

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



804th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 23 September 1959,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MORENO (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): The unanimous vote of this Assembly in electing you, Sir, as its President expressed its recognition of the contribution you have made to the United Nations ever since the early days at San Francisco. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in presenting to you the heartfelt congratulations of the Panamanian Government and of the delegation of Panama, over which I have the honour to preside at this fourteenth session of the General Assembly, on this signal honour.

2. This general debate must of necessity be, as it were, a balance-sheet of the action taken and the work done on behalf of international peace and security in the period between the regular sessions of the General Assembly and, to widen the scope somewhat, over the years in which our Organization has existed. It must be a kind of examination of conscience: a dispassionate and forthright analysis of the situations now threatening world peace, and at the same time an impartial and sincere assessment of our own behaviour in regard to those problems which have remained unsolved despite many years of study and to those which are of more recent origin.

3. Only after this process has been duly carried out can we arrive at a rational and exact understanding of the items on this General Assembly's agenda. Many of them are familiar, a legacy from past sessions, although their importance is no less today, despite the time that has gone by, and our obligation to study them and to find the speediest and most equitable solution possible remains the same. One might almost say that, as time goes by, our obligations and our responsibility to those items which have figured constantly on the agenda of the various sessions of the General Assembly increase, for many of them involve matters of vital importance to the peoples of the world and we cannot afford to postpone them indefinitely.

4. Agreement on these difficult matters, through mutual concessions, would strengthen the world's faith in the United Nations, make the Organization's position firmer and more worthy of respect, and give greater authority to its efforts to settle international problems.

5. If the United Nations is successfully to carry out the task of preserving international peace and justice entrusted to it by the Charter, the Member States must grant it greater and wider jurisdiction in matters connected with international relations, particularly where those relations may endanger international peace and harmony.

6. The question of United Nations jurisdiction is very tricky in view of the implications of any usurpation of power and in view of the consequences which would undoubtedly ensue from any policy designed to curb its powers and attributes drastically, making it an inactive and consequently a useless body.

7. Time and time again we have witnessed a trend towards reducing the United Nations' field of action by a somewhat excessive amplification of the concept of the domestic jurisdiction of States. Even in cases of flagrant aggression and the violation of the most elementary principles of international law, the legitimate principle of non-intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States has been invoked in order to bar the way to lawful action by the United Nations. Even where this has not been the result, the honour and the sense of justice with which the United Nations has acted have been called into question, as well as the good faith of its decisions. Naturally, this has involved the danger of discrediting its authority and thus its prestige.

8. It should be borne in mind that this policy contains elements of discussion which might in the long run considerably weaken the trust of the peoples of the world in the United Nations. If we sincerely believe in the effectiveness of collective action, if we are convinced that the United Nations exists and must continue to exist as a centre for co-ordinating the efforts of all nations in the attainment of the purposes laid down in the Charter, we should reflect upon the disservice which would be done to each and every one of us by a continuation of this policy of fragmentation.

9. The Republic of Panama maintains today, as it has always done, an unvarying position in defence of the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of any other State. As I had the honour to state from this rostrum during the thirteenth session of the General Assembly [749th meeting], my country, which, as a small Power, cannot ignore the dangers arising from disregard of the principle of non-intervention, is ready to comply with its duty whenever there is any question of repelling an act or even a threat of intervention against any State, whether or not it is a Member of the United Nations. We recognize the full scope of the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of States, but we cannot agree that the exercise of this principle should extend as far as action which might impair another State's territorial integrity or political independence.

10. The principle is laid down in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, that nothing contained in it shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter. The paragraph goes on to say that this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

11. The action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression referred to in Chapter VII is thus the only form of intervention acceptable under the juridical system established in the Charter. That is because in such a case there would be no question of intervening in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, for any breach of the peace, or act of aggression, would affect the whole international community and it would be the duty of the international community to condemn and reject it.

12. Of course, any such act must have its origin in the individual will of a State and must be the result of an attitude or a course of action adopted by a specific State or States in exercise of the faculties inherent in its sovereign capacity. It is equally incontestable that the freedom of action of a sovereign State in no case entitles it to disregard the sovereign rights of another State, still less to subject that State to offensive interference in matters within its sole jurisdiction, particularly if such interference is an attack upon its position as an entity in international law.

13. If such action takes place, the act or acts which have injured the rights of the other State or States according to international law cannot be regarded as falling within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned; they come within the sphere of international conduct, and are not covered by Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter.

14. If this were not so, the provision would become a shield for aggressor States and would open the door to unconscionable abuses in the field of international relations.

15. The Preamble to the Charter begins by proclaiming the determination of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and all its subsequent provisions are designed to further this objective.

16. In accordance with the terms of reference laid down for them by the Charter, the various organs of the United Nations collaborate in the preservation and promotion of peace by methods which may be divided into two clearly defined categories: the first is international co-operation without distinction of any kind, covering both the Members of the Organization and States which have not yet become Members, in the common task of improving economic conditions in the economically weaker countries, raising to a decent level the standard of living of all human societies peopling the earth, and promoting a renaissance of confidence among the nations to the point where a sane approach will be possible to even the thorniest political problems.

17. This method will have the virtue of bringing about a peace fashioned to the pattern of the times, the peace which the world of today demands, free of the taint of war, a peace born of regenerative labour and of human understanding and fraternity, rather than of

the waste of lives and arms on the field of battle. It will be a peace which has no knowledge of war, which has no need of war to justify its existence, a peace arising out of prosperity, not out of devastation and death.

18. The second method, which we may call that of vigilance and repression, is specially entrusted to the Security Council, for use in the case of threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression, to use once more the terms of the heading to Chapter VII. This method is particularly applicable in the case of crises and it will be effective in deterring aggression and preventing it from turning into world-wide conflict, but it cannot bring about the establishment of a flourishing and lasting peace.

19. The so-called limited wars, confined to specific areas which are the victims of aggression, are not only a breach of the peace, but also a severe hindrance to the method of international co-operation, which holds out more promise of bringing about international harmony than the method of vigilance and repression, the results of which are bound by their very nature to be more precarious.

20. Unfortunately, the post-war world seems unable to escape these limited conflicts which, while short of total war, are quite as harmful both to the region where they take place and to the interests of the world at large.

21. The Korean war, the effects of which are still being felt by the noble Korean people, as the direct victim of that unfortunate military adventure, and are continuing to influence East-West relations, is an example of modern wars of aggression. Born of an apparent conflict between neighbouring and even brother nations over matters which appear to be exclusively of an internal nature, these limited wars immediately give the more powerful countries an opportunity to intervene, each one as it sees fit, and in many cases with the scarcely concealed intention of establishing zones of influence to their own advantage. Such zones of influence, if consolidated, would lead to a deepening of the differences between the great Powers and would become starting points for new and continued conflicts.

22. It would be an illusion to claim that we are living under a rule of peace while such limited wars, which in truth may one day lead to the outbreak of a devastating nuclear war, continue to occur.

23. It would be an illusion to claim that we are living under the decisive influence of regional organizations should make itself felt whenever the countries concerned form part of these organizations. The Charter does not exclude their existence and, what is more, even recognizes their unquestionable importance when it states in Article 52, paragraph 2, that the Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

24. Such intervention on the part of regional organizations does not deprive the Security Council of the authority conferred on it by Article 34, which refers to the pacific settlement of international disputes, nor does it deprive the Members of the United Nations of their right, under Article 35, to bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly,

any situation likely to endanger international peace or security.

