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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (continued)	
Speech by Mr. Rómulo (Philippines)	183
Speech by Mr. Shtylla (Albania)	186
Speech by U Thant (Burma)	189
Speech by Mr. Trujillo (Ecuador)	190

President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): It is generally agreed that this twelfth session of the General Assembly has been convened in circumstances less tense than have obtained in many a season, and certainly far less so than those which attended the preceding one. We can look back on the two great crises of Egypt and Hungary last year and candidly note that the United Nations, bespeaking the conscience of mankind, succeeded in resolving the first because the voice of that conscience was heeded, but failed to resolve the other because that same voice was scornfully disregarded.

2. As we begin the work of the present session, it is well to bear in mind two lessons that may be drawn from this experience. The first of these is that the General Assembly has indisputably become the supreme custodian of the principles of peace, justice and freedom in the world. The second is that the moral authority of the General Assembly is bound to gather strength as much from the negative actions of those that wilfully flout that authority as from the exemplary behaviour of those that sincerely respect it.

3. These developments augur well for the future of the United Nations. We are not among those who look with dismay on the growing ascendancy of the General Assembly. That ascendancy was inevitable from the moment it became clear that the Security Council, immobilized by the "cold war" and hamstrung by the veto, would default on its high responsibilities under the Charter. The powers of the Security Council, which are defined with precision and with an impressive panoply of form and procedure by the Charter, have not been successfully brought to bear on the grave conflicts that have lately arisen among nations. Inversely, the broad and diffuse powers of the General Assembly have acquired increasing force and definition, partly from the obvious need to fill the vacuum of authority, and partly from the conviction that in a divided world, and so long as the world is divided, we must accept the moral sanctions of the General Assembly as the only available substitute for the un-

enforceable political and military sanctions of the Security Council.

4. I believe we are entitled to note with satisfaction that, on the whole, the General Assembly has successfully met the ever-growing challenge to its responsibilities. As one who has participated in the work of the General Assembly since its inception, I would agree to the observation that the deliberations of this body appear to have undergone a certain mellowing. Some may attribute this to the fact that we all have grown somewhat tired of speeches, especially angry and vituperative speeches. But I would go further and say that most of us have become increasingly aware, in recent years, of the gravity of many of the issues that confront the world today, and have been sobered by the prospect of the mortal consequences of our failure. More and more, we are beginning to realize the need to use this body, not as a debating society or as a forum of propaganda, but as an instrument of conciliation, a veritable "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of . . . common ends." The greatest and most imperative of these ends happens to be the survival of the human race.

5. In these days of peril for all mankind, who is there so reckless as to risk our common fate on an angry word, a haughty challenge or an implacable threat? Who is there so foolhardy as to gamble away our hope of survival on a witticism or a clever turn of phrase, on the winning of a debating point or the besting of an opponent? There may have been a time when these little triumphs could yield a certain excitement, like heady wine. But that time is no more. The time has come when we must listen carefully, think deeply, speak deliberately, and act with all possible moderation, eschewing the dubious satisfactions of a cunning argument or an effective stroke of propaganda in favour of the lasting benefit that would come to all men from every step, however modest, that is taken towards mutual understanding and the accommodation of conflicting or divergent interests.

6. The principal task of this Assembly is to help free mankind from the nightmarish fear of war.

7. The Philippine delegation represents a small country that cherishes its freedom and respects the freedom of others. We covet nothing that belongs to others, and we threaten no one. We entertain no ambitions of power or glory in the world. Our highest hope and our sole object in the international sphere is to unite our efforts with those of friendly countries and the United Nations in order to preserve the liberties and enhance the material and spiritual welfare of our people in circumstances of greater prosperity and larger freedom for all.

8. It is in this spirit that our delegation approaches the tasks of the General Assembly. It is in this spirit also that we shall try to indicate briefly our views on some of the principal questions before this body.

9. We all agree that the prevention of a third world war is the principal task of the United Nations, and that disarmament is the necessary condition for the accomplishment of that task. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have therefore given the highest priority to the question of disarmament and the regulation of armaments. I believe we can all agree that nobody wants to start an atomic war. The three great Powers possessing atomic and nuclear weapons certainly know that it would be sheer madness to do so. Yet, after years of discussion, no agreement on disarmament has been reached. The proposals and counter-proposals submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London and now presented to the Assembly show one thing clearly: the Powers have not been able to agree because mutual confidence is lacking and, specifically, because of the fear of a surprise attack.

10. It is no discredit to the Powers to say that it is natural for them initially to submit proposals on disarmament which tend, to a lesser or greater degree, to afford themselves a certain advantage. It is in the nature of any negotiations on disarmament that they should do so. But it is precisely the function of such negotiations to reduce their differences and gradually to equalize the sacrifices and obligations as well as the benefits and guarantees accruing to all the Powers concerned.

11. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union told us the other day that the Governments of the Western Powers have the wrong approach to the question of disarmament because they are looking for the kind of disarmament agreement which would be advantageous to themselves and detrimental to the security of others. This is obviously untrue because, while the Western Powers would certainly prefer such a one-sided agreement if they could get it, they know better than to expect the alert negotiators of the Soviet Union to be thus so easily taken in. What is true, as I said a moment ago, is that both sides are bound -- indeed, they are expected -- to advance initial proposals that afford them a certain advantage over the other. It will be recalled that the Soviet Government itself once proposed the withdrawal of Soviet and American troops to a distance of 500 miles east and west, respectively, of the Rhine, a proposal which would push American troops beyond the Atlantic coast, while the Red Army would retire to outposts within easy marching distance of Western Europe. The Soviet Government has also indicated that it would accept an agreement for inspection of Soviet Siberia in exchange for a reciprocal right covering United States territory west of the Mississippi. Now, such proposals are obviously advantageous to the Soviet Union and detrimental to the security of others. Yet they were not scornfully dismissed for that reason, but on the contrary formed the basis of counter-proposals by the Western Powers. However inequitable such proposals may appear, they serve a useful purpose in indicating acceptance of the need for military disengagement and mutual inspection as essential elements of an over-all agreement on disarmament.

12. The Soviet Government continues to advocate an agreement to renounce forthwith the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons in advance of an adequate control system over fissionable material and in advance of an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and

supervision of stocks of armaments. But the position of the free world on this question has been made clear and it rests on a candid appreciation of the actual situation. The free world must rely on these terrible weapons as its only defense against the Red Army, which, combined with the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries and of Communist China, the free countries can never hope to equal. Soviet statesmen are well noted for their realism and they must surely understand that an agreement to outlaw atomic and hydrogen weapons would be of no value whatever in a situation where the free world would be compelled to use these weapons in order to repel an invasion by vastly superior enemy forces, even if such forces are armed only with conventional weapons. It should, therefore, be utterly clear to them that the free world would agree to relinquish these weapons only if such agreement were accompanied by an agreement to ensure, by means of an adequate control system, that fissionable material would never again be produced for weapons purposes, and by an agreement to reduce armed forces and to place existing stocks of armaments under international supervision.

