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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

1. Mr. SCHMIDT (Brazil) (translated from French):
The pride which I feel in speaking at this moment in the name of Brazil is enhanced, Mr. President, by my gratification at being the first to express to you our deep feeling of pleasure at your assumption of the highest office of the General Assembly. I do not wish this tribute to be a mere act of courtesy. I want rather to express to you in the warmest terms the admiration and the esteem which my delegation feels for so eminent a person as Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, an outstanding figure in American humanist and legal scholarship, a constant champion of the most noble causes, a speaker of unequalled gifts whose eloquent voice has, since the memorable days of San Francisco, never ceased to captivate and sway the United Nations. The high office to which you have just been appointed, Mr. President, is a token of the confidence all of us have placed in your experience, your wisdom, your talents as a diplomat and your vigour. We can be sure that under your enlightened guidance the General Assembly at its present session will perform its duties in a worthy manner.

2. At a moment when technological progress and man's determination have made possible a new advance in the conquest of outer space, I feel that the best course I can follow in this speech is to draw attention once again to the dangers inherent in the ever-increasing neglect of the human being. Let me say first that I am well aware that the cause for which I speak, the improvement of mankind's condition, is not one which at the moment commands much interest. This is no doubt a time of wonderful technical achievements but, in spite of all that has been said here and elsewhere, the human problem has not been given the priority it deserves. The millennium of man, it seems, still lies in the distant future. What is needed to elevate man to his proper status is a spiritual policy which we have not yet begun to formulate, let alone put into practice.

3. In the present age, the nations represented here are living at different stages of development. We have discovered a means of reaching mutual understanding in our exchanges here of words and ideas, but this

intermingling of different stages of development has no precedent in the history of mankind. The moon has been reached; artificial satellites and planets are being created; but at the same time many communities, many millions of human beings are still starving in conditions as backward as those of the most distant past. While the prospects offered by science are growing as if by magic before our eyes and while populations are expanding, human poverty, too, continues to grow.

4. After the relaxation of international tension which followed the visit of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, to the USSR, we had the impression that a new phase was about to begin, and that it might be possible at last to give fresh impetus to the struggle against the poverty which prevails over so large a portion of the world; we already had a feeling, not exactly that a period of calm had set in, but that there was less apprehension than there had been when suddenly we heard of the grave incidents in Asia. Before those incidents there had been grounds for believing that the two greatest Powers were ready to come to an understanding, and the Brazilian delegation had been about to propose to the United Nations a new attitude and even a new course to follow; but then those sudden incidents made us all fear that we should have to wait a little longer for that stability which the most highly developed nations regard as indispensable before at last, using but a modest portion of the sums allocated for military purposes, the peoples can declare war for, and not against, mankind, war against under-development, against the slavery to which two-thirds of mankind is subjected.

5. Once more it seems that peoples urgently needing international co-operation to solve their problems are faced by the grim reality of perpetual procrastination. Some countries, like my own, merely need help to intensify their arduous efforts to develop themselves; but others need an initial impetus to wrench them out of the unnatural stagnation in which they live.

6. These countries know perfectly well how much time and patience will be needed if, before genuine solutions rather than mere palliatives can be offered, they must wait until the two concepts of life which now divide the world are finally reconciled.

7. These words from my delegation are intended to express our impatience and weariness in the face of perpetual threats which so seriously delay far-reaching decisions that could free the majority of our fellow men from a bondage that has lasted far too long. But this impatience and weariness are not mingled with despair. We genuinely believe that a day will come when maturity, born of political education and not of technical progress, will remove the causes of this cold war which gives rise to so much depression and discouragement and which, however "cold" it may appear to be, is still marked by some cleverly spaced episodes of blood and violence.

8. But this hope is for the distant future, and the present situation cannot be accepted with resignation; the least one can do is to appeal to reason and self-interest, since the present time is not opportune for invoking more noble or exalted ideals.

9. The purport of this appeal to reason is that our system—the system that my country, which is the proud defender of democracy and freedom, has adopted—shall no longer continue to harbour within itself such serious contradictions. And it is serious indeed that we should be putting forward solutions for mankind's problems while tolerating the continued existence of inhuman living conditions over such vast areas of the free world.

10. If we have to wait until the two extremes are reconciled and until the echoes of conflict cease to ring out in this building, then succeeding generations will go on dying of hunger in many parts of the world, and people will go on constructing instruments of death which soon become obsolete, owing to the insane rate of development in science applied to the service of death and destruction.

11. I wish to state here as clearly as I can my delegation's point of view. We firmly believe that, in so doing, we are best serving the cause of democracy and that of the United Nations, which should truly reflect the various aspects of contemporary anxiety and must, if it is to survive and go on playing its role, avoid rigidity, immobility and formalism. The United Nations is not a talking machine or a prayer wheel.

12. The Brazilian delegation is not adopting an unrealistic attitude of recrimination or resentment. Our country is doing all it can to shake off the yoke of poverty. Its prospects, its natural resources and its determination will enable it one day to become a fully developed nation.

13. My delegation's position is based mainly on the justifiable fear that the very efforts which countries with the heaviest responsibilities are making to maintain peace and security may prevent them from obtaining a sufficiently broad and clear view of the serious dangers inherent in the present sufferings of mankind. The fact that certain countries have powerful resources, are familiar with certain problems and possess valuable knowledge does not necessarily mean that they can view the world situation in all its aspects or obtain a wider vision of the future. We could give countless examples of the shortsightedness of splendid civilizations and empires which, with all their wealth and all their knowledge and in spite of their proud claims to eternity, finally tumbled into the abyss of history. Peoples do not learn lessons from history; the experience of nations, like that of men, however many object lessons it may offer, apparently cannot be handed down.

14. The best way for the more highly developed countries to serve democracy is not ceaselessly to prepare for a war which will never take place, at least not in the way they expect or envisage it, while the evils of under-development continue to undermine and enfeeble the world. Everyone now knows that mankind is divided into two groups: the first, ever diminishing in numbers, which enjoys a prosperous and comfortable life, and the second, growing ever larger, which is deprived of food and education and condemned to premature death. It is no longer a secret that the real war is the war

which is ravaging ever wider areas of the under-developed regions. This is now a dangerous and disconcerting fact, a truth which is proclaimed from the rooftops, but never inspires any efforts to produce a remedy.

15. The Brazilian delegation wishes to recall the underlying principle of the new international policy adopted by Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of the Brazilian Republic. More than a year ago a regional movement was launched among the twenty-one American Republics. Its main objective is to secure recognition of the overriding need and extreme urgency for joint action by the countries of our continent to foster a more rapid and harmonious development of their economies.