25. According to the Charter, it would be a very sound practice for the maintenance of pacific relations among nations if regional organizations would always have the first opportunity to act whenever an international situation of a local nature arose, regardless of its seriousness.

26. It is perfectly elementary that a local problem must always be of greatest interest to the States which are members of a regional organization, since political, economic and social conditions in each of the member States are likely to have repercussions on regional relations, which in turn are based on the proximity of these States to each other and on their consequent community of interests. In the search for a solution, consideration must very often be given to those emotional reactions of nations that have been determined by many years of living together over the course of history and can be weighed and evaluated only by those nations and men by whom they have been shared. Under such circumstances, it is easier and also more urgent for them to seek and achieve a solution to the problems of the region.

27. With the continued operation of regional organizations, a firm tradition will be developed and a regional system of law will be maintained, which the very prestige of the States of the region will oblige them to defend and to preserve, since their authority in the concert of nations will depend on this.

28. The Organization of American States may with justifiable pride present to the judgement of the international community its exemplary policy of understanding conciliation in the realm of regional problems. Its existence and the action that it has taken in problems which are basically American in character have been of incalculable value in reinforcing the stability and prestige of the United Nations.

29. In a world of civilized nations which must live and must make their way within a system of law, it is essential to increase faith in international relations. For this to be, nations must have the conviction that their obligations will be only those which they have assumed and that their rights will be maintained inviolate and will be given the fullest possible recognition.

30. It is well to recall here that the Charter of the Organization of American States embodies the principle that "international order consists essentially of respect for the personality, sovereignty and independence of States, and the faithful fulfilment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of international law". It also states that "good faith shall govern the relations between States".

31. Compliance with the Charter, as a multilateral treaty, is the most edifying demonstration of good will that we can give in this respect. In the very Preamble, the peoples of the United Nations state that they are determined to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained.

32. Just as in civil society the good reputation and credit of individuals are dependent on the honesty with which personal commitments are fulfilled, so in relations among nations confidence and harmony must

be developed and maintained by just actions and good faith as manifested by the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by States.

33. Non-fulfilment of treaty obligations not only create situations that are harmful to good relations among States and the Governments of States but also undermines the basic conditions for living together in friendship. This evil, in the long run, is the greatest and the most to be deplored, because the loss of confidence and friendship between nations is often more difficult to repair than the material damages resulting from the non-fulfilment.

34. The effects which I have just pointed out are even more distressing when the non-fulfilment of a contractual obligation originates with a great Power in its relations with a lesser Power, for in this case there is the danger that any interpretation by the great Power of the obligations that it has assumed which is favourable to itself and any line of conduct based on that interpretation will be conceived by national conscience as being solely determined by that nation's might. Such a feeling would be fatal to friendly relations between Governments and peoples, and a stage would be reached in relations between States in which acrimonious and resentful feelings would be difficult to control.

35. No State may take upon itself the right to interpret a contractual obligation unilaterally, or to impair its validity by means of legislative or administrative acts, or to reduce its effectiveness in order to deprive to the other contracting party of the rights and advantages to which it is entitled. In the progressive order of international law, such conduct would represent a flagrant disregard of treaty obligations and would provide a very poor basis for contractual relations.

36. In the fulfilment of any treaty the paramount consideration must be good faith, and the interpretation of a treaty must be equitable and correct with regard to both the letter and the spirit.

37. At the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I expressed the conviction that the abolition of the discriminatory practices prevailing in the Canal Zone against the rights of Panamanian employees and workers would bring about a new era favourable to the strengthening of the firm and sincere friendship which should unite the Governments of the Republic of Panama and of the United States of America and their respective peoples. I also said that the nation of Panama was confident that the implementation, by the Executive Branch of the United States, of the supplementary legislation enacted by the United States Congress in fulfilment of certain contractual obligations between that country and the Republic of Panama would lead to faithful compliance with the principles contained in the Memorandum of Understandings Reached, attached to the Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Co-operation which was concluded in 1955 and provides that Panamanians employed in the Canal Zone are entitled to equality of treatment and of opportunity as specified in that instrument.

38. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to state on this occasion that the Panamanian nation has the disturbing feeling that the repeated disregard by the authorities of the Panama Canal Zone, in Panamanian territory, of the universally accepted principle that all persons are entitled without discrimina-

tion to equal pay for equal work is a barrier to the satisfaction of one of the vital requirements of its economic welfare and social tranquillity.

39. Because of the sincerity which characterizes our relations with the Power to the north, we could not remain silent about a particular situation damaging to relations between Panama and the United States. This situation, arising precisely from the interpretation given to some of the obligations assumed between Panama and the United States, has resulted in the non-fulfilment of these obligations.

40. Because of a unilateral interpretation of such obligations, disadvantageous to Panamanian interests, the increased trade in the Canal Zone, protected by exemptions from import duties on both luxury items and primary necessities, is very injurious to the Panamanian market.

41. Panama regrets that its representations in this connexion to the Government at Washington have so far not received the welcome which they rightfully deserve and which was to be expected in view of the democratic spirit of our natural ally and friend.

42. Like all under-developed nations, Panama looks to organized international co-operation for its economic rehabilitation. In this connexion, there should be every reason to expect greater and more concrete understanding on the part of the great nation to the north because of the interests which we share as partners in the work of the inter-oceanic canal which lies in a territory over which Panama is sovereign.

43. If international co-operation is to find its greatest expression and to reach its greatest heights at the regional level, Latin America must recognize, in formulating its aspirations for economic development, that it shares with the United States the historical responsibility imposed by the common destiny of the American continent and the obligation to play a fraternal part in the progress and defence of America as a whole.

44. It was out of this feeling that international economic co-operation should be planned and intensified at the regional level, to extend subsequently to the terrain of universal co-operation, that arose our original welcome and sympathetic support for the "Operation Pan-America" proposed by Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the President of Brazil. Our attitude in this matter coincides with general feeling in America.

45. We do not ignore the inevitable relationship between the economies of all countries, regardless of their political systems. Interdependence in this aspect of human activity is already a self-evident truth. Nevertheless, we think it is useful to stress the fact that in any building the foundation must come first; the foundation of international economic co-operation can be no other than the results achieved by regional economic co-operation. That does not mean that the former must be delayed, pending the achievement of the latter as a preliminary stage. Both should go forward side by side, helping each other in their joint maintenance and progress.

46. America is on the verge of a vigorous policy of economic expansion. The threshold has already been crossed and, with the establishment of proper technical resources, a great step forward has been made towards a solution of the fundamental problems.

47. In May of this year, the city of Panama was the setting for the eighth session of ECLA. Stress was laid at that meeting on the importance of long-term problems, as well as those which offer prospects of more immediate solution. Scientific programming in each country and in each special case is essential for these long-term problems. Only in this way will it be possible to make full use of each collectivity's resources.

48. One of the items which received most attention was that of the establishment of the Latin American common market. This resulted in the adoption of resolution 6 (II) of the Trade Committee of ECLA, which states in its operative paragraph that the Committee decides to intensify efforts conducing to the increase of economic co-operation among the countries of the region, with a view to constituting a Latin-American common market.

49. Although the vast scope of this plan prevents it from receiving immediate unconditional support, the terms of resolution 6 (II), adopted in Panama, show clearly the importance attached to it by the Latin American countries and their determination to give it the most careful attention. Our attitude already represents a decisive step forward in this delicate matter and shows that there is a trend in favour of it.