13. From these considerations it is clear that the military posture of the free world is a purely defensive one. The existing military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the South-East Asia Treaty (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact are no more than manifestations of that defensive posture. Surely, no Soviet statesman really believes that these alliances would initiate an attack against a Power like the Soviet Union which possesses atomic and hydrogen weapons and now boasts that it has developed the means to deliver them to any point on the globe. Nor is it anything but ludicrous to suggest, for example, that tiny Luxembourg and little Denmark, along with Iraq and Iran, are plotting to attack the Soviet Union or that Thailand and the Philippines are planning to invade Communist China. All these weak and small countries have formed alliances with the Western Powers because they have been and continue to be menaced by Communist military power as well as by the subversive policies of international communism. I know that the Communist States are trying to allay our fears by assuring us that they are dedicated to the principles of peaceful coexistence and of respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of other States. But, only a few years ago, the Philippines nearly succumbed to communist subversion and rebellion, and hundreds of Philippine lives were sacrificed in the struggle. In our vicinity, we have seen what happened in Korea and Viet-Nam. Only the other day, the representative of the Federation of Malaya spoke to us from this rostrum, in a moving speech, of the sufferings and sacrifices endured by his people in their long struggle against the forces of militant communism. Is it suggested that all these are mere hallucinations and that we should heed the siren call of peaceful coexistence by renouncing the protection which the defensive alliances afford us?

14. It is no secret to the Soviet Government that these alliances have imposed onerous military and financial burdens upon all the Member countries -- but especially upon the United States -- of which their peoples are eager to be relieved. Nor is it a secret to the Soviet Government that these alliances, together with the military bases agreements that im-

plement them, have become a source of no little irritation between the peoples and Governments of the countries belonging to these defensive arrangements. No country likes to have foreign troops indefinitely stationed in its territory, and this is true of all foreign troops, whether Soviet or American. But in the case of my country, as in that of all countries where foreign bases are located, we are under the imperious necessity of suffering the inconveniences and irritations as well as the risks of having such bases in our territory in exchange for security against the incomparably greater danger of communist subversion and attack.

15. Peaceful coexistence and the relaxation of tension are certainly desirable goals towards which we should bend our common efforts. But it is not enough to repeat these phrases day after day and year after year, as if those conditions would materialize by the sheer power of verbal incantation. The honest and reasonable thing to do is to accept the state of mutual distrust which exists between the great Powers as one of the harsh and bitter realities of our time, and to move forward doggedly, step by step, away from there.

16. Here, it seems to me, is the real difference between the Soviet and the Western approaches to the question of disarmament. The Soviet proposals appear to start from the premise that sufficient mutual confidence already exists between the great Powers to enable them to agree forthwith to prohibit the use of atomic and nuclear weapons. The Western proposals, on the other hand, start from the premise that progress towards disarmament and the regulation of armaments must be made step by step, each step to be taken as mutual confidence develops following the successful implementation of the preceding one.

17. Despite this divergence of approach there is evidence in the discussions of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London of the willingness of both sides continually to narrow down the differences between their actual proposals. Any move to adjourn the conversations indefinitely cannot possibly be in the interest of anyone.

18. In all fairness it can truly be said of both sides that they have made concessions to each other's point of view in the course of their prolonged negotiations. It would be a grave disservice to mankind and to the United Nations to call off the conversations at a time when the possibility of agreement is brighter than it has been in many years. The General Assembly should therefore express its earnest desire to see the disarmament talks resumed at the earliest possible moment and urge the Powers concerned to re-examine the proposals with a view to further narrowing down their differences until an agreement -- even a limited initial agreement on a limited number of points -- is reached.

19. A hardly less crucial problem of our time is the need to liquidate by peaceful means and as speedily as possible the remnants of colonialism in various parts of the world. In the twelve years since the United Nations was founded, this process of liquidation has progressed at a pace which no one could have anticipated. There are those who deplore this development as unwise or dangerous, representing a reversion to a species of nationalism leading to political and territorial fragmentation which has been outmoded by the powerful drifts towards international or even supranational modes of co-operation in the twentieth century.

Those who advance this objection seem to forget that Europe itself provides historic proof of the fact that nationalism is a necessary weapon in the liberation of peoples from oppressive domination of one kind or another. If nationalism was necessary to ensure the freedom of the European peoples, it can hardly be less so in the case of the peoples that have come under their dominion.

20. But whether wise or dangerous, the speedy release of peoples from colonial rule is one of the stubborn facts of our time. History may well record this phenomenon as the principal distinguishing mark of the political biography of the twentieth century. You cannot wish this fact away, and you ignore it only at your peril.

21. It is unfortunately true that international communism has all too often subverted national freedom movements and taken them over for its own ends. But where this has happened, the colonial Powers have not been without blame. By condemning the native peoples to a life of ignorance and poverty, and by forcing them to take up arms in order to win their freedom, the colonial Powers have virtually opened the front gate to let the Communists in even before they themselves have had time to make a hurried exit through the back door. The disastrous consequences of a policy of refusing to recognize a people's right to self-government and independence or of a policy of "too little and too late", are evident in the contrasting experiences of Viet-Nam and Malaya, as well as of Indonesia and the Philippines. Where the United Kingdom and the United States gained friends and allies, the other Powers not only lost their territories anyway but also missed the chance of retaining the loyal friendship of their peoples. Moreover, the experience of the Federation of Malaya and Viet-Nam conclusively proves that colonial peoples seeking their freedom will defend that freedom against communist interlopers, provided they are not driven to the extremity of accepting communist aid in order to throw off the colonial yoke.

22. There is still time to revise the policy of non-recognition of the right to self-government and independence or the policy of "too little and too late". The problem of Algeria is certainly one which imperiously demands such revision.

23. International communism is often condemned as the principal instigator of national freedom movements. The Communists are guilty, of course, but rather less so than Powers like the United Kingdom and the United States which, by liberating their colonies, have shown other subject peoples that colonialism is no longer in fashion and that there is a way of liquidating it without bloodshed and without an aftermath of hate. Each day which marks the peaceful grant of freedom to a colony is certain to make harder still the job of keeping the others in continued subjection.

24. Nor will the example of the United Kingdom and the United States be lost to the peoples that have fallen under the yoke of communist imperialism. They are bound to realize that whereas the classical Western imperialism is on the way out in Asia and Africa, they now find themselves under a new form of imperialist domination more potent and oppressive than any that the world has ever seen. Among them also the same spirit of nationalism, which the Communists have

fanned in other places for their own ends, will remain alive and grow in strength until it explodes in their own faces.