16. The principal features of this policy—known as Operation Pan-America—were made known to the United Nations by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil at the opening of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly [749th meeting]. Operation Pan-America aims at strengthening the economic basis of Pan-Americanism by the adoption of a body of vigorous and co-ordinated measures designed to eliminate obstacles impeding the development of those Latin-American countries whose economies require a powerful stimulus if they are to overcome their backwardness and advance to an era of industrialization, full utilization of natural resources and expansion of trade. Only in this way will it be possible to raise the level of living of the Latin-American nations and thus place two-thirds of our continent in the best position to defend our civilization's highest values. The political thesis underlying Operation Pan-America has been defined by the President of Brazil in the following terms:

"We have always been prepared, as have been the other countries of the continent, to assist in the great task of maintaining international peace and security. We adopt a similar fundamental attitude towards the perils confronting mankind today. For this very reason, and because the common heritage of civilization is at stake, we wish to be more than mere bystanders. Our contribution will be valuable only to the extent that it expresses our desire to analyse frankly the great problems of common interest, to state our views freely and to seek out the solutions best adapted to the needs of the hour. We wish to work successfully as a team and not to remain indefinitely bound by an attitude of passive assent. I should like, however, to reaffirm that our efforts will have no significance, will acquire no momentum and will fail to produce the desired results unless they are construed as the end product of the unanimous opinion of the continent."

The continent's opinion on the usefulness and appropriateness of Operation Pan-America is not open to question. Several concrete steps have already been taken and references to the matter by the continent's statesmen are becoming increasingly specific. Just last month, as he was leaving for Europe, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, stated that the nations of the free world should "co-operate in helping solve one of the most pressing problems of our time, that of assisting to advance the cultural, health and living standards of the almost 2,000 million people in the world who are citizens of the newly developing or under-developed countries".

17. This same thought, which is not simply humanitarian but which is based on a clear insight into events

and a prudent sense of political reality, has been expressed by another eminent Head of State, General de Gaulle, who at a recent Press conference expressed the view that the highly industrialized countries should, irrespective of their political beliefs, join their efforts and their material and human resources in order to provide effective aid to the people of under-developed areas. Emphasizing that such a policy would be more likely to resolve world problems than any purely political formula or compromise reached by the great Powers, General de Gaulle declared: "The only cause worth fighting for is the cause of mankind." These are words which merit much meditation.

18. Thus there is no difference of opinion on the necessity and urgency of combating under-development. Why do we not act more forcefully in this field, thereby rightfully defending our civilization and our political heritage, and proving the sincerity of purpose of the democratic cause? Why do we not raise this campaign from the limited tactical plane to the plane of broad strategy based on a correct and comprehensive understanding of the situation? Why should we not adopt a creative policy under which potentially wealthy areas of the world might be developed? What is preventing the leading nations of the world from acquiring a loftier and broader view, instead of obstinately fixing their gaze on the wall of what is immediately before them? What prevents us from putting an end to the seething confusion that has spread throughout the world? Those who think that the fight against under-development is nothing more than a work of charity have been and are tragically mistaken. This fight is a chapter in the defence of freedom throughout the world and it is to our detriment that it has not been considered as such, for it is a problem which has moral ramifications, rendering its solution more difficult both for the realist and the strategist. How can we explain why the cause of man has been the most scorned of all causes? Perhaps the reason lies in the immaturity, in the extreme youth of the human race. René Grousset wrote: "Scratch a civilized man and you will find a cave-man".

19. The lack of solidarity, the absence of feeling before the spectacle of under-development, the lack of an instinctive desire for self-defence against and of comprehension of that phenomenon's destructive force, are so much evidence that the cave-man is not so different from those who boast they are members of a refined civilization.

20. My country does not intend to alter its position or the prudent and firm line it has always taken in the deliberations of our Organization. A founding Member of the United Nations, Brazil has always been an ardent defender of the purposes and principles of the Charter. Prompted by feelings of prudent optimism with respect to the more relaxed atmosphere which seems currently to prevail in the direct relations between the great Powers, it will never fail to give its support to any initiative taken in good faith, whatever its origin, so long as that initiative shows promise of restoring a minimum of confidence in international negotiations and of leading to a full discussion of the problems and solutions upon which the maintenance of peace and security by this Organization depends. We founded this Organization to abolish war for ever and we hope that it will not remain at the side-lines but will direct the course of events for the welfare of the peoples of the world.

21. To this attitude, which is the logical consequence of Brazil's history and its international activity, Brazil adds today as a matter of highest priority the policy of international co-operation in the field of development, which is the policy of the future and the policy of hope.

22. We are profoundly convinced that, as the Brazilian Head of State has stated, apathy in the face of the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance in a world which has at its disposal every imaginable scientific and technical resource, is a crime against man's mind, an attack upon our alleged civilization, an unpardonable moral offence and an act of political imprudence which will have incalculable consequences for the peace of the world.

23. May these words of warning be heeded while there is still time.

24. Mr. HERTER (United States of America): I should like to take this opportunity to extend my warm congratulations to Mr. Belaúnde on his election as President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. Over the years Mr. Belaúnde has served the United Nations with great devotion and ability. I am sure he will guide the deliberations of this session of the Assembly to a successful conclusion.

25. This, my first appearance before the General Assembly, gives me a welcome opportunity to express my strong belief and firm faith in the United Nations. There is a special personal satisfaction to me in being here for this purpose today. A little over forty years ago I served on the staff of a distinguished President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, when he went to France to negotiate what we then hoped would be an enduring peace. President Wilson held strong convictions concerning the need for an effective international organization to provide means for nations of the world to work together to solve their common problems.

26. Twenty years ago this month the structure of peace that President Wilson had helped to build collapsed in war. In the backwash of the Second World War, however, man continued his quest for peace through international organization. The States subscribing to the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945 sought to build a new and more effective instrument for this purpose. This meeting is one more step in our continuing effort to strengthen that Organization and to fulfill its goals. If all of us devote ourselves faithfully to this task, and thus carry out the obligations of the Charter, I believe that we can achieve the peaceful world which people everywhere earnestly desire.

27. To do this, we must deal with a major problem that the League of Nations did not master and that the United Nations has not yet been able fully to resolve: that of preventing change through the use of aggressive force, while devising processes to accomplish needed and constructive change through peaceful means. The United States accepts the principle of change. Our history, as evidenced by the recent admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union, proves the capacity of our system of government to meet and adjust to change. But the way in which change comes about is of overriding importance in the nuclear age. Attempts to change the international situation through force could destroy us all. Total nuclear war has now become, quite literally, a suicidal enterprise. Peaceful pro-

gress, on the other hand, could open up new vistas for all mankind.

28. The United Nations itself is one of the major instruments both for deterring force and for accomplishing peaceful change. The United Nations helped to resist force when aggression threatened the Republic of Korea. It helps to deter force through its effort to create stand-by arrangements, which could enable national contingents to be brought together quickly in meeting any future need for a United Nations force. We hope that Members will respond positively to the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard. The United Nations assists peaceful change through fact-finding and conciliation processes, which can help to prevent disputes from exploding into wider conflict. The United States stands ready to work peacefully, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with all States which share our objectives of ensuring peaceful progress.

29. The past year has seen continued movement toward this goal of peaceful change, on the one hand, and renewed threats of violence which would impede its fulfilment on the other. Progress has been encouraging, in comparison with the situation existing at this time a year ago, in five major areas. In the Middle East, a period of relative quiet prevails. This is in sharp contrast to the crisis of a year ago, when the Assembly had to take important emergency measures. The enlightened actions of the States in the area during the past year have helped to improve the situation. The agencies of the United Nations and the outstanding leadership and diplomacy of the Secretary-General have also contributed significantly to the lessening of tensions and the development of greater stability.