50. The study carried out by ECLA on the economic development of Panama shows beyond all question that national production has been increased to a point at which it has been possible to halt the importation of several important food products and a number of manufactured goods. Moreover, various sectors of production have begun to be developed and a truly national economy is beginning to emerge.

51. Panama is very much aware of the fact that a continuous effort is needed to maintain and to raise the level of living of our people and to solve the serious problem of unemployment. The Government presided over by Mr. Ernesto de la Guardia Jr., the Panamanian Head of State, has worked increasingly at this task since its first days in office.

52. At the beginning of my speech I referred to the legacy which this session of the Assembly, like previous sessions, has received from its predecessors in the way of items that still need to be settled. Among them the problem of disarmament, by reason of its magnitude, has the chief claim upon the attention of all States. Although its solution depends upon the great Powers, since it is they who must make concessions in terms of strength in order to mitigate or eliminate present international tension and thus permit of universal disarmament, it is undoubtedly the task of the small Powers to spur on the parties directly concerned, by means of the constant public examination of this delicate question; by suggesting formulas which might smooth over difficulties and open the way to conversations and thence to negotiations; and by displaying an understanding attitude towards the serious difficulties which must necessarily be encountered by the great Powers in their consideration of this problem so vital to their own interests.

53. We are delighted that, during the Conference recently held in Geneva on the Berlin question by the Foreign Ministers of the four great Powers, the theme of disarmament was touched upon. Although this Conference was not held within the jurisdiction of the United Nations, we understand that any agreement

which might have been arrived at there would have been submitted to the United Nations for consideration and approval, since it is entitled under the Charter to act in matters of disarmament.

54. Any opportunity of bringing the great Powers together in this aspect of international policy should be welcomed and we were therefore most favourably disposed towards the Geneva conversations. We are confident that by one or other of these means this problem will ultimately be settled in a way which will secure peace for mankind.

55. The case of Germany is another of the questions which concern the whole international community. This is not a matter of generosity but one of justice, quite apart from the fact that the solution of this problem would greatly help to strengthen peace in Europe and consequently in the world at large. Even if the most elementary principles of international equity were not involved, the unfavourable influence that the present division has on the disarmament negotiations would be sufficient argument on behalf of German unification.

56. There can be no valid reason for denying a nation which is a model of organization and whose contribution to universal culture is inestimable for the whole civilized world the power to govern its own destiny, free from external influence, and the right to decide its political future as it sees fit. We hope that the disagreements between the great Powers which are helping to keep the German nation divided will disappear in the face of the supreme interest of international peace and security.

57. My country is not one of the chorus of pessimists. On the contrary, Panama, as a small Power, is aware that the United Nations constitutes the most solid day-to-day guarantee of the rights of those countries which have no modern weapons of war with which to make those rights respected for themselves. It is this same faith which explains the presence in this hall of the representatives of many States which have no other weapons for their defence than those provided by international law and justice. If we could not rely upon the powerful arsenal that the law provides for us, any position we might adopt here would be a vain pretence.

58. However, although we are not among those who despair over the delay in settling some of our problems, we still appreciate at its true worth the impatience of those nations which are striving above all to obtain their most elementary rights in the shortest possible time.

59. In the countries with rudimentary economies, subject to almost inhuman privation and suffering, it is impossible to tell people who are in the grip of poverty and hunger that they must wait a quarter of a century, a decade or even five years before their pressing needs can be satisfied.

60. We know that the world economic situation, like the social and political situation, must evolve gradually and that its evils cannot be corrected with the wave of a magic wand. We know that in order to build solidly the United Nations must first raise a scaffolding; we cannot, however, trust in the work of time alone, for we are sure that still greater difficulties will spring up at every step and still greater obstacles will have to be overcome if, as the years go by, these problems are allowed to take on new and complicated shades and

to turn into monsters that are difficult to bring under control.

61. The achievements standing to the credit of the United Nations at the present moment give us the right to require still more of it. This is not criticism; it is faith in its powerful capacity to bring to the world a definitive and permanent peace, provided that the tools which the Charter has placed in its hands are used with a sense of justice and without any mental reservations.

62. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The period of time that has elapsed since the last session of the United Nations General Assembly has been marked by a further strengthening of the forces of peace in the world. Greater efforts have been made to abolish war as a means of solving international disputes, to settle controversial questions by negotiation and to promote broad international co-operation based on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

63. The course of international affairs is being influenced more and more by the consistent, peaceful policy of the USSR and other countries with a socialist system, by the all-round growth of their strength and unity and by the grandiose prospects of their future development. The untiring efforts of the USSR in the cause of peace and its tremendous achievements in science and technology are having a favourable effect, as we can feel here, on the atmosphere of our present session. We are filled with feelings of sincere joy and extend to the Soviet people our whole-hearted congratulations on the occasion of their newest historic triumph, their launching of a second space rocket, which has reached the surface of the moon. This achievement opens before mankind vast new possibilities for exploring the mysteries of the universe. Man's boldest dreams are becoming realities before our very eyes.

64. The fight for peace and peaceful coexistence is being waged by many countries of Asia and Africa and by other countries which pursue a policy of neutrality. The policy of peace is supported by the widest segments of the population in all countries.

65. The period just elapsed witnessed the formation of favourable circumstances for a substantial easing of international tensions. A number of significant events are indicative of this trend. The most important of them, one which we are witnessing now and which has caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the world, is the visit to the United States of Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union of Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States. The meeting of statesmen of these two countries is exceptionally important in view of the great responsibility that the Soviet Union and the United States bear for the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. It is clear to everyone that, if relations between these two States develop in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence, this will exert a decisively favourable influence on the international situation as a whole.

66. We welcome the meeting between the Heads of Government of the Soviet Union and the United States and we hope that this meeting will contribute significantly to the lessening of international tension, to the development of peaceful co-operation and mutual

understanding and to the extension of confidence in the relations between States with different social systems.

67. The visit to the United States of Mr. Khrushchev, whose untiring efforts and invaluable services in the cause of safeguarding world peace have brought him universal respect and recognition throughout the world, has evoked a wide response in all countries. The mere fact that the visit was made indicates that international relations have entered a new phase, that the ice of the "cold war" is melting and that—in the words of Mr. A. Novotný, President of the Czechoslovak Republic—"the great idea of peaceful coexistence and competition, which the Soviet Union has consistently advocated in the international forum, has found devoted supporters in hundreds of millions of people and in entire nations".

68. With ever-increasing insistence the people of the world demand that all the efforts of the world should be directed at ending the "cold war", at expanding fruitful international co-operation and at developing the economies and raising the levels of living of nations.

69. Unfortunately, however, influential circles in the Western countries are impeding peaceful coexistence and co-operation and seeking to continue "cold war" policies. They are unwilling to accept the fact that the people of the socialist nations have chosen their present form of government freely once and for all. Evidence of this attitude can be found in the provocative resolution recently adopted by the United States Congress on the so-called "liberation" of socialist countries, among them Czechoslovakia, and also in the attempts to revive the so-called "Hungarian question" in the United Nations, as the United States and United Kingdom representatives again sought to do in their statements.