25. This is not an idle prediction. In the souls of the peoples that have lost their freedom and independence and succumbed to communist domination, the pride of national identity and the will to freedom are not dead. Of them it can truly be said that their heads are bloody but unbowed. Soon or late, they will rise again to claim the freedom and dignity they have lost. We know that whatever happens, the Soviet empire will never again be the same after the ruthless crushing of the Hungarian revolution.

26. The twin scourges of war and imperialism remain the two outstanding questions on our agenda. The General Assembly has no task more important than to help encompass their speedy elimination. The Philippine delegation, I assure you, will join in the earnest effort to accomplish that task.

27. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): The present session of the General Assembly is taking place at a very important stage in international developments. Although some improvement has taken place since the last session, the situation is tense and complex. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the hope that the work of the General Assembly will contribute to an improvement of this situation and to the strengthening of peace, co-operation and friendship among nations.

28. Twelve years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War but it has not yet been possible to establish a stable peace. Mankind is now threatened with the danger of another war, one in which nuclear weapons will be used. In our opinion, the most characteristic and most ominous feature of this state of tension is the continuing armaments race. This is a result of the policy of the "cold war", of negotiation from a "position of strength" and of aggressive military blocs, a policy which the big western Powers - and first and foremost, the United States of America - adopted immediately after the Second World War for the purpose of imposing their will on the rest of the world. This policy culminated last year in the aggression against Egypt and in the organization of a counter-revolution in Hungary, and it is now a serious threat to the peace in the Near and Middle East.

29. All nations are concerned, and rightly so, about the present state of affairs: they want peace and not war; they are convinced that war is not inevitable; they are convinced that it can and must be avoided. They nurture the hope that the United Nations will play a positive part in the achievement of this all-important objective.

30. There is general agreement that disarmament is the principal, the vital problem of our times. The future of mankind and the choice between war and peace depend on the attitude which the various countries, and especially the great Powers, adopt with respect to this problem.

31. The armaments race is having a serious effect on the economies of the various countries and on all international relations. New weapons, especially nuclear weapons, one more lethal than the other, are being invented every day. A new war in which such devices were used would most certainly result in

innumerable casualties and incalculable material damages throughout the world.

32. The peoples of the world insist on the end of the armaments race and on disarmament. This problem has been under discussion for over ten years, but no agreement has been reached. Continuing its unremitting efforts to reach agreement and showing a willingness to meet the proposals of the western Powers members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, the USSR Government, at the recent session in London, presented new specific proposals which could easily be carried out and which, if adopted, would represent an important step towards eliminating the danger of atomic warfare.

33. These proposals have been favourably received by public opinion and have given rise to legitimate hopes. The positive attitude of the Soviet Union has been reaffirmed before the Assembly by Mr. Gromyko, head of the USSR delegation at the present session. The memorandum on certain partial measures in the field of disarmament which he submitted on behalf of his Government [A/C.1/793] represents, at the present juncture, a precise programme for dealing with the principal aspects of this serious problem. However, neither in London nor here has the United States of America or the United Kingdom shown any real desire to reach agreement on this subject.

34. The Soviet delegation has placed before the General Assembly certain simple and clear proposals; are the United States and the United Kingdom willing, or are they not, to agree on the discontinuance under international control of tests of nuclear weapons for a period of two or three years? Are they willing, or are they not, to agree to a reduction in armed forces, armaments and military expenditures to the extent they themselves previously proposed? Are they willing, or are they not, to give a solemn undertaking, together with the Soviet Union, that they will not use nuclear weapons, if only for a five-year period, should no final agreement be reached in the interim?

35. The peoples want clear and affirmative replies to these questions. Yet Mr. Dulles, the representative of the United States, saw fit to speak in his statement not about prohibiting nuclear weapons but about perfecting them, and about the need for continuing the tests. A similar attitude was adopted by Sir Selwyn Lloyd, the United Kingdom representative. These gentlemen also mentioned the proposals which they had presented earlier in London. However, these proposals call neither for a reduction in armaments nor for a prohibition of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, being a reflection of unresolved political problems, they do not point the way towards disarmament but are designed merely to conceal from public opinion the negative attitude of these Powers.

36. The People's Republic of Albania, like all other peace-loving countries, has a very special interest in the problem of disarmament because it wants to ensure a good life for its people, who have suffered so much from foreign wars and invasions in the past. The Albanian Government has already carried out a substantial reduction in the armed forces of the Republic. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that NATO military bases, equipped with atomic weapons, are located in countries near Albania and that units of the United States Sixth Fleet and of other NATO countries are prowling about and carrying out manoeuvres

in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, close to our territorial waters.

37. At the same time, the military leaders of the countries which belong to this aggressive bloc are making challenging statements and a hostile propaganda campaign is being waged against the People's Republic of Albania. What we want in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean - and for that matter, throughout the world - is the establishment of friendly relations, co-operation and mutual confidence among States. We believe that an agreement on disarmament, even a partial one, would promote such a state of affairs.

38. Our delegation, on behalf of the Albanian Government, supports the proposal of the Soviet Union calling for an agreement to discontinue the tests of nuclear weapons for a period of two or three years. This proposal should be considered as a separate item at the present session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that the conclusion of an agreement on this specific problem by the three Powers which possess nuclear weapons would open the door to other disarmament agreements and would mark a turning point in the international situation as a whole.

39. It is an established fact that the tests of nuclear weapons have increased the amount of radioactive substances in the atmosphere. In the opinion of many prominent scientists, this increased radioactivity is a threat to the health of future generations. We believe that it would be most useful for the General Assembly to consider the effects of atomic radiation, an item proposed by Czechoslovakia.

40. We do not agree with those who feel that in the present circumstances no solution of the disarmament question is possible. It is true that great differences of opinion exist and that the lack of mutual confidence resulting from the "cold war" is a major obstacle to agreement. Must we, however, retreat from obstacles instead of attempting to overcome them? The interests of peace, the vital interests of the human race require that all countries, and especially the great Powers, should make a sincere and sustained effort towards gradually restoring confidence by means of agreements relating to specific aspects of the disarmament problem and other problems. As we see it, such a procedure is not only possible but essential. We believe that the disarmament proposals submitted by the Soviet Union represent a sound and acceptable basis for agreement. The Albanian Government is in favour of all the proposals included in the Soviet Government's memorandum on certain partial measures in the field of disarmament and it hopes that they will meet with widespread support on the part of the other delegations. It also hopes that the General Assembly will endorse these proposals and thereby justify the peoples' confidence in the United Nations.