30. We regard these trends as a hopeful portent that further progress can be made on the problems which still confront this area. The future welfare of the Palestine refugees is one such problem. It will be an important item for consideration at this session of the Assembly. Progress toward a satisfactory solution of this tragic problem is important not only to the human beings directly involved, but also to continued peace and stability in the area as a whole.

31. Another problem in this area has arisen with regard to passage through the Suez Canal. The United States continues to support the principle of freedom of passage, as endorsed by the United Nations. We are confident that, if those immediately concerned seek to reconcile their differences in a spirit of mutual accommodation, progress can be made toward a solution.

32. Africa is an area where there has also been steady forward movement. Four new African States are to achieve independence in the coming year. Progress toward self-government is a development which the United States welcomes, in accordance with its historic policy that all peoples should have independence who desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.

33. Political advancement in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories of Africa is a tribute to the imagination, good will, and skill of the peoples of those Territories and of the Powers that administer them. It is also a tribute to the encouragement and assistance given by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to the advancement of these Territories.

34. In Europe, NATO has continued to grow in peaceful power during the past year. It now represents an

even more formidable bulwark of peace in support of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The recent visit by the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, to the NATO area has produced new evidence of the unity, strength and purpose of the Atlantic community.

35. We welcome particularly the progress that has been made during the past year towards a just solution of the Cyprus problem, which directly concerns three of the NATO countries. These countries and the people of Cyprus are to be congratulated on this progress.

36. In Latin America, important steps have been taken in the last year to strengthen the peace machinery of the Organization of American States. The recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in Santiago, Chile,^{1/} is an encouraging example of how a regional organization can complement the work of the United Nations. It clearly demonstrates the determination of the American Republics to maintain peace in the hemisphere through common action on problems creating international tensions.

37. The Far East has also seen continued progress during the past year in promoting domestic welfare and in strengthening security. War-torn economies have been, for the most part, rebuilt and the foundations laid for further progress.

38. We regret that the Republics of Korea and Vietnam are still excluded, by the veto of one Power, from United Nations membership, although both have been found fully qualified by the General Assembly.

39. The member countries of SEATO have carried forward their programmes for economic, social and cultural advancement; SEATO also plays a vital role in the collective defence of the area and is now carefully watching events in Laos.

40. Side by side with these encouraging developments, which augur well for peaceful and constructive change, events in the past year have underlined the continuing danger posed by attempts to mould the international situation through the threat or use of force.

41. Most recently, the freedom and independence of Laos have been threatened by forces from outside its borders. The Security Council Sub-Committee under resolution of 7 September 1959 is now in Laos. We hope that it will not only succeed in collecting the facts, but also by its presence contribute to easing a potentially dangerous situation. In this circumstance, there is no need for a conference as proposed by the USSR. Such a conference would be disruptive and would ignore the authority of the United Nations. This recent action of the Security Council demonstrates the ability of the United Nations to act quickly in a case involving possible efforts to subvert the freedom and undermine the security of a Member State.

42. The United States is pledged under the Charter of the United Nations to resist aggression. It will fulfill this pledge without equivocation. We will support the Royal Government of Laos in its own efforts to preserve independence.

43. In Tibet, we are confronted by the revolting spectacle of the brutal Chinese Communist repression of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama, under the threat of force, was driven from

^{1/}Fifth Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, held from 12 to 18 August 1959.

his country. From his exile in India, he has told the world a tragic story of persecution, of forced labour, of deportation, of executions in such numbers as to threaten the survival of the Tibetan people. Yet the Tibetans' only crime was their desire to live in peace and freedom. This is a matter which is of deep concern to the United Nations. Certainly this Organization must speak out in clear terms in the face of such events.

44. In the Taiwan Strait area where, last year at this time, we were seriously concerned by the military action of the Chinese Communists, Communist China has continued its sporadic campaign of military harassment. Despite months of negotiations, it has refused to renounce the use of force.

45. In Korea, the Chinese Communist régime continues to reject the principles for unification that would assure the freedom and independence of a united Korea. It has flouted the terms of the armistice in Korea. It still stands condemned as an aggressor.

46. In supporting efforts to subvert the will of the free people of Laos, in attempting to exterminate the people of Tibet, and in its incursions into India, the Chinese Communist régime has demonstrated more clearly in the past year than at any time since its aggression in Korea its complete unfitness to be admitted to this Organization. We are confident that the Members of this Assembly will continue to resist efforts to obtain China's seat in the United Nations for the Communist régime. That seat is honourably occupied by the representative of the Republic of China, a charter Member of this Organization. That Republic has given renewed evidence of its continuing dedication to the principles of this Organization in the past year by its historic declaration that it would rely primarily upon peaceful principles and not upon force to secure the freeing of the mainland.

47. Hungary is another area where the effects of the threat and use of violence are manifest. The tyrannical rule which was imposed on that unhappy country by the ruthless use of outside force still obtains. Every effort of Sir Leslie Munro, the United Nations Special Representative on the Question of Hungary, to investigate the situation at first hand has been rebuffed by the puppet Hungarian régime, which Soviet troops imposed and now maintain. The continued, deliberate defiance of this Organization by Hungary augurs ill for our continuing efforts to secure international peace and security.

48. These events of the past year must be viewed in perspective. The progress that has been achieved testifies to the opportunities which lie ahead. Continuing threats of force and violence underline the dangers which still confront us.

49. To avert these dangers and fulfill those opportunities, we must seek to promote peaceful change which will lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. We must seek such change in political, military, economic and other fields.

50. We will always negotiate with other States to achieve peaceful political change which derives from the freely given consent of the peoples concerned. I speak of our approach to the Geneva negotiations on Germany and on Berlin which reflected this philosophy in concrete terms. I spent ten long weeks in Geneva with the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the USSR in seeking agreement on the problem

of a divided Germany and a divided Berlin. The Geneva Conference met against the backdrop of a potential crisis over Berlin. This had been artificially precipitated by a Soviet threat to take unilateral action against West Berlin. It was only after this threat had been withdrawn that the Western Powers agreed to negotiate in the interests of peaceful change.

51. The Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States had as their purpose at Geneva to secure the reunification of Germany in freedom. Such peaceful change would have solved the Berlin question on a lasting basis by restoring Berlin to its rightful place as the capital of a united Germany.

52. To this end, the Western Powers put forward a comprehensive Western peace plan. That plan was designed to achieve the reunification of Germany according to the will of the German people and on a basis which took into account the expressed concerns of the Soviet Union. The Western peace plan was a phased plan which provided time for a mixed German committee to draft an electoral law and to work out proposals for increased technical contacts between the two parts of Germany and for freedom of movement and respect for human rights throughout all of Germany. While this process went on, there would be related preliminary steps for the exchange of military information, for the limitation of the over-all strength of the forces of the four Powers, and for measures of inspection against surprise attack. In the next phase, safeguarded elections for an all-Germany Assembly would be held. This all-German Assembly would draft a constitution on the basis of which an all-German government would be formed. That government would then be responsible for negotiating an all-German peace treaty. In this phase, further disarmament and security measures were contemplated, including the establishment of a zone on either side of a line to be mutually determined in which there would be agreed ceilings for the indigenous and non-indigenous forces. Moreover, if the all-German government decided to adhere either to NATO or to the Warsaw Pact, additional security arrangements were to be made. These would contemplate special measures regulating the disposition of forces in the area closest to the eastern frontier of a united Germany. They would provide for agreements between the four Powers and other European countries about joint reaction against aggression.