70. The Czechoslovak people, like the peoples of the other socialist countries, have never before, as a nation or socially, felt as free as they do today. If the sponsors of the above-mentioned provocative campaigns wish to liberate someone, it would be more appropriate if they directed their efforts in another direction and used their influence to do away with the remnants of colonialism, liberate the colonial peoples, abolish racial oppression and discrimination in their own countries as well, and free millions of working people from the heavy and increasing burden which the armaments race has placed upon them.

71. We feel bound to state forthrightly that the principles of peaceful coexistence and competition will not be fully practicable until all the obstacles that have accumulated during the "cold war" years to expanded peaceful co-operation among States and to a consolidated peace have been cleared away.

72. One burning and outstanding problem which, if not solved, will make it difficult to consolidate the peace and security of nations, is that of the consequences of the Second World War. The danger resides particularly in the fact that fourteen years after the end of that War a peace treaty has still not been concluded with Germany. This situation is propitious to the growth of militarist and revanchist forces which are seeking far-reaching and aggressive aims and are working feverishly for the adoption of measures to equip the West German army with nuclear and rocket weapons. They are thus endangering peace and security, not only in Europe, but in the entire world.

73. The Western supporters of German militarism and imperialism attempted to delude and appease the alarmed European public with assertions that the so-called Paris Agreements would not permit the revival of German militarism and would prevent the equipment of West Germany with nuclear weapons. Czechoslovakia more than once gave warning that these assertions did not correspond to the facts and that they were merely a screen to conceal the accelerated arming of the Bundeswehr with nuclear and rocket weapons. The situation now prevailing in West Germany and the statements of West German officials fully bear out the validity of our warnings. For example, the Minister of Defence of that country, Mr. Strauss, stated, at the time of the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva that the West German army was prepared to conduct an atomic war and that the Bundeswehr would be completely equipped with atomic weapons by 1961 at latest.

74. Military revenge is the principal aim of the foreign policy of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and Chancellor Adenauer have attempted recently to show that there is no revanchist propaganda in West Germany. However, numerous statements made by official representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany have shown without a doubt that their first concern is to direct and encourage the intrigues of revanchists, intrigues which extend even to the territory of other States. The recent provocative actions and meetings of revanchist elements, knowingly organized with the direct and active support of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, attest to the increasing activity of these forces and to the fact that their aims are opposed to the peace and security of nations.

75. Czechoslovakia is one of the countries which the West German revanchists openly attack and against which they continuously make aggressive territorial claims. The West German Minister of Transport, Mr. Seabohm, very recently reiterated these claims at revanchist rallies held at Geislingen and Ulm, where he called for a "mighty struggle" to acquire a part of Czechoslovak territory, the Cheb region. Even the President of the United States, when he visited Bonn, was greeted by posters bearing revanchist slogans.

76. It should be noted that German militarism and revanchism have not yet abandoned their aggressive designs upon the Western countries either. This should be kept well in mind by those Western circles that helped German imperialism to raise its head and which have agreed to permit the military bases and stockpiles of the Bundeswehr to be installed in their territory. There is a Czech proverb that says: "Do what the Devil bids thee and thy reward shall be hell". Especially the small nations members of NATO should not have forgotten the bitter experiences of the recent past.

77. It is not from fear that Czechoslovakia has warned of the danger of German militarism and revanchism. Taught by bitter experience, we drew the necessary conclusions and have firmly ensured our security by forming an indissoluble alliance with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist camp.

78. German militarism and revanchism must be halted if renewed aggression against the peoples of Europe is to be prevented. Mr. Antonín Novotný,

President of the Czechoslovak Republic, said in a recent address:

"The peoples of Europe are becoming increasingly convinced that their security and peace depend first and foremost on the curbing of German militarism, on preventing a repetition in West Germany of the infamous events of years gone by and on the adoption of the Soviet Union's peaceful proposals for the solution of the German problem. This approach is also in keeping with the interests of the German people as a whole."

79. The fact that a peace treaty with Germany has not yet been signed has had far-reaching unfavourable consequences for international peace and security and has caused complications in the relations between States.

80. The Western Powers refuse to conclude a peace treaty with Germany on the grounds that Germany is not yet reunified. At the same time they do nothing to re-establish harmonious relations between the two German States but support a policy that creates an ever-widening gulf between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. This policy is completely bankrupt. There are two States in Germany today. The country can, therefore, be reunified only by a negotiated settlement between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany without outside interference and by re-establishing good relations and close co-operation between the two German States on the basis of their joint efforts to strengthen peace and raise the level of living of the German people. This cannot be done without the establishment of an all-German committee or some similar all-German body, as proposed by the USSR and the German Democratic Republic.

81. Another pressing need of the time is that of eliminating the dangerous source of tension in West Berlin which exists as a result of the continuing occupation of West Berlin by the Western Powers. The proposals on the Berlin question submitted by the Soviet Union constitute a generally acceptable and realistic basis for a settlement of this problem.

82. A significant role in the solution of the problems of Germany is being played by the German Democratic Republic, which, having put an end to militarism and aggression, is maintaining friendly relations and peaceful co-operation with all countries and now has behind it ten years of successful development. Its active and constructive participation in the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, which in effect gave *de facto* recognition to the German Democratic Republic, is proof of the steadily rising authority and prestige of the German Democratic Republic.

83. The Government and people of Czechoslovakia fully appreciate the constructive efforts being made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to safeguard and consolidate peace and solve the German question, and they will continue to accord their full support to it in its endeavours. Our friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic are convincing proof that the Czechoslovak people harbour no hatred for the German people and take a genuine interest in the peaceful and democratic development of Germany.

84. The most urgent and serious problem of today is the problem of disarmament, on the solution of which

the maintenance of peace in the world fundamentally depends.

85. Only last year we saw a number of Western countries speed up the pace of their nuclear armament, spending fantastic sums of money in a feverish race to arm. The system of military groups set up by the Western Powers and the hundreds of military bases established on the territory of other States represent a great danger to peace and security.

86. The security of nations demands the cessation of the armaments race, which has increased world tension and the threat of a new war. In the light of the remarkable prospects opening up before mankind as a result of recent discoveries in science and technology, the absurdity of nuclear armaments and the need to do everything possible to save the world for all time from the danger of a devastating war have become more evident than ever.

87. No progress has been made in the disarmament negotiations during the past fourteen years. Consequently, the dangerous world situation demands of us that we concentrate our efforts on seeking a new approach to the disarmament question.

88. The Czechoslovak Government fully shares the view of the Government of the Soviet Union, stated from this rostrum several days ago [799th meeting] by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, that the most appropriate way to put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the danger of a new war is to effect the general and complete disarmament of all countries.

89. We welcome and vigorously support the new and far-reaching disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, made in the declaration of the Soviet Government on general and complete disarmament [A/4219], that over a four-year period all States should carry out complete disarmament, including the complete disbandment of their armies, the abolition of their general staffs, war ministries and other military institutions, the elimination of the military bases in foreign territory and the destruction of all military weapons and material, primarily of all stockpiles of nuclear and rocket weapons. Only limited contingents of security forces equipped solely with small arms would be retained by States for the purpose of maintaining order. The implementation of these measures would be ensured by the establishment of an international control body in which all States would participate. A control system would be set up and would operate in conformity with the stages in which the disarmament proposals were carried out.