41. In their statements during the general debate, several representatives expressed justified concern over the tension in the Near and Middle East, a tension which may easily increase. It is hardly a year since an Arab country, Egypt, fell victim to unprovoked aggression on the part of the United Kingdom, France and Israel. Today, other Arab countries are the target of hostile acts by the principal NATO Powers. For years, a positive war of extermination has been waged against the heroic people of Algeria who are struggling for their freedom and national

independence. Acts of aggression have been committed against Yemen, which is a Member of the United Nations. In Oman, the national liberation movement has met with savage repression. At the present moment, Syria, another independent and peaceful Arab country and also a Member of the United Nations, is being plotted against, subjected to pressure and threatened by the United States of America. The Syrian people and their Government have frustrated, and will always frustrate, the threats and provocations of the imperialists. Their just cause has won the sympathy of all peace-loving countries. The Albanian people express their solidarity with the people of Syria and condemn the aggressive policies of the United States towards the Syrian Republic. The Albanian people feel close to the Arab peoples, whom they regard as brothers. We and the Arab peoples are friends and neighbours. We are united by common customs and traditions and by historic bonds forged in the struggle for freedom, independence and peace.

42. In speaking from this rostrum, Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, interfered without a qualm in Syria's domestic affairs and accused it of threatening neighbour countries. He also accused the Soviet Union of interfering in the domestic affairs of Syria. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom spoke in the same vein and developed the same arguments. But is it possible to separate last year's aggression against Egypt from the policy by which the principal members of the Atlantic bloc are now threatening Syria? Who is in a better position to evaluate the situation in Syria and the neighbouring countries: the United States Government or the Government of Syria and the Governments of the neighbouring countries, which declare that Syria constitutes no threat to these countries?

42. Last Saturday, for instance, a spokesman for the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Iraq was not concerned about recent events in Syria and did not believe that Syria could launch an attack against other Arab countries. The day before yesterday, a spokesman for the Government of Jordan said that the Arabs did not believe that Syria was a military threat to any other country. The Arab States have even declared their readiness to co-operate with Syria in warding off any dangers by which it might be threatened.

44. The Syrian Government, for its part, has stated on several occasions that the only threat to its country came from imperialism. Whenever the imperialists plan or carry out an act directed against the peace and freedom of nations, they attempt to lay the blame for it on the Soviet Union. This is what they tried to do when they committed aggression against Egypt. It is what they are trying to do in the case of Syria. But these tactics are outworn and no longer effective: the peoples come to know their friends by what they do, not what they say.

45. The great Powers of the Atlantic bloc have turned their attention to the Near and Middle East in an effort to regain positions of power, win control of oil deposits, thwart the peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke in their fight for national freedom, and secure strategic bases in that area.

46. The United States calls itself a friend of the Arab peoples, but what are the facts? Who does not know that the United Kingdom and France, in their

war against Egypt, made extensive use of American arms supplied through NATO? Who furnishes weapons to Israel and supports and encourages it in its fight against the Arab countries? Who does not know that the war against the Algerian people is supported by the entire Atlantic bloc, and that American weapons supplied by NATO are being used to kill Algerians? Has the United States denounced the United Kingdom's acts of aggression against Yemen and Oman? Is it not obvious that the present campaign against Syria is co-ordinated within the framework of NATO under United States direction?

47. The recent events in Syria were not well received at Washington. The United States Government was naturally not pleased that the Syrian Government should have discovered and thwarted its plot and taken the necessary measures to protect its country's independence and sovereignty. It was even alleged in Washington that the situation in Syria endangered the interests of the United States of America. The truth is that Washington is displeased because Syria has resolved to safeguard and strengthen its national independence and to follow a policy of active neutrality and does not wish to accept the United States colonialist plan known as the Eisenhower doctrine. It is our opinion that the United States of America has no earthly right to tell Syria or any other country what policy it should follow. That is a usurpation of one of the prerogatives of national sovereignty.

48. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania maintains that it is the lawful right of the countries of the Near and Middle East, as it is of all other countries, to live in freedom and independence according to their desire, traditions and aspirations. Our Government believes that acceptance by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France of the well-known proposals made to them by the Soviet Government, by which they would agree not to use force in their relations with countries of the Near and Middle East and not to interfere in their domestic affairs, would be the first step towards relaxing the tension in that area. We sincerely hope that the dark clouds lowering over the Middle East will soon be dispelled and that the Arab peoples will be able to live and work in peace and freedom.

49. Recent events have once again made it evident that disputes between nations cannot be settled by force and that the "cold war" and negotiation from a "position of strength" policy has succeeded only in straining international relations and endangering peace. Such a policy is incompatible with the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the higher interests of peoples. We believe that the United Nations should devote all its efforts, and take advantage of every opportunity, to establish international relations on a fair basis, encourage peaceful settlement of existing disputes and create mutual trust among nations.

50. The Soviet delegation has submitted to the General Assembly a draft declaration on the principles of peaceful co-existence between States [A/3673]. The principles of peaceful co-existence are well known; they are the basis of the foreign policy of a large number of countries and have become recognized principles of international law. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will adopt these principles, thus helping to relax tension and creating a useful tool

for the solution of controversial questions and the strengthening of co-operation among States.

51. In the opinion of our delegation, the attempts by certain Member States to use the United Nations for their own purposes and in the pursuit of their "cold war" policy have dimmed the prestige of the United Nations and are hampering its operation. We consider that the arbitrary inclusion in the agenda of the present session of a controversial item known as the "Hungarian question" not only is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of the Charter in that it constitutes intolerable interference in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Hungary, but also is bound to harm the cause of the United Nations and of international co-operation. Instead of wasting time on this non-existent question, the United Nations should give its undivided attention to the many real and urgent problems which are before it for solution.

52. Again, the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations have not yet been restored, because of the obstructionist attitude of the United States of America. It is our opinion that any delay in recognizing these rights is harmful only to the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations. It will, moreover, in no way alter the course of events in China or the resolute and rapid progress of that great country of 600 million people along the path of socialism, nor will its authority as a great world Power be in the least affected. The United Nations has placed itself in a position which is as unfair to it as to China. How can it take effective action in the absence of the true representatives of a people which constitutes one-fourth of all mankind? We believe that it is high time to restore to the People's Republic of China its inalienable rights in the United Nations.

53. One of the most important principles of the United Nations is the principle of universality. Agreement regarding its application has made possible the admission of a large number of countries during the last few years, and this constitutes a great success for the United Nations. However, we are unable to understand why this principle is not observed in the case of the Mongolian People's Republic, an independent and democratic country which has declared its willingness to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter. The Albanian delegation hopes that this unjustified discrimination will soon end and that the Mongolian People's Republic will be admitted to the United Nations.

54. On the agenda of the present session are several important problems relating to the freedom of peoples oppressed by colonialism, to the economic development of under-developed countries, and to the expansion of peaceful co-operation among States in the economic, cultural and social fields. Our delegation will endeavour to do its share in seeking a satisfactory solution for these problems.

55. There is no doubt that much remains to be done to develop economic exchanges between countries with different systems. The artificial obstacles created by certain western Powers have prevented a full exploration, to the mutual advantage of the parties concerned, of all the possibilities in this field. In these circumstances, the Soviet proposal to convene a world economic conference is of great importance and deserves universal support.