53. Unhappily—and I use the word advisedly—the Soviet Foreign Minister rejected the Western peace plan out of hand. He seemed uninterested in studying this carefully devised programme to which the Western Governments had devoted many months of preparation.

54. The Conference then turned to the question of how to arrive at a modus vivendi on Berlin which would ease the tensions that the Soviet Union itself had created. For this purpose the Western Powers made many proposals. All of them seemed to meet aspects of the problem concerning which the Soviet Union complained. None jeopardized the freedom and the security of the people of West Berlin.

55. What we must never forget is that the problem of West Berlin is not really a legal problem or an abstract case history in political science. It is the matter of the lives and freedom and happiness of these more than two million people who live in West Berlin—people who have shown by their courage and the fruits of their labour the blessings that freedom brings. These people

are surrounded by territory and forces under the control of an unfriendly régime. They rely on the presence of the token contingents of United States, United Kingdom and French troops for their security.

56. The long-drawn-out discussion of this problem of Berlin resulted in no agreement. The negotiations did, however, usefully isolate the areas of possible agreement. That is why the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the United States have some hope that a resumed Foreign Ministers Conference could agree on arrangements for Berlin which would safeguard the future of the people of West Berlin. Through their dedication to this continuing negotiation, the Western Powers evidence their support for the process of peaceful change in the political field.

57. Acceptance of this process would be of at least equal importance in the military field. Perhaps the greatest contribution that could be made to peaceful change would be for the Powers to move from reliance on unlimited arms competition to reliance on safeguarded agreements as a means of preserving national security.

58. During the past year, there have been both promising and disappointing developments with respect to our efforts in this field which are of such critical importance to the future of all mankind. The United States took the initiative in proposing a technical conference on measures to guard against surprise attack. While the problems are understood more clearly as a result of that conference,^{2/} we regret that little progress was made.

59. The United States and the United Kingdom continue the negotiations begun a year ago with the Soviet Union for an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons testing. There is some progress to report. The three Powers have agreed on a number of details which would have to be a part of a full accord, and technical agreement has been recently reached on the means of detecting and identifying nuclear explosions at high altitudes and in outer space. However, there are still three central issues on which agreement has not been achieved. They all relate to effective inspection, which remains the key to agreement.

60. First, there is the problem of staffing control posts—the listening-posts that would be established to register data which might indicate an unauthorized nuclear explosion. The Soviet Union has insisted that a major portion of the personnel at each control post must be from the host country, a form of self-inspection which we cannot accept.

61. The United States and the United Kingdom have proposed that all technical and supervisory positions at each post be staffed on the basis of one-third United States or United Kingdom specialists, one-third Soviet specialists, and one-third specialists from countries other than these three. This would allow for reasonable host-country representation. It would be a genuinely international staffing pattern in which all countries could have confidence. Finally, it would provide a role for other Members of the United Nations, which have a deep interest in assuring a successfully operating system.

62. The second key control issue is the matter of on-site inspections required to identify suspected underground explosions. While the United States does not object to placing a limit on these inspections, we believe that the number should be based on a scientific judgement, not on political arguments. To assist in making this judgement, we have submitted scientific data bearing on the complex problem of detecting underground explosions and determining whether they are nuclear explosions or earthquakes. We remain convinced that this information should be considered, although the Soviet Union has thus far refused to do so.

63. The third key issue in the negotiations is the veto. The Soviet Union wants the veto in one form or another. The United States firmly believes that any control system which could be frustrated in its day-to-day operations by the veto power would be worse than useless. It would create the illusion, and not the reality, of control.

64. These are the principal issues. It is clear that the points at issue are real. They cannot be ignored. We hope that these three issues can be resolved and that an agreement can be achieved for a comprehensive test ban. We will pursue this approach with vigour, but there is another approach if the Soviet Union is not willing to agree to the necessary means of verification.

65. On 13 April of this year, President Eisenhower offered to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, to enter immediately into an agreement to ban nuclear weapons tests within the atmosphere and under water, if the Soviet Union remained unwilling to accept effective safeguards for a complete discontinuance of the tests. This would be only a first step toward the ultimate objective of a total ban. However, it would represent a very good start. It would also ease concern over levels of radioactivity. This offer still stands.

66. In the meantime, President Eisenhower recently announced that the one-year unilateral ban on tests which the United States voluntarily undertook last October would be continued to the end of this year. Our hope is that, if we allow a reasonable extension of time for the negotiations to proceed, significant progress can be made.

67. These are the principal developments regarding a possible agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

68. But the question of disarmament is much broader than that of the suspension of nuclear weapons testing. What we earnestly seek is the general limitation and control of armaments and armed forces. The degree to which we succeed may determine man's future. There would be growing danger in an indefinite continuation of the arms race. We must use all of our imagination and ingenuity to devise a way of controlling this race, to prevent it from exploding into a conflict fought with nuclear weapons.

69. In an effort to renew disarmament negotiations, the United States and the United Kingdom and France have agreed with the Soviet Union, with which they share a major responsibility for reaching a solution on this problem, to resume discussions on disarmament early next year. These four Powers have invited a small group of other States to join them. The United States regards the coming negotiations as a major opportunity. We hope that the Soviet Government will view them with equal seriousness. Successful negotiations could not

^{2/}Conference of Experts for the study of possible measures which might be helpful in preventing surprise attack, held at Geneva from 10 November to 18 December 1958.

only open new avenues of progress toward the limitation and control of armaments but also pave the way for the settlement of other outstanding problems.

70. Recognizing that progress in disarmament might be slow, however, the United States has urged that the peaceful uses of outer space be considered as a separate step toward constructive change.

71. Last year my distinguished predecessor, John Foster Dulles, proposed that the General Assembly take the first step toward establishing a framework for international co-operation in this field [749th meeting]. The United States hoped then that it would prove possible for all Members to share in the benefits that seem certain to emerge from this challenging new frontier of human activity.

72. Recent events have demonstrated how rapidly this frontier is being crossed. The American paddle-wheel satellite, Explorer VI, still circles the earth six weeks after its launching, sending messages back to earth with energy from the sun. We believe this development advances the day when the nations of the world will be linked by a communications network extending to the heavens.

73. The Soviet moon probe -- certainly a very great accomplishment -- foreshadows the early extension of terrestrial problems into the universe. It also warns us to speed up our efforts to obtain peace on earth. And it signals the pressing need to get on with international arrangements to make a start on the regulation of man's activities away from his earthly home.

74. In the early years after the development of atomic energy, the United States tried long and hard to interest the Soviet Union in an international approach to harnessing this natural force of such great danger and promise to humanity. The Soviet Union refused to co-operate, apparently believing that its late start in the atomic-energy field would prejudice its national interests if an international approach were adopted. The deadly arms race of the past decade stands as an ugly witness to the human tragedy of that Soviet non-co-operation.