90. The adoption and implementation of the Soviet Government's proposals would produce a radical change in the course of international affairs. The fact that not a single country would possess the means for unleashing an aggressive war against other countries would create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and conditions for broad and peaceful co-operation among States. The vast financial resources which countries have so far allocated to armaments might be diverted entirely to developing their economies, to raising the level of living of their populations and to realizing the boldest projects in science and technology.

91. The Czechoslovak people have warmly welcomed the USSR proposals. It fully appreciates their enor-

mous significance since twice in a single generation it has been the victim of German militarism and suffered tremendous losses. A number of other European nations have suffered a similar fate. In view of the fact this danger is again increasing, it is entirely understandable that the problems of general and complete disarmament throughout the world are of cardinal importance to us and to other European nations.

92. The adoption of the Soviet proposals would put armaments once and for all beyond the reach of German militarists and revanchists and would bring lasting peace to this sensitive area of the world which has suffered so cruelly from wars in the past.

93. The new proposals of the USSR on general and complete disarmament are the result of the pressing demands of the present international situation and indicate a realistic and fully practicable way of improving it. It is only natural, therefore, that these proposals are meeting with a wide response and finding support in all countries. We express the hope that they will find the same understanding and support at the present session of the General Assembly.

94. The Czechoslovak delegation also supports the proposals on partial disarmament measures which the Soviet Government has suggested should be put into effect until such time as agreement is reached on general and complete disarmament. These proposals have regard to the establishment of a control and inspection zone, the establishment of an "atom-free zone" in Central Europe, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of European countries and the abolition of military bases in the territories of foreign States, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the member States of NATO and the signatory States of the Warsaw Treaty, and the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of surprise attack by one State upon another.

95. The most important task at the present time, and one which must not be put off any longer under any pretext whatever, is that of concluding an agreement for the complete cessation for all time of nuclear tests of any kind, a subject on which negotiations have been under way at Geneva for nearly a year between the representatives of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom. The signing of such an agreement would clear the way for further progress in the sphere of disarmament, would put a stop to the perfecting of more and more destructive types of nuclear weapons and would help to avert the serious danger threatening present and future generations through the growing contamination of the atmosphere with radio-active fall-out.

96. The Conference has already achieved certain results but, owing to the position adopted by the United States and the United Kingdom delegations, a number of important questions remain undecided. We believe that the United States and the United Kingdom ought now to give the world some demonstration of their good will and understanding and ought to make a sincere attempt, together with the USSR, to seek an acceptable solution to the problems still outstanding.

97. The people of Czechoslovakia are strongly opposed to anything which might mean the renewal of nuclear tests and demand that the negotiations should be brought to an end without further delay by the signing of an agreement for the cessation of all types of tests. They therefore welcome the solemn under-

taking of the USSR, as expressed in the statement of the Soviet Government of 28 August 1959, that it will not resume nuclear weapons tests if the Western Powers do not do so either. It would be desirable for other Powers too, to adopt this same attitude.

98. The peoples of the world and the people of Africa in particular are at present very concerned about the danger which will result from the conduct in the Sahara of the nuclear weapons tests now in preparation. The Government of Morocco has placed a letter [A/4183] before the General Assembly at its fourteenth session, drawing attention to this danger.

99. The Czechoslovak people, also, are opposed to the carrying out of the French tests for, as has been convincingly shown from the research done by Czechoslovak scientists, radio-active fall-out from these explosions could affect a number of countries in southern, southeastern and central Europe, too, including Czechoslovakia, to a considerable degree. The atmospheric currents bring dust from the Sahara even to our country, for it has been observed on the snows covering our mountains.

100. The Government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia considers it essential that effective measures should be taken to avert the danger of the further extension of the possession of nuclear weapons, and it is ready to support, in the General Assembly too, any measures towards this end.

101. The Czechoslovak Government welcomed with satisfaction the agreement of the Governments of the four great Powers to set up a new Disarmament Committee, and expressed its consent to Czechoslovakia's participation in it. We believe that if all members of the Committee were to show a sufficient desire to reach agreement, the result of the work of the new disarmament body could be successful and could lead to progress in the solution of this most important of current questions. The Czechoslovak representatives in the Committee will make every effort to contribute their share to the realization of practical measures of disarmament, which all the peoples are urgently demanding.

102. One of the most significant of contemporary phenomena is the increasingly rapid and irresistible process of disintegration of the colonial system and the vast scale of the struggle for freedom of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. As a direct result of this powerful movement towards freedom, a number of independent States have arisen in Africa and Asia, which are engaged in consolidating the independence they have won and in pursuing a policy of non-participation in military blocs and of peaceful coexistence.

103. There is an Eastern saying that, however different they may be, all flowers reach towards the sun. In the same way the peoples of the colonial and economically less-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, despite the fact there are many differences between them, are all yearning for freedom and independence and repudiating imperialist intervention.

104. The Czechoslovak delegation considers it desirable that the General Assembly of the United Nations should give full support to the peoples of those countries which are still struggling against colonial oppression, so that they may, in the shortest possible

time, avail themselves of their right to self-determination.

105. The Czechoslovak people have always supported and will in the future continue to support the endeavours of the peoples of the colonial and economically less-developed countries to secure their freedom and independence. Colonialism is now finally doomed, as are all attempts to resurrect it in other forms.

106. In recent months Laos has been the principal object of increased imperialist intervention. In order to cloak their open intervention the Western Powers contrived an illegal decision of the Security Council setting up an investigating Sub-Committee of four countries, which has been sent to Laos. This decision represents a flagrant violation both of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and the Vientiane agreement, and also of the United Nations Charter.

107. We fully support the Soviet Government's proposal of 14 September 1959 for the immediate convening of a meeting of the States which participated in the Geneva talks on Laos in 1954. The meeting would discuss the situation in Laos and take appropriate steps.

108. The development of broad economic co-operation is one of the main prerequisites to normal relations between countries. We consider that ideological differences are not and should not be obstacles to economic co-operation between countries with different social systems. From this point of view peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism can be very important for the strengthening of peaceful relations and friendly co-operation throughout the world.

109. Czechoslovakia occupies an important place in the economic competition between the two systems. Our successes stem from the continuous increase in our industrial output, the volume of which has this year been 3.5 times greater than it was in 1937 and will by 1965 be six times greater than it was before the war. Our national economy has already, in some important indices, left France and Italy behind in per caput production, and in the coming years it will move ahead of the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany and occupy one of the foremost places in the world. Our foreign trade, too, which has more than doubled in volume in the last ten years, is continuing successfully to expand. Czechoslovakia is now one of the largest exporters of machinery and mechanical equipment in the world. Our socialist agriculture is also achieving fresh successes in the course of its development. The level of living of our population is rising from year to year.

110. Czechoslovakia maintains broad, mutually beneficial economic relations with many countries in the world, and it is constantly multiplying them. Recently, for example, it organized an international machine building exhibition at Brno, where important international economic contacts are being made and negotiations are going on between leading economic, technical and scientific experts from all over the world.

111. In connexion with current economic developments, certain urgent problems have arisen in the sphere of international economic co-operation, to the examination of which the United Nations, too, should give the highest priority. First and foremost there is the question of removing discriminatory practices and other obstacles which are still hampering the

development of world trade; there is also the question of giving effective assistance to the less developed countries, and then there are such questions as the development of economic co-operation between all countries, the improvement of conditions in the world commodity trade, and so on.

