



**CONTENTS**

**Agenda item 9:**

**General debate (continued)**

	Page
Statement by the representative of Austria . . .	191
Statement by the representative of Italy . . .	191
Speech by Mr. Krag (Denmark) . . . . .	192
Speech by Mr. Wigny (Belgium) . . . . .	194
Speech by Mr. Pazwhak (Afghanistan) . . . . .	197
Speech by Mr. Zorlu (Turkey) . . . . .	200
Speech by Mr. Lukanov (Bulgaria) . . . . .	203
Speech by Mr. Luns (Netherlands) . . . . .	208
Speech by Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica) . . .	210
Statement by the representative of Guatemala . . .	212

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): With the kind consent of the representative of Denmark, who was the first speaker on my list for this afternoon, I call upon the representative of Austria for a brief statement.
2. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): I am really unhappy that I again have to claim the indulgence of this Assembly with regard to the matter on which I have already stated my views. However, I am compelled to reply to the remarks of the Head of the Italian delegation.
3. Mr. Pella, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, spoke of a "free referendum". [804th meeting] through which the population of the South Tyrol expressed its will at the end of the Second World War. What has really happened in the South Tyrol? In 1939, Mussolini and Hitler agreed to "resettle" the indigenous population of the South Tyrol. A simple choice was offered to the South Tyrolese: to emigrate or to renounce their ethnic personality. Faced with such pressure, the majority of South Tyrolese opted to emigrate.
4. The war prevented the full implementation of the resettlement agreement. Nevertheless, 70,000 South Tyrolese left their native country. After the end of the war, the Anglo-American forces inhibited further displacements.
5. By the terms of the agreement concluded between Austria and Italy in 1946<sup>1/</sup>, Italy renounced the policy of resettlement, which in fact implied a partial redress of the wrongs committed under the two dictatorships against the population of South Tyrol. Italy insisted, however, that a declaration of "reoption" should be made not only by those who had emigrated

and wished to return, but also by those who had remained. The South Tyrolese were presented with the alternative: either to render the declaration that was demanded of them, or to accept an uncertain future as a people without citizenship. Really, can such a choice be considered a "freely expressed referendum"? I leave it to this Assembly to pass judgement on this question.

6. As far as the South Tyrolese are concerned, their freely expressed opinion was demonstrated by the fact that in April 1946, 123,000 of them—that is almost the entire population of voting age—petitioned for a free plebiscite.

7. If Mr. Pella finally states that no minority is treated more liberally than the South Tyrolese, why not grant them, for instance, the autonomous rights enjoyed by the Swedish minority on the Finnish Aland Islands?

8. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I presume the Assembly has no objection to my calling upon the representative of Italy.

9. Mr. PELLA (Italy) (translated from French): I do not wish to impose upon this Assembly by dwelling on matters that will divert it from the discussion of really important problems which affect the whole world and its destiny. Nevertheless, in view of the reply of my Austrian colleague I must respectfully but clearly reiterate that the question to which he saw fit to draw attention is not within the competence of this Assembly. This is not a question which concerns the maintenance of international peace and security or the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The matter has been settled by a bilateral agreement, the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement, and negotiations are now being carried on between the two countries with regard to certain details of implementation.

10. Italy has been, and is now, giving full effect to that agreement by guaranteeing to the German-language minority complete equality of rights with other Italian citizens and by safeguarding the ethnic character and the cultural and economic development of that minority from both the constitutional and the individual points of view. I entirely agree that there are other minorities which enjoy excellent treatment, but I must repeat that the liberality of Italy's treatment of the minorities in the Upper Adige is not surpassed anywhere in the world. Mr. Kreisky asserted that in certain respects Italy has not fulfilled its obligations under the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement. I am in a position to prove, and I propose to do so at the appropriate time and place, from the very words of eminent members of the Austrian Government and of the "Südtiroler Volkspartei" that these charges are devoid of any foundation in fact or in law.

11. I should like to refer only briefly to the reproach directed to me by my Austrian colleague that I presented as a referendum the decision of the German

<sup>1/</sup> This agreement, also known as the De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement, forms Annex IV of the Peace Treaty with Italy, signed in Paris in 1947. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, Vol. 49 (1950), p. 184.

minority to resume Italian nationality after agreements had been made for its transfer to Nazi Germany. Although that decision may not have been a referendum in the technical sense of the word, there is no denying that it embodied an irrevocable manifestation of free will.

12. I cannot conclude without expressing my disappointment and resentment at the fact that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria has, in his statement today, chosen to dwell on this question. The possible unfortunate result will be to confirm our opinion that for some time past the Austrian Government has wanted to create artificial tension between Italy and Austria and to disturb a situation which was normal and which can and should continue to be so.

13. Mr. KRAG (Denmark): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your unanimous election to your high office. This Assembly could not initiate its very important task under a more able and wise leadership than yours.

14. Irrespective of the many unsolved problems and dangerous tensions which continue to characterize the international situation, it appears to me justified to stress that present developments seem to hold out certain prospects of a relaxation of tension and a consolidation of peace. The crucial question is whether we shall be able to exploit these possibilities, which, in certain respects, seem to be better than they have been for several years.

15. In bringing about the improved international climate, the exchange, on high and highest level, of personal visits between the representatives of the great Powers of East and West has undoubtedly been a major factor both as a cause and effect. In a few hours there will, in this country, be renewed talks between the chief executives of the world's two most important Powers, and these talks are planned to be resumed in the Soviet Union in the near future. These exchanges of personal visits may mean the opening of a new era in international relations. We must realize, however, that the tasks confronting us are great and difficult. There are still many hurdles on the road before we reach the peaceful co-operation envisaged in the Charter.

16. The first, and perhaps the most complicated problem for international negotiation, is the problem of disarmament. If we are entering a period of reduced political tensions, this would mean an improved climate for progress in the debate on disarmament. Complete and comprehensive disarmament is of vital interest to all nations, great or small, to avert the dangers of all-destructive war and to alleviate the arms burden from the shoulders of mankind, thus enabling immense productive forces to be dedicated to raising the living standard of millions of human beings.

17. We have listened with great interest to two apparently rather different proposals on general international disarmament. The first proposal was advanced [798th meeting] by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and the other [799th meeting] by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Without going into a thorough analysis here, I should like to point out that, although the two proposals may seem to differ considerably, they have in common that they both aim at total disarmament as the ultimate goal. The United Kingdom plan clearly stresses certain

essential points. Importance is attached to progress by stages, to a balanced disarmament—so that one group of Powers should not have a greater possibility of retaining its armed strength than other groups—and, finally, that disarmament should be subject to effective international control at each stage. I think that by stressing these points, Mr. Lloyd's plan appears more realistic than Mr. Khrushchev's. I feel, I ought to add, however, that as I see it, there was nothing in Mr. Khrushchev's plan which would rule out a similar realistic approach. I take it that, during the continued discussions of the disarmament issue, the two proposals will be given a detailed analysis.

18. We must admit that, in the years since 1945, detailed and lengthy discussions by experts on the question of disarmament have led to only modest results. I agree with the representative of Norway who stated [807th meeting] that a pragmatic approach has certain advantages; and the diplomatic and technical discussions on various aspects of the disarmament problem, which are already in progress, should, of course, continue. It could very well be, however, that we have now reached a point where decisions concerning the main principles of disarmament and the control thereof should be made at the highest level.

19. It is the opinion of the Danish Government that special attention should be devoted to the problem of controlled suspension of nuclear tests. We feel that the suspension of such tests would tend to reduce tensions and at the same time, by preventing an aggravation of the dangers inherent in radioactive radiation, would have great influence on the feeling of security of the peoples. It is, therefore, with satisfaction that we have noted the fact that no tests have been conducted in almost one whole year.

20. Besides the question of disarmament, there are several other international problems of paramount importance. The efforts to reach a solution of all these problems would, I am sure, benefit by high level personal talks. It is our belief that very careful consideration should be given to the possibility of creating conditions for holding a summit conference to deal with these problems. This seems to us to be a natural sequel to the various talks which are now taking place or which have recently taken place at top level.

21. We take it that the Berlin question would become a major item on the agenda of a summit conference. If our impressions are correct, the Foreign Ministers, during this summer's lengthy discussions at Geneva, have got as far with these problems as possible. Certain important problems are still unsolved, and these might find their solution at a summit meeting.

22. I would now like to make a few observations on the situation in the Middle East. Having in mind the statements already made by several distinguished representatives, I wish to state that the Danish Government supports the principle of freedom of passage of ships and cargo of all nations through the Suez Canal. It is well known, I think, that a Danish vessel, the *Inge Toft* under foreign charter, has been detained at the entrance to the Canal since May 1959. We sincerely hope that the continued efforts of the United Nations will contribute to a satisfactory solution in the near future.

23. In view of the importance of political stability in the Middle East, I should like to suggest that the work which has so far been carried out by UNRWA is not

only a humanitarian one, but has at the same time political significance. We therefore consider it essential that this agency should be enabled to continue its efforts for a certain period when its present terms of reference expire in 1960. This period should be used to seek a final solution to the refugee problem in the Middle East.

24. Concurrently with the efforts of the Governments directly concerned, the efforts of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General have contributed to promote the development of greater stability in the Middle East. In this connexion mention should also be made of the importance of the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force in part of the area. In his report on UNEF [A/3899] the Secretary-General states that the maintenance of peaceful conditions along the entire line between Egypt and Israel is attributable in no small measure to the presence of this peace force. Against this background, I note with satisfaction that, through its participation with a contingent in UNEF, Denmark—together with other countries—has been able to contribute within the framework of the United Nations to the fulfillment of one of the most significant objectives of the United Nations Charter.

25. It is the intention of the Danish Government to continue to support these efforts. We trust that the problems concerning the sharing of the financial burden will be solved in the forthcoming discussions during this session. In our opinion, UNEF has met with such considerable success as to warrant giving serious consideration to at least some steps towards the establishment of a permanent United Nations force. The question of creating such a force is also connected with the problem of total disarmament. We realize that the setting up of a permanent United Nations force will confront us with many questions, also of a financial nature. But I think that certain preliminary steps could be taken along the lines suggested by the representative of the United Kingdom, [798th meeting] such as the earmarking by Member States of personnel and the setting up of a small planning section in the United Nations Secretariat.

26. The political problems, which I mentioned here, make it natural that we all wish that the United Nations should become as strong an organization as possible. In the Danish view, one of the means of strengthening the United Nations is to make the Organization as universal as possible. It hardly seems in the interests of the United Nations that the most populous country in the world, the People's Republic of China, is not represented through the Government which has exercised full authority in China for so many years. The Danish Government maintains the view that the People's Republic of China should be represented in the United Nations, and we have given our vote in conformity with that view.

27. It is in the common interest that the United Nations should be respected in all Member countries. It is therefore with concern that the Danish Government has noted that the Hungarian Government has not even been willing to receive the Special Representative of the United Nations.

28. I shall now make some remarks about the tasks confronting the United Nations in the economic field. Denmark supports all efforts which may lead to expanded production and a higher standard of living in the world. We give our support to efforts aiming at

expanded international trade on a regional as well as a universal basis. The European market plans are of great significance to Denmark, but at the same time we are aiming at increased commercial relations with the countries that are not participating in these plans. We feel that an increase of East-West trade is important also because of its political significance. The United Nations has a great mission to fulfil in regard to economic assistance to the so-called less developed areas.

29. One of the guiding principles of the United Nations could, I think, be characterized as the principle of solidarity amongst the Member States. The Expanded Technical Assistance Programme is in conformity with this principle and has already led to considerable progress, but vital tasks are still awaiting a solution. The Danish Government will continue to give its wholehearted support to this vital work.

30. The Technical Assistance Programme is being appreciably supplemented through the Special Fund which was established by a resolution [1240 (XIII)] adopted by the General Assembly during its thirteenth session. In the course of an impressively short time the Fund has gone well ahead on its tasks. This start holds out good prospects for the future. There is reason to congratulate the organs of the Fund and its Managing Director, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, on their excellent achievements.

31. The Special Fund is paving the way for capital investment in the less developed areas and must therefore be supplemented by still another body to handle the investments. During its thirteenth session the General Assembly adopted a resolution [resolution 1317 (XIII)] concerning a United Nations capital development fund, and later the suggestion was made to establish an international development association, a suggestion which is going to be discussed at the forthcoming annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Danish Government is prepared to participate in careful and benevolent consideration of plans of this nature. As to membership, we would welcome efforts to probe existing possibilities of creating as broad a basis as possible.