56. The People's Republic of Albania is fundamentally a peace-loving State, which desires to live in peace and friendship with all countries according to the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Albanian people has never transgressed against the rights of other peoples, and it is determined not to let anyone interfere with its freedom, its independence, and its legitimate rights.

57. The Albanian people is progressing along the road to socialism. It devotes all its energy to economic and cultural progress and the peaceful development of its country. Thanks to its own efforts and to the brotherly aid of the Soviet Union and other peoples' democracies, it has passed several important milestones along this road.

58. We believe that the defence of peace is an essential prerequisite for the further development of our country. Therefore the Albanian people and Government have taken a resolute stand for peace and against war, and support unreservedly the efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries to halt the armaments race, ban the use, production and testing of nuclear weapons, secure disarmament and replace the policy of mutually-antagonistic military blocs by a general system of collective security, so that relations among countries, whatever their social system, may be based upon the principles of peaceful coexistence.

59. The friendship between the People's Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, founded upon principles of equality, mutual respect, non-interference, co-operation and fraternal aid, grows stronger each day and constitutes a valid guarantee for the future of our country and our people.

60. The Albanian Government has endeavoured and continues to endeavour to improve and expand its relations with other countries, neighbours or otherwise, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. On that basis, it is prepared to establish normal diplomatic, economic, cultural and tourist relations with all countries desiring to maintain such relations with us. We believe that the strengthening of peaceful co-operation among all the Balkan States would be an excellent contribution to the cause of world peace. It was in this spirit and with this end in view that the Albanian Government accepted the invitation sent recently by the Government of the Romanian People's Republic to the heads of government of the Balkan countries.

61. In conclusion, I should like once more to express the hope that the work of this session of the General Assembly will be successful and will serve the fundamental cause of the United Nations, which is that of international peace, co-operation and security.

62. U THANT (Burma): First of all, let me take this opportunity of extending the very warm felicitations of my delegation to the President on his election as President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. My delegation, in common with other delegations, has no doubt that he is eminently suited to discharge with distinction the functions expected of this exalted post. I also do not wish to let this opportunity pass without expressing our esteem and respect to Prince Wan Waithayakon for the very able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the eleventh session of the General Assembly.

63. Let me also take this opportunity of welcoming the Federation of Malaya which was unanimously accepted as the eighty-second Member of the United Nations. Burma and Malaya, besides being neighbours, have shared common trials and tribulations generally associated with the historical phenomenon known as "colonialism" and Malaya's emergence from it is a source of unbounded gratification to my delegation. We are confident that the admission of the Federation of Malaya to this world organization will be a force for peace.

64. Turning to the business of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, my delegation shares the views of most Members that the question of disarmament should receive the prior attention of this session. This question assumes greater urgency with the very rapid strides made in the technical progress in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. In a world split sharply into two ideological camps the competition in the manufacture of armaments and keen rivalry for greater striking power are evil omens. The primary purpose of the United Nations is to promote the cause of peace and to secure an enduring peace.

65. Burma, like other countries, was attracted to the United Nations by the lofty idealism of the Charter. We subscribed wholeheartedly to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and looked forward to a new era of peace, progress and prosperity for mankind. It must be admitted that this cherished dream has not yet been realized. It would, of course, be a platitude to say that the United Nations has risen to our expectations. This world organization, since its inception, was caught up in the maelstrom of the "cold war", and it has never been permitted to function as its founders intended. But the very fact that it has been able to achieve considerably impressive results in the settlement of several outstanding problems and in pouring oil on troubled waters is a happy testimony to its utility as well as to its determination.

66. But war clouds are still hovering over us. A war-weary world, yearning for peace and a return to normality, dreaming a vision of the United Nations as a panacea for all the world's ills, is impatient of the strides so far made by the United Nations towards the establishment of a lasting peace. It was not sufficiently realized that the United Nations could only be as good or as bad as its Members made it, that it was not something apart from its collective membership.

67. My delegation feels that the main task of every Member State of the United Nations is to strengthen it and to make it the really effective Organization which was planned by its founders. The first step in the direction of strengthening the United Nations is to rid ourselves of fear and suspicion. My delegation feels that the atmosphere is too much contaminated with these twin evils. The world stands desperately in need of new ideas, new approaches and new ways of looking at things. It is time that fear and suspicion should give way to mutual trust and mutual understanding. A world living in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb must have no place for fear and suspicion. Mankind has reached one of the great cross-roads of its history. Atomic energy provides it with the alternatives of progress and prosperity such as man has never dreamed of in the past, or the end of civilization, perhaps even the end of the human race. My delega-

tion has sufficient faith in the wisdom of man to believe that he will make the right choice. To expedite this choice the first step to take is to dispel fear and suspicion.

68. At this stage my delegation will not venture any opinion on the respective proposals of the two opposing blocs regarding disarmament. Both points of view are understandable in the context of present-day developments and explicable only in terms of the psychology of the two contending blocs, not in terms of objective differences. But we feel rather strongly that the two viewpoints are capable of being reconciled, if only the two blocs decide to attempt necessary psychological adjustments. The present deadlock in disarmament talks is due primarily to the anomalies inherent in the attitude of both power blocs towards each other. Burma and, I am sure, other small countries which are not directly involved in armament or disarmament, will continue to hope that an agreed formula will be forthcoming -- and very soon -- from the parleys which are now in temporary recess. My delegation believes that no country wants war and that no country would like to spend astronomical sums for armaments. There is no doubt that all major countries genuinely desire to limit armaments to the barest minimum commensurate with the requirements of maintaining internal peace. But the chief obstacles to this measure are undoubtedly fear and suspicion. In the circumstances, my delegation wants to take this opportunity of imploring the major Powers concerned to rid themselves of these twin evils, to cultivate mutual understanding and mutual goodwill, so that the war-weary world, yearning for peace, will at long last realize its cherished dreams.

69. In presenting the views of my delegation before this world assembly, it will not doubt be relevant to reiterate our well-known policy of consistently throwing our weight on the side of peace and against the forces of war or tensions. My delegation will support any move, made at any time and from any quarter, which in our view is genuinely designed to prevent war and to promote the cause of peace. This stand has been made unmistakably clear by our Prime Minister at the historic Bandung Conference in April 1955. The decisions of the Bandung Conference have served and will continue to serve as our guiding principles in the formulation of our foreign policy and in our approach to world problems. It is the view of my delegation that strict adherence to the declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation as set out in the final communiqué of the Bandung Conference is the only sensible way to prevent a world catastrophe.