75. Now humanity is on the threshold of another and perhaps more fateful technological development -- the penetration of outer space. Again the United States has called for an international approach. This time surely the Soviet Union cannot plead a lack of Soviet advancement in this technology. But we see little sign of any Soviet disposition to co-operate as yet. The Soviet Union has declined to participate this past year in the work of the United Nations' Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

76. Arguing that only the Soviet Union and the United States were carrying on activities in the field of outer space, the Soviet Union contended that the Committee should be made up of an equal number of States from these "two sides". This concept was rejected by the Assembly. The world is not divided into two "hostile camps", as the Soviet Union maintains. The world is diverse. This concept is inherent in the United Nations.

77. The United States believes that major committees of the United Nations should continue to reflect the principle of fair geographical representation. This principle derogates in no way from the relative contribution which those States with superior technical capacity can make.

78. We hope that the Soviet Union will join in the co-operative efforts of the United Nations. There could be no more dramatic illustration of a spirit of co-operation in the world today, as we stand at the threshold of the space age, than for the General Assembly to act unanimously in this field. This would be a major step forward in the process of peaceful change.

79. Peaceful change in the economic and social field is also of key importance, if our purposes are to be fulfilled. The United Nations is contributing to social progress through its activities in such fields as health, refugee assistance, narcotics, and the United Nations Children's Fund. Economic improvement can be promoted by healthy competitive trade, which helps assure greater enjoyment of the fruits of economic activity, and by continuing economic development.

80. Last year Mr. Dulles proposed that the nations dedicate the year 1959 to taking stock of their current accomplishments in the field of economic development and to charting long-term courses of action [749th meeting].

81. The United States has now taken the major steps which Mr. Dulles said that we would take in this field.

82. First, the United States has vigorously pressed its development-financing programmes. The Congress has appropriated additional funds for the Development Loan Fund. The flexibility possible in the administration of this Fund enhances its importance as a source of loans for less-developed countries.

83. Secondly, the United States and other nations have doubled their subscriptions to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and have increased their subscriptions to the International Monetary Fund by 50 per cent in the past year.

84. Thirdly, the United States will propose to the forthcoming meeting of the Governors of the International Bank a resolution calling for definite steps toward the prompt establishment of an international development association. Such an organization will provide a new and effective means of financing in less-developed countries sound high-priority projects which cannot be adequately aided under the existing criteria of the Bank.

85. Fourthly, United States acceptance of the Agreement for the Establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank has been approved by our Congress. Establishment of this institution will help to hasten the development of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

86. Fifthly, the United States continues and will continue, in co-operation with other Member States, to give full support to the existing organizations devoted to the extension of technical assistance. We are gratified that the newly-established Special Fund has taken hold so quickly and begun its important operations. It is my strong hope that the Governments of other Member States will find it possible to increase their contribution to both the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund in order that the initial goal of \$100 million for both programmes can be reached as soon as possible.

87. In these and other ways, including the work of all the specialized agencies, the United States dedicates its resources and energies to the only kind of world war that any of us can hope to win: the war on poverty, on disease and on illiteracy.

88. The fact that more than 1,500 million people in this world live in dire want poses a challenge to which we must respond. To try to escape this challenge would deny the common bond that joins all human beings regardless of race, sex, language or religion.

89. Make no mistake about it: wherever men despair of being able to meet their needs through peaceful means, there will be found the seeds of tyranny and conflict. If peaceful change is to be accomplished in the political and military field, it must also go forward at an increasing pace in the economic field.

90. There is one other avenue to peace and peaceful change which I would like to mention before I close. This avenue is to achieve that "world community of open societies" which President Eisenhower stressed at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly in 1958 [733rd meeting]. This "openness" has long been a fundamental characteristic of American society and of many other free societies. The achievement of "open societies" could make an important contribution to peace.

91. But it must be recognized that this goal cannot be fully achieved as long as Governments and régimes disregard the basic principles of international conduct. Realizing this, we regret the need for maintaining safeguards in the interest of peace and stability. For example, the concept of "open societies" cannot be fully achieved as long as the Chinese Communist régime uses increased contacts to subvert and to undermine neighbouring peoples and countries.

92. Within a number of other countries, artificial barriers still exist to free, open and friendly communications. There are barriers of secrecy and of artificial restrictions. There is censorship of the printed and broadcast word. There is jamming of radio broadcasts from without, jamming based on fear that uncensored information may incidentally enter. Let me say right here, however, how heartened we have been to note that Soviet jamming of the Voice of America ceased on 15 September. We profoundly hope that this beneficial change may prove of long duration. There are rules which severely limit the contact of nationals with foreign visitors or travel from one part of the country to another.

93. Behind such barriers are bred images, false reports and false fears of imaginary enemies. These conditions feed upon themselves. They contribute to needless arming and counter-arming. They can give a powerful impetus to the spiral that leads toward war. So long as such barriers exist to the flow of news and information into a country, we cannot even begin to weave the fabric of lasting peace.

94. Openness is particularly important in those countries which possess great destructive power and which bear a great responsibility for peace.

95. Today when we take stock of the situation, two impressions stand out. First, encouraging beginnings in breaking through these barriers have been made. Secondly, there are additional areas in which further removal of restrictions would be helpful to the cause of peace.

96. Recent developments within the Soviet Union, despite their limited scope, provide a glimmer of hope that the Soviet Government may be willing to permit a freer exchange of ideas and information between its

own people and other peoples. These developments permit the hope that the Soviet Government may now be prepared to go even further. They prompt me to make a proposal comparable to the one the United States put forward during a Security Council meeting last year^{3/} — that the Soviet radio transmitters suspend their jamming sufficiently to permit the Soviet people to hear in full the proceedings of the General Assembly. The debates in the Assembly are extremely useful in indicating the numerous and diverse viewpoints which are held on a variety of international issues. Public knowledge of these viewpoints cannot be regarded as subversive to any government, regardless of its structure or policies.

97. We have thus sought and continue to seek peaceful change through many approaches. These efforts draw force and inspiration from the work of the United Nations.

98. Under its Charter, the United Nations is pledged to resist aggressive force. It can be the real catalyst in the process of constructive change. In assisting this process all Members of the United Nations, large and small, have a voice. Bringing diverse viewpoints to bear, while respecting each others' interests and viewpoints, the Members of the United Nations are united in a common effort, in the words of the preamble of the Charter,

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind and ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

99. The principles of the Charter directly reflect the precepts of all the great religions. Let us then proceed to the task of fulfilling these principles. In the words of Abraham Lincoln:

"...with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in ... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace ..."

100. The United States here rededicates itself to this noble effort to achieve peace and justice for all mankind.

101. Mr. TAROADA (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, may I offer you first of all my most heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. Your personality needs no praise in this Assembly, where your voice has so often been raised in defence of just and noble causes. Suffice it to say that the Argentine Republic also considers itself honoured by the election of so distinguished a Latin American to preside over our counsels. My country wishes to express the sincere hope that God may inspire you in the fulfilment of your difficult tasks and to congratulate its sister republic of Peru on the signal honour bestowed on one of its most illustrious sons.

102. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our retiring President, Mr. Charles Malik, who so skillfully and tactfully conducted the discussions of the thirteenth session of the Assembly. The manner in which he discharged his high office during the past year confirmed the esteem in which he was held at

^{3/}See Official Records of the Security Council, Thirteenth Year, 338th meeting.

the time of his election, and we wish to convey to him our appreciation and gratitude.