32. May I refer next to an international problem which is not on our agenda this year but which is of particular interest to my Government. I have in mind the question of territorial waters and fishery limits which was such an important issue at the last General Assembly, and which will be submitted to the second United Nations conference on the law of the sea, to meet in Geneva in the spring of 1960. I refer to it here because I wish to express my sincere hope that the conference next year may reach an agreed solution of these difficult problems, and I would urge all States represented here to do their utmost in this respect, bearing in mind that agreed solutions must always be compromises and involve a certain amount of give and take. I also wish to appeal to many of the greater nations represented here to remember the special consideration which for many reasons should be given to nations or territories situated under such conditions that a population could simply not maintain a reasonable standard of living without the resources of the sea.

33. Although there are certain rays of light in the international situation, it is still premature to take an optimistic view. In many fields, strong forces have been put in motion in our world, forces which we have

hardly learned to control and whose final results hardly anybody could imagine. I am thinking of the frightening development of nuclear weapons. We have not yet reached the technical limit for the impact of nuclear explosions. I also have in mind the almost inconceivable progress in regard to the conquest by man of outer space. Achievements in this field are impressive. But we could hardly witness the advance of science and technology in these spheres without a feeling that these very brilliant results might be misused for military purposes. They could thus, in the same way as the knowledge of nuclear fission, become a threat to mankind. There is a growing need for political decisions which could control and remove this threat. The huge scientific and technical forces which are now diverted to military purposes should be directed exclusively to efforts serving the cause of peace and the well-being of people everywhere.

34. But strong forces are in motion also in the political field. I have in mind not only the differences between the Western world and the Communist world, differences which personal contacts between statesmen might help to reduce. I am thinking also of the strong national movements which we are seeing developing all over the globe and perhaps particularly in Africa and Asia. I wish to say that in Denmark we respect these movements as long as their goals are promoted by peaceful means and by methods which do not violate human rights. It is our wish that these movements, in natural co-operation with the nations, and especially with those who have old relations with the regions of the world where these movements are taking place, may create better conditions of living and greater freedom for their peoples.

35. It is unfortunate that racial strife and prejudice are not everywhere a thing of the past. In Denmark we feel that in several parts of the world conditions leave much to be desired in this respect. We think that nowhere should one race be allowed to discriminate against another race.

36. In conclusion, I should like to express the confidence of the Danish Government in the Secretary-General, who has so admirably shown himself ready, whenever circumstances so required, to devote his personal insight and efforts to the cause of peace. In our opinion, the Secretary-General's quiet diplomacy has had considerable success.

37. Mr. WIGNY (Belgium) (translated from French): Although repetitions beget monotony and may end in tedium, I hope you will allow the Belgian delegation to join previous speakers in expressing its gratification that you have been elected to preside over our debates. For you combine an extensive knowledge of political questions and a wide experience of international assemblies with the charm of a mind interested in everything.

38. We should also like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his unwearying efforts since the last session to increase the efficiency of our Organization and help it to achieve at least part of its essential purpose of settling disputes and maintaining world peace.

39. The present session opened at a historic moment. The general debate held in this hall has not prevented us from devoting attention to the repercussions caused in the outside world by the meeting of the representatives of the two most powerful States in the world.

40. The Belgian Government from the beginning welcomed the exchange of visits between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. We did not cherish the illusion that a mere meeting would be sufficient to dispel the all too real disputes which divide the two groups and which the Foreign Ministries have been unable to settle despite many years of effort. As we never hoped for as much as that, we could not be disappointed. But we do think that the chief object, which is that they should get to know each other better, has been achieved.

41. Hitherto the iron curtain had been so thick that it was becoming impossible to hear the other party, still less to understand it. Whether it was a matter of democracy, freedom, security, coexistence, control or confidence, the words no longer had the same meaning. Even if the facts were known it was impossible to grasp the exact significance attributed to them on the other side. Even when a proposal was under consideration, it was studied in terms of the philosophy and from the point of view of one side and its exact implications were not understood. A dialogue, still more, an agreement, had become a psychological impossibility. That is the advantage of a direct exchange of views without intermediaries. It is not surprising that at the outset such contact should produce friction. But if misunderstandings are to be progressively dispelled, it should be continued. It is the necessary preliminary to any possible agreement.

42. This session is dominated by the meetings of the two men who personify the two greatest Powers of our time. We realize that nothing of importance can be done without their joint agreement. But we ought also to realize that nothing great can be successfully achieved without the support of all nations and in particular of the small nations which constitute the majority of this Assembly. At the thirteenth session of the General Assembly I emphasized their influence and their responsibility. Is it not our duty to encourage the great Powers, to guide their efforts by telling them exactly what is expected, what will be supported and what the public opinion which we represent can render successful?

43. The speeches of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who succeed each other on this platform would be monotonous if they did not become pitiful through sheer repetition. We are all harassed by the same anxiety and inspired by the same hope. We know that the same war would engulf us with our civilizations and that in time of peace the prosperity of a few privileged nations can only be firm and lasting if it is rapidly extended to the hosts of beings who are now the victims of hunger, poverty and ignorance. That is the common conviction which in different words is repeated until it becomes almost obsessive.

44. On this platform a few days ago Mr. Khrushchev proposed [799th meeting] complete and controlled disarmament within four years. Complete and controlled disarmament is an ideal which enjoys unqualified acceptance and should be realized as soon as possible. We, the small nations, feel more than others the burden of armaments. While we are incapable of being aggressors we are afraid of being the victims of aggression and cannot forget the fact. If we are prosperous we know, without need for explanation, that we could have still more schools, hospitals, theatres and museums, that we could, without indulging in vain luxury, have a higher level of living. If we are insufficiently developed economically, we think regret-



fully of all the factories which could be built if we could obtain a loan equivalent to the cost of one armoured division or one naval squadron.

45. But this disarmament must be really general, that is to say, it must be extended to both camps. If it was unilateral, the anxiety of the small nations would be increased by the removal of the precarious balance of power which at present constitutes their protection. That is why we must insist on control, which will assure us that disarmament is not merely a propaganda device or even an aggressive manoeuvre.

46. Much has been said about control and confidence. The West regards confidence as a consequence of control whereas the Soviet bloc consider rather that confidence is a prerequisite of control. Paradoxically, confidence alone, if achieved, would obviate the need for control and even for disarmament. The word given by either side would provide sufficient reassurance and would not need to be checked. The existence of dangerous stockpiles would be no cause for disquiet because everyone would know, for instance, that rockets are intended for trips to the moon and not for the annihilation of cities. But where there is no confidence at all, control by a potential aggressor is unacceptable. The first step must be conciliation.

47. It is a well-known adage, worth thinking about, that the first reaction of a man threatened by a thief is certainly not to hand over the key to his house. It may be added, however, that if the thief claims to have thrown his weapon into the gutter the man will certainly not take his word for it but will want to go through his pockets. Hence, control is essential. But, of course, the owner of the house will not allow himself to be searched. That is why confidence is needed. The difficulty is that each side, convinced of its own peaceful intentions, acts like the peaceful owner of the house and considers the other side a potential aggressor.

48. The conclusion is that confidence and control go hand in hand. That is why disarmament can only be achieved in stages. At a time when the two great Powers are discussing the question, when a Ten-Power Committee has just been set up in liaison with the United Nations, it would, of course, be premature to offer suggestions. However, the smaller nations must state emphatically that they are anxiously following these negotiations, will endorse even a proposal for partial disarmament if it is likely to reduce tension and increase confidence, but will not give moral support to any propaganda manoeuvre or unwarranted obstruction.

49. I have one final observation to make on this subject. Is it right to set as the final objective a total disarmament which would leave States with only a police force? We know, of course, that man did not wait for the bomb before he began to fight. Men have fought with spears, with clubs and with their fists. The larger States may constitute a threat by the sheer weight of their population and economy. Moreover, we live in a turbulent world. We cannot be certain that everyone will be wise and peaceful. Within a country all the citizens are disarmed except the police and in a world that is disarmed but in a constant state of unrest because of conflicting interests provision must be made for at least an international United Nations police force.

50. Total disarmament implies total control and I wonder whether the two parties will ever agree to

inspection sufficiently close to permit not only a detection and cessation of the manufacture of atomic bombs but also the detection and destruction of existing stocks of bombs. If we really wish to succeed, we must state clearly both the extent of the problem and the limits within which solutions are possible.

51. Peace can be consolidated not only in a negative way, through disarmament measures, but also by positive steps. I should like to mention two in the second part of my statement.

52. One is a better exchange of information. In earlier days the foreigner was looked upon as an odd, savage and dangerous creature. Today's tourist usually returns home with love for his own country but with a better understanding of other lands. One does not relish shooting at those whose language one has heard, to whose ideas one has listened, and whose home one has visited. Should we not increase this mutual understanding? Have we not together drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in which freedom of thought and the right to information are enshrined? The time seems to me to be particularly ripe for a new effort to be made, now that Mr. Khrushchev is in the United States and will later be host to Mr. Eisenhower in Moscow, now that two exhibitions have aroused burning curiosity and tourists are passing in increasing numbers under a half-lifted iron curtain.

53. Belgium proposed on a previous occasion that the world's peoples should receive more information about the horrors of an atomic war. The proposal still stands. But it cannot remain isolated lest the peoples, fearful of what may happen, arm themselves more feverishly in order to avert such horrors. The peoples must also be told what those on the other side are thinking and doing. The desire for peace is universal and every country has great peaceful achievements to its credit. Let the people meet one another and compare their achievements. They will no longer think of fighting.

54. I was struck by the remark of the Secretary of State of the United States, [797th meeting] Mr. Herter, that the debates in this Assembly should be heard everywhere, by our own efforts if necessary. If we really wish to establish peace on a basis of conciliation of ideas and interests instead of the brutal hegemony of a single Power, what every one of us has to say should be heard.

55. Should we not seize upon this intellectual easing of tension and this increase in contacts as an opportunity to congratulate the statesmen who have taken the initiative in this and to see to it that the movement is accelerated? A commission is studying disarmament; should we not also establish a commission to consider the possibility of a greater exchange of ideas? UNESCO is dealing with this from the intellectual standpoint but the political responsibility lies with the United Nations and it is from the political point of view that I raise this problem.

56. Certain precautions will, of course, have to be taken. Protection against untruthful or simply tactless propaganda may be desirable. Some visitors are not welcome, some exchanges of views are dangerous. Contacts that have not been properly prepared may do harm. In short, those who object to indiscriminate application of the principle of information may have sound, honourable reasons for their reservations. It would seem, therefore, that a commission which would lay down rules, establish precedents, ensure gradual progress and iron out difficulties, might render

immense services. It need not have any rights, authority or obligations which would not be acceptable. We must have confidence in its growing moral influence.

57. So much for my first suggestion for positive action in favour of peace. My second concerns commercial and financial exchanges. Trade is a good antidote to war. If one is reluctant to fire at a man one knows, one is equally reluctant to shoot someone who has become one's customer.

58. On this point are we not all open to criticism? Sometimes trade is reduced for strategic reasons, sometimes it is increased for political reasons. Trade between East and West presents difficult problems because, on the one side, there are State enterprises which are not directly affected by the pressure of costs and, on the other side, there are private companies which cannot sell their goods at a loss. If dumping and quotas are to be avoided, the two worlds must find common rules of fair competition which work to the advantage of both sides.

59. In connexion with the question of trade, I think particularly of the under-developed countries and countries in the process of development. They certainly need technical and financial aid, and by reducing the burden of armaments, we could increase our support substantially. But even before seeking our assistance, these nations are appealing to us to let them earn their livelihood quietly by selling us the raw materials which they produce at a reasonable price. Unfortunately, market prices fluctuate so much that, during bad years, the producing countries can lose much more than we lend or give them. And in the face of such fluctuations and instability of earnings, how can they be expected to work out long-term economic development plans with any degree of certainty?

60. Obviously stabilization of the prices of raw materials or, more accurately, stabilization of the foreign earnings of such countries can only be achieved through the co-operation of all producers and consumers throughout the world. Moreover—and this too is primarily of interest to countries in the process of development—the goods they import and the commodities they export must be able to use the world's shipping routes freely, without discrimination or hindrance to this peaceful trade by third parties. Is this not an excellent and necessary field for co-operation between East and West?

61. Belgium, together with five other countries, is a member of the Six-Power European Common Market. Together these countries are the largest importing and exporting power in the world. We have always believed that we should not isolate ourselves; our history, geography, our overseas responsibilities, our economic and trade interests compelled us to maintain increasingly close relations not only with the twelve nations of Western and Southern Europe, but with the British Commonwealth, Latin America, North America, the African States and with our customers and suppliers in Asia. The creation of this new, great economic power is not of advantage to the European Common Market countries alone; it will make it possible to buy more and sell more and to lend on a larger scale. It is in that light that we should view its development. In particular, we are conscious of our obligations towards the under-developed countries, but we are also aware that we can only fulfil them in co-operation with the other great industrial powers of America, the British Commonwealth and the USSR.

