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President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

SPEECHES BY MR. MARTIN (CANADA), MR. BOYD (PANAMA), MR. CHAMANDI (YEMEN), MR. SILES ZUAZO (BOLIVIA) AND MR. STEPHANOPOULOS (GREECE)

1. Mr. MARTIN (Canada) (*translated from French*): As a participant in this general debate, which is as yet in its initial stages, I should like to convey to Mr. Maza, on behalf of the Canadian delegation, our warmest congratulations on the occasion of his election to the presidency of the tenth session of the General Assembly. I should like also to assure him of our full co-operation in the fulfilment of his difficult and important duties. Three years ago, Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, had the honour of presiding over the seventh session of the Assembly. That experience has taught us how onerous, although satisfying, those duties can be.

2. Through the President, I should also like to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to his able predecessor, Mr. van Kleffens, who presided with such distinction over our deliberations last year.

(*The speaker continued in English*)

3. Our Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, telegraphed yesterday to Mrs. Eisenhower the great regrets of the Canadian people on learning of the illness of the President of the United States. On behalf of the Canadian delegation at this General Assembly, I should like to say to Mr. Dulles and Mr. Lodge and their associates, and I am sure I say this on behalf of all of us, that it was with great regret that we learned during the past week-end of President Eisenhower's sudden illness. We welcome today's news that he is progressing satisfactorily, and we join with the American people in wishing him a complete and speedy recovery. As the great leader of a peace-loving nation, President Eisenhower symbolizes all that is best in the ideals of the United Nations. Despite the enormous burden of responsibility which he carries, his far-seeing wisdom and sober counsel have been a constant source of encouragement to all peace-loving peoples. I know that I speak for many when I express the fervent hope that the President of the United States will soon be restored to sound health.

4. All of us gathered here are, I know, acutely aware of the extraordinary importance of this tenth session of the General Assembly. Ten years ago the golden gates of San Francisco, where we signed our Charter of peace, seemed to open on the bright vista of a future free from conflict. And then the gates to that future suddenly narrowed and a war-weary world has had to live through a decade of division and difficulty. But once again, ten years later, we are given a fresh opportunity to establish here, on this island of Manhattan, a new beach-head of hope.

5. So much has been said here and elsewhere about the new atmosphere and the new spirit abroad in the world that I hesitate to speak of it again. Indeed, there is perhaps a danger that the vitality will be squeezed out of this so-called Geneva spirit if it becomes no more than a stale phrase, a muddy conception trotted out to bemuse us, to befog the hard issues we still face, or to cover a multitude of sins—whether of omission or commission. This would be a pity, because I believe there is something alive in the Geneva spirit—or at least the germ of something which can come alive if it is only nourished. If it is too early to say that confidence has been re-established—or perhaps one should say “established”, for international confidence would be something quite new in the history of the world—one can at least say that there is evident a search for confidence, a struggle for mutual understanding which did not exist before.

6. It seems to my delegation that, in the dark years through which we have passed, it was not so much the matters at issue which created a sense of frustration and despair, but the absence of any real anxiety to solve them. What encourages us most now is not that the issues have been solved—although the gaps are closing—but that the leaders of the great Powers in particular now seem to be seeking to define the issues and to understand and, if possible, to meet each other's objections.

7. This may seem to be little enough in the way of progress, but it is a beginning in the right direction. Our very processes of thought have become corrupted by the deadening spirals of propaganda and counter-propaganda in this forum and in lesser councils. So deeply have we been mired that this evidence of simple honesty and sincerity in our dealings with one another seems in the nature of a fundamental regeneration. Confronted by the appalling spectre of disaster, the world has sobered up in the nick of time. At least, we trust that it has. We cannot yet be sure.

8. The test is whether those who bear the chief responsibility for debauching international relations by the manipulation of truth for their own purposes and the denial of civilized ethical traditions have finally renounced their old habits and methods. Unhappily, during the brief history of our Organization, appeals to the mind and conscience of the peoples of the world, which

are the rightful work of the United Nations, have too often become a sordid effort to trick and seduce mass opinion.

9. This is no time for recrimination. However, it is still a time for caution. I do not suggest that one State or one group of States bears the full responsibility for lowering the standards and frustrating the achievements of the United Nations. Propaganda has inevitably been matched by counter-propaganda which has mistakenly aped the technique of the opponent.

10. It seems to us that the most hopeful augury for this session is the fact that, both here and in such important organs of the Assembly as the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, there is evident a desire to state as straightforwardly as possible positions sincerely held rather than to establish propaganda positions or to score debating points. If we carry on in this way, there is no limit to what we can achieve in the United Nations.

11. What I have said is, I assure you, said in all humility. There is no cause for smugness on the part of any Member or group of Members. Nor is it just for us to blame all our errors on the great Powers and simply demand that they change their ways. It is the great Powers themselves, and particularly those at their summit who met in July 1955 in Geneva, that have set us an example and given us cause to talk about a new spirit and to hope that it may extend. We must all acknowledge — as we do, I am sure — our great debt to those leaders who have looked squarely at the appalling, brute facts of life and decided that man must not be allowed to extinguish himself when he can be saved by the use of human intelligence.

12. This, it seems to my delegation, is the challenge of the present Assembly. The great Powers have pointed the way to the relaxation of tension. It behooves the General Assembly to respond to that situation. We must match their moderation and restraint with moderation and restraint. We must seek to match their realism with a constant recognition of the complexity of the problems we face, of the fact that truth is unfortunately not revealed to one of us alone, and of the infinite amount of patience which progress requires.

13. There is no doubt that the question of the reduction of armaments and the control of their use is the subject on which the achievement of peace and the dissipation of tensions most depend. Here we are more hopeful than at any time in the past ten years, although by no means unaware of the enormity of the problems yet to be solved.

14. As a nation associated with the Big Four in the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, I feel that my country in a sense speaks not for itself alone, but for many other nations within and outside this Organization. From the outset, we have been particularly conscious of the terrifying responsibility that rests on the great Powers on which the peace of the world primarily depends. One wrong decision for them could mean disaster not only for them but for us all. I say this in recognition of the awesome potentialities of present nuclear weapons, and without any reference to the even more frightful possibilities the future may hold. We must remember too, of course, that the longer we delay in reaching agreement on disarmament, the greater will be the encouragement to nations not now in possession of nuclear weapons to begin their manufacture.

15. It is well for all of us to realize, then, the solemnity of this obligation when we complain or castigate. This is not to say that other Powers should refrain from criticism or suggestion. We certainly have not, in the past, refrained from doing so on many occasions, and we intend to continue criticizing when we think it is justified and making suggestions when we think they might be useful. We trust that during this session all of us will have a free opportunity to express our views on a subject which is of as much concern to all countries as to the major Powers. We hope that these contributions will be as constructive as possible, and will bear directly on the dilemmas which I believe the great Powers are striving with determination and imagination to solve.

16. I realize that all of us, in this Assembly, are fully aware of the difficulties to be surmounted in reaching a general agreement on a major reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons. The reductions and prohibitions must be so co-ordinated and scheduled that no nation, at any stage in the process, will have genuine cause to fear that its security is endangered. In the course of our Sub-Committee meetings, progress has been made towards an agreed position on this most important question of the time-table, or schedule, of reductions and prohibitions.

17. However, the whole question of an effective arrangement to guarantee the fulfilment of any undertaking to prohibit atomic weapons must now be considered in the light of the fact, admitted by all concerned, that the secret evasion of any agreement for total prohibition of atomic weapons would, given present knowledge, be possible, however stringent the control and inspection might be. It was partly in order to meet the difficulties on this key problem of control and inspection that a number of new proposals were advanced at the Geneva meeting.

18. The Prime Minister of France, Mr. Faure, suggested a plan involving budgetary checks on reduction in defence expenditure and the use of savings resulting from disarmament for assistance to under-developed countries. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Eden, with his great experience in international matters, suggested a preliminary pilot project which would give us useful practical experience in the mechanism of inspection and control. Mr. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, put forward a plan in almost the same terms as a proposal made by the Soviet delegation on 10 May 1955 in the Sub-Committee [A/2979]. This Soviet plan incorporates some important advances on the question of control, although in the view of my Government the Soviet provisions for inspection and control are still inadequate.

19. Finally, at Geneva, President Eisenhower suggested a step which might be taken immediately, a step designed to eliminate the possibility of a major surprise attack and to prepare the way for a general disarmament programme. Such an agreement would certainly be more easily attainable if we could first remove the overhanging threat of surprise attack. My Government has expressed its great interest in this plan, a plan put forward by the President of the United States for the exchange of military blueprints and for mutual aerial inspection. To us, that plan is a gesture of faith and of imagination typical of a great man and of his country. We in Canada know the Americans well and, although we often disagree with them, it never occurs to any of

us to doubt the fundamental goodness and sincerity of their intentions. And so we were particularly happy to hear Mr. Molotov's tribute to President Eisenhower [520th meeting] and we assure Mr. Molotov, as people who know, that his confidence in the sincerity of this American proposal is not mistaken.

