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President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

Address by Mr. Luis Batlle Berres, President of the National Council of Government of Uruguay

- 1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I extend a welcome to Mr. Batlle Berres, President of the National Council of Government of Uruguay. The Assembly is honoured to receive and to hear the words of the most exalted member of the Government of one of its Member States, Uruguay, which, firmly attached to the principles of the Charter, has fulfilled with such dignity and distinction the duties and obligations which the Charter imposes.
- 2. The outstanding personality of Mr. Batlle Berres is well known and appreciated by the representatives to the Assembly. As member of the Congress of Uruguay, Vice-President and later President of the Republic, and finally as President of the National Council of Government, he has occupied the principal offices of responsibility which an exemplary democracy like Uruguay can offer by popular decision to its most eminent citizens.
- 3. As head of the Uruguayan delegation to the sixth session of the Assembly, Mr. Batlle Berres left with us the memory of his ability and his firm adherence to democratic principles. He took a distinguished part in our deliberations and joined in our strenuous efforts to maintain peace and strengthen the bonds of friendship among peoples.
- 4. I hope you will pardon me if, in referring to our distinguished visitor, I allow myself to be influenced by feelings which are not directly connected with my position as President of the General Assembly, that is to say, as the representative of all its members.
- 5. When I welcome the President of the National Council of Government of Uruguay, and when the holder of that office is Mr. Batlle Berres, I cannot

forget, as a Chilean, the bonds which link me to his country, nor our personal friendship. I would be ungrateful if I did not say on this occasion how pleased and moved I am that the honour has fallen to me of welcoming the representative of a country which is linked to mine by a tradition of friendship going back more than a hundred years, and based on a common concept of the principles which should govern international life, in particular the relations between the American States, and which should ensure the safeguarding of the dignity of the human person; of welcoming the Head of State of a nation to which I was sent to represent my own country as ambassador extraordinary and which extended to me honours which I can never forget, as when I was received by the Senate of Uruguay in its august conclave; of welcoming a colleague of many years' standing in the struggle for international peace who now returns to us invested with the highest dignity that a people can bestow upon one of its sons.

- 6. I take pleasure in presenting President Batlle Berres.
- 7. Mr. BATLLE BERRES (President of the National Council of Government of Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): It is four years since last I appeared in this Assembly. Now, once again, I have the honour to address you, and I do so with deep emotion. Just as in 1951, as head of my country's delegation to the General Assembly at its sixth session, I now, as President of the National Council of Government of Uruguay, have the privilege of speaking from the rostrum of the highest organ of the United Nations to bring you a message from a peace-loving people.
- 8. Allow me to recall a fact which, as a Latin American, I venture to describe as auspicious. In Paris in 1951 and in New York today, this Assembly is presided over by a representative of Latin America. In 1951, it was Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo, the illustrious Foreign Minister of Mexico. Today, it is Mr. José Maza, an eminent Chilean, who is presiding over these debates with equal wisdom and dignity.
- 9. For myself, I accept the kind words which the President spoke about me as the expression of a long-standing and cherished friendship. And I accept it with particular pleasure because it comes from one who has devoted his life to the cause of man, a cause which knows no limits or frontiers, as he by his example has shown.
- 10. As Head of the Uruguayan State, I listened with justifiable pride to what the President of the General Assembly said concerning my country. His words of welcome moved me but did not surprise me, for I know the spirit which animates the United Nations, I know him and I know he is a Chilean.
- 11. I bring a message from the people of Uruguay, and with it an affirmation of faith and hope in the United Nations. Despite some scepticism caused by certain weaknesses of the Organization, the ten years

of its existence have served to strengthen faith in the United Nations and to keep alive the hope that its action will become more effective and be directed boldly to resolving those problems which, despite the years, continue to plague man acutely both as an individual and as a member of an economic and social order.

- The efforts of the United Nations, although sustained, often seem to achieve only a small measure of success. Living as we do in a time of rapid change, we tend to be impatient with the slow processes of evolution in particular fields. Our impatience should, however, impel us to redouble our efforts, and should never lead to discouragement or scepticism. That must be our attitude towards those important problems which confront the United Nations and in respect of which little progress has been made over a long period of years. That applies, for example, to the question of disarmament, which we should like to see settled but which has not been settled. We must nevertheless go on with our work, taking account of the progress made, and never allowing ourselves to be persuaded that a settlement is impossible.
- 13. A very important stride forward has already been taken with the plan for the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. And the fact that it has been possible for everyone to work together to achieve this initial result would indicate that it will also be possible to achieve co-operation on a larger scale, with tremendous benefit to mankind.
- 14. It is also true that the observance of human rights is still not ensured. We see with regret that violations of human dignity occur day after day, in various parts of the world and under various political systems. In order to meet the plea of the world for the observance of those rights, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 (III)]. It is now our duty to apply that Declaration, so that its purposes, which quiet our consciences, may be converted into reality and thus ensure the welfare of mankind.
- 15. In many parts of the world, man continues to be torn between need and fear. As the Chairman of the Uruguayan delegation, Mr. Basagoiti, said in this Assembly:

"There is no social jurice unless society as a whole has access to the coulty's wealth, and that means that society as a whole must work...

"The immediate objective is the economic and social advancement of the peoples, and the United Nations should co-operate in developing national resources to the full [527th meeting, paras. 106 and 107]."

16. It is clear that the United Nations represents the expression of a new reality in international affairs. It is the means whereby the peoples of the world can take part, on a scale unprecedented in history and to an ever increasing extent, in the direction of the international affairs on which their destiny depends. The problems of war and peace not so long ago used to be the exclusive responsibility of the Foreign Offices of the great Powers. World security used to depend on the influence and decisions of a very few Governments. The great majority of human beings, as nations and as individuals, had no part except in the suffering brought about by war; they had no chance either to prevent war or to decide to wage it.

- 17. What was serious then, with a limited number of countries in the role of great Powers, would be infinitely more serious and dangerous today when the great Powers are much more powerful and much fewer in number. The fatal decision to wage war was then in the hands of a number of countries, but, with things as they are today, it would now depend on two countries alone.
- 18. That is not, however, the true situation. The United Nations has made it possible—and will by achieving universality through the admission of new Members continue to make it even more possible—for the whole world to take an active part in settling the problems which affect us all, such as the maintenance of peace.
- 19. The great Powers are not alone, isolated and facing each other in a no-man's-land. The vastness of their resources and power might lead us to think that they need simply watch each other, ignoring the presence of the rest of the world, but, fortunately for the great and small Powers, and fortunately for the peace of the world, such a situation is more apparent than real. No one can be more concerned with the preservation of peace than are the peoples of the small nations, especially today when, through the United Nations, they exert influence and have become capable of averting a war, though not of starting one
- 20. We firmly believe that that is true, and, if that were the only positive result of the United Nations, it would justify a thousand times over the existence of the Organization. All the peoples of the world long for peace, and the efforts of the small nations, like mine, are instinctively directed towards maintaining it. We can now make our voices heard, we can speak words designed to moderate or calm, we can express our feelings of confidence or alarm, and, above all, we can make our presence felt and thus prevent the great. Powers from committing the tragic mistake tragic for them as for us of thinking only of their own interests, as if they were alone in the world, as if there were no other men who also wanted to work and to live in peace.
- 21. During the general debate at the sixth session of the General Assembly, I had occasion to make the following remarks:

"If disagreements and disputes exist among the great Powers, and if a deadlock is reached in negotiations to ensure peace, the many small countries distributed throughout the world could obviously, if united, play a decisive part in keeping up a steady movement on the road towards that more lasting peace which is so much desired and hoped for by all [343rd meeting, para. 50]."

22. We may say, even though it seems paradoxical, that the great Powers need us as much as we need them, for, though the small nations do not claim a monopoly of peace, they place the weight of their number and of their tremendous human resources on the side of those fighting peace, and those who fail to fulfil international obligations will always lose their support and friendship. The great Powers need that support and that permanent vigilance to prevent any breach of the peace. The great Powers and all of us should understand that fact and strive unremittingly to achieve the greatest results in this direction, through full co-operation and with a clear awareness of our respective responsibilities.