62. I am attempting, Mr. President, to explain the philosophy underlying our initiative. We are living in an era when, for the first time, as a result mainly of technological advances, human dignity is not merely something to be proclaimed by religious leaders and philosophers but must be the concern of politicians and business leaders. Today we feel that man, that every man, not only has a theoretical right to develop intellectually and materially, but can reasonably look forward to a decent standard of living and a better life. We are aware that a nation—every nation—if it makes an effort, can and must become the master of its own destiny.

63. In this connexion, I wish to welcome President de Gaulle's statement (16 September 1959) on Algeria. It was conceived with vision and it offers that community self-determination and the opportunity to continue to benefit by the economic, financial, technical and scientific aid which France so generously extends to those associated with her.

64. I also wish to welcome the young African States as well as the Cameroons, Togoland, Nigeria and Somaliland, which will attain independence in 1960. The activity of their delegations here will be the proof of their political maturity and the best tribute they can pay to the beneficent work accomplished by the former Administering Powers.

65. In this connexion, I cannot refrain from reminding the Assembly, although these are strictly internal matters, that Belgium has always been guided by the same ideal in Africa. In 1958, a parliamentary commission, after an extensive survey in the Congo, put forward principles of democratization which were endorsed without modification in the declarations by the Government and the Crown early this year.

66. Those declarations explicitly state that: "Belgium intends to organize a democracy in the Congo which will be capable of exercising the prerogatives of sovereignty and of deciding upon its independence."<sup>2/</sup> And in order to give substance to the solemn restatement of that pledge and at the same time prepare the people for the exercise of political rights, specific measures of major importance are being carried out this year: general elections by free and secret ballot and with universal suffrage, the organization at all levels of representative and executive organs, the vesting of real powers in these organs, while Africanization of the civil service continues. Further steps are to be taken in 1960. The Africans recognize that in seventy-five years we have developed their country materially and intellectually and transformed it into what I believe to be a country with a fair name in the world. With the same devotion and the same realism, we are now organizing political democracy. Naturally all these institutions cannot be established overnight, but the Africans know that the rate of progress depends only on their good will and their ability. We, for our part, are continuing to help them in every possible way: philosophically, scientifically, technically and financially.

67. Another parliamentary commission has drawn up similar reforms for the Trust Territories of Ruanda and Urundi and they will soon be officially announced by my Government.

68. Thus, we are living in a world where all countries may look forward to receiving the material and

<sup>2/</sup> Belgian Congo, 59, special edition, p. 3.

intellectual benefits which are still the privilege of a few. It would be unthinkable that so much good will, so many opportunities should be wasted in blunders, rivalry, conflicts and apocalyptic wars. We, the small nations, are aware of this and we urgently appeal to the great Powers of this world to forsake ideological quarrels and to rise above conflicts of interest at a time when their honest co-operation can bring peace, well-being and happiness for all.

*Mr. Undén (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

69. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I speak for a small country, Afghanistan, which enjoys friendly relations with all countries. Our peaceful policy is derived from our deep conviction that peace and friendship between peoples and nations are the only conditions in which we can live and work for a better future.

70. Our friendly relations with those with whom we share the same ideology and way of life is a natural outcome of our aspirations. Our friendly relations with those whose ideology and way of life are different from our own are based on our belief in the principle of peaceful and friendly co-existence among peoples and nations of the world. It should be a matter of regret for all of us that we live in a divided world. In this divided world, however, we are associated with one and only one alliance, and that is the United Nations.

71. Our intervention in the general debate is not merely to follow a customary practice, but it derives from the necessity of giving expression to the unbiased, impartial and independent voice of a small country, whose experiences of the past, conditions of the present and aspirations for the future are typical of all small and particularly less-developed countries.

72. The fourteenth session of the General Assembly is convened on an important occasion. Important statements have already been made. In all these speeches a deep desire for peace has been most strongly emphasized. It is a most hopeful reality that the desire for peace is universal, knowing no ideological or political borders.

73. Mr. Belaúnde, the distinguished President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, in his opening statement [795th meeting] expressed the hope that this General Assembly would go down in history as the "Assembly of peace". As a representative of a small country I wish to associate my delegation with the hopes he cherished.

74. Realizing that peace is in the custody of the big Powers, it is good to see that certain efforts are being made for lessening international tension. These efforts are a great source of encouragement to all peoples of the world, particularly those of the small countries. Not many events have been so warmly welcomed as have the direct contacts made by leaders of the big Powers. From this, one can derive the true meaning of the aspirations of the people of the world. We only hope that all those on whose wisdom the future of the world depends will be guided in their thoughts, their approach and their actions by unselfishness and a sense of responsibility, not only in their own interest, but in the interest of mankind as a whole.

75. No peace, in our opinion, without the full protection of all rights and interests and the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of all peoples and nations of the world is peace. On all occasions this is the greatest and the most natural concern of the small countries,

for the expression of which there is no better time or place than the General Assembly of the United Nations.

76. However, we must say that we are not happy that certain issues which are not on the agenda of the General Assembly at this session have been brought up in the general debate. This has engendered a fear of the continuation of the cold war at a time which was hoped to be a turning-point towards its termination. We sincerely desire that such attempts will not be followed, and that our deliberations in this session will be positive and constructive and will influence the international situation in bringing the cold war to an end.

77. No small country can do more than express its concern over the regrettable international situation. Some representatives have stated, and correctly, that the contribution to the solution of world-wide problems by small countries is necessarily a modest one. However, we think that the voice of small countries in a democratic gathering of nations established on the principle of equality is not less than any other voice.

78. We admit that there are small Powers and big Powers, small countries and large countries, but we do not believe that there is anything like a small or large nation. All nations are equal in their dignity and in their rights, not only here in the United Nations under its Charter, but everywhere and at all times. Therefore we hope that all small countries will realize more than ever their position, particularly here in the United Nations, and will exercise their right to make this Organization work for the welfare of humanity through their independent judgement of all world affairs.

79. We are confident that with all the concern demonstrated by the big Powers about the welfare of the small countries, particularly those in under-developed areas, these efforts of the small countries will be most welcome. It is with this hope that we would like to state our views before the General Assembly.

80. We have carefully studied the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/4132/Add.1] particularly the part dealing with the role of the United Nations. We do not wish to express any disagreement with his interpretation of the role of the United Nations in the face of the developments and activities concerning international problems. We do not disagree, because under the circumstances it is a wise interpretation. But we shall not refrain from saying that we would have wished the circumstances to be different, so that this Organization could play its full and rightful role in the peaceful solution of all international problems.

81. To be satisfied that a certain activity does not go so far as to abolish the aims of the Charter of the United Nations is not enough. What is required is the strengthening of the United Nations by increasing the confidence of Member States in the organization so that they will consider it the best place for the negotiation of all international problems with a view to reaching agreements which will have the support and consent of all nations.

82. In an age when no nation remains unaffected by any event in any part of the world, it is wrong to think that international problems could be the concern only of a group of nations and not of a world organization, such as the United Nations, dedicated to their solution.



83. Processes exclusive of the United Nations can hardly be considered fully consistent with the aims and purposes of the Charter. It is not only the question of such processes which should be considered, but their results and consequences. These concern the small countries, which, with their deep faith in the United Nations, can place their hopes and their confidence only in this Organization. Therefore, it is not very easy to accept as a general rule that the extraorganizational solution of problems of world-wide interest concerning humanity as a whole can be definitely or completely free from implications which would impair the position of the Organization in principle.

84. Those who have the practical solution of the problems in their custody are obviously not in a weaker position within the United Nations, particularly if their desire to put themselves in a better position to solve a problem is in complete harmony with the aims of the Charter and the interest of the world as a whole.

85. One of the most important questions which directly concerns the small countries is the question of a United Nations stand-by force. This question was raised in the general debate during the thirteenth session, and it has been touched upon in this session. We stated [755th meeting] that we had utmost confidence in the United Nations, and expressed the hope that it would become increasingly effective as an instrument of peace. But, we added that the question of a United Nations force required more careful study, particularly in the prevailing international circumstances, and that we should be most cautious in our deliberations on this issue, because any hasty measures in this area would involve dangers that would affect the Organization directly. This point of view of the Afghan Government remains unchanged.

86. Moreover, we stated that the United Nations should deal with this matter only at the most proper time and after a thorough examination of the desirability of the establishment of such a force. In the course of the year, we have been convinced by the prevailing international atmosphere that the proper time has not yet arrived. Therefore we are not in a position to commit ourselves to the approval of this idea at the present stage.

87. It is encouraging that the way for a fresh start in dealing with the disarmament question seems not to be considered closed. We hope that the General Assembly at its present session will express itself on the best method of this fresh start, paying more attention to the anxieties of all nations.

88. Except for a hot war which will bring destruction to all, the cold war is obviously the greatest source of anxiety from which the small countries suffer more than anyone else. The continuation of the cold war, therefore, means the continuation of this suffering for us. The arms race does not only affect the economic and social progress of the small countries, but in the field of nuclear competition the small countries, which have almost no means of protection, are more exposed to the dangers which threaten the world as a whole. Therefore the question of disarmament is of much more importance to us in the termination of the cold war and the strengthening of hopes for a lasting peace.

89. The Afghan delegation welcomes the spirit of the proposals advanced [A/4219] for complete disarmament by the Government of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics. We think these proposals are basic and comprehensive, and we hope that their serious consideration by the United Nations will pave the way for more fruitful discussions on this long-standing problem, which has a direct bearing on world peace and security. We hope that all States will judge the problem on its merits only, and will consider these proposals as an encouraging basis for the negotiation of this highly important and vital problem. The Afghan delegation would also wholeheartedly welcome any other initiative that would bring about a complete disarmament as soon as possible, or that would facilitate a general agreement on this most important question in all its aspects.

90. While it is gratifying that the nuclear Powers have announced that the ban on the testing of nuclear weapons will be extended, it is regrettable that the complete cessation of nuclear tests has not been agreed upon. We hope that the General Assembly at its present session will emphasize the necessity of agreement on this point without any delay. The idea of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons should receive the strong support of all nations of the world, and should not be conditional upon anything, including a general agreement on disarmament, even in its most ideal form. The humanitarian aspect of the problem should not be overshadowed by the political differences which, however great they may be, are too small when compared with the importance of the preservation of the human race.

91. We strongly support the appeal of the African nations for the prevention of the intended atomic tests in the Sahara. This question is not only a source of anxiety for the people of Africa, but for the majority of the population of the world, and should be most seriously considered by the United Nations.

92. The penetration of man into outer space and the use of outer space only for peaceful and scientific purposes should be approached with a universal outlook, which is not possible unless all developments are the sole concern of the United Nations.

93. No Member of the United Nations, having a deep conviction in the right of peoples and nations to independence, can strike a happier note in this General Assembly than to speak of the progress made toward independence in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories of Africa. We are looking forward to seeing the new States occupy their rightful place in the community of sovereign nations.

94. This happiness, however, is a mere flash of light on the horizon of the lives of many peoples, which has been darkened for centuries by the deprivation of peoples and nations of their legitimate right to independence. The real day of happiness has not yet dawned, and indeed cannot, until all peoples and nations, whose aspirations for independence are suppressed in many ways and forms, achieve their goal, and colonialism is abolished in all its forms, wherever it exists.

95. The contribution already made by the new Member States in the United Nations leaves no doubt that the independence of the dependent peoples is not only the recognition of the highest aspirations of man for freedom from domination, but also that it benefits the peoples of the world as a whole. The unjust policies of certain countries must inevitably give way to the legitimate rights of the people for self-determination and independence.



96. Gratification has been voiced for the solution of the Cyprus problem. We would like to associate ourselves with this expression. The solution of the Cyprus issue is an example of a constructive approach to complicated problems in the United Nations. The efforts made by the parties in this direction should be highly appreciated.

97. We hope that a satisfactory solution of the West Irian question will follow as soon as possible.

98. It is most regrettable, however, that the developments in connexion with the solution of the Algerian problem are still most discouraging. To most of us it should be surprising enough that while we hear lofty voices of peace, and hear of the desire to end the cold war, no encouraging concern has been expressed about the Algerian people and the hot war which continues there. The constructive approach of many Members of the United Nations has not received the unanimous support it deserves.