20. I noticed with regret, however, that Mr. Molotov, in his statement in the general debate on 23 September, seems to have misunderstood a comment made by Mr. Dulles the day before [518th meeting] on the inevitable connexion between a sense of insecurity and fear, on the one hand, and a possibility of disarmament on the other. I would recall to the Soviet delegation that a thought very similar to that expressed by Mr. Dulles occurs in the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 10 May 1955 in the United Nations Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission.

21. In the Soviet proposals of 10 May 1955, which have now been circulated to all Members as a General Assembly document, we read the following paragraph:

"On the other hand, the cessation of the 'cold war' between States would help to bring about a relaxation of international tension, the creation of the necessary confidence in international relations, the removal of the threat of a new war and the establishment of conditions permitting a peaceful and tranquil life of the peoples. This, in turn, would create the requisite conditions for the execution of a broad disarmament programme, with the establishment of the necessary international control over its implementation" [A/2979, annex I, A].

22. So I say to the Soviet delegation, is it not clear from this paragraph that the Soviet Union also sees the inevitable connexion between insecurity and the threat of war and the prospects of disarmament?

23. We think that the President's plan, as well as the other proposals made at Geneva, are not necessarily inconsistent with the proposals which have already been advanced in the Sub-Committee and on which, after long and difficult negotiations, some degree of general agreement may be in sight. None of these proposals, in our view, need be mutually exclusive. There is no reason why they might not all — modified perhaps — become steps along the road to disarmament.

24. As we see it, it is essential that we start quickly on this road, admitting that there must inevitably be experimental phases while we search for the trust and confidence without which disarmament would be impossible. This search will not be successful, however, unless prior agreement on a system of control has been worked out. This will admittedly require an enormous amount of careful study and discussion by our technical and constitutional experts before it can be formulated. It would be unwise, therefore, to expect too early decisions.

25. I have been the representative of my Government in the Sub-Committee talks since their resumption in New York on 29 August 1955, and I should not like to conclude my comments on this subject without a reference to the friendly and co-operative spirit exhibited by all delegations on the Sub-Committee in their relations with one another and in their work in the Committee. It would seem that the members of the Sub-Committee are all seriously determined to reach a practicable and mutually acceptable agreement on disarmament.

26. Atomic energy seems to come more and more to the forefront in our discussions. This is not surprising. A revolutionary source of energy has been tapped and the consequences are as yet incalculable. The new power at the disposal of man holds the promise of a changed and perhaps easier relationship with his surroundings, and the implications of this extend into almost every field.

27. This Assembly will have to deal with a number of items relating directly to atomic energy. In the first place, there is the report of the Secretary-General on the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva from 8 August to 20 August 1955 [A/2967]. This Conference has been widely and quite properly acclaimed as a great success, and I think it is a matter of satisfaction to us all that such a conference was organized by the United Nations. I should like to pay a word of tribute to the Secretary-General for his part in making the Conference a success. In this, as in so many other things, he and the Secretariat have demonstrated their efficiency and imagination. The Conference was, indeed, a fitting implementation of the resolution on international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy unanimously adopted at the ninth session of the General Assembly [resolution 810 (IX)]. I am confident that this Conference will not be a unique and isolated event but that it will be followed by other meetings and developments which will build on the foundation now established for international co-operation in the peaceful development of atomic energy.

28. Perhaps I may be permitted to recall at this point that my own country has played a not inconsiderable role in the dramatic search that has led to the harnessing of the restless energy of the atom. I shall take occasion later, when the appropriate items are being discussed in committee, to report on Canadian activities in developing the industrial and agricultural uses of radio-active isotopes, and such medical applications as the use of cobalt 60 beam therapy in the treatment of cancer, as well as what we are doing in the field of radiation detection and its health aspects.

29. The extensive work which my country has done on the peaceful uses of atomic energy has made it possible for us now to extend assistance abroad. We have recently arranged to provide the Government of India with an atomic reactor. It has been a source of satisfaction to Canada to be able to share our resources in this way with a country to which we are so closely tied in bonds of friendship and partnership. I was pleased to note only this morning the observations made by the Prime Minister of India himself, Mr. Nehru, speaking in the Indian Parliament on 16 September, when he observed that the provision of this unit will not only bring about close co-operation between the scientists of Canada and of those countries that will be benefiting from the reactor, but will also be another link between India and Canada. We are happy also that this reactor will benefit our other friends in Asia by reason of the intention of the Indian Government to allow scientists from neighbouring countries to use its facilities.

30. It is our desire, in Canada, to co-operate in so far as possible with the great evolutionary movements in South and South-East Asia. Our admiration for the peoples of these countries has been constantly strengthened by our personal associations in the United Nations and the Colombo Plan, and more recently with the international supervisory commissions in Indochina. I

should like to say a special word for the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam, for whom so many Canadians have come to have a deep respect and affection in the past year and who, we sincerely hope, will soon be able to take their rightful places in our councils. It seems to us quite wrong that so many of these Asian countries have been arbitrarily prevented from joining us here in the United Nations.

31. If anyone were to doubt the rôle which the countries of Asia can play in this Assembly, he should study the proceedings of that great conference which took place at Bandung last spring. It was an impressive assembly of distinguished representatives of two continents, which brought great credit to those who had initiated it. It may be that we would not agree with all of the conclusions of the Conference, but we pay tribute to the wisdom and moderation of men who have preserved their perspective and their proportion through times of revolutionary change and passionate conflict. It was a great source of encouragement to those of us who believe deeply that the East and the West can work together for our mutual good.

32. There are, I believe, 21 outstanding applications for membership in our Organization, and it is the view of the Government of Canada that the continued exclusion from the United Nations of so many nations of the world is a great handicap.

33. I know that in the minds of many representatives there are great difficulties of a legal and constitutional nature which hinder the reaching of any practical solution of this problem. We, too, are concerned and troubled by these difficulties, but we recognize that the political realities must be faced if we are to break the long deadlock on this question. I am aware — and so is the Government of which I am a member and spokesman today — that the great Powers, because of their world responsibility, may show some concern over the application of this or that particular candidate or group of candidates. I am convinced, however, that this should not necessarily lead them to oppose the desire of what I believe is a substantial majority of the members of this Assembly for as quick and as broad an advance towards universality of membership as we can possibly bring about.

34. The basic political reality which we cannot ignore is that, if this Organization is not truly representative of the great majority of the countries of the world, it will be unable to make its full contribution to settling the problems of the world; and so we hope that progress will be made in this matter at this session of the Assembly. In the view of my delegation, we should all be prepared to examine carefully the possibility of the admission at the same time of a very large proportion of the outstanding applicants. There are, as I said, of course, particular difficulties with reference to the admission of countries temporarily divided, but we believe that serious consideration might be given to the early admission of the other applicants.

35. At this point I should like to question Mr. Molotov's mathematics. In his address on Friday, 23 September [520th meeting], he referred to 16 applicants. According to the figures compiled by my delegation, if we exclude the divided applicants, there remain 17 candidates; and so I say with respect, but also with confidence, that I hope that Mr. Molotov will look into this question again and find it possible to make what seems to us to be an essential correction.

36. A particular question which, under the terms of the Charter, comes now to our attention is whether a conference should be convened for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. Unless there appears to be a general desire to hold a Charter review conference at this time, we are inclined to think that there would be no particular advantage in pressing for it. On the contrary, there would probably be considerable advantage in convening that conference after the political differences which divide us have, to some extent, become reconciled. We might well ask ourselves at this stage whether the relaxation of tension would be stimulated as a result of a Charter review conference. We do not think that the Charter is a perfect instrument, but we do think that, in a better political climate, we can construct on its solid foundation a more effective instrument than we now have.

37. Whether we decide to review the Charter or not, the Assembly, as we see it, should consider the useful and timely proposal put forward by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization concerning the greater use which might be made of United Nations machinery in the effort to bring about the relaxation of international tension [A/2911, pp. xi and xii]. These suggestions are clearly consistent with the improved atmosphere in which we meet.

38. At this session we have on our agenda many of what have come to be called the colonial issues. Some of these were referred to last year by my Canadian colleague, Mr. Pearson, as "hardy perennials". And, as Mr. Pearson so aptly observed, "to insist on discussing the same question seven times in seven years does not necessarily bring us seven times nearer its solution" [475th meeting, para. 6]. Of course, some of these items have more recently made their appearance on the agenda of the Assembly.