103. The international picture before us this year has special features that should arrest our attention; certain of these features may be viewed with optimism, others with justifiable alarm.

104. In the first place we must refer to the tension between the great Powers which, threatening as it does the peace and security of the world, concerns us all. It was therefore natural that public attention should be focused on the meetings to be held between the Heads of Government of the United States and the Soviet Union, following on the talks recently held in Europe between the principal leaders of the Western Powers. My own country is not directly concerned with the matters which gave rise to those meetings, but in view of our desire to preserve peace, on which the survival of human life on our planet may perhaps depend, we feel bound to express our views with regard to such talks.

105. We are firmly convinced that negotiation is the right method for the settlement of international disputes, and we pledge our support to any measure likely to ease tension and provide a just and practicable formula for peaceful coexistence among nations. We believe that, to achieve such an end, there must be frank exchanges of views among the parties mainly concerned. We believe, moreover, that the value of these discussions will be in proportion to the strength of the countries taking part. We are well aware that, whatever our own preferences may be, the existence of large groups of countries with vastly differing ideological and political systems is a fact, and must be reckoned with as such. Negotiations and talks must therefore be accepted as the only means of arriving at formulae which would at least make it possible to establish a stable *modus vivendi*. With this idea in mind my delegation fervently hopes that such meetings may advance the cause of peace. We are convinced that, today, no nation on earth wants war, and any effort made to prevent it will have the support of clear-thinking and responsible people everywhere.

106. Our sincere devotion to the cause of peace does not prevent us from expressing our solidarity with the policy of the West, to which we belong as much by tradition and origin as by deeply rooted convictions. In this connexion we cannot but be concerned at continuous efforts of certain international movements to undermine the institutions of free peoples. My country, like others in America, Europe and Asia, has felt the impact of such movements, clearly inspired by foreign influences. On the national level my Government has no fear of the consequences of this subversive activity, and is prepared to repress it energetically by any means within the law. On the international level, however, we feel impelled to voice a warning that the cause of peace may be endangered by these systematic disruptive activities. As we have recently seen, they are particularly dangerous in the proximity of the points from which they are generated and diffused, but we have all suffered their noxious effects to a greater or lesser degree.

107. We must therefore point out that the first step in any genuine effort to establish a climate of peaceful coexistence must be the complete exclusion of all attempts to overthrow from outside the political and legal institutions of other countries. Argentina, as it

has shown, seeks to maintain normal diplomatic relations with all countries in the world and to strengthen those ties by extensive trade, but such a friendly relationship can exist only if our sovereignty is respected and the integrity of our way of life is safeguarded. My country is, in particular, convinced that, when diplomatic representatives, instead of promoting good relations between Governments, act as spies and social agitators, they misuse their calling and, if their activities are continued, discredit the intentions of the Governments they represent.

108. So far we have dealt with matters related to world politics. It may be asked whether a country with no direct interest in such questions is in a position to pass judgement on them.

109. Our answer must be an unqualified affirmative. We have already said that any matter threatening world peace must be our concern, even if we are not involved in the conflict and are far removed from the scene of events. Thus we believe that the countries which form the Latin-American community have the right, like any other regional groups, to be informed and consulted on any issue likely to endanger world peace, such as, for instance, the vital question of disarmament. We do not wish to be assigned a passive role in the designs of others; we are and wish to be active participants in world affairs. We know the limitations of our powers and we know that individually not one of our Republics is comparable in stature to the great actors on the world stage; but the twenty nations of the Latin-American community, with their enormous expanses of territory, their vast potential riches and 200 million inhabitants represent a cultural and political unit entitled to have its say in world affairs. We do not aspire, of course, to the position of arbiters in those affairs, nor on the other hand do we wish to lag behind the march of events and to be informed of them after they have become accomplished facts.

110. In the sphere of the so-called "colonial" problems the Argentine Republic reaffirms its customary support for the principle of self-determination of peoples. It therefore views with satisfaction the constant emergence of new and independent States and is in favour, as it always has been, of their admission to the United Nations. With regard to the resumed thirteenth session of the General Assembly, held in February of this year to deal with the question of the Cameroons, my delegation wishes to express not only its satisfaction at the achievement of a just settlement for the people of the Cameroons, but its appreciation of the magnanimity of France and the United Kingdom, whose impartial attitude made such a settlement possible.

111. Among these problems, the question of Algeria retains all its urgency and will undoubtedly give rise to vigorous debate during the current session. Argentina deeply regrets the fact that it has not so far proved possible to find ways of restoring peace in North Africa. It hopes that the forthcoming debate and the resolutions to be adopted will promote progress towards agreement, instead of deepening existing differences. In that connexion we wish to remind the parties concerned that, although extreme positions may provide an outlet for the heightened emotions engendered by conflict, they are not conducive to the achievement of effective solutions.

112. In some parts of the world, problems have arisen which involve important principles of international law, particularly with regard to freedom of navigation. As the Secretary-General has stated [A/4132/Add.1, p. 4], these are problems in which political and legal factors are very closely linked, precluding our taking a stand in the matter. This does not, however, prevent us from reaffirming our belief that, whatever the solution reached, free navigation on the seas and international waterways must be guaranteed, because this principle forms part of the common heritage of mankind.

113. With regard to regional matters, the American republics have had to face delicate problems, mainly affecting the Caribbean area. These problems led to the holding of a meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Santiago, Chile, within the framework of the inter-American system. On that occasion, Argentina reaffirmed its support for the principle of non-intervention, which is the cornerstone of peaceful co-existence among States. It also expressed the hope that Governments would conduct their affairs with the greatest possible respect for rules of law and human rights. In order to safeguard the enjoyment of such rights within each State, it is necessary to create a world-wide climate of opinion, in which the systematic violation of these rights would be morally impossible. This would mean that neither public opinion nor Governments could view with sympathy or maintain friendly relations with those who consistently disregarded the sacred respect due to human beings as creatures of God.

114. We do not believe, however, in the effectiveness of individual or collective intervention, and consider that armed expeditions or international police action may set dangerous precedents. What is done today, perhaps with the best of purposes, may serve tomorrow as a means of gratifying personal ambitions or as a screen for a covert desire for power.

115. We cannot conclude this statement without voicing the widely held opinion concerning the need to revitalize some of the principal organs of the United Nations in order to overcome certain apparent shortcomings in their functioning. We therefore give our full support to the suggestions contained in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly [A/4132/Add.1]. This document makes some practical suggestions for strengthening the work of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the International Court of Justice. My delegation, for its part, is prepared to vote in favour of any draft resolution giving effect to the Secretary-General's suggestions.

116. We regard the recent action taken by the Security Council in the question of Laos as a sound step in the direction we have just indicated. No one can claim that the action of the Security Council is an unlawful intervention. Faced with a request for assistance by a Member State which considered itself a victim of aggression, the Council did the least it could do in such circumstances; it set up a sub-committee to investigate the charge and provide the information necessary on which to base a decision on the matter. I therefore wish to repeat what our representative said in the Security Council, namely, that the resolution adopted took into account both the mutual confidence that should exist among Members of the United

Nations and the need to strengthen its authority and prestige.^{4/}

117. The Argentine Republic had the honour to be elected a member of the sub-committee, together with Italy, Japan and Tunisia. Our representative—and we are sure, the other members, too—will conduct themselves with complete objectivity and impartiality, and will rely solely on the facts.