99. We do understand the difficulties with which we are confronted on certain problems, but it is regrettable to see that situations of greater importance are sometimes overshadowed, while attention is forcefully drawn to comparatively minor issues. The adoption of such a policy by an individual country in its own interest might be understandable, but is most discouraging when not abolished by an Organization like the United Nations, particularly on a matter of hot war. We hope that in this General Assembly where attempts made to thaw the cold war have been highly praised, more attention will be paid to ending the hot war in Algeria.

100. The recent statement of policy made in Paris by the President of the French Republic has attracted the attention it deserves all over the world. We are confident that it will also receive the consideration of the Algerian leaders who have been so bravely fighting for the cause of independence of their country. Afghanistan has always supported the right of peoples and nations to self-determination and to independence everywhere. In this case also, we hold the same opinion. But we must add that the desire of the Algerian people for independence is clear, and their determination has been declared by the rightful leaders of Algeria. We do not think that the solution of the Algerian problem should be based solely on the declaration of intentions by France. Whatever measures to be taken should be dependent on peaceful negotiations between France and the rightful leaders of Algeria, with a view to reaching a complete understanding on the restoration of an honourable peace and the realization of the legitimate rights of the Algerian people to decide their own destiny.

101. In these considerations the United Nations should fully realize its responsibilities. We should remind the General Assembly of the many outstanding examples of political arrangements after the Second World War, where the fate of peoples and nations has been at stake. We are particularly alarmed about such situations when they arise because similar examples exist in our own part of the world.

102. One of the most dangerous ways of solving such problems is through the partition of countries and their division, or the annexation of territories without the free consent of the people themselves. Such methods have always given rise to difficulties in the future which have damaged peaceful and friendly relations

between peoples and nations. I do not think that there is any necessity to enumerate these examples. But we would like to state clearly that in the consideration of the Algerian question this point should not be ignored.

103. Negotiations cannot be fair and just unless they are without restrictions and conditions, and in harmony with the dignity and honour of the parties concerned. It would be most unrealistic to think that a war could end peacefully by ignoring one of the parties in the dispute. It will be premature to go further into this matter at the present stage, but we would like to state that the people of Algeria, who have struggled so bravely for their independence, will have our full support in the United Nations when this question is discussed.

104. We have been deeply impressed by the concern shown for the welfare of under-developed countries by all those who are in a position to continue their assistance through international co-operation for the promotion of economic and social conditions in these areas. As a representative of a small country in a less developed area, however, it is our duty to draw the attention of the Members of the General Assembly to the fact that the appreciation of these gratifying statements has not been completely free from certain anxieties.

105. Certain forms of international co-operation, being a direct result of political and military pacts and alliances, have caused serious tensions in these areas. We want to make it clear that we do not wish to criticize any policies of any individual country or group of countries in any respect, but it should not be left unsaid that when other countries are affected by such policies, they are forced to give expression to their anxieties in the interest of peace and the maintenance of friendly relations between peoples and nations. This becomes more important when we see that even some international bodies have also been affected by such policies.

106. The impact of such policies, influenced by favouritism, has affected the progress of the less developed countries to a great extent, and has already disturbed the balance of positions among the countries of the region. It has damaged the principle of justice and even equitable distribution of assistance to meet greater and more urgent needs in the case of certain countries. It has diverted the attention of these countries from concentration on the promotion of their economic and social conditions, in the direction of unnecessary measures forced upon them to meet the threats to their security with which they have been confronted.

107. There is no doubt that the work of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, which is so often obscured by the political aspects of its activities, has taken on a new significance. The realization of the importance of the development of under-developed countries has led to intensified activity. But still the needs of the under-developed countries are enormous while the means at their disposal are so limited.

108. The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme is rendering great service. The recently established Special Fund is making a good beginning on a new co-operative venture that holds out great promise for the future. However the need of less developed countries for a capital development fund is

not yet realized. It is hoped that a capital development fund will be established soon, as this is the missing link in the chain of international financial organizations dedicated to economic and social progress.

109. The increasing area of under-development is an additional cause for concern. The most needy countries are likely to be most affected by the new tasks the United Nations will have to undertake in new areas, unless additional resources are found. It should be noted that the sources of aid, old and new, seem to ameliorate conditions in countries which have already made great strides toward advancement, while the most needy countries find it difficult and sometimes even impossible to meet the terms of assistance. Thus while some countries forge ahead, others meet increasing problems in gaining assistance.

110. On his return from a visit to various countries in Asia, the Secretary-General noted that although some improvement had been realized, the economic progress in under-developed countries was painfully slow. We deem it necessary to say that the examples of improvement are not a great source of encouragement, especially in view of the insufficiency of the response to the requirements of the under-developed countries and the lack of a sense of urgency in meeting these needs.

111. The recent trips of the Secretary-General to many countries in various continents constituted one of the most useful undertakings of the United Nations, leading toward a correct understanding of real situations, particularly in the less developed countries. We hope that the Secretary-General will continue his policy of direct contact with the Member States, and that he will receive the co-operation of Governments on matters which will bring about more fruitful conditions for all. However, as long as the present difficulties are not met, one can hardly hope that the goals of the organizations set up for these purposes can be achieved.

112. The sincerity of all those countries whose delegations have expressed their interest in the promotion of conditions in the under-developed areas is appreciated, but more understanding of the points of view which can truly be presented by those who represent these under-developed countries is required.

113. It is the small under-developed country which suffers most under the prevailing situation. Afghanistan is one of these small countries. Our backward condition, unlike most countries in our part of the world, is not the result of domination by others, but is the outcome of years of war against domination in defence of freedom, which has been preserved at all costs, particularly the cost of development.

114. Our pride in this achievement is not lessened by the economic conditions in which we find ourselves today. We are determined to give the same energies now, if we are left at peace, to our economic and social development as we did to our political independence. It is a part of our determination to accept only the assistance which is truly devoted to the betterment of conditions within our country, free from any other considerations whatsoever. It is for this reason that the United Nations assistance is so desired, and the strengthening of this Organization has become our most sincere desire.

115. The difficulties which confront the United Nations are great, but the hope of the peoples of the world is surely strong enough to overcome them. We hope that in this General Assembly, in the consideration of the reports that the Assembly will receive in these fields, due attention will be paid to these issues.

116. In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to state that it is a great privilege to take this opportunity to associate myself with those representatives who have congratulated you on your election as President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, and above all, we wish that the hope you expressed as President of the General Assembly will be fulfilled, and that this Assembly will go down in history as the "Assembly of peace".

117. Mr. ZORLU (Turkey): Mr. President, your tireless efforts in the service of the ideals embodied in the Charter ever since its foundation are well known to all. For the past two years, I too have had the occasion to admire your endeavours in the cause of peace and international understanding in various organs of the United Nations. For these reasons, I am particularly pleased that you were elected to this high office as I am confident that you will accomplish your important duties in a manner that will serve the best interests of the United Nations.

118. I also wish to pay tribute to the retiring President, Mr. Charles Malik of Lebanon. I wish to congratulate him for having conducted the work of the thirteenth session with wisdom and distinction and in a manner which has done honour to him and to his country.

119. When we review the problems that are still pending since our last session and the new developments which have followed, we may perceive that progress has been achieved towards relative quiet in some of them in conformity with the resolutions of the Assembly and the pledges of the parties concerned. On the other hand, we are also confronted with a number of new events which are of such a nature as to undermine world peace and security as well as the principles upon which these concepts are based. This situation makes it evident that our world has unfortunately not yet fully adapted itself to the principles embodied in the Charter to ensure the peaceful conduct of international relations.

120. Turkey is a country that aspires to base its foreign policy entirely on the principles and purposes of the Charter. This is because we believe that the ideals of humanity, and the peace and security which are necessary for their realization, can be attained only by conforming to these Principles. At the same time, with the aim of furthering the basic concepts of the Charter, which safeguard the peace and the defence of the independence of Member States under present conditions, Turkey became convinced of the necessity of applying the principles of Articles 51 and 52, and therefore, faced with the constant abuse of the right of veto as well as with the fact that a standing force of the United Nations has not yet been organized, Turkey has adhered to NATO and to CENTO. This policy of Turkey, as I have already explained, stems from our belief that peace can best be served under present conditions by each nation's assuring its defence through its own efforts, and by uniting these efforts with those of other nations which are equally determined to maintain their independence and which have no territorial ambitions.

121. Another reason for Turkey's loyal support of the United Nations and of defensive arrangements established under Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter is the existence of a democratic spirit and of complete equality based on justice and equity among the Member States of the organizations concerned.

122. I now wish to comment on certain events and developments which have taken place in various parts of the world since the thirteenth session.

123. In the first place, I should like to express our gratification at the solution of the Cyprus question, which, up to the thirteenth session, had caused disagreement between our country and our friends and allies, Greece and the United Kingdom. As is known, this question had constituted a severe test upon the relations between two close allies and friends, Turkey and Greece, and had preoccupied the Members of the United Nations for five years. It gives me great satisfaction to state here today that the wise and conciliatory attitudes of our common friends during the debates in the United Nations, and the desire to reach agreement and common understanding shared by the Turkish and Greek Governments and peoples as well as by the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus, have led us to this happy solution. The solution of the Cyprus question brought about in this manner is a gain not only for Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom but also for all countries sincerely attached to the ideals of the United Nations.

124. This accomplishment in the field of the friendly and peaceful solution of conflicts has paved the way for strengthening peace and security in the region concerned and has made it possible to reactivate the traditional friendship between Turkey and Greece on a sound basis of fruitful co-operation.

125. On this occasion I consider it a pleasurable duty to express our thanks to all our common friends who contributed to the adoption of last year's decisions, which prepared the way to mutual agreement; to the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Urquiza of El Salvador; to Mr. de la Colina of Mexico, who introduced the final resolution [resolution 1287 (XIII)]; and to Mr. Charles Malik, President of the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

126. I hope that we shall soon have the opportunity of greeting here the Republic of Cyprus, which is being established through the fraternal co-operation of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island.

127. Another matter which caused us concern in 1958 was raised by the relations among the Arab States. This year we note with satisfaction that these relations are developing in the direction of a new harmony among these fraternal States. It will be recalled that during the Third Emergency Special Session of the Assembly, a resolution [resolution 1237 (ES-III)] sponsored by all the Arab Members of our Organization was unanimously adopted. That resolution reaffirmed the principles of respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of non-interference in one another's internal affairs. We shall always be happy to see these principles continue to prevail among the brotherly Arab States. We hope that relations among these States will always be maintained in this spirit. I should like our Arab friends to know that we do not wish to dwell at any length on this subject because we desire to see them united and to refrain from interfering in their internal affairs.

128. Although the general situation in the Middle East does not present the critical aspects which it did last year, unfortunately it cannot be claimed that complete tranquillity has been established. We heard the statement made here some days ago by the Foreign Minister of our friend and ally, Iran [798th meeting]. Activities on the part of a foreign State aiming to exert pressure on the public opinion of a neighbouring State and to interfere in its internal affairs through propaganda campaigns have always been deplored and condemned in the light of the principles of the Charter. We should like to express the hope that these activities will be terminated in accordance with the spirit of the provisions of the resolution voted in 1958 concerning relations among the Arab States.

129. Another question concerning the Middle Eastern area which has caused deep sorrow not only in the region but to all peace-loving States for many years is the litigation between our Arab brothers and Israel. There are many aspects of this problem. The question of the Palestine refugees is undoubtedly one of the most important of these aspects. The hope of a prompt solution of this problem corresponds to the desires of every country which is attached to the cause of peace and humanitarian principles, and the solution of all litigious questions between our Arab brothers and Israel within the framework of the principles of the Charter would cause our profound satisfaction. In this connexion I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts exerted before and following the Third Emergency Special Session of 1958 toward the establishment of peace and tranquillity in the region as well as in connexion with questions affecting the Suez Canal. I hope that the endeavours of our Secretary-General will continue to bear fruitful results as they have done up to the present and that they will be conducive to results conforming to the practices of international law, thereby assuring the settlement of these divergencies.

130. While reviewing questions affecting our Arab brothers it is impossible not to mention the question of Algeria. Turkey has always felt profound sorrow at this problem which has arisen between the Algerian people, to whom Turkey is attached with numerous strong ties, and France, its traditional friend for many centuries, and its ally. Turkey on many occasions has expressed from this rostrum the hope that this question may find a just and peaceful solution. It is known that in the present phase a number of studies are being conducted and contacts are being sought. We have studied carefully the last statement made by the President of the French Republic. I think that it might be too early to arrive at definite conclusions on every one of the various aspects of this statement. But it is already evident that this distinguished statesman is exerting great efforts to find a solution to this problem worthy of the humanitarian and liberal tradition of France. This is made clear from the fact that the statement in question includes the principle of self-determination and the possibilities of independence which might evolve from that principle. I think that it would be appropriate for the Members of the United Nations and the interested parties to take these considerations into account.