70. My delegation does not for a moment believe that any country, big or small, wants war. War as a means of settling international disputes is universally dismissed as completely outdated. War has been rendered obsolete by its own destructiveness. Mankind's only survival depends on his own ability to absorb this lesson. It is the greatest challenge facing man today. It is, in fact, more than a challenge; it is a desperate necessity. This conviction has compelled Burma to subscribe to the well-known principles of peaceful co-existence and friendship which serve as our guide in our relations with all countries. We firmly believe that only peaceful coexistence with, and friendship towards, all countries with different political, economic and social systems can ensure a sense of security and mutual confidence.

71. Burma is firmly and irrevocably committed to a system of parliamentary democracy. Burma believes in democratic ideals and in the dignity of man. Burma is thoroughly averse to the idea of dictatorship in any shape or form. The Burmese people is determined never to exchange its way of life for any other way of life. But this firm conviction and dedication do not preclude us from viewing the world around us with a proper perspective. We understand why some countries have chosen systems of governments very different from our own. It is, however, not our business to pass judgement on the internal affairs of other countries. The recognition of this basic fact enables us to subscribe to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

72. My delegation feels that any statement of policy at this juncture would not be complete without a reference to the situation in the Middle East which has of late focused world attention. This strategic area is at present the scene of hectic activities which, if not checked in time, are likely to develop into open hostilities between the two power blocs. The Middle East, fabulously endowed with the world's most coveted raw material -- has unfortunately become "the bone of contention" between the East and the West. In their bid for exclusive friendship with the countries of the Middle East, the big Powers are openly heading towards a head-on clash. There are now indications of outside interference in the internal affairs of some countries in that area. It is indeed a sad spectacle that a very keen race is on between the big Powers for ascendancy in that area. In the name of peace and decency, my delegation would earnestly appeal to the interested Powers to respect the national sovereignty of the countries in the Middle East, to canalize all their activities through the United Nations and cease all attempts to dominate, either diplomatically or militarily.

73. I make these observations on the developments in the Middle East with the full realization of the inevitable consequences that may result in the absence of any concrete steps towards the easing of tensions. The present competition for supremacy must give way to another kind of competition to raise the living standard of the people and to encourage peace and harmony in this turbulent area.

74. On the basis of what has been said, my delegation hopes that the twelfth session of the General Assembly will bend its energies towards the easing of tensions and the promotion of the cause of peace.

75. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): It is a great honour for me to come to this rostrum for the sixth time as the representative of my Government and to state its views on some of the major problems now under discussion, problems which must be solved before we can give the peoples of the world stable peace and enable them to enjoy the benefits of man's increasing knowledge.

76. First I must extend on behalf of the Government and people of Ecuador a warm welcome to the two new nations which have been admitted to membership this year: the Republic of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya. Their presence here will enable us to ascertain their views on the best way to promote coexistence between States with different political and economic systems or at different stages of development.

77. It will be instructive to hear the views of statesmen who have fought for their country's independence and to secure respect for the individual and observance of the law. The Government of Ecuador will be happy to establish and maintain diplomatic relations with these States and to develop close cultural ties and mutually beneficial economic relations with them.

78. The year 1956 brought us a number of problems which threatened world peace. The United Nations had to exert the most strenuous efforts to avert a catastrophe even more devastating in its consequences than the Second World War. The present year opened in an atmosphere of profound and widespread apprehension. The Organization's authority was severely tried by the vehement and implacable refusal of one of the great Powers to comply with General Assembly resolutions calling for the restoration of Hungary's right to its own government, and of its people's right to complete freedom.

79. There has in the meantime been some relaxation of world tension. Nevertheless nothing positive has been achieved in the Hungarian question, and the independence of this people, that made such heroic sacrifices in October and November last year and was so pitilessly subjugated by Soviet armed might, is still being trampled underfoot. Order is being restored and the economy rebuilt, but only through the triumph of naked force over a conquered people, a people in hunger and want, dominated solely because its territory is occupied by a foreign army that guards, enslaves and intimidates it.

80. The statements made here by the representatives of the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian Government banish all hope that the rulers of the Hungarian people will agree to comply with the dictates of the world's conscience, which were faithfully reflected in the General Assembly resolutions.

81. But an end will come to the sufferings of the Hungarian people. There are clear signs that far-reaching changes are in progress in all the communist régimes, and that a modification of the political structure of the so-called peoples' democracies is at hand. Spiritual forces must prevail, and no barrier can withstand the mysterious power that drives men to strive for freedom and to overcome all the obstacles to the exercise of this fundamental right. This process of liberation is brought about not, as some think, through the influence of foreign powers, but through the dissemination of ideas in universities, technical institutes and laboratories.

82. The young people of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries cannot be treated in the same way as their unschooled and fanatic predecessors, for they have become familiar with new ideas and are in a position to demand a higher standard of life and the fulfilment of material and spiritual needs hitherto unmet. The contact of the young people of the Soviet Union and of its artists, scientists and journalists with Western culture has not been without effect; the same applies to the opening of the previously closed frontiers of the Soviet countries, despite the fact that travel within these countries is closely supervised and severely restricted.

83. The radio has led to an interchange of ideas between East and West. Its voice has penetrated to every home and awakened millions of sleeping consciences.

Books, newspapers and magazines - published in freedom or in defiance of the censorship - provide inspiration and are bringing about a radical change in the outlook of men and women who formerly had access only to official statements put out by the authorities. But even without radios, books, newspapers and magazines, the human mind continues to function, oppression notwithstanding; history has shown that even in concentration camps, in prison cells and dungeons, prisoners in solitary confinement are buoyed up by this power of thought until such time as their chains are broken, concentration camps vanish and prisons are thrown open, with the triumph of liberty over might.

84. Once this movement has begun, no one can halt its slow but certain advance. The clock cannot be put back, and the movement will follow its imperturbable course until all the peoples of the earth enjoy their human rights.

85. A similar historical process culminated in the founding of the United Nations. This development reflected the need to set legal standards for relations between States and to limit the indiscriminate and arbitrary use of force. The United Nations provided States with an instrument for the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as the Charter so truly puts it, and establish the reign of justice and law in international relations.

86. In setting up the United Nations, States had to accept certain rules of law and although these involved some limitation of their sovereignty, any loss of power was offset by increased security and stability. The United Nations is not an international device conceived by ingenious statesmen as a means of combating isolationism and providing a breathing space to prepare for another world war. The United Nations fulfils certain fundamental needs in contemporary international law.

87. But the Organization has not yet reached maturity and at this early stage of its development it is still marred by hesitation and insecurity. It must gain new supporters, convince the doubtful, overcome resistance, vanquish obstacles and win the enthusiastic and wholehearted co-operation of all the peoples of the world. The world Organization that came into being at San Francisco still lacks the necessary experience successfully to overcome the prejudices and vested interests that hamper the complete fulfilment of its mission. A few months ago the United Nations was sorely tried by the rash action of great Powers which momentarily forgot their noble mission as standard bearers of Western civilization and violated the law they themselves had helped to establish. Happily, this severe test was passed with flying colours and equilibrium was promptly restored, an equilibrium that might, if disrupted, have threatened the very existence of the United Nations.