39. My country does not claim any particular competence in discussing colonial matters, but, from past experience, we have come to the conclusion that the debates in this Assembly on colonial issues do not always produce useful results, and in some instances, I fear, have had harmful effects. The last thing which I wish to suggest is that discussion should be stifled to avoid an objective airing of legitimate grievances. Canada has frequently in the past asserted its belief that the Assembly should be allowed to discuss any matter of international concern. We do recognize, however, that there are times and circumstances in which discussion may be neither wise nor helpful.

40. Many of us, I think, in this room are politicians and proud, I hope, of our craft and profession. However varied our experiences, we have all learned that politics is the art of the possible. Much of our art is that of timing. We know that there are some political measures which are not right or wrong in the absolute sense. They are so often right only if they come at the right time. I wish to make this point clear so that we shall not be accused of a reactionary attitude towards change and progress or of lacking sympathy for those who challenge the existing order of things. The fact is that in a great many cases we do not quarrel with proposals for change which come before the Assembly; we question only the time chosen. And our opposition is not absolute or timeless either. We do not want to see the United Nations become like the so-called Holy Alliance, which set its face against all reforms by arguing that they were never timely.

41. Among the subjects which can be most usefully discussed at this session of the Assembly are those which are part of the economic and social work of the Organization. We have in mind, in particular, questions concerning materially under-developed areas of the world. This is surely a field in which the work of the Organization is becoming progressively more efficient and more effective.

42. Speaking for Canada, we do not wish to see this creative work curtailed, for there can be no lasting peace so long as ignorance, sickness and poverty are allowed to go unheeded anywhere. We are more than ever convinced that no nation can remain healthy and prosperous in a diseased and bankrupt world. But our dilemma is that some assurance of peace and security is required if all Member States are to make a full contribution to combating economic and social ills. Nations which want to assist in the development of less fortunate countries often find that, for their own security, they must limit that assistance in accordance with the burden of national defence which they must also bear.

43. This is one more reason why we hope that progress in disarmament will continue to a point where more substantial resources can be released for the great international co-operative project of bringing a better life to all the citizens of the nations of the world.

44. Perhaps the most complex problems which face the General Assembly this year concern the progress of the dependent peoples towards self-government and independence. Our responsibilities in this field, as an Organization, are an essential part of our Charter. The Charter envisages, however, an orderly advance in the direction of the desired goals. This is in keeping with the Canadian concept, a concept which is based on our own historical development.

45. We have learned from our own experience that the art of self-government can best be acquired by the peoples of any race in partnership and collaboration with other established States. It is not in Canada's interest, in the interest of the countries of this Organization, nor, as we see it, of the administering Powers themselves to delay unnecessarily the enjoyment, on the part of any peoples, of the fundamental rights to which the Charter refers, and we agree that the interests of the dependent peoples should not be sacrificed to those of the governing Powers. We believe, on the other hand, that it is not in the best interests of the peoples concerned that the achievement of these worthy aims should be brought about precipitately.

46. We must also recognize the complications which international tension imposes on the orderly development of dependent peoples. There is no doubt in my mind that, as international tension decreases, the progress of the dependent peoples towards self-government and independence will increase. It is all the more important, therefore, that our intervention in this field should contribute to the easing of tension rather than to its prolongation.

47. These are some of our thoughts on how we might in specific cases meet the challenge of the tenth session of the General Assembly. We trust that no one will consider our suggestions unduly restrictive or detrimental to the aims and aspirations of nations which do not consider themselves immediately concerned with the problems to be solved by the great Powers.

48. If we are to agree that the future of the United Nations is inextricably bound up with the achievement

of a lasting world peace, surely we must also agree that no effort should be spared and no opportunity lost by the United Nations, both as an Organization and as individual Member States, to advance the cause of peace. If the great Powers can find ways of bringing about an end to the tensions of the past nine years, if they can agree on programmes for disarmament and for greater international co-operation, then all of us should be prepared to move forward in the same direction.

49. If those aims are achieved — and today our hopes are high — and if both sides involved in other international disputes concurrently follow the example of the great Powers, the prospects for this Organization will be unlimited. There could then be, it seems to us, a real hope of attaining the objectives which have been assigned to the United Nations and which are so much a part of man's universal aspirations. We need more good deeds of the kind already displayed in this Assembly by our Brazilian colleagues when they offered [518th meeting] to accept the Korean prisoners who have so long been in the care of the Indian Government.

50. We have all assumed, I know, at some time or another — and I hope that most of us have argued at some time or another — that the United Nations could be made to work effectively only if great-Power agreement, one of the basic assumptions of the Charter, could be realized. Today, as I have said, we see signs of hope in that direction. It is, however, as my Government sees it, not sufficient for the United Nations to sit back and wait for the great Powers to produce the desired results. The new and encouraging situation in which we find ourselves requires on the part of every Member State a sense of responsibility, a willingness to accept international discipline and an approach to international issues in a moderate, peaceful and co-operative spirit. And perhaps never before in the short history of this Organization have these requirements been so urgent.

51. And so may I, in full consciousness of the heavy responsibility placed upon all of us, urge every one of us to join in seeking the broad objectives I have mentioned and in making the United Nations response to the improved situation which faces us a whole-hearted and substantial contribution to further improvement.

52. I will conclude what I have to say by recalling that, two weeks ago this very afternoon, I had the pleasure of visiting the Canadian community of Cobourg in the Province of Ontario in my country, a few hundred miles only from here, and of dedicating a cairn of peace erected in commemoration of the first world ploughing match held there two years before. I mention this little incident because atop the cairn was a golden plough bearing the finely-wrought inscription: "that man may use the plough to cultivate peace and plenty". A miniature of this trophy, emblematic of the world's ploughing championship, now travels annually from one country to another as a messenger of peace and a harbinger of hope and abundance for all mankind. What better symbol could be found for our common hope and for our united determination to help bring about the fulfilment of the ancient biblical prophecy:

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

53. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*translated from Spanish*): On behalf of the Republic of Panama, of whose delegation I have the honour to be Chairman, I bring you a

message of hope, optimism and renewed faith in this great international Organization, the United Nations, and at the same time express my most sincere wishes for the success of the work that we are about to undertake at this tenth session.

54. Before continuing my statement, I should like to take the opportunity to express, from this lofty forum of international thought, the most sincere wishes of the Government and people of Panama for the speedy and complete recovery of Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States of America, who, for the good of mankind, guides the destiny of the great American people, whose country is providing us with all the necessary facilities to conduct these important meetings of the tenth session of the General Assembly.

55. It is a matter of satisfaction to me to be able to say that ever since the day when, by the happy inspiration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that great United States statesman and a great friend of the people and the Republic of Panama, the steps were taken that culminated in the establishment of this Organization, my country, which is proud of its devotion to civil liberties and its respect for human rights, has felt itself identified with the great work of recovery and peace that has had to be undertaken, and has consequently given that work its constant and most enthusiastic support.

56. The tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter has just been commemorated, and I believe that we are justified in feeling very pleased with the work our Organization has accomplished during this period, despite the trials and difficulties it has encountered, despite the extraordinarily vast and complex problems with which it has had to deal, such as those caused by the cold war, aggression, political revolutions in various parts of the world, disputes concerning the liberation of colonial countries and extensive changes in the political, social and economic life of the nations.

57. The United Nations has proved to the world, by the work it has accomplished since its establishment, that it is without any doubt the best instrument for preventing war and maintaining international peace. Its action in this respect has not been merely political, but has extended to other fields, in that it has endeavoured to raise the standards of living of peoples and thereby prepare them for self-government, so that they in turn may contribute to the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations.

58. In addition to taking a firm stand against aggression, as in the case of Korea, and adopting measures designed to further collective security, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the effective protection of human rights, the United Nations has helped, through its various agencies, to solve the social and economic problems of needy and under-developed nations, and in this respect it may well be said that its work has been and continues to be of real benefit to millions of people, even in the farthest corners of the world.

59. The activities of the United Nations in this field are invaluable and illustrate the wisdom and deep foresight of its founders, who obviously realized how unrealistic it would be to expect harmony and peace to reign among nations if they were beset by poverty, hunger, disease, superstition and ignorance. Although this work of the United Nations lacks the spectacular character of its political activities and does not attract the same publicity in the Press, it is nevertheless of definite and great benefit to peoples, since it prepares

them to be useful citizens, and to enjoy freedom and progress. It is consequently the most valuable contribution that can be made to the cause of peace and goodwill among nations.