131. In the vast area of Asia and Africa the cause of freedom and self-determination has continued to make strides ahead. During the past years the General Assembly has had the happy task of welcoming a large number of new States as Members of our Organiza-



tion. We are gratified at the prospect of having here with us still other new independent countries in the near future. Among these my delegation will be particularly pleased to welcome the independent States of Nigeria, the Cameroons, Togoland and Somaliland.

132. The movement towards self-determination and independence will characterize our epoch in the perspective of history. The pattern has been set. The movement is on the march. However, where the United Nations cannot afford to relax its vigilance is in the field of preserving these newly-won freedoms, especially during the period necessary for consolidating self-determination, independence and territorial integrity in certain newly-established States:

133. Certain recent happenings in Asia which have taken place parallel with the movement of self-determination which I have mentioned above are contradictory to the historic process of our times. In fact, the policy of pressure, violence and aggression over Tibet and Laos in contravention of the principles of the Charter are a matter of grave concern. The fact that all these actions emanate from the same country should be considered as a reason for attributing particular importance to this matter. The United Nations, which has hailed the birth of so many new countries, cannot remain indifferent when human rights, freedom, independence and territorial integrity are trampled in any corner of the world. We feel deep sympathy for the people of Tibet who have been and continue to be the victims of aggression and have suffered spiritually and materially under a policy of domination. We consider that the country which has caused these tragic events bears a heavy responsibility in the face of international opinion. In dwelling upon the tragic events of Tibet, we also consider it a duty to draw attention to the pressure exerted on the people of Chinese Turkestan and the other Moslem populations who are under Chinese communist domination.

134. In Europe, closer political, economic and technical co-operation has characterized the period under review. Economic growth in European countries has remained impressive and the efforts for closer economic integration have already yielded results which bear great promises for the future. My Government spares no efforts to make its own contribution to the cause of progressive economic integration in Europe by participating actively in most phases of this movement, including the scheme for a common market.

135. On the political horizon of Europe, the question of the peaceful and democratic re-unification of Germany in accordance with the freely-expressed wishes of the German people continue to retain the focus of attention. The tragedy of a great nation divided against its will cannot but bear heavily upon the international atmosphere.

136. During the last year a new element has been added to the anxieties of the German people: the fate and destiny of over two million inhabitants of West Berlin. In a period of history when self-determination and freedom are constantly finding a wider application in vast areas of the world, it is inconceivable that the free will of over two million Berliners should be jeopardized in any way.

137. At the same time we must note with regret that the Geneva conference, which was convened following a note sent by the Soviet Union to the interested parties, has not yet arrived at a constructive result.

We hope that the negotiations among the parties concerned will culminate in a manner that will render possible the application of the principles which I have mentioned above regarding Germany.

138. I now wish to outline briefly the views of my Government on the vital issue of disarmament, which constitutes the core of international peace and security. As a people devoted to peace and progress, the advantages which would be derived by my countrymen through disarmament are obvious. Disarmament in confidence and security will allow the Turkish people to utilize their entire resources, manpower and energy for the attainment of a higher level of economic, social and cultural advancement to which they aspire. A general agreement along those lines will undoubtedly make available substantial new resources for alleviating the plight of many under-developed regions of the world.

139. Furthermore, any degree of disarmament under proper guarantees would in itself constitute an important measure of progress towards the establishment of peace, by laying down the first foundations of mutual confidence. That is the reason why, ever since its foundation, the Turkish Republic has made active contribution in a series of conferences and meetings devoted to the cause of disarmament both in the framework of the former League of Nations and in the United Nations. During this entire period the policy of Turkey has been based on the conviction that enduring peace can only be attained through security and that security can be achieved only through a general and controlled disarmament, including provisions for all types of weapons.

140. The fact that the destructive power of modern weapons surpasses anything that could even be imagined two decades ago makes it all the more imperative to seek a solid foundation for maintaining a lasting peace in confidence and security. In the context of the problems facing us today, such a solid foundation for peace can and should be sought in a disarmament agreement embracing both nuclear and conventional weapons, to be enforced under a system of control that would guarantee the security of all nations so that all may live and prosper in confidence.

141. The issues at stake are so vital that all proposals, whether substantive or procedural, demand our careful examination. We now have before us a number of concrete proposals on the subject of disarmament. My Government will do its utmost to contribute in a constructive spirit to all deliberations over these proposals. Our attitude during these deliberations would be determined in the light of these three elements: first, whether the proposal under consideration takes into account the necessity of building up confidence by providing successive and definite stages; secondly, whether adequate and effective measures of control have been devised for each successive stage; thirdly, whether the measures envisaged include provisions for conventional as well as nuclear weapons so that a balanced disarmament may be achieved. We believe that a general agreement on disarmament on these lines together with appropriate safeguards for security would be conducive to a solid and lasting peace.

142. As far as the work of our Organization in the field of disarmament is concerned, we fully support the terms of the resolution figuring in the report of

the Disarmament Commission [A/4209] which reiterates the fact that ultimate responsibility in the question of disarmament remains with the United Nations within the terms of the Charter. At the same time, we noted with satisfaction the decision taken in Geneva among four of the permanent members of the Security Council to continue conversations on disarmament in a new body [see DC/144].

143. I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the newly elected Chairman of the Disarmament Commission, Mr. Padilla Nervo of Mexico. We are confident that he will accomplish his important duty with the success which has characterized all his previous assignments in our Organization.

144. An objective evaluation of the international events which I have reviewed in the earlier part of my statement would, unfortunately, show that the world has not yet attained that state of peace, security and tranquillity to which we all aspire. Peace-loving countries in all parts of the world are still subjected to pressures, and the least concession or lack of vigilance under the present conditions results in tragic losses.

145. At the same time, we are witnessing a new diplomatic activity which we hope can bring a better atmosphere. I am, of course, referring to the activities of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who is at present a guest of the United States. Turkey is one of the neighbours of the Soviet Union. For that reason it is only natural that Turkey should be one of the countries most desirous of the establishment of peace and tranquillity between the Soviet Union and the peace-loving countries.

146. We have heard the statements [799th meeting] made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in this Assembly, as well as before and after that occasion. We like to see in these statements the foundations of bridges which might lead to understanding between East and West. There is no doubt that all mankind is eager to see an end of the uneasiness and the anxieties to which it has been subjected ever since the end of the Second World War. It is only through the development of real and positive indications and conditions that we can hope to establish peace and security and thus to end this uneasiness which has befallen the peace-loving nations like a nightmare.

147. Turkey believes that the relaxation of international tensions in an atmosphere of confidence constitutes an indivisible whole to the same degree as the establishment of peace and security. Therefore, tensions must be relaxed not in isolated regions alone, but in the entire area stretching from Korea to Norway; otherwise, there can be no hope of a true easing of tensions. As I have already stated, no country will be more gratified than Turkey if the recent activities of the Soviet Union lead to the conditions necessary for ensuring such an improvement in international relations.

148. Apart from the important political questions in the agenda of the fourteenth session, another field of equally vital issues awaits the enlightened deliberations of the Assembly. The struggle against poverty, disease and illiteracy demands continued and accelerated efforts by our Organization in conjunction with the work undertaken in this direction on a national and regional basis.

149. Despite the concerted action inaugurated in the field of technical and economic assistance during the last decade, the under-developed countries are still confronted with great difficulties in their endeavour to create better living standards and to attain a higher economic, technical and social status. The problem of finding adequate remedies to this situation still constitutes the major challenge facing our Organization in the economic field.

150. Reports published by the Secretariat, as well as statistical data furnished by experts in this matter, show clearly that the existing level of international assistance rendered by States or international institutions, as well as the present flow of private capital, are not sufficient to secure an adequate economic growth in the under-developed countries.

151. The United Nations has been conducting an extensive programme of technical assistance. The establishment of the Special Fund has constituted a very important step forward in a new direction. The first projects approved by the Governing Council are already in the stage of implementation. I wish to mention especially, with my thanks, the assistance rendered to the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. We are confident that under the able guidance of Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, its Managing Director, the Special Fund will continue to accomplish successfully the duties for which it was established.

152. In the field of international co-operation within the scope of the United Nations, the Regional Commissions have rendered outstanding services up to the present. During the last year we have welcomed with satisfaction the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa. We congratulate the African countries for the comprehensive programme of work which they have already organized and we wish them success in their task.

153. During the deliberations of the appropriate committees my delegation will spare no efforts in collaboration with all other delegations to support all constructive proposals directed towards achieving better living conditions in under-developed areas.

154. In concluding my statement, I wish to reiterate the hope of my Government and of the Turkish people that the fourteenth session of the General Assembly may serve the cause of international understanding. We are confident that under the able guidance of our President, progress will be achieved towards the solution of many vital problems which retain the attention of world opinion. May our common efforts carry us forward in the path of peace.

155. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translated from Russian): The fourteenth session of the General Assembly is historic if only for the reason that during it the Head of the Soviet Government has addressed the Assembly for the first time. In Mr. Khrushchev the peoples see a tireless fighter for peace, whose name will be remembered for centuries to come. He clearly expressed the inmost desires of all men of good will, of all mothers, and of all young people in the world—to have a better life, and to work in greater peace.

156. The opening of the fourteenth session has, indeed, coincided with a turning-point in international relations, when a great hope has presented itself to mankind—the hope that the cold war will finally be brought to an end and that mankind will enter upon an

era of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among States. We note, as a particularly happy omen for the work of the session, that its opening has coincided with an event which marks the culmination of the efforts undertaken to improve the international situation—namely, the visit paid by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union to the United States. This event—like the forthcoming visit of the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, to the Soviet Union, which will probably also coincide with the work of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly—surrounds it with exceptionally favourable circumstances, offering it opportunities which none of the earlier sessions of the Assembly enjoyed.

157. It is no exaggeration to say that the fourteenth session, because of the relaxed and improved atmosphere in which it has opened and of the prospects presented to it, might well be called an "extraordinary" session. Let me express the conviction that the fourteenth session of the General Assembly will also be extraordinary because of the results which it will achieve in carrying out the directives of the Charter and making the wishes of every people in the world come true.

158. In the light of past experience, however, the first task of this session should be to put an end to the efforts made by some delegations to use the United Nations as an instrument in the policy of setting certain countries against others. The United Nations should, on the one hand, eliminate anything that might hinder or check the incipient improvement in international relations; on the other hand, it should use every effort to strengthen, broaden and consolidate what has already been achieved in this direction. It would be strange indeed if, at the very moment when decisive steps are being taken to eliminate disagreements and bring countries closer together, there should be continued in the United Nations the practice of dealing with questions from obsolete standpoints and by out-of-date methods, with the same lack of perspective that for many years has doomed the United Nations to impotence.

159. In this connexion it must be noted with regret that traces of the cold war are still to be seen in the activities of certain delegations to the United Nations. How else but as a cold war manifestation can we characterize the decision, recently imposed on the Security Council, to send a group to Laos to investigate the false accusations made by the Royal Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam? It is already clear, from reports published in the Press and received from the United Nations group itself, that this group is chasing ghosts—in other words, that the reactionaries of Laos and their protectors have dared to make a sport of the United Nations.

160. The discussion of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations culminated, a few days ago, in a decision—likewise a product of the cold war—which is diametrically opposed to the new trend in international relations. Our delegation has already stressed that, so long as the United Nations is deprived of the co-operation of the peaceful force represented by the great Chinese people, its activities will suffer. The absence of the People's Republic of China is retarding our work. Hence, despite the decision imposed here, we cannot but express once more our profound conviction that the question of the representation of China should and will be settled in the near

future in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and in the interests of peace.

161. It cannot be denied that the central and most important item on the agenda of this session is the Soviet Government's proposal contained in its statement concerning general and complete disarmament [A/4219]. A positive solution of this question would lead to the quick and easy settlement of all the complicated problems which today divide the world. To make war impossible—that has been, and is, the prime task. Today, however, it is no longer sufficient simply to recognize that fact. It is necessary to come to a decision.

162. The armaments race has reached unheard-of proportions. The speech of Mr. Khrushchev to this Assembly [799th meeting] and the statement of the Soviet Government on general and complete disarmament, have given a clear enough description of the prospects which would face humanity if that most terrible of all wars—which a third world war would be—were to break out. I need not, therefore, dwell on that aspect of the matter. Today everyone recognizes that there is no time to be lost. All have come to realize that a direct threat has been suspended over the world. For this very reason, having regard to the set-backs encountered in previous disarmament negotiations, we must draw the appropriate conclusions, seek out new paths to our goal, and take new steps.