118. The measures proposed in the Secretary-General's annual report to the General Assembly [A/4132] would solve some of the most serious difficulties impeding the effective functioning of the Organization. But the reinvigoration of the United Nations as a whole would require a revision of the Charter, and particularly of those aspects which are now out of date or which limit effective action by the principal organs. It has not so far been possible to carry out this revision, for which provision is made in the Charter itself, owing to the fact that the permanent members of the Security Council have been unable to agree on the substance and scope of possible changes. It is to be hoped that, if the talks now in progress between the great Powers produce favourable results, this revision will be undertaken, as it is to a large extent the key to the success or failure of the United Nations as an instrument of international security.

119. The political tensions and the misunderstandings which divide peoples are closely related to the economic poverty by which many of them are beset. The almost incredible advances in technology and the improvement in human welfare which they imply have so far benefited only a comparatively small number of the inhabitants of this planet. This increased disparity in material conditions is thus connected with the suspicion and animosity which separate social classes and nations. In all fairness, we must acknowledge the magnitude of the co-operation and assistance being afforded by some of the economically more highly endowed countries, in particular the United States of America. Mention should also be made of the action being taken by the United Nations within the framework of its limited resources. In this connexion, we believe that the work carried out by the Special Fund during the year it has been in existence merits the support of all Member States. We consider that, since the Fund is a co-operative undertaking for the benefit of the economically less-developed countries, the scale of contributions should take this factor into account and unduly heavy contributions should not be required of countries which, far from being able to provide help, are in need of it themselves.

120. In the conviction that economic co-operation is a sound basis for mutual understanding, the countries of America held an economic conference this year in the city of Buenos Aires. This conference stemmed from the valuable project known as "Operation Pan-America", to which we gave our full support and to which we attach the greatest importance because of the advantages it will bring our countries.

121. We are sure that the Buenos Aires conference has achieved results superior to those of any regional meeting so far held on the subject in our continent. We also believe that the measures in which it has resulted will help to extend commercial and financial relations among the republics of this continent. Lastly, we are

^{4/}Ibid., Fourteenth Year, 847th meeting.

convinced that the establishment of free trade zones, which is now in progress, will make it easier to overcome our material difficulties and will bring us closer to the ideal of a Latin-American common market. We should like to pay a special tribute to the work being carried out by one of the United Nations agencies (ECLA) with a view to the attainment of this objective.

122. However, financial aid from the more developed countries and even mutual co-operation are not the only prerequisites for the achievement of full prosperity. Such prosperity will only be achieved in so far as the peoples do not rely wholly on outside aid but set out to build their prosperity and their greatness by their own efforts. There is not a single example in history of a country which has reached full economic prosperity solely on the basis of outside aid. On the other hand, there are notable examples at the present time of war-ravaged countries which have risen from the ruins, not only as a result of the assistance they received but also, and above all, as a result of the energy and determination shown by their citizens.

123. The recent welcome visit which the Secretary-General made to my country and to other sister republics of Latin America has strengthened the links which bind us to the United Nations. It is true that, since we enjoy the inestimable boon of living at peace, we are not among those who need the support of the United Nations as an instrument of security. But that does not make us indifferent to its fate, because we are convinced that any decline in its moral power means a weakening of one of the principal barriers separating us from barbarism and collective annihilation. We reaffirm our confidence in its activities and pledge our support for any effort to increase its strength and prestige.

124. It is a commonplace to say that the world is now at the parting of the ways. But this statement is none the less true for being a commonplace. At the present time, the Argentine Republic, which sees grounds for hope as well as for concern, reaffirms its confidence in peace. It also proclaims its solidarity with those who seek to ensure the survival of the basic values of Western civilization on the earth. In this effort we are at one with all the free nations. We feel ourselves to be, above all, an integral part of the community of the peoples of Latin America, which once formed a single whole and which are again aspiring to a closer unity within the Christian world, to which they have belonged since their emergence as civilized peoples.

Mr. Delgado (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

125. Mr. FUJIYAMA (Japan):^{5/} Mr. President, may I express to you the hearty congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. All of us fully recognize the great contributions you have made to the United Nations since its birth. My delegation, in particular, remembers with gratification the assistance you gave my country at the time of its admission to the United Nations.

126. At this opening of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, I wish to appeal to all nations that

the time is now at hand when all of us must even more seriously strain our efforts to relieve international tensions and promote world peace.

127. The foremost factor which today disturbs the cause of peace is the continuing conflict between the free world and the communist world. This conflict stems from their basically different political philosophies. And this situation is further aggravated by the feeling of distrust which one has toward the other.

128. The free world to which my country belongs seeks the establishment of a democratic order based on freedom and justice. It is our position that world peace also must be founded on such a basis. The peace the communist world talks about may be basically different from the peace which we are endeavouring to establish. But even though a basic difference exists, the fact cannot be denied that the two worlds are existing side by side. Since this is so, our efforts for the maintenance of peace must be directed toward dissolving mutual distrust and relieving tensions. For this purpose we must utilize every opportunity to find concrete and workable measures. In this nuclear age, ushered in by the phenomenal developments in military science, when our civilization and indeed mankind itself face the threat of complete destruction should there be a single miscalculation, we cannot emphasize enough the urgency and primacy of such efforts.

129. If we are to find feasible measures for relaxing tensions, the mere talking about peace will get us nowhere; our will for peace must be backed by deeds. As a guide line, the United Nations Charter lays down the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The settlement of such disputes, not by the threat or use of force, but by the peaceful means of discussion, is a natural, universal obligation which extends beyond the United Nations and its Members. Also essential to the maintenance of peace is for all countries in their international relations to respect one another's political position. It is necessary for every country strictly to refrain from acts, whether direct or indirect, to apply pressure on or to interfere in the affairs of another country for the purpose of extending its own interests or influence.

130. In connexion with what I have just said, I should like to say that I warmly welcome the present exchange of visits of the top leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. I earnestly hope that by frank exchanges of views they will be able to remove their feeling of distrust and that they will, by finding a basis for the solution of problems under conditions to which they both agree, make substantial contributions to the relieving of the international tensions which now plague the world. I wish especially to stress this hope because they are the two leading Powers of the world.

131. The existence of divided States, which has come about as an unfortunate consequence of the East-West conflict, is a problem of major importance. What my country wishes particularly to point out is that there are divided States in close proximity to us. I earnestly hope that these countries will soon achieve reunification by peaceful and democratic processes, for this will contribute to the cause of peace.

132. The mutual distrust between the free world and the communist world shows itself in the form of arms competition. The arms race further intensifies distrust, creating a vicious circle which knows no end. Such an arms competition not only results in a mean-

^{5/}Mr. Fujiyama spoke in Japanese. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

ingless waste of valuable human and economic resources, but also increases the possibilities of miscalculation which may well result in war. I cannot help but feel a deep sense of concern over this situation, for today military science has so advanced as to produce nuclear weapons with the awesome capability of bringing swift and general destruction to mankind and to civilization itself.