88. If the Organization continues to develop normally, we may confidently affirm that in ten years' time no one will question the need for its existence or its importance as an international catalyst and as a meeting-ground for all political creeds, economic systems and philosophies of life.

89. But the body of law governing the United Nations has many deficiencies and some flaws. It was a work of experimentation, compromise and balance, the greatest care being taken to obtain the agreement not

only of the great Powers, but also of other States, less powerful militarily and economically, whose intellectual and moral authority entitled them to a voice in the drafting of this document. Although the Charter is an admirable document so far as the reconciliation of interests is concerned, it was inevitably influenced by the war atmosphere, since at the time of its signing the thunder of guns was still to be heard, and millions were still in such a state of misery and distress that they clamoured for vengeance rather than justice. The same statesmen who directed the war effort also led the diplomatic negotiations that culminated in the text of the Charter submitted to other States for study and comment. The San Francisco Conference led to considerable changes in this original text, but certain provisions and institutions had to be retained in order to secure acceptance of the proposal as a whole.

90. The authors of the Charter could not have foreseen the remarkable and rapid progress the United Nations has made in the short period that has since elapsed. The number of Member States has almost doubled, and all the factors which were taken into account in determining the Organization's structure are now out of date. There is a growing demand for an extension of the sphere of activity of officials and representatives, since the legal provisions within which the Organization operates have become too narrow and restrictive. The proposal to revise the Charter is not, as some have maintained, merely an attempt to change something that is functioning satisfactorily. On the contrary, it is designed to meet a want, to extend spheres of activity, and to take account of entirely new facts and circumstances which must be reflected in our statute if the United Nations is to fulfil its purpose and meet a vital need.

91. The Soviet Union, which is opposed to a revision of the Charter, will have to modify its position and recognize the facts that necessitate changes in the structure of the United Nations. If the proposal for revision is to be successful, it must take a form which is acceptable both to the Soviet Government and to the other four Powers that assume the undemocratic right of using their vote to secure the rejection of any measure that is not to their liking. Until this revision is feasible, we must concentrate on piecemeal and urgent improvements which are acceptable to the majority of Member States.

92. In view of the pressing demand from new Members for seats in the major United Nations bodies, the Latin-American republics and Spain have proposed enlarging the membership of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice. This joint proposal was included in last year's agenda, but was deferred to the present session because, in view of events in Hungary and in the Middle East, the atmosphere was hardly propitious to its discussion, and it was felt that to take the proposal any further would be to doom it to failure. Circumstances now seem more favourable. The basic problem is to find some way of ensuring the equitable geographic distribution of new posts among the various groups that have grown up within the United Nations, so that none of them feels that it has been overlooked, and each has an opportunity to contribute its share.

93. The Ecuadorian delegation would urge the Assembly to give serious consideration to the three items

I have mentioned, so that our Organization may be truly universal, not only because all its Members are represented in the General Assembly, but also because all regional groups and cultures will be represented in the Councils and in the International Court of Justice.

94. A delicate and complex problem that has faced the United Nations since its inception is that of securing an administrative staff that not only meets high professional and moral standards, but also functions efficiently and keeps operating costs low. Since Mr. Hammarskjöld took up office as Secretary-General, he has distinguished himself by his energetic and dynamic approach to the problem, and by his policy of developing modern, speedy, straightforward and economical administrative procedures. The internal administration of the Secretariat, and its co-ordination with the specialized agencies, deserve the highest praise. The Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, so ably presided over by the Secretary-General, has obtained substantial savings in money and effort by avoiding duplication of staff and of budgetary appropriations. Although much progress has been made in this difficult matter of co-ordination and economy, much remains to be done, but we hope that the Secretary-General will eventually be able to point to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including the newly-founded International Atomic Energy Agency, as models of administrative co-ordination. The Economic and Social Council has made a valuable contribution to this effort, and we hope that it will continue to offer all possible assistance to Mr. Hammarskjöld. It is only by such methods that concerted and effective action can be taken in respect of large-scale programmes, particularly those which are of interest to the under-developed countries.

95. One of the Secretary-General's suggestions which I believe, may be of great value to many States, particularly to those which have just come into being, is the establishment of an international administrative service. The members of that service would be employed in the administration of the country requiring their services. Some delegations have raised objections to this suggestion by the Secretary-General. The presence of foreign officials, it has been argued, might be repugnant to a sovereign State, because they would participate with certain powers and authority in the management of the public affairs of a country not their own. I do not think there is sufficient ground for this objection. I can see no reason why it should be repugnant to a country to accept technical experts of other nationalities to discharge, in its administration, functions for which there are no trained national experts available. In that event, the whole programme of technical assistance, which has so often rendered such signal service in many countries, would collapse.

96. Chapters XI and XII of the Charter contain rules for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government or have been placed under the International Trusteeship System. These rules constitute a far-reaching innovation in modern international law. They have dealt a death blow to the old and outworn colonial system, making it possible to mitigate its harmful effects and to pave the way for its disappearance by a less disastrous process than the use of force by those subjected to its yoke. But it would be unfair to blame this system alone for all the ills and the back-

wardness afflicting the countries on which it has been imposed, because it must be recognized that at a certain stage in history and in certain geographical regions the colonizing nations discharged a noble, civilizing mission: by transmitting to these territories their linguistic, religious, cultural and scientific heritage they enabled them to advance to join the main stream of Western civilization, a process which was to their advantage.

97. Colonizers have not always been merciless exploiters, as the opponents of the system allege. Sometimes they were the bearers of civilization; they made the soil bear fruit; they were the dynamic human force that lifted many peoples out of their primitive state into one in which they could develop a personality of their own. The colonial system was in the past a means of bringing the benefits of technology and scientific and industrial advances to the four corners of the globe. This system has now served its purpose, and those who seek to prolong its existence today are creating a problem to which it will be very hard to find a just and peaceful solution. Chapter XII of the United Nations Charter provides for a system effectively guaranteeing to certain peoples the attainment of self-government, a process which will necessarily lead to independence. To oppose this natural trend of development is to deny the spirit underlying the five provisions of this Chapter.