163. The proposal of the Soviet Union, made in Mr. Khrushchev's address to the General Assembly, offers precisely that way out of the present situation, and that method whereby mankind's drift towards a new war can be halted.

164. There is but one radical solution—to eliminate the material possibility of waging war. And this can only be done through general and complete disarmament, through the destruction of weapons and war material, and through cessation of the training of military personnel. So long as armies, armed forces, military aircraft, navies, and nuclear and rocket weapons continue to exist, there can be no absolute guarantee of a lasting peace.

165. The Bulgarian Government warmly supports the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria the leadership of the State is in the hands of social forces which for scores of years have had the demand for general disarmament and for the complete guarantee of peace inscribed on their banners and embodied in their programme.

166. The declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, published on 24 September 1959, includes the following statement:

"The Bulgarian Government fully supports the historic programme of the Soviet Government for general and complete disarmament, and holds the view that its implementation at three stages in the course of four years is fully feasible provided the efforts of the peoples and their Governments are united, which in particular applies to the great Powers." [A/C.1/818]

167. Examining the declaration of the Soviet Government, our delegation notes that it enumerates exhaustively all the positive consequences of general disarmament. The arguments set forth in the Soviet declaration cannot be seriously contested; they are



irrefutable because they strike an echo in the minds and hearts of all decent people throughout the world.

168. The Bulgarian delegation will give a more detailed explanation of its position with regard to the Soviet Government's proposal when agenda item 70 (General and complete disarmament) is discussed in the First Committee. I venture, however, to make a few preliminary remarks concerning the reaction to the Soviet proposals which is reflected in the statements and comments of a number of responsible leaders in various countries.

169. It has been said, for example, that the Soviet proposal is "unrealistic" or even "utopian". The authors of these pseudo-authoritative statements naturally have difficulty in finding any reasonable grounds for their assessments. Why is the Soviet proposal for general disarmament considered unrealistic? Has the insane stockpiling of arms, a practice which must sooner or later lead to war, become so natural and inevitable in the life of human society that there are people who cannot conceive of life without armies and atomic bombs? No, of course not. On the contrary, the vast majority of peoples regard armaments as a misfortune, as a dreadful calamity, and seek to be rid of them. Those who say that the Soviet proposal is "unrealistic" and "utopian" should remember the statement of Mr. Khrushchev that weapons are made by the hands of men and that the hands of men can, and will, destroy them.

170. In present circumstances, general and complete disarmament is more realistic than partial disarmament, in that a decision in favour of complete disarmament confronts States with fewer of those questions on which it is more difficult to reach agreement and in connexion with which the representatives of the armament kings find it easier to raise obstacles at all disarmament conferences.

171. It is known that for the last few years the word "disarmament" has mostly been taken to mean no more than a partial reduction of armaments and armed forces. Disarmament negotiations have envisaged the retention, after an agreement has been concluded, of certain kinds of weapons—that is the retention of the material capacity to wage war. This relative disarmament can only relatively reduce the threat of war. In the days of conventional armaments, such a relative lessening of the menace of war might have been satisfactory. Today, however, no one is in a position to determine what quantities of modern armaments in the hands of a single State can be regarded as not constituting a threat to other States.

172. It is perfectly clear that no such criterion can be applied in the case of modern types of weapons. The threat remains a threat, whether twenty or two hundred atomic or hydrogen bombs are in reserve. Not without reason have military experts predicted that the day will come when a small country may be in a position to threaten more powerful countries. The feeling that, even after partial disarmament, one country could still attack another continues to be a source of mistrust and tension among the negotiators, and this greatly hampers talks on disarmament. We would do well to remember how many mutual suspicions and accusations accumulated during such negotiations when we were not yet, after all, in the position in which we find ourselves today.

173. In the opinion of our delegation, what is unrealistic is to imagine that it is possible, in existing cir-

cumstances, to frighten the socialist countries by threatening to use force against them; to think that international problems can be decided by force of arms; or to consider that war can settle the vast problems facing mankind, such as the problem of doing away with that poverty which afflicts half the population of the earth, the problem of raising the living standards of millions and millions of people, or the problem of discovering the secrets of nature for the benefit of all mankind.

174. It is further said that the Soviet proposal contains nothing new, that it is a re-statement of old attitudes which have long been known. This assertion is well known as a choice argument adopted by the champions of the cold war. They have applied it to all new proposals of the Soviet Union—often without having read them carefully. In order properly to understand the essence and meaning of the Soviet proposal, account must be taken of the historic circumstances in which it is put forward. Conditions are constantly changing, and something that was presented to us several years ago may now appear in an entirely different light. The Soviet proposal is new because it is put forward at a time when it has been shown that the old approach to the disarmament problem cannot produce the desired results, and time does not stand still. It is also new because it is made by a country which has the most powerful military techniques at its disposal, a country which has sent a rocket to the moon. What could be newer than the fact that the Soviet Union itself, at this very moment, should propose to all countries the disbandment of armed forces and the destruction of all forms of armament—in other words, the elimination of every material possibility for an attack by one country upon another?

175. In connexion with the Soviet proposal, resort is had to yet another argument—the question of control, about which that proposal, it is alleged, has little to say. Yet we all heard the words of Mr. Khrushchev, which I now quote:

"We have advocated, and still advocate, strict international control over the fulfillment of a disarmament agreement, after such an agreement has been reached. But we have always been opposed to the idea of divorcing the control system from the disarmament measures—to the idea that the control organs should become, in effect, organs for the collection of intelligence data under conditions in which no disarmament would actually take place."  
[799th meeting, para. 63]

176. And the declaration of the Soviet Government on general and complete disarmament says:

"For the purpose of supervising the timely implementation of the measures of general and complete disarmament, an international control organ composed of all States shall be established. The staff of the control organ shall be recruited on an international basis with due regard to the principle of equitable geographic distribution.

"The international control organ shall have at its disposal all the facilities necessary for the exercise of strict control." [A/4219]

177. It would be hard to put it more clearly. Control is indeed necessary. But control is necessary when there is something to control. What good is control if no one knows what is to be controlled? Moreover, the

very method whereby control is to be effected depends on what is to be subject to such control. In any case, one thing is clear: the noble purpose of the Soviet proposals warrants their being examined conscientiously. If that is done, the problem of control will be solved.

178. In fact, the Soviet disarmament proposal recommends radical measures for the eradication of war—which has always been the ultimate goal of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and all the socialist States. But these measures have their basis in the actual nature of the threat of war, in the possibilities inherent in the waging of war under present conditions, and in the extent of the danger. They are measures capable of countervailing the evil which menaces mankind. All other measures, including those of partial and limited disarmament, while in themselves acceptable as a step towards general and complete disarmament, are inadequate in that they do not eliminate a possible outbreak of war, an event which in present conditions might easily turn into a nuclear catastrophe.

179. Of course, there are difficulties in implementing these measures, which are bound up with the solution of vast and complicated political, economic and technical problems. But does the alternative of war present mankind with problems that are any easier or smaller in scope? It is time for each and all of us to take a clear stand. All States, whether great or small, are vitally interested in the solution of the disarmament problem. All countries must make their contribution towards finding a way out of the present situation.

180. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always attached very great importance to the international issues upon which the preservation and strengthening of peace depend. We, therefore, convinced that the solution of the disarmament problem is the most important question facing all peace-loving countries and the United Nations as a whole, welcome and unconditionally support the Soviet Government's proposal on general and complete disarmament. We firmly believe that only the course indicated by the Soviet Union can finally lead to the elimination of the threat of war; that general and complete disarmament will establish new conditions conducive to the rapid material and cultural development of all peoples, and to circumstances in which it may be easier to solve not only today's but also tomorrow's controversial international questions.

181. We cannot believe that the responsible leaders of certain States seriously fear that mankind will fight with antediluvian weapons when no trace of present-day armaments and armed forces remains upon the earth. Of course, there are people who are incapable of thinking in any but military terms. To these people we would say that human society is not a pack of wolves, and that, when the means of waging war no longer exist, war itself, as a social phenomenon, will disappear. We all wish to bury war in the archives of history; and we must discover the way in which to achieve this humane objective, no matter what difficulties beset our path. Let us not shirk the difficulties but overcome them.

182. As a Member State of the United Nations and a participant in the Ten-Power Committee, our country will put forth every effort to make its contribution towards solving the disarmament problem.

183. While advocating the most radical solutions for this problem, the Bulgarian Government also regards

with favour every measure capable of bringing us nearer to the settlement of the basic question—the safeguarding of peace. In this connexion, our country believes that it is necessary to move more boldly towards reaching agreement on urgent measures, such as: the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapon testing, the prohibition of the export of such weapons, the establishment of zones free of atomic weapons, the elimination of military bases on foreign territory, and the conclusion of non-aggression pacts between the States members of NATO, on the one hand, and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the other. At present, the most urgent measure is the prompt and successful termination of the Geneva talks and the concluding of an agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom forbidding test explosions of atomic and nuclear weapons. Incidentally, does not the fact that no atomic explosions are now taking place, although there are no controls but merely a declaration of the States concerned, refute the arguments of those who advocate control for the sake of control?

184. Our delegation also believes that one of the most essential measures to be taken in the disarmament field is a prohibition on the export of atomic and nuclear weapons from countries producing such weapons to other countries.

185. Directly related to this problem is the proposal for the creation of zones free of atomic and rocket weapons. The policy of establishing atomic and rocket bases in the greatest possible number of countries creates entirely legitimate concern among the peoples. The Bulgarians and other peoples of the Balkan peninsula cannot, in our view, be indifferent to the fact that rocket bases are being built or planned close to their borders. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, having regard to the vital interests and the security of the Bulgarian nation, has considered and considers itself in duty bound to call the attention of Governments of nearby and neighbouring countries to the serious danger involved in the placing of rocket bases on their territories.

186. We cannot agree with those who state that this constitutes intervention in their domestic affairs. The brandishing of weapons, and even more so, of atomic and rocket weapons, on a neighbour's threshold hardly constitutes a particularly friendly act, and the neighbour cannot be expected to give the impression that such activity is of no concern to it. Surely it is absurd to assert that the placing of atomic and rocket bases of United States origin in the Balkans and the region of the Adriatic is for the "defence" of the countries on whose territories they are stationed, when it is remembered that these nuclear rocket weapons are controlled by the military command of a country, many thousands of kilometres away, whose responsible military and political leaders make no secret of their unfavourable attitude toward States with, to them, distasteful socialist systems. Obviously the only possible use for these weapons is, not defence, but rather the execution of dark designs directed against the countries of the socialist camp. Only one answer is possible: the stationing of United States atomic and rocket bases on foreign territories is not in the interests of these countries and their peoples; on the contrary, the basic interests of these peoples demand the removal of death-dealing weapons, to the farthest possible distance and with the maximum of dispatch, from their homes.

187. Lastly, we consider as urgent the proposal for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the States members of NATO and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. Such a pact would bring about calm in a region where the armed forces of the two powerful military groupings are poised against each other.

188. It is often said that confidence—in particular, confidence between those formerly allied in the war against Hitlerism and Facism—has been destroyed. Such lack of confidence is exploited by the opponents of disarmament. "First confidence, and then disarmament" say many, although they would be unable to explain how confidence could be re-established in the presence of an arms race. Confidence will return when each State is confident that it will not be attacked—still less attacked by surprise—for the simple reason that there will be nothing with which to attack. In other words, disarmament will help to re-establish the confidence that has been lost.

189. The successful solution of other problems would also contribute to the restoration of confidence. Of such problems I would mention only a few. Why should the General Assembly not recommend, to the great Powers at this very session, that they allot part of their military budgets to aid for under-developed countries?

190. As representatives of a country which until recently was very backward economically, we know the value of friendly mutual aid, such as that given to us by the Soviet Union and other socialist States; thanks to this assistance, the Bulgarian people are now generously remunerated for their labour. For this reason we quite understand the concern felt by the representatives of many Asian, African and Latin American countries where, despite huge natural resources, economic backwardness is not yet eliminated and a great need exists for aid unaccompanied by intervention in their domestic affairs. There is general sympathy for the Latin American countries' efforts to free themselves from the excessive control exercised by foreign capital in their economies. Many of the countries of Asia, Africa and South America, until recently dependent or semi-dependent, are resorting to the mobilization of internal resources in order to solve the problem of raising their standards of living.