- 23. In the past ten years, we have seen the Organization give special attention to the problems of the great Powers. And, as was inevitable, their interests and desires have been taken into account. It has sometimes been said: "We must not irritate or hurt the feeling of this or that great Power, because its action is essential to the functioning of the United Nations." We agree that all such factors must be taken into account, but we hope, too, that the day will come when the same will be said of the whole series of problems weighing so heavily on the existence of so many other countries. Although, taken one by one, such problems might appear to be secondary, we unequivocally state that that is not the case.
- 24. If the United Nations wishes to maintain its prestige and assert its authority in the world, it should with all its energies and with firm determination proceed along these new roads to peace. For the maintenance of peace depends not only on military effectives, but also on economic and demographic factors. Just as human life has the same value regardless of boundaries or ideas, so the life of all nations is of equal value, regardless of their power. And their national existence is as essential to the inhabitants of a small country as it is to those who live in powerful and prosperous States.
- 25. The United Nations will be strengthened by the admission of the many nations which with good title have long been waiting to fill the gaps in our ranks. They, too, come here with peace in their hearts, and they will be welcome. Since the inception of the United Nations, we have believed that its work requires the co-operation of all the peoples of the world. Should any one of them oppose our efforts towards peace, we are sure that the Organization, with its immense moral force, would be able without violence, but also without hesitation, to lead it back to the road traced out for us by the Charter. The authority of the United Nations would thus no longer be disputed.
- 26. That is the message of the Uruguayan people. These are not merely words, but the expression of a deep-felt belief which is not of today nor of yesterday, but is embedded in the very soul of our people. Batlle y Ordóñez was one of the great men of my country, and if today we are living in peace, if we realize that freedom is everything and believe and trust in international co-operation, we may say with patriotic pride that such is the unchanging course which our country has chosen to follow. In 1907, at the Second International Peace Conference at The Hague, Batlle y Ordóñez, speaking on behalf of Uruguay, told the representatives of the countries convened there:

"Since so many alliances have been concluded by which, to impose that which is arbitrary, it might be well to conclude another alliance by means of which justice might be imposed."

27. I can find no better way of complying with the mandate of my people than to quote his words. The United Nations is the alliance of the peoples of the world to impose justice. That is how we regard and respect the United Nations in Uruguay. If it were regarded and respected in the same way all over the world, man, after centuries of struggle, would hold in his hands the fulfilment and plenitude of his magnificent destiny.

The meeting was suspended at 3.35 p.m. and resumed at 3.55 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 24

Economic development of under-developed countries (continued) *

(a) Question of the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/3065 and Corr.1)

28. Mr. STANOVNIK (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: This is the fourth time in the course of the last few years that the Second Committee is submitting to the General Assembly a unanimously adopted draft resolution on this question which is of such vital importance for our Organization. When opening the present session of the Assembly, the President had the following to say about the economic and financial questions with which we are faced:

"As we are all aware, however, in spite of this friendly and generous collaboration, what has been done falls far short of what is still urgently needed [516th meeting, para. 130]."

In fact, the action which the Second Committee is unanimously proposing to the Assembly undoubtedly constitutes a step forward towards the realization of this aim.

- 29. In the course of the fifteen meetings devoted by the Second Committee to this problem, thirty-three delegations participated in the debate, which was both arduous and interesting. The original draft resolution was co-sponsored by thirty-two delegations, which is unprecedented in this Organization and which clearly shows with what broad support these efforts have met. After a subsequent discussion in an informal working group, small changes were effected in the draft resolution, making it generally acceptable.
- 30. With this draft resolution an important step forward has been made towards the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. While we have been depending, so far, on expert studies in the determination of the character of these extremely important future organizations, we are now going to deal directly with Governments, since governmental representatives will take a direct part in further preparations. This is primarily the result of two provisions embodied in the draft resolution.
- 31. The first is for the sending of the present expert studies the draft resolution uses the words "relevant documents" directly to Governments, with a request that they should submit their views, "as definitely as possible, relating to the establishment, role, structure and operations of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development". A special annex draws particular attention to certain aspects which have an important bearing on the physiognomy of the future fund. The draft resolution focuses the attention of the Governments on the importance of these answers when it specifies that "such views and replies may provide material for the statute of the fund when it is decided to establish such a fund".
- 32. The second provision is for the establishment of an ad hoc committee composed of representatives of Governments which will, on the basis of the replies of Governments, make a report containing "a summary of the views submitted by Governments...", "an analysis

^{*} Resumed from the 550th meeting.

of those views ...", and "such conclusions as clearly emerge from the above analysis" [A/3065, para. 10].

- The draft resolution lays down that the ad hoc committee shall be composed of the representatives of sixteen countries, entrusting the President of the General Assembly with the task of appointing the countries which will have the honour of serving on this body. 34. Before I conclude, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to the document [A/C.2/188]circulated yesterday, which contains the text of a resolution in favour of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development adopted by the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, which was communicated to the Secretary-General after the Second Committee had completed its consideration of this matter — indeed, after it had concluded its work at the present session—and was distributed to delegations for information.
- 35. With these few remarks I recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by the Second Committee [A/3065] and Corr.1.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