112. In this connexion I should like to stress that the Czechoslovak people view with feelings of sincere sympathy the endeavours of the less developed countries to attain economic independence and to free themselves from foreign exploitation. While the peoples of these countries are wrestling with grave economic difficulties, the foreign exploiters are amassing huge profits from their exploitation of those countries' natural resources. It would be only fair, therefore, to return at least part of these profits to them. Czechoslovakia, which has, within the limit of its circumstances, been giving disinterested assistance to the economically less developed countries, will continue in the future to support their endeavours to attain equality with other nations and to become economically independent, and the United Nations also should co-operate to that end.

113. The policy of peace and the peaceful co-existence of peoples, which has been consistently followed by the Czechoslovak Government, is a direct consequence of the social structure of the Czechoslovak Republic. We are pursuing this policy because it guarantees favourable conditions for the successful fulfilment of the great tasks involved in the completion of the building of socialism in our country.

114. Last year we increased still further our contacts with a great number of States. Believing that the development of personal contacts is an effective means both for the removal of obstacles in the relations between States and for the establishment of friendly co-operation among them, we have welcomed to our country distinguished representatives of foreign States. Various meetings also took place in Czechoslovakia, among them for instance an international seminar on social security, arranged in co-operation with the International Labour Organisation, the famous annual spring music festival in Prague, and so on.

115. The Czechoslovakia Government, in its desire to increase international co-operation within the United Nations too, is inviting the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to hold a session at Prague.

116. Czechoslovakia will in the future do all in its power to ensure that the dilemma—peaceful coexistence or atomic war—is settled for good as soon as possible in favour of peaceful coexistence.

117. At the present time when there is a growing tendency in international affairs to settle problems by means of negotiation, it is essential in the United Nations also that we should remove the traces of the "cold war" and win full acceptance for the principles of peaceful co-operation. The goals for which the United Nations was set up have not yet been attained. If the United Nations is to justify the great hopes of the peoples, it must consistently fulfil its mission of maintaining peace and international security.

118. In order that it may do this, it is essential that all Members should see our Organization as an instrument for co-operation between States, that the Western Powers should not attempt to use it for their own

narrow ends, that they should not seek to impose their will on other States and that the agenda should not include questions likely to exacerbate the relations between States. Here in the United Nations we should adopt only those decisions and recommendations which are acceptable to all.

119. If the United Nations is to be a real instrument of international co-operation it is vital first and foremost that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored and that the Chiang Kai-shek puppets, who represent nobody, should be driven out of our Organization. The course of international events has clearly shown that the policy of non-recognition of the People's Republic of China has finally failed. Despite the aggressive policy of its enemies the People's Republic of China has for ten years been developing at a breathtaking pace and making spectacular advances. The tempo of its economic development has been many times faster than that of the development of any capitalist country.

120. As a result of the progress it has made and thanks to its peaceful foreign policy, the People's Republic of China has become an important factor for peace and its international authority has greatly increased. No single problem in the world can be finally settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China. Any attempt to slander the policy of that country's Government is doomed to failure.

121. Greater co-operation and trust between the States Members of the United Nations would also help to remove the discrimination against East European States in elections to the organs and offices of the United Nations. This would mean, in particular, the restoration to the East European States of the seat in the Security Council which rightfully belongs to them. It is also very important to resolve the unsatisfactory situation which has arisen in connexion with elections to one of the most important offices in the United Nations, that of President of the General Assembly, which has been occupied a number of times already by representatives of all the geographical areas in turn with the exception of Eastern Europe.

122. This situation is out of keeping with the position and significance of the socialist countries in the world, and their efforts in the struggle for peace and international security and it will not help bring about increased co-operation between States Members of the United Nations. It was for this reason that the Czechoslovak Government proposed that the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly should include the item: "Question of the consistent application of the principle of equitable geographical representation in the election of the President of the General Assembly".

123. I trust that the delegations of States Members of the United Nations will consider this move in a spirit of complete understanding and that their representatives will co-operate in doing away with this still surviving relic of the "cold war".

124. In international affairs today there is no more urgent task than that of putting a stop to the "cold war", reducing international tension and creating an atmosphere of mutual trust in the relations between States through the removal of obstacles blocking the way towards achievement of a lasting peace with security. Czechoslovakia has been striving for many years for the adoption and application of the principle that any

controversial question should be settled by peaceful means alone, by means of negotiation. We welcome the fact that this approach to current international problems is gaining more and more support in the world.

125. One example of this in particular was the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva, in which representatives of both the German States also participated. Although even at this Conference, despite the endeavours of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic and owing to the position adopted by the Western Powers, no agreement, unfortunately, was reached on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the restoration to normal of the situation in West Berlin, and although there still occur serious differences of views on these questions, nevertheless there has been some reconciliation of the positions of the two sides on certain issues, which have provided a basis for further negotiations and the attainment of positive results.

126. At the same time the Conference revealed that there was a number of very important questions which could not be settled by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and must be considered at a meeting of the Heads of States. At such a meeting it would be necessary to discuss and agree on measures concerning the most urgent questions affecting the present-day international situation. That is why the peoples of the entire world place such hopes in a meeting at the highest level and earnestly desire that it should take place soon and that it should be successful.

127. A great and responsible task has been laid upon the United Nations by its Charter: to use every effort to foster the development of friendly relations and peaceful co-operation between States and to help actively in preserving international peace and security. It is absolutely essential that the United Nations should not hold aloof from world problems, that it should not be satisfied with the mere recording of international events or allow such decisions to be taken as might contribute to an increase in tension, but should rather, in accordance with the principle of peaceful co-existence, take advantage of all its opportunities and actively assist in the settlement of the urgent world problems. It is important at the outset of the work of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly to stress once again this responsibility of the United Nations.

128. The Czechoslovak delegation to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly will bend every effort to ensure that it fulfils the great mission of the United Nations to the highest possible degree. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government and all our people I wish the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations every success and express the hope that it will to a large degree succeed in averting the danger of war and also that the principles of peaceful coexistence and co-operation between States will prevail.

129. Mr. PELLA (Italy) (translated from French): Mr. President, in offering you my Government's warm congratulations on your unanimous election as President, I am not merely doing what ritual demands; I am expressing the satisfaction I feel at this recognition of the merits of a great friend and a distinguished citizen of a country which shares with my own a common heritage of traditions and ideals. I shall not add to the tributes of previous speakers to your qualities as a diplomat and statesman, in which I am sure all concur.

130. As the representative of Italy, I should like to mention the important part you played at a difficult time for us, when the broad movement to hasten my country's admission to the United Nations showed us who our true friends were. That was a proof of friendship which we have never forgotten and shall never forget.

131. The Assembly is meeting in a climate of relaxed tension which will no doubt prove favourable to our common search for constructive solution of the many problems before us. For some time our peoples have looked forward to a just and equitable solution of these problems. Italy is prepared to make a real contribution to this relaxation of tension and I should like to express my Government's satisfaction at this recent development in the international situation.

132. We have a long a difficult road to travel and our progress will be greater and our way easier if we recognize the complexities of the situation which confronts us with difficult problems. Our main goal is coexistence, coexistence without reservations and without ulterior motives, which will ensure lasting stability in international relations and which is not merely a tactical device, a Trojan horse used to change the present balance or even to destroy it from within. If coexistence consists in legitimate competition to promote the progress and well-being of our peoples, Italy will be among its most steadfast and unwavering advocates.