191. The plans for the industrialization of India, and the independent national economy established in Indonesia and other States, are matters of common knowledge. The plans and actions of President Kubitschek for the rapid development of Brazil's very rich natural resources are also commanding attention. Why should such countries as these not be given disinterested aid in the form of credits made available from a reduction in military budgets? Further, why should the problem of world scientific and technical collaboration not be solved at this session?

192. At the stage now reached in the development of productive forces and economic relations, the field of scientific and technical collaboration should be one of the most important for peaceful economic co-operation between all countries. The time has come for the United Nations to take concrete steps for the development of such collaboration *pari passu* with technical assistance to economically under-developed countries. Why not recommend to all States Members of the United Nations that they put an end to the system of discriminatory measures in world trade? The solution

of these and similar problems, the collaboration of great and small States for this purpose, joint effort by the former colonial Powers and dependent countries, and by socialist and capitalist régimes—such is but a part of the practical action that will lead to the gradual re-establishment of confidence in this world of heterogeneous States and social systems.

193. I should like to refer briefly to the foreign policy of my Government in relation to these problems. As a European State, Bulgaria, remembering that both world conflicts began in Europe, is interested in the safeguarding of peace in that continent. German militarism began both the First and Second World War; to avoid a third war, the decision was taken to eliminate German militarism. Now German militarism has been resurrected with the aid of the Western Powers. What is to be done?

194. The States of Eastern Europe, it is true, have protected themselves by means of the Warsaw Treaty. In that way they have made certain of the final elimination of German militarism in the event of its again engaging in military adventures. But this does not completely guarantee peace.

195. We therefore support the realistic proposal for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States, as well as the proposal for the transformation of West Berlin into a free city. Free cities are not new in the history of Germany, and their charters are not subject to infringement. It is even less likely that anyone will violate the charter of a free city of West Berlin when that charter is guaranteed firstly by the State on whose territory it is located—the German Democratic Republic—and secondly by the great Powers and, as suggested, in some way by the United Nations. The rather more than two million Germans of West Berlin, about whose fate the western leaders express concern, will live as they wish, but the foreign war-mongering and provocative body in the centre of the German Democratic Republic will disappear. That will be a gain to peace.

196. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is particularly interested in the safeguarding of peace in the Balkans; and exceptionally favourable conditions for peace have now been established in that area by the conversion of the majority of the Balkan States to socialism.

197. Whatever the number of unresolved problems, we do not wish to solve them by force. The Bulgarian Government's statement of 24 September 1959, to which I have already referred, includes the following passage:

"True to its peaceful policy, the Bulgarian Government has undertaken numerous steps to improve relations with the non-Socialist countries in the Balkans, to strengthen peace in that area. It proposed the conclusion of collective or bilateral treaties among the Balkan countries.

"Not long ago our country proposed the signing of a non-aggression pact between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Greece. We have twice reduced our armed forces thereby giving a new real expression of our peaceful policy. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people have unanimously supported the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Mr. Khrushchev for the creation of an atom-free and rocket-free zone in the Balkans and the Adriatic because it serves the cause of peace. The



proposal for a meeting of the leaders of the Balkan states has the same aim. If these measures are carried out, they will open the road to new agreements among the Balkan countries, they will provide new possibilities for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace." [A/C.1/818]

198. We hope that all these proposals, notwithstanding the difficulties, will ultimately be accepted by those Balkan Governments which have not yet agreed to them. That outstanding son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, used the following words:

"The peoples, the working class, the toiling peasants—all progressive people throughout the world—want peace, a durable peace, a democratic peace; they want brotherhood between the peoples, not aggression and a new world war."

199. The Bulgarian delegation, acting on the instructions of its Government in the spirit of the peace-loving policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the peaceful aspirations of the Bulgarian nation, also supports all initiatives and proposals directed towards the solution of the other questions on the agenda of the present session.

200. Our delegation is deeply convinced that the fourteenth session, having opened under these exceptionally favourable circumstances which will, we hope, continue to influence its work—a session during which the great friend of peace, Mr. Khrushchev, has made his proposal for the elimination of war—will satisfy the peoples' desires and make its contribution in the decisive struggle for disarmament for the consolidation of peace throughout the world, and for the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations.

*Mr. Brucan (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

201. Mr. LUNS (Netherlands): The first advantage that accrues to me from this opportunity of addressing the Assembly is that I have the pleasure of congratulating Mr. Belaúnde upon his election to the highest office of the United Nations. Like so many others seated in the benches before us I have had the privilege of listening to his words and observing his actions through the years. It is my firm conviction that they have amply qualified him for the leadership of the assembled nations of the world. Wholeheartedly we wish him God-speed.

202. The annual general debate is the proper occasion for a Minister for Foreign Affairs to mention some characteristics of his country's views on certain problems that concern the world, and therefore the United Nations; in other words, to present its political passport.

203. One of the most important features of the Netherlands is that it now takes part in a great venture towards unity amidst variety and economic streamlining amidst diversification. I am referring, of course, to the European Economic Community, equally known as the European Common Market. The Common Market is not an isolated phenomenon, but the culminating enterprise resulting from a full decade of post-war efforts towards integration of the European economies. Our Benelux economic and customs union, conceived during the Second World War and operated since 1 January 1948, was the first of these tentative undertakings. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation, created in response to the un-

forgettable initiative of General Marshall, gave a powerful stimulus to European trade and payments and replaced a cumbersome network of bilateral arrangements by a smoothly functioning multilateral system. One branch of that system has now grown into the European Monetary Agreement, providing for automatic convertibility between the participating currencies.

204. My Government looks upon the European Economic Community together with EURATOM, and the European Coal and Steel Community, as the engines that will drive us on towards ever greater European unity. Trade between the six countries has considerably increased since the beginning of this year. In the course of 1960 a further reduction of customs tariffs within the Community will be effected. This should provide an added impetus to free development of the powerful resources of Western Europe. Holding these convictions we shall continue to contribute our share to the strengthening of the communities.

205. At the same time my Government will use its best endeavours to promote a wider European economic association between the Common Market countries and the proposed free trade zone of seven other European Powers. Specifically we trust and hope that this second round of tax import duty reductions in 1960 will also apply to the other members of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, for we feel most strongly that where the aim is unity, anything looking like a break between the two groups of countries should be avoided.

206. In our view there can be no doubt that the torch of Western Europe's revival, through the establishment of a free and strong economic unity, will shed a beneficent light on the world economic scene. Not only we in Europe will greatly profit from this daring enterprise, others will also gain from it, not in the least, we trust, the countries depending upon the export of raw materials. We are gratified indeed to note that our achievements have stimulated interest in Latin America and that the concept of a common market and a payments union is taking shape in that part of the world.

207. The basic principle underlying Netherlands policy in these and other matters is freedom. I need not stress that the concept of freedom has, through a long-standing tradition, become a natural feature of Dutch political thinking. Free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is in our view the best means of developing world trade and also an incentive for the promotion of international understanding and good will. Ever since the time of Grotius we have consistently advocated the freedom of the sea, and we propose to continue to do so at the coming second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

208. Similarly we hope that the concept of freedom will prevail in matters of international aviation. It is regrettable that the pursuance of restrictive policies and practices continues to restrict the free use of the air. I therefore take this opportunity to plead, before this great world assembly, for freedom of the air as the one sound and practical principle that should govern the system of modern international transportation.

209. Although I have mentioned these two economic applications of the principle of freedom first, I do not intend to imply that they are the most important

ones. On the contrary, the essence of the concept of freedom is freedom of conscience and of the spirit. It is this kind of freedom that we must honour and uphold, be it in our own countries or in places where it is threatened—as it may be in the case in Berlin.

210. Wherever freedom is in danger, the liberties of all of us are at stake. Recent events in Asia have deeply disturbed my people and Government. From their highest religious authority we have heard that the freedom-loving people of Tibet have been brutally subjected by a big and powerful nation. Such misdeeds are not new. History provides endless examples of subjugation and conquest by force. But we had hoped that our post-war world, honouring new concepts of international conduct, would not witness yet another act of violence. I would deplore it if this Organization should ignore the events in Tibet. Over the last fourteen years we have indeed been asked by many present here to stand up in protest against lesser transgressions.

211. The central theme of freedom logically takes my thoughts to another question of importance to the Members of this Organization. We have recently witnessed practices of unilateral restriction of freedom in the Suez Canal where, contrary to the principles of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and the expressed purpose of the United Nations, ships and cargoes have been held up by one nation. I should like to restate, as others have done in this general debate, that the right of free passage through the Canal should be exercised by all countries without discrimination on whatever grounds.

212. If this curtailment of freedom fills us with dismay, we are encouraged to note that in another part of the world the chances for a satisfactory solution of a long-standing conflict seem to have increased. I share the views expressed here by several colleagues, and especially by Mr. Herter [797th meeting] and by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], on the declaration made on 16 September 1959 by the President of the French Republic. The generous policy announced by General de Gaulle will enable the inhabitants of Algeria to vote in freedom on their future political status. My delegation hopes that these far-reaching plans will result in peace and co-operation in a country where violence and discord have stood in the way of progress.

213. The position of our Kingdom in this world is also characterized by the possibly unique system of complete equality between the three constituent partners: the Netherlands, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles. Jointly we endeavour to manage our Kingdom affairs with each retaining responsibility for his own domestic matters. Two of the three partners are located in the Western Hemisphere. It is possible that this fact of belonging to two continents, together with our traditional strivings for economic and cultural contacts with other peoples, has contributed to our international-mindedness and to the Netherlands preference for a multilateral approach to the solution of political, economic and other problems.

214. As we all know, the United Nations is daily becoming more involved in the economic and social developments that take place all over the world. Our Organization now covers the entire "spectrum" of economic, financial and social issues. This spread in width has lately been accompanied by a new concentration on depth.

215. One such effort to dig deeper into the problems has resulted in the joint undertaking of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat and the Specialized Agencies to draw up a well co-ordinated programme of work for the period 1959-1964. Once we have such a programme we will know where we desire our Organization to go. By the same token, if we try to plot the probable direction of world economic development, if we wish to conduct an effective and rational international economic policy, we must see to it that the necessary data become available and that the institutional framework required to conduct such an international policy is made adequate. On the institutional side I have with others often advocated a more active policy role for the United Nations, especially the Economic and Social Council. I am glad to see that the Secretary-General, who supported this view at the twenty-eighth session of the Economic and Social Council [1068th meeting], has again devoted some very interesting thoughts to this question. I should like to congratulate him on his subtle, well-balanced and thought-provoking reflections on this as well as on other subjects concerning the United Nations and his own office. I have read the introduction to his annual report [A/4132/Add.1] with more than routine interest and I am certain that my country will gladly follow him on the main road he has there traced.

216. If an increased concern with international economic policy is one dominant aspect of our Organization's recent activities, another undoubtedly is what the Secretary-General has called the expanding scope of international aid. The establishment and early operations of the Special Fund are part of this expansion. The Managing Director, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, and his staff deserve high praise for the successful and energetic way in which they have launched the Special Fund. Already it has become abundantly clear that the number of worth-while projects far exceeds the resources presently available to the Special Fund. The disappointing level of the contributions to the Special Fund in 1959 has meant that the Netherlands contribution which was based on the assumption that a total of \$100 million would be made available for the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance together, came to be the second largest for that year. It was therefore encouraging to hear the announcements by my colleagues of the United Kingdom and of Italy that their Governments' contributions for 1960 to both the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme will be appreciably increased. If many countries would follow this example, the initial objective of \$100 million should be reached.

217. To the existing organizations there will perhaps soon be added a United Nations capital development fund. We hope that the proposed international development association will be an important move towards the realization of the basic concepts underlying a capital development fund as discussed during many years in the United Nations. Whatever precise form the international development association will take, it stands to reason that there should be close co-operation between the new agency and those responsible for the carrying out of the existing United Nations programmes for the economic development of the less developed countries.

218. With the aid of increased resources to meet more of the external and internal financing needs of the less developed countries a significant break-

through in their development may not have to be delayed much longer.

219. The Netherlands Government has frequently expressed its belief that the course of economic development of the less developed countries is equal in importance to the maintenance of peace. As levels of living improve and reach comparable heights, internal and external tensions are apt to diminish. The history of our own country is there to prove it, and its lessons were learnt at an early time. More than a century ago our Government established an Agricultural Extension Service to bring the newest techniques to the farms. This was perhaps one of the first conscious efforts of a Government to increase levels of living through systematically conceived technical assistance. And presently, our vast "Delta Plan", through which we hope to gain a final victory over the destructive forces of the sea, is our latest and probably biggest venture in domestic economic development.