60. The Republic of Panama, as a democratic and peace-loving State, respectful of human dignity, has always been guided in its international relations by the concepts of justice and coexistence proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. The most eloquent proof of our whole-hearted support of these noble purposes and principles is undoubtedly to be found in the cordial relations and the bonds of sincere friendship which link us not only with our fellow nations of America but also with all the countries of the world.

61. I consider it a very good augury that, as a result of the spirit of friendship and understanding which has prevailed at recent international conferences, particularly at Geneva, this session of the General Assembly can take place in a propitious atmosphere, so that the work we are embarking on here may bring positive benefits to all the peoples we represent. Although we have not yet succeeded in bringing about the material disarmament which we all desire, it is a fact that of late a conciliatory spirit has made its appearance in the world which is the first essential for a stable peace. The atmosphere is less charged with distrust and suspicion. We are waking from a nightmare and we feel more optimistic. The prevailing spirit is one of goodwill and greater understanding.

62. Many are the thorny problems we shall have to tackle at this session. In the opinion of my country, the most outstanding ones are disarmament and the control of atomic weapons, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, so that the Organization may acquire a universal character and, lastly, the appointment of a committee to study, with due care and thoroughness, the changes and amendments which are required in the Charter if it is to meet present-day requirements more effectively. It is by meeting these problems firmly and resolutely that we shall best be able to strengthen the United Nations, to increase the hopes which we have all placed in it and to heighten its prestige and authority in the eyes of the world.

63. The Republic of Panama maintains its faith in the United Nations and in its high purposes. It supports the efforts to achieve greater understanding and international co-operation which the United Nations, by its direct action, has made in the political, social and economic fields, for it considers that it is here, in fields which show immediate results, that the United Nations in its ten years of existence has accomplished — and is still accomplishing — beneficent work of world-wide importance which cannot be ignored.

64. Like all human institutions, the United Nations has a life and vitality of its own. This is a result of the various reactions which of necessity have an influence upon it, of the normal course of its activities and of the many and varied goals which it has set itself. It is natural that the work of the United Nations should at times appear to critics limited. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Organization is endeavouring to solve extremely complicated problems, some of which are almost as old as humanity. It is for this reason that we should not underestimate the paramount importance of the international public opinion which the United Nations is forming at the present time through its exhaustive public discussions of the most difficult world

problems, which hitherto were examined only behind closed doors. This public opinion is unquestionably an effective bulwark against the use of force in the settlement of disputes between States. This world public opinion to which I refer, duly inspired and ever alert, must in the course of time become so great and so irresistible a moral force that no country in the world will dare to disregard it.

65. The Panamanian delegation reaffirms its resolute intention of co-operating whole-heartedly and enthusiastically in the accomplishment of the tasks before the United Nations General Assembly. My country considers, as it has done in the past and will do in future, that we, the Members of the United Nations, are in duty bound to maintain our faith and confidence in the Organization, supporting and contributing to its efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence among nations, so that international relations may be based on the noble concepts of the Charter, thus ensuring peace, justice and freedom for all the peoples of the world.

66. Mr. CHAMANDI (Yemen): It is a pleasure to greet you in the name of Yemen. I express our hopes for the success of this General Assembly in strengthening peace through the settlement of those problems which still block the way towards security for the world and tranquillity for its hundreds of millions of innocent souls. The delegation of Yemen is glad to be among those working together in spirit and in action to carry out the message enjoined by every religion and every human conscience and implicit in every law. We sincerely believe that the best hope for and the truest success of the message of peace lies in carrying out and honouring the principles of the United Nations Charter, and I am sure that this belief is shared by all representatives gathered here.

67. Certain signs of peace have appeared on the horizon, and the world's gaze has followed them ever since the four-nation meeting in Geneva in an atmosphere presaging good for the future and stability for world peace. The concern of all mankind with that meeting and with the subjects considered at that meeting devolves upon the four countries concerned the greatest responsibility and obligation to mankind. It is only fitting that all of us likewise should devote ourselves to this obligation and responsibility. Now the object of our hopes is that the four-nation conference to be held in the coming month of October may be of the greatest consequence for the peace of the world and for general welfare, and for the settlement of the world's problems.

68. One of the best and most satisfying auguries of peace to mankind, especially to innocent mankind, has been the outcome of the discussions and work of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy towards improving the means of progress and conditions of living in the world. We hope that this Conference and similar conferences in the future will lead to more disinterested interchange of knowledge in the field of atomic energy, which would certainly bring about the welfare of mankind.

69. Last, but not least, we must mention a historic event which claimed the attention of the whole world, the Asian-African Conference at Bandung this year. None can question that this Conference was of momentous significance for the course of the world's political and economic development. It meant that more than half the inhabitants of the world were joined together in a consideration of their own affairs and the world's affairs, not as a third bloc, but as world citizens

dismayed by the division of mankind into two blocs struggling to destroy each other. For this reason, the Conference did not discuss the political, economic and cultural problems of its members, but yielded the forefront of its concern and decisions to world problems. We therefore entertain high hopes that this Conference and future conferences will prove a mighty support of peace and co-operation among mankind.

70. The Yemen delegation is glad to be in the ranks of those who support proposals directed to upholding peace and limiting world armaments, to reinforcing the principles of this Organization, to sustaining its Charter, and to widening the sphere of its membership.

71. It is only natural that my delegation will be particularly interested in the Asian-African problems placed before the General Assembly. We believe it is a matter of special concern to world peace that the problem of West Irian be justly settled. We hope the Netherlands Government can come to an agreement with the Indonesian Government on such terms as will solve this problem compatibly with the interests of the Indonesian people and the United Nations Charter.

72. The Yemen delegation also hopes that, in the two cases of Morocco and Algeria, France, from which country have emanated the principles of freedom and human rights, will look in the light of these principles upon the problem of these two sister countries. The problems of Morocco and Algeria are now among the most important and urgent problems deserving the attention and care of this Assembly. We sincerely hope that a favourable decision will be taken by this Assembly, restoring peace and safeguarding the God-given rights of the African people.

73. The problem of Palestine continues. A million human beings still wander homeless, not by legal right or with legitimate reason, but because another people from across the seas migrated to their land, occupying it by force, driving them out of their homes and thus creating a tragedy which has become a burden crushing the conscience of the world. Up to now the problem has remained unsolved. The decisions of the United Nations with regard to it have not been enforced. It has come to this point: the other party has transferred its capital to Jerusalem, the internationalization of which was decreed by the United Nations. This same other party has also made it clear that it will not accept the return of the refugees to their homes.

74. We believe that the dignity of this Organization and its dedication to world peace and justice call for the taking of an effective stand for the enforcement of its decisions with regard to this area. There is no doubt that, if the Organization falls short in this mission, it will certainly fail in one of the most important of its obligations. The pillars of its moral influence will be shaken, and respect for its resolutions will undoubtedly decrease. The statesmen who met at the Asian-African Conference reminded the world of that problem. They declared their support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. It should be remembered that the Arabs harbour no aggressive design against any race or religion: on the contrary, by virtue of the Islamic religion and the principles inherent in the Arab traditions, we honour all races and all religions. All that is sought in the question of Palestine is respect for the rights of men and nations; that justice may be freely applied to all; that the Arabs of Palestine shall not be

the victims of millions of aliens coming from the four corners of the world coveting their so-called "homeland".

75. In the Arabian peninsula there are two problems of some significance. One is the problem of the Buraimi oasis, which the two parties to the dispute, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, have agreed to refer to arbitration. This is a matter of some importance, which concerns the entirety of the Arab land, particularly Yemen. We sincerely hope that the two parties will agree on a just settlement.

76. The second problem is that of the nine southern regions of the Arabian peninsula occupied by British forces. This fact has led to regrettable complications and to harsh acts of aggression and destruction by the British forces in a wide area in these regions. The Yemen Government continues to hope that this problem can be settled on the diplomatic level between the British and the Yemen Governments, in such a way as to ensure peace and security and realize the hopes and the freedom of the inhabitants of this area. We sincerely look forward to an amicable settlement of this problem. If our hopes fail, we shall come forward with our problem to the United Nations, confident that consideration of the issues here will bring in its train a just and suitable settlement.

77. In conclusion, I emphasize that Yemen is moved by a firm and sincere desire to co-operate in maintaining world peace and in working for progress, economic development and raising of the standards of living. In that we look forward to the United Nations and its technical assistance programme.

78. I pray God that He may inspire us to reach the right decision in all our deliberations for the good of mankind.

79. Mr. SILES ZUAZO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): I should like, first of all, on behalf of the people and Government of Bolivia, to express our hope for the speedy recovery of President Eisenhower.