133. In this new international situation we believe that the United Nations is the most suitable instrument for achieving the coexistence which is our goal, and for that reason the Italian Government considers it to be its duty and in its interest to participate as fully as possible in all activities of the United Nations. We offer our support in order that a solution of major international problems may increasingly be sought within the United Nations and in accordance with the principles and spirit of the Charter.

134. In this continuing process we know that we can count on the valuable and tireless efforts of our Secretary-General. We are indebted to Mr. Hammarskjöld for his clear introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization [A/4132/Add.1]. He has shown us how the influence of our Organization can be strengthened by developing the activities and initiatives of the statutory organs. Mr. Hammarskjöld has indicated the machinery which would enable the United Nations more effectively to meet the need for improving international co-operation, bearing in mind the principle of universality, the ultimate objective of the Charter.

135. In recent years new procedures and methods of action have been tested by the United Nations with encouraging results. I refer to the activities, in various forms and in various circumstances, involving what has come to be called the "presence" of the United Nations. This is a further proof of the flexibility of our Charter and of the great scope for action by the United Nations.

136. The Italian Government has followed these initiatives with the keenest interest and sympathy and has participated directly in some of them. For example, Italy was happy to contribute a substantial number of officers from its armed forces to the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon. This experiment produced excellent results. These results and those of earlier experiments on similar lines should, we be-

lieve, be borne in mind for the future. If the United Nations decides to set up an emergency force, Italy will participate in it. We propose to provide for such participation in our budgets and in our planning of staff requirements.

137. It would be unrealistic not to recognize the limitations which today hamper United Nations action. It is only too obvious that the historical necessities of the right of veto cannot be disregarded. Nor can we have any illusions regarding the possibility of modifying the legal situation which exists today. Nevertheless, this does not prevent us from hoping that the constitutional privilege of the veto will be resorted to only in cases of exceptional gravity. The will of a great majority would thus be allowed to prevail.

138. As the representative of a Mediterranean Power, I should like to mention the Secretary-General's patient efforts to restore peace to the Middle East. Much, of course, remains to be done, but the progress made makes the events which necessitated an emergency session of the General Assembly in August 1958 seem remote. Although the situation in the Middle East has improved, the problem of the Palestine refugees is still very far from solution. It is therefore proper that an effort should be made to work towards a solution based on human rights and on the need for harmonious economic development in that territory. I would recall that my country, which has consistently upheld the principles of freedom of navigation, has a particular interest in their application in the Mediterranean basin.

139. We have followed events in Algeria with the keenest interest and the statements of the President of France, General De Gaulle, have reassured us greatly. We consider them a courageous offer which opens up new possibilities for an equitable and satisfactory solution of the problem as a whole. We hope that the greatest possible encouragement may be given by this Assembly to this constructive plan.

140. We feel that this is the moment, if ever there was one, for us to make a supreme effort to achieve an agreement on disarmament. Never has the world been more convinced of the impossibility of avoiding the total destruction of mankind in the event of a general conflict and, therefore, of the necessity of avoiding any such conflict. This conviction must be followed by a decisive effort to reach a formal agreement to eliminate once and for all this agonizing threat which may otherwise paralyse all future activity. All those who have spoken before me have dealt with the question of disarmament and proposals have already been made. A Soviet plan has been formally placed on the agenda. All these initiatives deserve our full possible encouragement and my Government has already begun to study them.

141. Whatever may be the purposes of these proposals, we believe that their objectives can be achieved in a constructive and concrete manner only if the following five points are taken into account: (1) disarmament must be achieved by successive and gradual stages; (2) any agreement on a particular stage of disarmament must provide for suitable international control; (3) disarmament in the field of conventional weapons must take place concurrently with disarmament in nuclear weapons; (4) any substantial progress in disarmament must be accompanied by security agreements; (5) military disarmament will be general,

rapid and lasting only to the extent that it is preceded by a truce and is accompanied by a lasting agreement concerning propaganda because, even when no military action is taking place, propaganda is one of the fronts where the fight to achieve world supremacy is waged by internal means.

142. On the basis of these five principles, the Italian Government will maintain a consistent position. In the forthcoming Geneva meeting of the ten-Power Disarmament Committee, in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, and in any other forum, the representatives of Italy will do their utmost to contribute to the progress of negotiations which we consider vital to mankind and of concern to all Members of the United Nations. It is obvious that the responsibility for disarmament rests with the United Nations to which the fate of world peace has been entrusted. It will therefore be necessary for the United Nations to receive communications from the Committee of ten countries which have decided to explore possible means of achieving an agreement on disarmament.

143. Although it is not participating in the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, Italy has followed its work with particular interest and will welcome the agreements which may be reached by it and which now appear to have become a concrete possibility. Such agreements would not only reduce the risk of an atomic conflict, but would also permit development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and thus lead towards the solution of many of the serious problems which stand in the way of the development, progress and prosperity of all mankind. The Italian Government will also continue to do all it can to ensure that rapid progress is made in regard to the peaceful use of outer space. We believe that it is urgently necessary to establish an institute for legal and scientific research, in the form of a specialized agency of the United Nations. This session of the Assembly should not adjourn without having taken a decisive position on this matter.

144. Any progress towards disarmament would facilitate the solution of another of the great problems of our time: the problem of assistance to the under-developed countries. This problem is of close concern to over a thousand million human beings whose lives are a daily struggle against hunger and disease. Several countries, in particular those which have recently attained political independence, rightly wish to undertake the industrial and technical revolution that will enable them to emerge from their stagnation and their age-old poverty.

145. The problem has been discussed so frequently that further elaboration is scarcely necessary. Every day, Governments, the Press, national and international organizations, groups and individuals urge the need for greater and more rapid action to accelerate the economic development of the under-developed countries.

146. This awakening of international conscience to an understanding of the problem of economic under-development is accompanied by a realization that mankind is not necessarily condemned to poverty, as men, except for a small minority of privileged persons, have been for thousands of years. Thanks to technical progress, mankind can now be freed from poverty and an age of high mass consumption is no longer a utopian dream. On the contrary, it is already a

reality in all the countries that have attained a high level of industrialization.

147. The highly industrialized countries are already facing other problems—the qualitative rather than the quantitative improvement of human existence, the proper use of leisure rather than the simple satisfaction of material wants. The goal is not prosperity alone, but a life that is truly worth living. This is an objective that stirs and strengthens the hopes of millions of men and women and it is our duty not to disappoint their legitimate desire to place the tremendous technical advances of our times at the service of mankind.

148. Our responsibility is increased by the fact that technical progress is today also a cause for anxiety since it now makes possible the annihilation of mankind and of human civilization. Never before has mankind been compelled to make a more dramatic and decisive choice: the choice between annihilation and affluence, between total destruction and a richer, happier life. This is the challenge to our intelligence and good will we face today. In order to meet it, all countries, industrialized and under-developed alike, and all peoples, rich and poor, must pool their intellectual, moral and material resources in order to place technology at the service of mankind, progress and peace.

149. Ever since its admission to the United Nations, Italy has shown keen interest in the problems of economic under-development, and today more than ever my Government firmly intends to intensify its efforts at both the international and the bilateral levels. We believe that with the experience we have gained and are gaining in accelerating the industrialization and economic advancement of certain of our less developed regions we can make a substantial contribution to the satisfactory solution of these problems.