133. It is my hope that the interested Powers will put an end to the vicious circle of mutual distrust and arms competition. This can only be accomplished by vigorous and constructive negotiations for feasible, if only limited, disarmament measures, thus creating mutual confidence and laying the groundwork for subsequent steps toward general disarmament. In this sense, we welcome the agreement reached between East and West on the occasion of the four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference concerning the creation of a new disarmament negotiating body outside the United Nations as an earnest of their desire to further disarmament negotiations. I deeply deplore the fact that disarmament negotiations in the United Nations have been stalled since 1957, and so I appeal vigorously to the new negotiating body to discuss the problems of disarmament from a fresh standpoint and to devote its utmost efforts to producing early and substantial results. It goes without saying that disarmament is predicated upon agreement between the major Powers, but it is also a matter of vital interest and concern to all United Nations Members. For instance, in the establishment of an effective system of control and supervision for the execution of disarmament measures, the co-operation of the United Nations and its Member States is indispensable. Moreover, it is also a fact that modern weapons are the cause of deep anxiety to countries other than the Powers concerned. I hope that an appropriate link is established between the new negotiating body and the United Nations and that consideration will be given to such arrangements as will enable the desires of all Members of the United Nations to be fully reflected in the discussions of that body.

134. What my delegation strongly and expectantly hopes will be the touchstone that will advance the new disarmament negotiations is the early conclusion of an agreement for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests. From experience and from a feeling for the good of humanity growing out of that experience, the people and Government of Japan have consistently opposed any kind of nuclear weapons testing by any country. We will continue to take this position. My delegation has, at every opportunity, appealed for the conclusion of an early agreement for the suspension of nuclear testing as having priority over disarmament measures. At the General Assembly last year our country, with Austria and Sweden, co-sponsored a draft resolution to wish success to the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests. The General Assembly adopted the resolution [resolution 1252 B (XIII)], and the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have carried on negotiations since last year. In commending them for their efforts, I wish to express our satisfaction at the fact that since the end of last year no testing of nuclear weapons has taken place anywhere in the world. At the same time, it is our earnest hope that, given the opportunity afforded by the exchange of visits between the top leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, at least a way will be opened for an early settlement of the question of nuclear tests suspension.

135. This Organization is playing a signal role to relieve international tensions by its efforts to promote mutual understanding through "open diplomacy". Through "quiet diplomacy"—the personal contacts between the permanent missions and the good offices rendered by the Secretary-General—the United Nations is also playing an equally notable role in the maintenance of peace. It is my firm belief that the United Nations, through its organization and functions, will continue to increase in stature and importance as the world's foremost agency for peace.

136. The speedy action recently taken by the United Nations to meet the situation in Laos was most appropriate and laudable as a first step toward restoring tranquillity. To co-operate with the United Nations in this action is, I believe, the natural duty of its Members.

137. In another field, the United Nations since the thirteenth session of the General Assembly has made a most timely move in taking up problems relating to the peaceful uses of outer space to meet the recent notable advances made by science. The problems related to these developments will mount in importance as science extends man's horizon to the great beyond, making increasingly desirable the co-operation of the Powers concerned under the aegis of the United Nations.

138. While noting the accomplishments of the United Nations, we must also recognize the fact that the Organization has been prevented from fully exercising the functions originally intended for it because of the limitations imposed upon it by the international situation—the East-West conflict. We must admit also that on occasion there has been a tendency for the United Nations to be utilized as a forum for selfish propaganda and fruitless academic discussion. So that the United Nations can overcome the East-West conflict and truly become a powerful organization for the maintenance of peace, so that it can become the centre for the exchange of responsible views to effect a practical and constructive settlement of problems, I want to emphasize the need for positive co-operation among the Members toward strengthening the organization and functions of the United Nations and toward its effective use.

139. In this connexion, I am in agreement in principle with the views expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report. I also believe that it is not without meaning that continued study should be made of such means for the maintenance of peace as the "United Nations presence" and a "United Nations peace force."

140. Going even further, it is my belief that, in order to contribute to making the United Nations a more effective organization for the maintenance of peace, the Charter should be revised at the earliest possible occasion. The present Charter was written fourteen years ago. Not only has the membership of the Organization vastly increased, but many new situations unforeseen at the time have arisen. As revision of the Charter involves many difficulties and would require considerable time and patience, I want to call upon the Members to commence the task of revision at the earliest opportunity.

141. I have thus far expressed some of my hopes concerning the political and military aspects of the maintenance and promotion of peace. I would now like to speak from the standpoint of economic and social devel-

opments, which constitute the material sinews of world peace. The United Nations has made splendid contributions in the economic and social fields. Yet, there is no denying that there is still much more to be done. Perhaps the most conspicuous recent trend in the world economy is the ever-increasing gap between the rate of economic growth of the advanced nations and that of the under-developed countries, which depend upon the production of the primary commodities, and the ever-growing disparity in living standards between these two groups of nations. We cannot overlook the fact that for the under-developed countries such a trend means the unabated prevalence of hunger and disease, as well as the continued inadequacy of education and social welfare services, all of which cause serious social unrest. It is feared that such a situation, if left unimproved, will in the long run impede the economic and social progress of the world as a whole and will eventually become a factor disturbing to world peace. There is, therefore, an urgent necessity for the under-developed countries to redouble their efforts towards the acceleration of their economic growth, and for the advanced nations to assist them in their efforts. However, the difficulties the newly developing countries encounter in their efforts cannot be belittled.

142. Being a country which accomplished its industrialization within a comparatively short period, Japan understands the problems which confront the under-developed countries and sympathizes with them in their efforts to overcome these problems. The diversification of the economy is one way to accelerate economic growth in these countries. But it can only be effected by solving, without delay, such problems of great magnitude as that of how to acquire necessary industrial technology and managerial know-how and especially that of how to bring in necessary amounts of capital, to name only two. The developing nations want help in their efforts to solve these problems and it is up to the advanced nations to assist them. In extending assistance, however, due respect must be given to the position and wishes of the receiving countries, and such assistance should never be utilized as a tool for waging the cold war.

143. The expansion of trade is another problem as essential as economic development of under-developed countries for world economic development. I shall not dwell today upon this problem of trade expansion, except to comment on one of its many aspects.

144. We see these days efforts being made to establish regional trade arrangements. Economic integrations which remove trade barriers within the region deserve serious consideration from the standpoint of trade expansion, but it would be most deplorable if these economic integrations degenerate into "compartmentalism", creating conflicts with countries outside the region. I hope, so that such conflicts may be avoided, that the United Nations will play a valuable role as a forum for the adjustment of divergent interests.

145. In recent years the various agencies of the United Nations have been studying the problems of the impact of population increase on economic and social developments. It is my hope that the United Nations will go a step further and undertake research into the basic problems related to the induction of human resources, including technical personnel, such as are necessary for purposes of economic development in accordance with the wishes of the countries concerned. If, as a result of such a study, a deeper understanding of the problems of immigration is also promoted among the countries concerned, a great service will be rendered not only to economic development, but also, in no small measure, to the promotion of friendly relations among the countries concerned and to peace in the international community.

146. It is in accordance with the basic views I have expressed that my delegation will participate in the deliberations of the present session of the General Assembly and thereby co-operate with the United Nations in line with our basic foreign policy.

147. In closing, may I express my earnest hope that the present session of the Assembly, under your chairmanship, Mr. President, will be a most fruitful and successful one.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