80. The tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is meeting under encouraging auspices. We are leaving behind us the days of bloody conflict and bitter trials. Signs of peace are appearing on the horizon. Our planet is ceasing to be a theatre of rivalries issuing in fratricidal battles. The desire for tranquillity, the longing to live free from fear, which is one of man's strongest aspirations, is triumphing over the tumultuous influences that were demanding the supreme sacrifice of another world tragedy.

81. This scene of harmony, which today gives hope to the world, lends singular importance to the discussions that are taking place in this Assembly of the United Nations. Twenty odd years of war, crisis and catastrophe had sown scepticism in the heart of man. Peace had come to be regarded as a remote prospect, and the failure of past efforts to promote understanding between the great Powers confirmed the sad doubts of the pessimists. For many years almost all sectors of public opinion were permeated by the mournful idea that war was our destiny and that there was no escape from the Dantesque cycle of periodical holocausts and endless suffering.

82. The history of the United Nations has in fact been a long series of incidents, conflicts and quarrels that have kept the spirit of mankind suspended over a terrible abyss. Our Organization was born out of an alliance for war and a longing for peace, but the military victory won through the close co-operation of all demo-

cratic peoples held the germ of conflict, and the world entered a period not of that peace which had been sought so desperately in the trenches, but of anguish marked by the armaments race and by constant anxiety. Korea was a danger which carried us to the very brink of world-wide disaster. In Indochina a similar danger threatened the tottering structure of peace. And Formosa saw hours of tension that seemed to be a prelude to the inevitable clash. From all sides came the sounds of war, and the era of harmony promised us by the statesmen who had founded the United Nations was reduced to no more than a fragile hope.

83. Nevertheless, man has always been endowed with moral forces which exert a restraining influence when primitive passions threaten to prevail. In the darkest periods of history, when civilization has appeared to be on the point of foundering, the voice of reason has exercised its restraining effect and restored calm to the minds of men. At the very moment when we were all voicing the most dire predictions, certain ideas were put forward which were able to alter the contemporary political scene. Hope is now beginning to appear in a world where the most utter disillusionment had prevailed. Humanity has not lost its virtues and it will be able to achieve its most ambitious dreams.

84. In 1953, we heard in this hall the words of President Eisenhower, inviting all nations, on behalf of the people of the United States, to utilize for peaceful purposes the diabolic power of the liberated atom [470th meeting]. That attitude on the part of the President of the United States began what we might call the unfreezing of international politics. From the moment that his speech resounded throughout the world, it was clear that calm conversation between the Powers was possible. Slowly, at the rate characteristic of great ideas, the movement towards universal understanding began gaining its first victories, until it has at last penetrated all minds. The division of the world into factions that seemed unable to approach each other save for purposes of controversy began to decline, and over the barriers that separated men, friendly conversation started.

85. The recent Conference of the four great Powers at Geneva is not an isolated event, the result of a sudden whim that came unheralded and will have no geographical or political consequences to the world. The agreement on Indochina, which healed an open wound, the exchange of trade union delegations between countries of Eastern and Western Europe, the visits of prominent Western statesmen to the Soviet Union and of Soviet economic experts to the United States of America, together with the presence of Soviet leaders in countries with which they had formerly engaged in unpleasant controversies, had created the necessary atmosphere in which the spokesmen of the great Powers might meet for calm discussion of the problems of the world. Geneva is only a signpost, a promise that only the future can confirm, a trend that may become a permanent achievement.

86. The great increase in military expenditure and the infinite capacity of destruction inherent in atomic weapons have made total warfare an unmistakable threat to the whole world. Behind the hydrogen bomb lies collective suicide. No rivalry, no aspiration to power, no political doctrine can persist against such an enormous danger. Mankind is now faced with the sovereign dilemma: to reach agreement or to perish. All the concepts of our imagination, all the feelings engendered by our afflictions, all the desires that we have nurtured,

are confounded by the spectre of the annihilation of mankind that threatens us if we dare to unleash the forces that have now been discovered in nature.

87. For the small countries, which make up the majority of the world, the prospect of peace is indeed welcome, for the wars have been costly to us in frustration. While armies are fighting, the price of our raw materials remains static or declines, and the interruption of normal trade hinders our progress. With the advent of peace and its promise of a brilliant future, we find that the promised world does not exist, for new dissensions, charged with explosive possibilities, threaten the world that was so recently flowing with blood. For us, progress depends upon peace.

88. Now that there are signs of progress towards disarmament, let us hope that the negotiations now taking place between the great Powers will not only reduce the enormous expenditure for war, but will also do much to develop the peaceful uses of these awesome scientific discoveries of recent years. The atom is a diabolical threat, but it is also a promise of life and prosperity if we can link it to the great aspirations of mankind; like life itself, it will reflect man's proclivities for good or for bad. It is the solemn, inescapable duty of those who have mastered nuclear energy to ensure that it is used to promote peace and to do away with the terrible spectre of war.

89. We must not think, however, that understanding among the great Powers is a kind of magic wand that will dispel all the problems of humanity. To do so would be to indulge in exaggerated optimism. If the disarmament which we are hoping to achieve is to become a reality, it must extend to all the countries of the world. We should have gained very little indeed if disarmament were limited to the more powerful countries. In the small nations, too, the desire for peace must result in a reduction of their armed forces and of their wasteful accumulation of the machinery of war.

90. In recent times, taking advantage of all the talk of war, some of the small States have shown a marked tendency to strengthen their armies and to acquire excessive stocks of armaments. These practices have created a state of affairs that is not conducive to universal peace, owing to the aggressive spirit fostered by the possession of large accumulations of instruments of war; moreover, they are a heavy burden on the peoples who have to bear the cost. Many opportunities to advance the cause of progress and human dignity in under-developed countries have been lost because of this wanton mania. The instruments of work have been replaced by instruments of war — a cruel paradox in countries whose peoples have neither food to assuage their constant hunger nor means to illuminate the darkness of their minds. The building up of military power, moreover, tends to foster the class system and anti-democratic practices, especially in regions which, in their struggle against force, are not equipped with the moral resources derived from a broad political education or from deeply-rooted civic tradition.

91. The Bolivian delegation believes that the reduction and limitation of armed forces and armaments should apply to the under-developed countries, and it will in due course present a motion to that effect in the General Assembly. In taking this step we are prompted solely by a sincere desire to contribute to the preservation of international peace and to promote the progress of countries whose tragedies and conflicts have so often endangered the structure of world peace. If, as has been

so often stated, peace is indivisible, we must not forget that it must be safeguarded in all parts of the world.

92. Nevertheless, a peace that does not bring with it a transformation of the political scene would be a poor victory for those who regard human progress as a condition for any sincere effort at reconciliation. Recent years have brought, especially in the hitherto under-developed countries, a real epidemic of minority régimes which have used military force to destroy even the most rudimentary forms of coexistence between men of the same nation. If we are to move towards peaceful coexistence between the different political systems that exist today, it is reasonable to hope that we may also advance along the path to coexistence between the citizens, groups and classes which make up every nation. A peace without social justice, seasoned with the bitter ingredient of absolutism, would be a deliberate flouting of the desires of so many peoples who, from the depths of their anguish, cry out for human redemption. To live free from fear is the least we can achieve for all those who place their hopes in our deliberations.

93. One of the difficulties in the way of peaceful coexistence is the desire of colonial peoples for freedom. My country struggled 15 years for freedom, and by the time it attained freedom its vital forces were so weakened that its rehabilitation was an arduous process. This occurred over a hundred years ago, at a time when slavery was still permitted in some countries. In this century, however, which has seen the statesmen of the great Powers, in two successive world wars, cite as the justification for their military action the great human ideals which they ultimately inscribed in the United Nations Charter, the time has come for those ideals to become a reality, without bloodshed and without hatred, and without obstructing the progress of countries held back by ignorance.

94. The present situation of the under-developed countries, of which Bolivia is one, should be the subject of the most careful attention on the part of the various agencies of the United Nations. In order to avoid mere generalizations, I shall devote this part of my statement to what is happening today in Latin America.

95. The latest survey of the economic situation of Latin America, prepared by the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)¹, includes some very valuable statistical data for an assessment of the economic position of that vast and promising part of the world. The investment coefficient declined from 17 per cent in 1952 to 14.9 per cent in 1954. The terms of trade index of a group of Latin American countries dropped from 110 in 1951 to 92 in 1954. Imports of capital goods, which represented 40 per cent of all our foreign purchases in 1940, now represent only 37.5 per cent. In 1954, \$96 million flowed into Latin America in the form of investments, but our remittances abroad in payment of interest, profits and amortization amounted to \$630 million. This complex of indices and data is reflected in an increase of 1.5 per cent in the *per capita* gross product. If we contrast this figure with that for the United States of America, which was 2 per cent in 1954, we can see quite clearly that, far from narrowing, the gap between industrialized and under-developed countries is increasing in a spectacular fashion.