150. Our own experience has also confirmed the need for a comprehensive approach to the problem of economic development taking into account all the factors capable of contributing to accelerated growth. I would remind you of three of them: international trade, short-term and long-term capital assistance, and technical assistance. It would be useless to make a special effort in regard to capital if protectionist policies were allowed to restrict international trade which is a source of capital and is still an essential and basic factor in economic progress. The same is true of technical assistance which cannot be as effective as we hope if capital is lacking.

151. In calling for the closest co-ordination of all action to accelerate the development of the under-developed economies, we wonder whether the time has not come to make more use of a regional approach, which would enable the countries of a region to intensify and concentrate their efforts towards economic and technical co-operation. The great Powers with world interests would, of course, participate in the efforts of the region, which would be based on the principle of the equality of rights and obligations of all members and on the principle that economic co-operation should be independent of political considerations.

152. With regard to international co-operation for economic development within the United Nations I should like to state that the Italian Government is giving sympathetic consideration to the possibility of substantially increasing its contributions for 1960 to

the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

153. We are also considering the possibility of increasing our contribution to UNICEF.

154. Before concluding this part of my statement I should like to pay a tribute to the distinguished work Mr. Paul Hoffman has done during the initial months of operation of the Special Fund, which is so useful a counterpart of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance under the able direction of Mr. David Owen.

155. During the past ten years Italy has perhaps contributed most directly to the work of the United Nations and assumed the heaviest responsibility in Somalia.

156. The period of our trusteeship will end in a little more than a year, and I think I can say without hesitation that the task entrusted to Italy has been accomplished in a spirit of complete loyalty to the United Nations and of brotherly interest in the people of Somalia, and that accordingly the Somali Legislative Assembly's request that the date of the termination of trusteeship and of the Territory's accession to independence might be brought forward is, in our view, justified.

157. Somalia can justly claim that its structure is now that of a free and sovereign State. Since 30 April 1956 it has had a democratically elected Parliament which freely performs its legislative tasks. In this connexion I would point out that the political elections of 1956 and 1959 took place without any intervention on the part of the Administering Authority. During more than three years of parliamentary activities no constitutional conflict has arisen and it has never been necessary for the Administering Authority to invoke its special powers to alter the freely expressed wish of the Parliament. This Parliament will also act as a constituent Assembly and as such will draw up the country's new Constitution. Somalia already has a national government which functions freely and actively and is fully responsible to the Parliament, of which it is an expression. Somalia also has a civil service responsible for almost all departments of public life.

158. Somalia already has its own monetary system, and its economy, although not prosperous, at least has a solid structure and a sound foundation, so that in view of the remarkable progress achieved under trusteeship we can look forward with confidence to its future. Nevertheless much remains to be done before the termination of trusteeship. Italy will do its utmost to accelerate the transfer of the powers still vested in it as the Administering Authority.

159. Political independence must, however, always have as its main foundation the solidity of the economic structure. As we have said on other occasions, Italy is therefore prepared to continue to assist Somalia for some time and we know that contributions will also be forthcoming from the United States and the United Kingdom. But Italy obviously cannot continue this financial assistance indefinitely. My Government accordingly attaches the greatest importance to the acceleration of Somalia's economic development. To this end it will be necessary to make infrastructure investments for which public capital is needed. The exceptional expenditures involved are, I believe, of the kind for which assistance might be furnished by the United Nations through its agencies and the Special Fund.

160. To conclude this part of my remarks I should like to express sincere good wishes for the future of independent Somalia and its peaceful and fruitful coexistence with its neighbouring States.

161. Before I conclude my statement, however, I should like to voice certain misgivings which temper our satisfaction at the increasingly effective action of the United Nations in the service of peace. We are perturbed by the scant attention given in the past to the Assembly's decisions concerning the question of Hungary and to the more recent events in Tibet and Laos. If we did not voice our anxiety at these grave violations of international law we should be guilty of weakness and even of an act of complicity which might one day turn against us. In matters of principle there can be no compromise and we therefore feel compelled to call the attention of the Assembly and of Member States to the necessity for re-establishing respect for the most elementary rules of international law in the three areas I have mentioned.

162. But they are not the only cases which demand attention. It seems to us equally important to safeguard the civil liberties of the people of West Berlin and to restore the unity of Germany through the free expression of the will of the German people. Peace has hitherto been preserved in this area by a regional arrangement of the kind envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations—NATO, in which every country has the honour to participate. We cannot do otherwise than express our sincere desire that the people of West Berlin may continue to live and prosper in the climate of freedom guaranteed by the existing agreements. We can also envisage the possibility that the United Nations may one day be called upon to undertake functions and establish machinery for the solution of the many problems that arise in this area.

163. With regard to the special problem of Laos and the recent discussions in the Security Council, the Italian Government is following the action undertaken, in the belief and hope that the mission of inquiry dispatched to Laos will furnish information that will be useful in undertaking further initiative, and that its very presence in Laos will serve to deter the acts of interference which threaten the security of that newly independent country. No valid criticism can be levelled against the decisions taken by a great majority in the Security Council; they were the least that could be taken in response to an appeal from a Member State.

164. Italy has been a Member of the United Nations for less than three years, but has always had the greatest respect for the ideals of peace and progress the Organization has set out to achieve. We are therefore resolved to observe the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

165. Before I conclude I must refer to that part of the statement made in this Assembly by the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kreisky [800th meeting], which has a direct bearing on my country. My Government categorically rejects the attempt to bring up for discussion here a question which is not within the province of the Assembly.

166. I must also deplore the strange procedure which the Austrian Government has followed in making such statements while diplomatic conversations are in progress between Italy and Austria on matters concerning the two countries, including certain aspects of the application of the De Gasperi-Gruber agreement, in

which an attempt was made in 1946 to work out a definitive solution of the question of the Alto Adige. The attempt to engage in polemics on the subject endangers the success of the talks; if that is Austria's purpose it must assume full responsibility for the outcome. Austria's attitude is far from reassuring. It is tantamount to ignoring the facts in an attempt to achieve aims which have no relation to the facts themselves or to the terms of the De Gasperi-Gruber agreement. It is impossible to come to terms with those who claim that they have not obtained satisfaction or forget what they have obtained, with those who negotiate a final settlement and later make it the basis for subsequent claims, or with those who artificially create a controversy because they wish a continuing crisis.

167. As Mr. Kreisky's statement, in so far as it refers to Italian domestic affairs or relates to a legal evaluation of a bilateral agreement, does not fall within the competence of this Assembly, I do not intend, by dealing with the substance of the question, to subscribe in any way to the inadmissible interpretation of the statutory rules by the representative of Austria.

168. I will only remind you that Italy has not only applied the De Gasperi-Gruber agreement, but has also accorded the minorities of the Alto Adige a liberality

of treatment unsurpassed in any other part of the world.

169. Nor must we forget that the allogeneous population of the Alto Adige expressed its wishes in a free referendum at the end of the Second World War, when it asked and was allowed to become Italian again, although in 1939 it had voted by a large majority for transfer to Nazi Germany. The latest choice was freely made and must be considered final.

170. At the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, and at others, one urgent question was present in the minds of all representatives and implicit in all the speeches made: how was the United Nations, with its still limited resources, to deal with the problems of the day? The gap between reality and the existing needs seemed so great that pessimism was justified.

171. Today the search for methods of achieving peace continues, but we feel at least that we are no longer in a state of crisis and that we are working in a less dramatic but more constructive atmosphere.

172. Italy pledges its full contribution to this constructive task and this labour for peace.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.