by the free expression of thought, by free elections, by the separation of powers, by the limitations upon the terms of elective office, and by respect for civil liberties and human rights."

182. Such is the régime in power today in Venezuela, and in order to defend it against the attacks of another régime which constitutes an anachronism in the community of free nations of America and is antagonistic to the principles governing it, Venezuela was forced to appeal to the Organization of American States, where justice was rendered it and sanctions were taken against the guilty party. If democracy is to be saved in America, the decision of Costa Rica must be faithfully carried out. Dark forces and powerful economic and financial interests are none the less continuing to work behind the scenes, to frustrate the effective implementation of that decision.

183. Venezuela therefore wishes to denounce this threat in this world forum; it menaces not only the stability of democracy in my country, but the confidence of all the peoples of America in the effectiveness of the Organization of American States and in the sincerity of the Member States which have publicly subscribed to its principles

184. In concluding this statement, I should like to express the most sincere hopes of my Government and of the Venezuelan people that out of the work of this fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly, whose prestige has been enhanced by the presence of such eminent statesmen, there will come the promise of a better world in which fear of a war of annihilation will give way to genuinely sincere coexistence between nations and to peace with justice for all peoples on earth.

185. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua and the representative of Honduras have each asked for the floor to exercise their right of reply. I propose to give the two representatives the floor in that order, and I would ask them to kindly bear in mind that it is now after six and the Assembly has a night meeting before it.

186. Immediately after the two representatives have spoken, I propose to return to the subject which I mentioned at the beginning of the meeting, namely, the draft resolution of the five Powers [A/4522].

187. Mr. DEBAYLE (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): In view of the Honduran representative's statement to the effect that the Swan Islands belong to his country, the delegation of Nicaragua would like to make it clear that these islands form part of the disputed territory whose sovereignty is at present the subject of litigation between Nicaragua and Honduras in the International Court of Justice.

188. It is therefore inaccurate to say that they form part of Honduran territory. It is irrelevant that that country's Constitution lists them as part of its territory, and it is improper to allege that historically, geographically and juridically they belong to Honduras, since Nicaragua, with better arguments and criteria,

however, could contend exactly the same, pending the final decision, in due course, of the International Court of Justice.

189. Mr. FRANCISCO MILLA BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): It is hardly appropriate to surprise the Assembly, as the Nicaraguan representative has just done, with unproven assertions regarding Honduras and Nicaragua.

190. When I said what I did say regarding the unlawful occupation of the Swan Islands, which are Honduran territory, by the United States of America, I did so without precisely bringing the issue before the United Nations. I said that the matter would be settled within the framework of the American system.

191. My Government is holding conversations with the Government of the United States of America. If these conversations break down, we shall go to the Organization of American States; if we are unsuccessful there, we shall come to the United Nations; and, if necessary, we shall go before the International Court of Justice. It will be at the proper time and in the proper place that the two points will have to be proved: one, that the islands belong to Honduras; two, that they are unlawfully occupied. It would be inappropriate to try now to rush the Assembly, as the representative of Nicaragua has done, into believing that the islands belong to Nicaragua. This will be proved in due course.

192. We have a frontier dispute with Nicaragua pending in the International Court of Justice. It will be settled shortly. It has reached the stage of oral procedure. I should like just one thing, since the representative of Nicaragua has seen fit to exercise his right: I call upon him to swear the same oath as I am about to swear. I swear, on behalf of the people and Government of Honduras, that whatever the International Court of Justice may decide, Honduras will abide by that decision. I should like the representative of Nicaragua to make the same declaration.

LETTER DATED 29 SEPTEMBER 1960 FROM THE PRESIDENT OF GHANA, THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, THE PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC AND THE PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (A/4522)

193. The PRESIDENT: Perhaps the Assembly would now wish to turn its attention to the matter to which I referred at the beginning of this afternoon's meeting, namely the draft resolution proposed by the delegations of Ghana, India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia [A/4522].

194. I should perhaps draw the attention of delegations to the fact that since I spoke at the start of the meeting a draft amendment proposed by Australia [A/L.316] has been circulated to members of the Assembly.

195. May I take it that the Assembly would now be disposed to deal with this matter at this time?

196. Mr. AMADEO (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): According to the announcement made by the President this afternoon at the beginning of this meeting and repeated just now, we are to begin the discussion of the draft resolution submitted by Ghana, India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia,

and the amendments to it submitted by the Australian delegation.

197. The matter which we are about to take up is extremely serious. It may well be the most important subject before the Assembly at this time. In view of this, and bearing in mind that many delegations have not as yet had time to consult their Governments on this proposal and are therefore not in a position to determine their stand and also bearing in mind that the decision to be adopted will vitally affect the subsequent course of our deliberations, I should like to propose formally, on behalf of my delegation, under rule 76 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, that the debate on this item should be adjourned until next Wednesday morning, on the understanding that in the meantime the Assembly will continue with its regular agenda.

198. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that our intention in moving the adjournment is not in any way to prejudice the objectives of the delegations sponsoring the draft resolution but, on the contrary, to help to ensure that the item can be studied and discussed comprehensively and completely, with full information, and above all, after mature reflection on its implications.

199. Accordingly, to repeat, I move that the debate on this item should be adjourned until Wednesday morning.

200. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Argentina has moved the adjournment of this item under rule 76. Under this rule, in addition to the proposal of a motion, two representatives may speak in favour of it and two against, after which the motion is immediately put to the vote.

201. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) (translated from French): My delegation is faced with a very real difficulty and I believe other delegations are in the same position. The five-Power draft resolution [A/4522] has been submitted with the best intentions in the world. It is a constructive draft resolution, and we are glad to note that one of the doors which it seeks to open is not completely closed. Nevertheless this proposal obviously faces certain difficulties and we know that the doors in question cannot be forced. Furthermore, we have just been presented with an Australian amendment [A/L.316] which will have to be put to the vote first. This amendment has the same objective, but follows a different path. It is not, however, an amendment which we can easily approve, since, according to our information, it is not likely to be acceptable to the five sponsors of the draft resolution. On the other hand, we would have difficulty in rejecting it, because in certain circumstances it could prove most useful. For that reason, we need time to study it and to consult other delegations, and especially our Government.

202. I agree that the request for urgent treatment accompanying the submission of the five-Power draft resolution is entirely justified, since the matter it deals with is of the greatest importance. However, while there is good reason for adopting a speedy procedure, I do not think there is any justification for taking a definite stand without careful consideration and especially without the requisite information. I have no hesitation therefore in supporting the Argentine motion for the adjournment of the debate.

203. Mr. CABA (Guinea) (translated from French): A few days ago—in fact four days ago—the five-Power draft resolution [A/4522] was submitted to the General Assembly [880th meeting] with an accompanying letter in which the sponsors earnestly requested the President to arrange for its immediate consideration. We are convinced that by taking up this matter without delay, we shall help to ease international tension. We fail to see why we are being asked to defer its consideration nor do we understand why an amendment has been submitted. We do not even regard it as an amendment. In fact, it constitutes a draft resolution radically opposed to the one submitted by the group of five neutral Powers. My delegation will therefore vote against any motion to adjourn the consideration of this question.

204. The PRESIDENT: There have now been, in addition to the statement of the proposer, one speaker in favour of the motion and one against.

205. I now call on the representative of El Salvador.

206. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): In view of the seriousness and importance of the proposal [A/4522] put forward by five Heads of State and Heads of Government to the effect that the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union should be called upon to renew their contacts as soon as possible with a view to seeking a solution for the world's most serious problems, the Salvadorian delegation finds every justification for the anxiety expressed by Argentina. We are dealing with a subject which must be considered with every care and attention and accordingly we need more time to study the problem, not only in relation to the five African-Asian Powers' draft itself, but also in relation to the amendment submitted today by the Australian delegation [A/L.316].

207. Without prejudice to our support for the Argentine proposal to postpone consideration of the question, I should like to convey certain misgivings felt by the Salvadorian delegation regarding the fact that we have here an item which so far is not part of the provisional agenda of the General Assembly, let alone the Assembly's final agenda. Of course, the Assembly is entitled to include additional items at the last minute, and I realize that this is what has happened. I believe that when the draft resolution was introduced by the President of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of India, the President asked whether the Assembly was willing to consider the matter and the Assembly tacitly agreed.

208. Nevertheless, it seems to me that in the present case rule 15 of the General Assembly's rules of pro-

cedure applies. This rule reads: "Additional items of an important and urgent character" this is undoubtedly an item of an important and urgent character—"...proposed for inclusion in the agenda less than thirty days before the opening of a regular session or during a regular session"—which is the case—"may be placed on the agenda, if the General Assembly so decides by a majority of the Members present and voting."—I believe this decision has already been taken implicitly. However, rule 15 goes on to say—"No additional item may be considered until seven days have elapsed since it was placed on the agenda, unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting, decides otherwise, and until a committee has reported upon the question concerned."

209. I note that the letter—and the draft resolution—of Mr. Nkrumah and the other Heads of State and Heads of Government, [A/4522] bears the following title: "Letter dated 29 September 1960 from the President of Ghana, the Prime Minister of India, the President of Indonesia, the President of the United Arab Republic and the President of Yugoslavia addressed to the President of the General Assembly."

210. This is the additional item which, as I see it, the Assembly has unanimously decided to include in its agenda for this year, but a waiting period of seven days and a report upon it by a committee are required, unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of its Members, decides otherwise.

211. I hope that the procedural point that I have raised can be settled.

212. The PRESIDENT: Does any other representative wish to speak against the motion?

213. There being no further speakers, the Chair now puts the proposal made by the representative of Argentina to a vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The proposal was adopted by 45 votes to 8, with 20 abstentions.

214. The PRESIDENT: The proposal was that the matter should be adjourned until Wednesday morning, 5 October, and I take it that it would be the sense of the proposal that this matter should appear on the Assembly's agenda on Wednesday morning.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.