¹ *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1954*, United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.G.1.

96. The backwardness of the under-developed countries is a dangerous and permanent cause of insecurity for the entire world. The peace which we desire and the first harbingers of which are already to be observed will coincide with a crisis of incalculable proportions if the world economy continues to be unjustly divided into two groups of nations of unequal wealth and power. Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible; if poverty and ignorance persist in the under-developed countries, the economies of the advanced countries will be faced with the explosion that is inevitable in any mechanism that has no safety valve. The urgent necessity of helping the disinherited regions of the world on their path to progress is not merely a problem of human solidarity; to put it bluntly, it is of vital concern to the preservation of international stability. There is but one alternative; either we must foster the development of the large group of nations that still live on the periphery of civilization, or we shall be overwhelmed by an economic disaster which will shake the very foundations of world organization.

97. The representatives of the great Powers have again spoken in this Assembly of the vital need to solve the problem of the unification of Germany, and have even gone so far as to say that disarmament will be an idle dream if the present division of that country continues. Peace, too, the social peace that the peoples of the world are eagerly seeking, will be no more than a Utopian concept if there is a continued separation between some groups that possess every facility for development, and others — the majority — which lack the means to enjoy the full benefits of civilization. To find a suitable means of eliminating this division of the human family is as serious a problem for the under-developed countries as is the unification of Germany for the great Powers.

98. Fortunately there has of late been concrete evidence of a growing understanding of the problem which holds promise for the immediate future. President Eisenhower has expressly stated his desire that the enormous savings achieved by the halt in the armaments race should be used for assistance to the under-developed countries. Mr. Faure, the Prime Minister of France, speaking in more concrete terms, has suggested the establishment of an international fund which would study investment projects in areas whose economic development requires stimulation. The industrialized nations of Europe and North America have abundant and varied resources which, if used in accordance with a sound policy of international solidarity and enlightened self-interest, would help to speed up the task of eliminating backwardness in the world. The International Monetary Fund has stated that the reconstruction of Europe is now completed. If we interpret that announcement correctly, it is now time to proclaim that the highly developed countries, which until recently have focused their attention on restoring the regions laid waste by the recent world war, should now turn their eyes across the seas to assist in the progress of peoples who have not yet been able to enjoy the full benefits of civilization.

99. This line of reasoning is the fruit neither of selfish national aspirations nor of a disgruntled patriotism. Bolivia has received repeated and growing proof of solidarity and the desire to help. In the arduous task of building up a nation, friendly hands have come to our assistance, bringing with them messages of consolation in our trials and of confidence in our ideals. Such action is not enough, however and, noble though we know it to be, it cannot solve all problems. The aid and assistance

sporadically rendered to the under-developed countries must become a dynamic creed, part of an international code for our times. What we need are not isolated gestures, however valuable they may be as examples, but a general crusade which will mobilize with sufficient speed the enormous potential in the hands of the mightiest nations of the earth. A proposal that the industrialized Powers should devote the savings from a reduction in armaments expenditure to the development of the rest of humanity would constitute the corner-stone of that society of the future which it should be our concern to create.

100. I have said that Bolivia has been fortunate in that its people, now freed from feudal oppression, has received welcome evidence of international solidarity. But, as part of the new vista opened up to the world by the prospect of peace, this solidarity should be expanded and diversified so that its effects may be commensurate with the demands of the new international situation. Now that we are passing a milestone in the history of peoples, the time has come to take brief stock of the aid received by Bolivia and of the ways in which it could be rendered more effective and its scope enhanced.

101. Bolivia, like all countries which have been shaken by the fertile fever of revolution, is passing through a temporary but disquieting phase of economic disequilibrium. The revolutionary process which destroyed the old social structure coincided with an abrupt fall in the price of minerals on world markets. Two contradictory trends have emerged in the national economy. On the one hand, mass consumption has grown beyond all expectation, since the peasants, now released from serfdom and incorporated into the monetary economy, have been enabled to acquire a variety of manufactured goods and improve their diet and dress. As against this increase in consumption, there has been a slight but significant fall in the rate of investment. The country, deprived of foreign income by the fall in mineral prices, has not been able to meet fully the need for increased capital investment, since to have done so would have been to deal an undeserved blow to the hopes of the population.

102. It is this conflict between consumption, expressing man's legitimate desires, and investment, hampered by the adverse trend of prices on foreign markets, that has produced the inflationary cycle from which Bolivia is now suffering. The timely aid forthcoming from the United States Government has helped to maintain the levels of consumption in Bolivia which had been abruptly raised by the revolution. The United States Government, by its repeated contributions, has enabled us to obtain those foodstuffs which our foreign exchange resources would never have enabled us to obtain on a scale commensurate with the country's needs. In 1954, we received food and other goods to a value of \$13 million. In 1955, the amount we received rose to \$25 million.

103. In the matter of scientific investigation and up-to-date techniques — essential elements in stimulating production — the United States Government has helped us through the collaboration of its various specialized agencies. New plant varieties, unfamiliar means of pest control, and advanced methods of cultivation have been popularized in Bolivia by the agencies implementing the Point Four programme. In the struggle against the diseases which sap our vital forces, United States experts, side by side with my own countrymen, have fought momentous battles which hold out the promise of strength and well-being to so many people racked by disease.

104. In Bolivia, as in so many other countries, the key to development undoubtedly lies in raising the rate of investment. The amount allocated to capital investment during the present year is estimated at barely 12 per cent of our probable national product. To appreciate the inadequacy of this sum, let us remember that the old nations, for centuries in the van of progress, devote more than 15 per cent of their national product to reproductive investment. Consumption in Bolivia will continue to grow, and must increase with the extremely wide range of needs that characterizes all newcomers to a life of human dignity. Our production cannot keep pace with this phenomenon and our foreign income in the immediate future will continue to be small in the absence of any sign of improvement in mineral prices.

105. Long experience, based on established facts, teaches us that the development of backward countries cannot be undertaken without the assistance of foreign investment. All the countries which have reached the peak of human progress have called in outside capital to speed their growth. Regardless of the political system they may have adopted, they have found foreign technique and resources to be one of their mainstays. In Latin America we need, with all the urgency born of ineluctable facts, an increase in foreign investment. This need, manifest throughout the entire hemisphere, is particularly marked in Bolivia, which lacks the capital required to expand its fields of activity and to give its people, initiated into the civilized way of life, the standard of living which they demand.

106. But future investment in under-developed countries must conform to certain standards compatible with national dignity and with the economic levelling-up dictated by our times. The age of colonialist investment, seeking only easy money regardless of the means employed has gone forever. Nowadays, investments must comply with the principles of equity. Foreign capital, in return for the confidence and security offered it, must help to diversify the economies of the countries in which it finds a home and to raise its peoples to a higher level of human dignity. These principles have already met with such success that the technical services of the United Nations have accepted them unreservedly in some of their more recent documents.

107. Fortunately, investors seem to have understood the spirit of the new times and are trying to adhere scrupulously to its precepts. A recent example of this in Bolivia is the agreement by our Government with a United States gold-mining firm. Under this agreement, the Bolivian State will receive royalties and other payments amounting to more than 50 per cent of the profits from working the gold. Full and explicit recognition is given therein to the principles of reinvestment of profits, payment of attractive wages to workers and thorough government inspection. Bolivia is a fertile field for investments that conform to these standards. Now that the mining monopoly which kept our country fettered to the will of three absentee magnates has been destroyed, now that the rural masses have been freed from the feudal yoke, the obstacles to capital investment and the diversification of the economy have been swept away.

108. The future will offer the United Nations excellent opportunities for widening the scope of its technical assistance. The greatest organization in the world cannot remain aloof from the movement towards peaceful coexistence and solidarity which is in process of development and in which all peoples must share. An order of priority must be established in the granting of tech-

nical assistance so as to give preference to those countries in which the population as a whole can enjoy its share of the national wealth and constitutes the principal factor in public life.

109. Technical assistance cannot be conceived of in the abstract, as something which can be applied to any region of the earth or be effective in any political situation. If the mass of the people are isolated behind a barrier of contempt, or if a gulf of suspicion or open strife divides the Government and public opinion, the help and guidance of experts will be lost in the clash of conflicting interests. Technical assistance should be, indirectly, an instrument of democratic progress. It is inconceivable that so important a venture as the provision of technical assistance to under-developed countries should not, in addition to contributing to their economic development, contribute also to enhancing respect for human dignity and promoting political advancement in those countries.