98. The Administering Authorities have accepted a sacred trust, which clearly implies that the territories they administer and their peoples will one day acquire a different status, and they must therefore endeavour to hasten the time when free political institutions enable those countries to become independent. The International Trusteeship System is unquestionably intended to culminate in self-government or complete independence. In both cases the Charter regards as temporary the system under which one country guides the destinies of another and does not countenance the perpetuation of a system subjecting to an alien will peoples who, owing to special circumstances, are for the time being unable to assume responsibility for their own affairs. Unfortunately, political and economic considerations are impeding the normal and proper development of the Trusteeship System and of the system for Non-Self-Governing Territories. Countries with a long and illustrious tradition, such as Cyprus, are being denied their right to self-determination, the right to take whatever road they choose to map out for themselves. The perpetration of alien authority over territories whose peoples are fully capable of self-government contributes to international tension and facilitates propaganda against the Western democracies. The bitter and costly experience of the past few years will lead to a better understanding of both the letter and the spirit of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter, which have already borne magnificent fruit. Much tact and moderation will be needed for the solution of other issues which have recently arisen among peoples intimately linked, until yesterday, by legal and historical ties, for, on the pretext of aiding a noble movement for independence, encouragement is being given to a destructive nationalism which will lead to new forms not only of colonialism but of slavery infinitely worse than those from which emancipation is sought.

99. The Government of Ecuador, true to the tradition of law to which it owes its independence, will always

be ready to lend its resolute support to peoples which have achieved political maturity and claim the exercise of their right to self-determination. It is also convinced that all problems can be solved by negotiation and believes that the time has come to use the influence of the world Organization to bring about a peaceful settlement of disputes and controversies hampering full understanding among peoples and their normal economic development. Negotiations conducted with intelligence, humanity, understanding and justice will save precious lives which would otherwise be lost in futile conflict.

100. My Government is deeply anxious to stimulate our country's economic development. It has devoted substantial resources and efforts to that purpose under a well considered plan, based on an objective study of Ecuadorian conditions. By means of public health programmes, it is attempting to eradicate diseases, which previously decimated the population, particularly in the tropical coastal areas. We are grateful to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund and to the World Health Organization for their effective help in conducting the malaria eradication campaign, in promoting maternal welfare and in improving child nutrition. A few days ago, a substantial extension of our main railway line was opened, making a very rich area available for cultivation which will greatly increase the volume of produce available for export. Ecuador also attaches vital importance to school building, the campaign against illiteracy, the development of basic education, free education from school to university, the training of teachers, the provision of funds for housing and plans for electrification and settlement. Signal progress has been achieved in all spheres of national life, and the country fortunately enjoys a degree of political stability providing security for private enterprise and large-scale capital investment.

101. My country is at present recognized as one of the most scrupulous in the fulfilment of its international economic obligations and each day sees an expansion of its trade with both other American and non-American countries. We are engaged in an effort which exceeds the country's resources and for which we need international co-operation given on conditions compatible with our capacity to pay. Our political system is functioning normally, and we can vouch for the fact that the climate of life in Ecuador is one of peace, democracy and freedom, in which human rights are enjoyed to the full. As a member of the Organization of American States, Ecuador considers it impossible to settle any economic or financial problem satisfactorily without reference to the other members of this family of States, since they are intimately linked not only by geography but by a long-standing tradition of solidarity in matters of labour production, the mobilization of resources, the fixing of prices for products, the regulation of markets and lastly, the co-ordination of the many and varied factors in their economies. Nor can world problems be solved without regard for the interests of this important group of American States, with their steadily expanding populations and their increasing importance in international trade. America has not united to fight any State or group of States, but to obtain the benefit both of inter-American co-operation and of co-operation with groups outside the continent. In accordance with its Charter, our American organization discharges a function of world

importance which is in complete accord with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. Like all American States, Ecuador has derived great benefit from its ties both with the regional and the world Organization and has always striven for the greatest possible harmony between the work of these two institutions.

102. The Organization of American States has developed in three stages: the first, which was a spontaneous outcome of nineteenth century principles runs from the attainment of independence by most of the member States until 1889; the second dates from that year, which saw the beginning of the conferences to draft what is called American international law, and the third from the establishment of the organization which obtained its statute with the adoption of the Charter of the Organization at the Ninth International Conference of American States at Bogotá in 1948. Despite the great economic and commercial interest aroused by the Washington Conference of 1889, the Organization has achieved more in the political and cultural spheres. The Inter-American Economic and Social Council and the various financial, economic and commercial conferences of past years have not yielded the results that had been hoped for. In line with the growing trend towards economic co-operation, a regional conference met this year at Buenos Aires, at which representatives of the various countries outlined their Government's views, gave an objective analysis of economic conditions in the continent and of social conditions in each country, and discussed the problem of co-ordinating their economies, because such co-ordination has so far been sporadic and frequently unsatisfactory. The need for a continental market was studied, and although the proposal's reception was disappointing to its sponsors, it may be said that at Buenos Aires the foundations were laid for future development. Technical studies are required for that purpose and, without them, any agreement would be premature and of doubtful success. A beginning has been made with the economic co-ordination which is our aim. Its full achievement will depend on the efforts of those responsible for directing production in our countries. It will be a large-scale undertaking, in which both Governments and private enterprise will take part. The example of Europe, with its Treaty of Rome, compels us to follow the same road if we are not to be defeated by others more intelligent and stronger than ourselves, despite the optimism voiced here by the distinguished representative of Italy in his able defence of the European common market, which he said would be beneficial not only to that continent but also to other geographic areas. The future will show whether we have been too sanguine in affirming that America will regulate and co-ordinate its economic and financial life to defend itself and to prosper.

103. The disarmament problem was discussed for five months in London in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, but no agreement was reached. Yet Mr. Stassen, the United States representative, assures us that East and West have succeeded in drawing closer together than ever before and expresses great optimism regarding future prospects for disarmament. What we have heard here in the general debate does not justify the United States representative's optimism. For some time to come, it appears, mankind will still have to endure not only the fear of war, the fear of the use of weapons of mass destruction, but what is even more serious, the constant and extensive contamination of the atmosphere, the land and the waters as a result of nuclear weapons tests, which none of the producing countries is willing to suspend, except on conditions which are not acceptable to all parties. In addition, the armaments race is seriously disrupting the world economy and must be regarded as chiefly responsible for the inflation which is assuming increasingly alarming proportions and is disturbing the economies of all countries, since none can avoid this evil. My Government endorses the plea of all peace-loving peoples that efforts should be made to conclude at least a provisional agreement, which would end the growing threat to the health and life of present and future generations.

104. My delegation is confident that under the President's skilful guidance all the items we have decided to include in the agenda of this session will be discussed and settled in an atmosphere of calm. We are confident of this, because we witnessed his work in the First Committee where we applauded the able manner in which he discharged his important and delicate duties. His great experience is a guarantee that the twelfth session of the General Assembly will reaffirm the promise which the future holds for the United Nations.

105. Although the chairman of the American regional group has already congratulated Mr. Hammarskjöld on his re-election as Secretary-General of the United Nations, I should like, before concluding, to express my Government's and my own satisfaction at the recognition given to one of the younger statesmen of the modern world whose ability, sincerity, moderation and energy have won respect for our Organization, not only on the administrative plane but also in the sphere of international politics, economics and diplomacy. His re-election is a just recognition of his merits. We foresee that his new five-year term of office will be a period of growth in the world importance and influence of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.