220. But if developed countries are to behave according to mid-twentieth century standards in matters of assistance and the sharing of wealth, the underdeveloped countries should likewise endeavour to observe certain basic rules of conduct. Unlawful seizures of the property of our countrymen and other discriminatory actions perpetrated against them have, fortunately, not been able to arrest the economic progress and expansion in the Netherlands, nor have they even changed our attitude towards the problem of economic development. But I must say that the willingness of the developed countries to pursue that line of policy would be put to a lesser test if there were no cases of undermining unilaterally what we endeavour to build up multilaterally.

221. I should like to conclude my statement with a few observations on disarmament. My Government welcomes the establishment of the new Ten-Power Committee and we wish them a fruitful year of negotiations and speedy results. Since I do not, in general, feel that parity properly reflects the basic principles and ideas of the United Nations, we had some hesitation as to the composition of the committee. What finally made it acceptable to us is that it is not a United Nations body—and its composition cannot therefore serve as a United Nations precedent—and on the other hand, that a link with the United Nations has been maintained and its primary interest in disarmament acknowledged.

222. Like others I have eagerly awaited the new proposals announced [799th meeting] by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, whom we had the privilege of seeing on this rostrum. Their full import cannot, in my view, be judged without more and ample clarification on the part of the Soviet Union. It is to be hoped that this will be forthcoming and that it will make some real progress possible.

223. In participating in the work of this General Assembly, the Netherlands delegation will endeavour to do its duty.

"The work of today within and for the United Nations is a work through which the basis may be laid for increasingly satisfactory forms of international co-operation and for a future international system of law and order, for which the world is not yet ripe." (A/4132/Add.1, pages 1-2)

That is a quotation from the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report. I can think of no better way of paying homage to the United Nations and its highest servant than by quoting his words.

224. As in previous Assemblies I conclude by asking God to grant that the work of the United Nations may redound to the benefit of mankind.

*Mr. Belaúnde (Peru) took the Chair.*

225. Mr. ORTIZ MARTIN (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): When this entire Assembly elected you to the high office of President, it was as if every country, from the far corners of the earth, had sent a sprig of laurel to be woven into a crown to adorn your brow as a guerdon for a whole life devoted to working on behalf of peace among nations through respect for international law. My delegation rejoices at this act of cosmic justice and extends to you its heartiest congratulations and its best wishes for the success of your labours.

226. Each delegation, in reviewing the main items affecting the world situation, gives particular attention to those which directly concern it. Costa Rica is a small nation, classified among the economically underdeveloped notwithstanding its traditional civic practices and its constant concern to raise the level of education. Consequently, without failing to give due importance to the great world problems, I shall confine myself so far as possible to dealing with our economic position. We have worked in the economic field in the United Nations as a member of the Economic and Social Council and, outside the United Nations, in continental and regional programmes for the expansion of the Latin American economy.

227. The great world problems affecting peace are of equal concern to all of us because a disturbance of the peace would involve us in a war with atomic weapons of such destructive power that they recognize no bounds or frontiers. Moreover, because we are small nations, we risk becoming proving grounds for these lethal weapons. Since we are all threatened with extinction, we all have the same right to be heard with respect in the great debate for peace. Moreover, the small nations of America are not acting individually; they are acting as parts of a continent composed of millions of people, with tremendous potential resources and extraordinary reserves, who, from the moment they achieved their independence, have unstintingly lavished their wealth upon the world. They have offered their fertile fields as a haven for all those who, weary of the hatreds and rancors of the world, desired to begin a new life with a new spirit in our beautiful America. On that account, we are restating our right, not to be merely informed of what is done to resolve the great problems, but to be consulted concerning their solution.

228. The defence of the small nations lies in the respect for law. That is the essence of juridical equality: the law applies to everyone because it is wise and just. That is why we must reiterate our desire that the decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for preserving peace, should be duly respected and carried out. If all Member States, and particularly the economically underdeveloped nations, demonstrate to the world that they abide by the decisions of this world Organization, we shall have strengthened our moral force and enhanced our prestige in the eyes of the nations which, being economically strong, are



the masters of the world's fate. That is why there must be no weakening of those principles which were arrived at after much struggle and are meant to apply to both large and small nations. The principle of freedom of the seas and of the neutrality of international waterways must now and in future be reaffirmed, although this does not mean that in those areas of the world where these principles involve political problems we are supporting the claim of either side.

229. Latin America has been passing through stormy times. The position of Costa Rica, which has been involved in disputes because revolts have been organized from its territory against a neighbouring country, has been clearly established in this distressing situation. It abides by treaties, fulfils its international obligations of neutrality and endorses the conclusions of the fifth meeting of consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States held from 12-18 August 1959 at Santiago, Chile, whose fulfillment requires the combined action of democracy, the respect for the principle of non-intervention, the observance and implementation of human rights, and the economic security of the individual. As for our position and our desire with regard to the Governments of our sister republics of America, we would rather not explain it in words, however eloquent they may be. Let us rather let the facts speak for themselves. My country has lived in an atmosphere of freedom and of respect for democratic principles; it was described by "Time" magazine on 21 April 1952 as "rustic democracy fit to gladden Thomas Jefferson's heart". Under our Constitution we have no army. This is a clear indication that we have no claims to anybody else's territory, and we are confident that no country would be justified in attacking us. The resources that used to be invested in military installations are being utilized to build schools, and we do not want military casts that nurture despots. Our teachers are our soldiers, and our laws are our weapons. It is a good thing to know that the current President of the Republic is governing with a majority against him in the Legislative Assembly and that he sustains his power by the rule of law, that is, by the democratic methods practised in that Assembly. Since such is our tradition and such is our way of life it is hardly necessary to ask us, we who love freedom to the extent that it has become the very fabric of our existence, what we should like for our sister republics of America.

230. Costa Rica is a member of the Economic and Social Council and has there fought courageously for a solution of economic problems. We have found great inspiration in the pithy arguments of the Secretary-General, who holds that the under-developed countries constitute the major obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations. There are many hard facts, and they sometimes have tragic overtones. We do not underestimate, indeed we support, the efforts of the United Nations, the projects which it is seriously and responsibly considering, and the new organs of economic co-operation which are being established. Nor do we fail to recognize that the United States is constantly endeavouring to increase our resources, but there are still many things to be done and many problems which must be settled not simply by assistance but on a basis of justice.

231. Under prevailing systems the factors which create economic differences operate in such a way as to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The

standard of living of workers in the economically developed countries is steadily rising while that in the less developed countries is getting lower, creating a contrast between the wealth of the former and the poverty of the latter. Wages depend on the prices fixed on the market for manufactured goods, which tend to go up in response to a demand for wage increases. It is inconceivable that the prices of these commodities should go down, with a corresponding effect on wages, since these prices have apparently been rendered invulnerable to market fluctuations. On the other hand, the agricultural, under-developed countries, which have also fixed the prices of their commodities on the basis of wages, feel the impact of the reduction in prices determined by the more developed countries. The price of our coffee is going down dragging with it wages that are already low, and bringing about ruin, despair and desolation.

232. The answer to the problem is not aid, but equity, for just as the prices of goods produced by the big countries are not permitted to go down to the detriment of the wage-earners, so the prices of our essential commodities should be respected in the world market so that our workers do not suffer. Trade is an exchange of goods, and they should be treated equally. It certainly does not make for social stability if our peoples are prevented from enjoying the goods which civilization has created for their benefit and convenience. In order to protect our foreign exchange we have to set up high tariff barriers; the exorbitant prices which result prevent people from buying automobiles, refrigerators, radios and many other such luxury goods. The peoples of the economically more developed nations can have all these things because they manufacture them, and, what is more, they can get our coffee at prices even lower than what we, who produce the coffee, have to pay for it. This is an economic anomaly.

233. We know that these economic disparities can be overcome, and we have the example of small countries which have attained advanced stages of development, such as Switzerland, Denmark, Finland—to mention only a few. In those countries, there are no people living in slum conditions, or illiterate, or beggars; their future and the future of their children is assured through systems of social security by which the doors of universities, hospitals and technical institutes are opened to them not as a gift, but as a right. Why can we, as small nations, not attain that level of social security?

234. We have heard sensible statements in this hall drawing attention to the fact that not only should assistance be given to the under-developed countries, but that the basic factor is the individual who resolutely fights to solve his own problems. That is true, but it is also true that in this endeavour those who control the great markets should be fair. South America is working intensively to create a common market, and Central America to a lesser extent. With the very valuable help of the United Nations, broad surveys are being made on the economic integration of Central America, which would mean that this territory, inhabited by people of similar origin, language and customs, would be free of tariff barriers and that the various geographical areas with a large consumer demand would be industrialized on a rational basis. In order to industrialize, we need the technological means for producing economically and a tremendous

investment of capital made available on easy terms so that we shall not be working for foreign investors.

235. While we are forging ahead with the diversification of our production so as to free ourselves from the bondage of a single-crop economy and foster our development, the price of our basic commodity, coffee, is going down on the world market, causing economic and social ruin and confusion, and we are unable to provide price supports as is done by the economically more developed countries. It is an unequal battle, and our difficulties are becoming more acute. That is why we feel that what the under-developed countries need is not assistance, not charity, but justice, which is the corner-stone of peace. If Central America is to succeed in its plan for economic integration, it not only needs technical assistance and capital for industrialization, but it must in the meantime be protected from the economic disaster of a drastic decline in the prices of its basic commodities.

236. The sub-committees of ECLA have successfully brought about a lowering of the tariff barriers of the countries of Central America, the prospects for an integrated meat and produce market are being considered, and determined progress is being made towards a common market. At the most recent meetings, we were happy to learn that our sister republic of Panama is watching these economic developments with keen interest and may join in this great United Nations experiment. All this shows that our peoples are fighting resolutely, with confidence and zeal, to extricate themselves from their state of economic backwardness, and that is why they are appealing for the justice due them in the solution of those of their problems which can only be solved by outside economic groups or forces.

237. The Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Herter, referred in his statement to the continuing and substantial co-operation of his country in its economic relations with our countries, but he recognizes that there is still much to be done and dramatically appeals to the United Nations to join forces with the United States in this war being waged against poverty, disease and illiteracy. He says that "the fact that more than 1,500 million people in this world live in dire want poses a challenge to which we must respond" [797th meeting, para. 88]. That proclamation is being issued by the strongest economic and moral power on earth. We have been summoned to wage this Christian and holy war to extricate men from poverty with our best weapon, justice, which we, the under-developed peoples, implore.

238. The attention of the Assembly and of the world is riveted on the question of disarmament. It should be recalled here that on 21 October 1958, Costa Rica, together with Bolivia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti and Uruguay, submitted an amendment [A/C.1/L.209] to the seventeen-Power draft resolution [A/C.1/L.205] inviting all States to devote

larger resources to assist the under-developed countries out of the funds made available as a result of disarmament. From that spring, we shall draw the clear waters to wash away so much of the poverty, hunger and injustice in the world today. With the savings from disarmament, let us build a new world in which all men shall be economically free so that they may enjoy our present civilization and savour fully the divine gift of freedom.

239. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I now call upon the representative of Guatemala for a brief statement.

240. Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): In defining Guatemala's policy of opposition to all forms of colonialism in his statement [805th meeting], the Minister of Foreign Affairs of my country referred specifically to the case of Belize, Guatemalan territory held by the United Kingdom. He asked the United Nations for moral support in securing recognition of Guatemala's legitimate rights and stated the decision of my Government to take the necessary steps to further the economic and social development of the people in that part of our country.

241. The representative of Mexico made a statement [807th meeting] with reference to this declaration of the Guatemalan delegation and set forth his position on the question. In exercise of the right of reply, my delegation feels it necessary to make a further reservation on the exclusive rights of Guatemala in respect of the territory of Belize.

242. For one hundred years now, Guatemala has tried in vain to persuade the United Kingdom to return this territory. We are gratified to note that four sister republics of Central America—El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—have given their full moral support to Guatemala in its demand that this part of the territory of Central America should be returned to it and, thereby, to Central America, as set forth at the first meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Central America held in Guatemala from 17 to 24 August 1955, which adopted the declaration entitled "Antigua Guatemala".

243. Recently, the Government of Mexico has made statements to the effect that any change in the present status of Belize should take into account the interests of Mexico. As the representative of Mexico said, this is not the time or place to debate the matter, but my delegation considers it necessary to place on record that Mexico's recent claim does not represent an action taken in association or jointly with my country and that Guatemala's rights over Belize are exclusive.

244. In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate the words of fellow-feeling and friendship which my delegation has expressed on many occasions for the great people of Mexico and its worthy representatives.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.