110. In Bolivia, technical assistance has become particularly effective since the revolution of 9 April 1952, which made it possible to develop and diversify the national economy. Up till then, the ideas and advice of international technical assistance experts had been no more than generous ideals that had been met with incomprehension. Now technical assistance has really become a part of the life of the country, and we can already see some of the positive results.

111. United Nations experts have helped to reorganize the Ministry of Finance and have recommended the adoption of modern methods of preparing the national budget. The taxation system has been simplified. In the field of public administration, the international experts, assisted by some of our best officials, have prepared a civil service law which will give government employees prestige and stability and make the various public services more efficient. The problems involved in industrialization and agrarian reform, and the need for a planned expansion of the rural economy, are also being studied by the technical assistance experts with keen interest. As regards education, technical assistance has tended to take the form of the modernization of primary and secondary education and collaboration with the competent government departments in carrying out educational reform laws.

112. Our particular gratitude is due to those officials who have in turn directed the work of technical assistance in Bolivia. Mr. Goodrich began the first experiments of the United Nations in this field in our country with a tact and skill acknowledged by all. His successor, Mr. Carlsson, brought to the task manifest qualities of training and wisdom. Lastly, Mr. Oropeza Castillo, the present head of the mission, has used his undoubted administrative ability with a flexibility that contributes greatly to furthering the success of technical assistance in our country.

113. Despite the achievements of technical assistance, the development of the receiving countries requires to be stimulated by international bodies in other ways too. Experts are playing an outstanding part in solving many problems, but their efficacy is necessarily limited, since, in addition to qualified personnel, progress requires machinery and tools with which to exploit natural resources. The United Nations, through the medium of the specialized agencies, should see to it that the modern equipment which abounds in the industrialized areas, thanks to their advanced techniques, is made available to the under-developed areas.

114. The proposal for a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development should be regarded in the light of these general considerations. According to the documents on the question, the intention is to set up a body to provide, free of charge, those means which the under-developed countries require to speed up their development. There are some countries in the world — Bolivia among them — which, having only recently achieved social emancipation, lack the means to avail themselves of international credit to the extent that they would wish, since such credit, traditionally, involves some interest and redemption payments, however moderate. One of the characteristic features of our times is that many of the previously oppressed peoples have acceded to the highest forms of political organization. Among all the under-developed areas are in fact undergoing this inspiring process. Vast multitudes are beginning to enjoy rights and actively to demand an improvement in their standards of living. Generous revolutionary ideals compel Governments, in countries where justice has acquired due recognition, to adopt an encouraging attitude towards the desires of the masses. But the adoption of such a policy leaves scanty resources with which to obtain credit abroad. Hence the special fund offers an exceptional opportunity of solving the problem of economic development without prejudice to the social rights of the peoples.

115. The special fund should come into operation as early as possible. The studies of the experts appointed to consider the various aspects of its activities warrant an attitude of temperate optimism. Some observations must, nevertheless, be made with a view to avoiding from the outset certain obstacles or shortcomings which might detract directly from the efficacy of the fund. The sum of \$250 million suggested for the fund appears inadequate in view of the new international outlook and the ideas which are already beginning to assert themselves in the plans for collaboration between nations. The General Assembly resolution inviting Governments "to review their respective positions as regards extending their material support to a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development in accordance with changes in the international situation" [resolution 822 (IX)] is very sound and to the point.

116. However, the fund should commence operations even before all the contributions that may be pledged have come in. In this connexion, the proposal made by the French delegation at one of the recent meetings of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission [DC/SC.1/27], that the savings resulting from a reduction in armaments expenditure should be transferred to an international fund for mutual assistance and development, such savings being earmarked for use in their countries of origin so that the under-developed nations might acquire capital goods in those countries, could be of decisive assistance in overcoming any difficulties that might arise. This proposal is very wise and based on elementary common sense, for the fund, if partly financed with money saved by reducing armaments expenditure, will ward off the danger of a depression caused by the sudden halting of operations in factories producing for defence.

117. It view of the purposes of the fund, each country should have only one vote on its board of directors, since the fund would be more in the nature of an international co-operative than a financial institution in the accepted sense of the term. The fund should see to it that a healthy balance is maintained between outright grants and the loans which are also envisaged in the

plans drawn up by the experts who have studied the establishment of such a fund. In any case, the fund will be the practical instrument which will have to ensure equilibrium in the new phase on which the world is now entering, by making a proper allocation of surplus resources among those areas where economic development is not just a distant aim, but a pressing need.

118. The time is approaching when it will be necessary to give a higher status to certain dependent bodies of the United Nations — the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), for instance, which, in spite of its brilliant performance in child welfare and care and in the eradication of endemic diseases, has not received adequate funds. Specific formulae should be evolved for establishing a scale of contributions to this body. The campaign against malnutrition, sickness and destitution is quite as important as any ambitious project for economic development.

119. Even if international aid to the under-developed countries from the United Nations or foreign Governments attains a volume and scope adequate to the new situation upon which we are entering, it will still be wasted if the great Powers do not take immediate steps towards re-establishing trade relations between the various parts of the world. Trade undoubtedly contributes towards peace by fostering confidence and opening the way to a mutual understanding dispelling all suspicions.

120. Looking at things from the standpoint of the under-developed countries, we might add that trade in peaceful goods between the great Powers would make progress possible in all parts of the world, many resources being not fully developed at present because there is no way of selling them on markets hedged around by political barriers or by excessive customs or currency regulations. The re-establishment of trade throughout the whole world, by giving a tremendous impetus to economic activity, would tend to supplement and perhaps, in the not so remote future, render unnecessary, or at least reduce, the enormous amount of technical assistance and financial aid at present required by the under-developed countries.

121. Bolivia, despite all the difficulties inherent in any great task, is making great strides towards perfecting its democracy. Our country is making gigantic efforts to face the challenge of the new times with a clear eye and a firm step. We have freed from feudal oppression some 2 million peasants who, since the dark days of colonialism, had been living in hopeless ignorance. Today, those peasants are taking part, without ostentation but also without timidity, in the political and economic life of the country. With a sense of responsibility only acquired by peoples when they have won their rights, they are organizing a system of production thanks to which the fruits of economic progress will soon be added to the achievement of social equality.

122. Over the destinies of Bolivia no longer looms the fateful shadow of the mining empire which for so many years made of us a mere toy at the mercy of caprice. We have ceased to be the defenceless trading post of certain moneyed interests which combined to monopolize some of the most valuable resources of the earth and to shackle the peoples that produced them. For the first time in our history, we are a sovereign people that no longer needs to dangle on the strings of the puppet-master Greed. And to the discomfiture of the many who foretold disaster because we were considered incapable of managing our own affairs, there

has arisen a vigorous Bolivia that looks after and develops its own natural resources.

123. Two fundamental measures — land reform and the nationalization of the great mines — have laid the foundations of democracy in Bolivia. We do not believe that democracy can flourish when it is based on the degradation of the people or on the reduction of countries to vassaldom by selfish private interests. If there are to be free citizens, wealth must belong to all and national sovereignty must be more than a mere catchphrase. Democracy was never compatible with the cunning but cruel forms of slavery, nor with national humiliation.

124. Let it not be believed, however, that we incline towards a purely positivist interpretation of the democratic system. We know that culture, too, is a means of training people to enjoy their prerogatives and to shape their country's institutions by active participation in its affairs. So that literacy may no longer be the monopoly of the privileged classes and become the birthright of men formerly despised and enchained, we have brought schools to the remotest confines of the country. Two thousand new rural educational institutions have been founded since the triumph of our revolution, and educational reform will quickly give all classes access to higher and technical studies.

125. Our revolutionary movement came to power under the banner of harmony among all Bolivians. We did not sink to the depths of a policy of reprisals or offer the world the barbarous spectacle of those shootings and outrages which have left the stain of spiritual degradation on other revolutions in backward countries. We relegate the memory of the persecutions we suffered to the secret depths of our hearts and minds. In the hour of victory, there bloomed an ideal that bade us construct a democratic order. Our vanquished adversaries, misled by images of the past in which revolt was a chronic source of instability in Bolivia, plunged into the turmoil of conspiracy and, with each new defeat inflicted on them by the people in defence of its revolutionary institutions, adopted more sinister methods, until they reached the final degradation of assassination, which sets the ultimate seal of moral bankruptcy on any political movement.

126. Next year, the whole people of Bolivia, in orderly assembly, will be electing its government. All political groups, including those which have raised the vain standard of disguised violence, will enjoy unrestricted rights and may put forward candidates. We wish this civic occasion, which will demonstrate the sincerity of our democratic Government, to be an opportunity for a display of political tolerance by all sectors of national opinion, for we know that a revolutionary régime, when it really wishes to transform a country, needs healthy criticism within the framework of a democracy free from discrimination.

127. We have an unshakable faith in the creative possibilities of peaceful coexistence, which appears now to be passing from the misty realm of dreams into the field of practical reality. We identify ourselves with that immense majority that longs for the coming of a world in which peace and democracy will make it possible for man to live and to hope. We believe that, with the establishment of a sincere understanding between all the nations of the earth, there will come an era of historic reparation in which old injustices will be wiped out by the welcome hand of an international law that will not measure its action by the yardstick of force or influence. We wish the international community to

accord to Bolivia that minimum right to which a people is entitled, namely, the right to progress. May divine Providence enlighten our deliberations!

128. Mr. STEPHANOPOULOS (Greece) (*translated from French*): The United Nations has just turned a page in its history. The present session is called upon to take the first step towards that future which we all hope will mark an improvement as regards peace, justice and well-being in the world. The commemorative session at San Francisco drew up a balance-sheet of the first ten years of the existence of the United Nations; it also illuminated with its hopes the road which our Organization must follow in order to fulfil the expectations of the peoples and gradually to transform the promises of the Charter into realities.

129. The present session, which is the first in what may be called the second period of the existence and activities of the United Nations, thus assumes vital importance. It is a working session in which the General Assembly is called upon to take the first step along the road of its own future. To quote a familiar saying, it is always the first step that is the hardest. To make a bad start would be to tarnish this as yet unblemished future with a dark stain.

130. The present session is only just beginning, but the few opening meetings that we have held do not augur well. Greece — the whole of Greece, its Government and its people — is voicing its disappointment and anxiety at the first words pronounced in the Assembly, and you know full well the reason. They were negative words, words lacking in courage; instead of opening the path to hope, they closed the doors of the United Nations and blocked the way of justice and international agreement with regard to urgent and serious problems. Only two days ago, the General Assembly decided [521st meeting] not to discuss the question of Cyprus at this session, but events are already moving fast.

131. According to an official dispatch published by Reuters this morning, Sir John Harding, the Chief of Staff of the British Army, has been appointed Governor of the island of Cyprus, with instructions to conduct a campaign of extermination against those whom the United Kingdom Government describes as "anti-British terrorists". According to a statement by the Colonial Office, the reason for the appointment was the need for concerted action by all the security forces on the island, so that law and order might be maintained. The United Kingdom, having removed the obstacle represented by the United Nations, is going to war against the people of Cyprus. I would ask those who, only two days ago, preached from this high rostrum the virtues of "quiet diplomacy", whether they consider that this action by the United Kingdom Government comes under the heading of the "quiet diplomacy" which that Government proposes to use for the settlement of the Cyprus question.

132. We are greatly concerned. As we saw the other day, our anxiety is shared by many delegations. That is perhaps the only ray of hope that we can see in an extremely dark picture. But our anxiety is justified. Is the tenth session of the Assembly, this session which forms the link between the first and second periods of the existence of the United Nations, called upon to pass on to the future all that was bad, unjust and deplorable in the past?

133. The United Nations Charter is not a proclamation of principles and intentions. It is not a breviary which enables some more or less hypocritical voices to

murmur appropriate prayers from time to time. We are not here to preach sermons. We are here to settle political questions. The United Nations Charter is a political instrument. The United Nations Charter is a contract, a contract between each signatory State and the other signatories, a contract between each Member State and the international community created by the Charter. And a contract is valid only to the extent to which it is observed by those who have signed it.

134. We have heard all too many statements here about respect for treaties. It is, of course, quite right to stress the overriding necessity not to undermine the contractual basis of international relations but, that being so, why should the Charter be an exception to the rule? Why should those who have assumed certain obligations by signing the Charter be entitled to ignore or even to violate them whenever they see fit to do so? The Charter is not merely a treaty; it is the treaty of treaties.

135. It is true that the Charter contains general principles governing certain sectors of international life and activities. That is perfectly understandable; the Charter cannot provide for every specific case that may arise. This does not mean, however, that these principles do not represent concrete and definite obligations and that we are free to deal with the relevant specific cases otherwise than within the framework of, and in conformity with, these obligations.

136. In this connexion, it is rather strange to note that the gap between the principles proclaimed and the practice followed is becoming wider and wider. After the Atlantic Charter, after the Potomac Charter, after the Pacific *Communiqué*, after Bandung and after the adoption by the United States Congress, only a few weeks ago, of a resolution which roundly censured colonialism and its evils, we are witnessing developments which lead to a contrary practice.

137. We must bear in mind the fact that, especially in this Assembly, no one has the right to set himself up in judgement over another. Every opinion, provided that it is sincere, must be respected. Moreover, we all know that even the weakest thesis contains some grain of truth. There is absolutely no need for the colonial Powers and their supporters to profess beliefs which they do not hold and which they have no intention of applying because they consider them to be contrary to their interests. But that is not where the danger lies. The great danger lies in doing the opposite of what one says. The peoples are listening to our words. They will be our judges.

138. That observation leads to another important problem. How are opinions with regard to political questions, controversies and disputes formed in this Assembly? What are the determining factors in a vote? No one questions the right of each Government to determine its policy in accordance with its national interests; on the other hand, it is obvious that, in so far as national interests are not directly concerned, it is the interest of our international community, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, that should be the sole guide for the actions of our delegations to this Assembly. But is that really how things are done? Judging by the past, it would not seem so. The initial stages of our work at this session do not give grounds for any great optimism. Of course we must not lose hope, especially in view of the salutary reactions that are increasingly to be observed. Moreover, we cannot but rejoice at the courage of certain States which, through simple loyalty to the principles of freedom and

justice, are successfully resisting the discipline and the alignments of opinion imposed by the dynamics of our Assembly.

139. The favourable developments in international relations that have been reported in recent months, the end of the cold war and the efforts made by both sides to bring about a real peace between East and West, should promote similar developments, all too long awaited in our Assembly. The warmth of a better international climate might be expected to lead to the gradual melting of unduly rigid discipline and alignments. There will always be friendships, preferences and concurrence of opinions and interests. But the Assembly can and must be reborn into a greater independence. Only a decline of constellations will make world unity possible.

140. As I have just said, we are glad to see signs of an international truce on the cold war front. We should not forget, however, that the course of events in other parts of the world is extremely disturbing. Distress signals are lighting up. A breath of freedom is stirring the oppressed peoples. Blood is flowing. Ruins are piling up.

141. The United Nations cannot close its eyes to this sad reality. It cannot, without jeopardizing the achievement of its aims, hesitate to play its part of peacemaker. It must fulfil the expectations of the peoples and gain their confidence by courageously assuming the responsibilities which are incumbent upon it. The great principles of the Charter must always illuminate the action of our Organization. To disappoint the peoples who have placed their confidence in us might lead to grave disaster.

142. Before concluding my statement, I should like to present two general observations which, in my opinion, arise from the discussion of the inclusion of the question of Cyprus in the agenda of this session.

143. During the debate [521st meeting], the representative of India summarized the essence of the problem of Cyprus with admirable clarity. In the midst of the confusion created by die-hard diplomacy and controversies, he recognized the only valid truth. Mr. Menon said that Cyprus was inhabited by a people which belonged to no one, only to itself, and that it must remain master of its own fate. In saying this, the Indian representative conveyed to us the message that, henceforth, under the rule of the United Nations Charter, the "human factor" must be the fundamental and determining factor. In the colonies which are still to be found in the world, the people are no longer pawns of the geographical considerations of some nations or of the security and the economic interests of others. Their fate must depend solely on their own will.

144. My second remark is as follows. A few days ago, Mr. Trujillo, the representative of Ecuador, made a speech from this rostrum [519th meeting] which moved us profoundly by its lofty thought and compelling inspiration. This hall echoed with the most noble pleading of a just cause. In his great humility, Mr. Trujillo said repeatedly that his voice was that of a small country. Nevertheless, there could be no difficulty in recognizing true greatness in the voice of that small country.

145. There will always be large and small countries in the world or, to use a more accurate expression, the strong and the weak. No one could or would deny this fact. In the United Nations, however, the role of the small States is as important as that of the large, for the concepts of law and justice are just as much the

prerogative of the small and weak as of the large countries; indeed, they may be even more the prerogative of the weak. These concepts are their only defence against the arbitrariness which exists, by definition, in any concept of strength and power. The union of small

countries for the defence of these principles constitutes a guarantee for the advent of a rule of law in international life.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.