- 36. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before calling on those representatives who wish to explain their votes, I should like to point out that the Fifth Committee, at its 525th meeting, stated that in 1956 no expenditure would be incurred by virtue of the adoption of a draft resolution which the Second Committee had recommended, and that the Secretary-General, in preparing a draft budget for the financial year 1957, would take into consideration the printing expenditure which would be incurred during that year, estimated at approximately \$3,850.
- 37. I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their votes.
- 38. Mr. LADEFOGED (Denmark): The Danish Government strongly supports the principle of furthering the economic development of under-developed countries by international action within the framework of the United Nations. As one of the means of furthering this goal, Denmark, from the very beginning, has supported the proposal for establishing a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; so much so that my Government has declared its willingness to ask the competent parliamentary authorities for an appropriate Danish contribution of about \$2 million as soon as the great capital-exporting countries have declared themselves prepared to grant proportional contributions.
- 39. We are grateful that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States have seen their way clear to participate in the work of the proposed ad hoc committee, together with representatives from the large group of economically under-developed countries, which will become the beneficiaries of the fund's activities, and representatives from the smaller group of industrialized countries, to which Denmark belongs, which would like to see the fund established without waiting for savings to materialize from the widely desired, internationally controlled, world-wide disarmament.
- 40. The Danish Government considers the draft resolution unanimously adopted by the Second Com-

mittee [A/3065 and Corr.1] a great step forward in the necessary planning activities which must precede the actual establishment of the fund.

committee's report containing the conclusions based on

an analysis of the views submitted by Governments.

We are looking forward to receiving the ad hoc

- The Danish Government is particularly interested in seeing clearly presented the views of the prospective recipient countries with regard to the role which they expect the fund to play, not only in their national development programmes, but also in relation to the assistance received through bilateral, regional and international channels. For these reasons my delegation will support the draft resolution now before the Assembly. 42. However, I should like to caution this Assembly that we, in our rejoicing over the progress achieved in entering upon the second phase of our planning work, should not forget the valuable work done by former committees of experts. My Government has been particularly impressed by the manner in which Mr. Scheyven has emphasized the absolute necessity of creating co-ordination between the work of the special fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United Nations technical assistance programme. His profound analysis of the various ways in which the fund might be brought to work in close collaboration with the Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the Technical Assistance Board must not be lost sight of if we wish to avoid the overlapping of responsibilities and efforts and the creation of a new international bureaucracy.
- 43. In conclusion, may I pay tribute to the spirit of tolerance, patience and restraint which prevailed during our long and laborious debates, not only in the Second Committee itself, but also in its various official and unofficial working parties, without which, I feel convinced, we might not have succeeded in taking the step forward which is represented by the draft resolution that was adopted unanimously in the Committee.
- 44. Mr. ORTEGA (Chile) (translated from Spanish): The draft resolution before us [A/3065 and Corr.1] was adopted unanimously by the Second Committee. The ideas expressed there and the procedure provided for do not perhaps supply a full and immediate answer to the deepest aspirations of all peoples, but in our opinion it represents positive progress towards an international awareness of the problem of economic development.
- 45. In point of fact, the countries in process of development patiently worked out a compromise text that would allow the industrialized countries to recognize at least the idea and desirability of establishing this fund. The result was unanimity. It now remains for us to call attention to a few points.
- 46. First, the countries in process of economic development do not believe that their future should be a burden on the industrial countries. They are not asking for charity or claiming compensation for past events.
- 47. Secondly, economic development is a necessity not only for the countries directly concerned, but also for the industrial regions of the world. The latter know that until new consuming and producing markets come into being, there will continue to be only a precarious and relative prosperity, an apparent prosperity hedged about with currency inconvertibility, exchange controls, foreign trade barriers, production surpluses and policies of multiple protection.

- Thirdly, although the countries in process of development fall, by and large, into three regions as yet not involved in the dilemma of our age, international aid and assistance should not be a by-product of the political struggle. It is therefore preferable that the fund should be set up and should function within the framework of the United Nations and under the aggis of the Charter. Fourthly, the pace at which the efforts at international co-operation proceed is fundamental. It would be in the general interest if the energy now being wasted on political mistrust could be directed to the creative work of promoting the economic development of the peoples which constitute the majority of mankind. It therefore seems neither logical nor desirable to attempt to make such co-operation conditional upon the application of a disarmament policy. International confidence, and therefore disarmament, will follow from the economic and social progress of regions which in some cases represent the most explosive points of international life.
- Fifthly, the final paragraph of the draft resolution expresses the hope "that conditions move favourable to the establishment of an international fund will be created in the near future". Our view — and I am sure that it is shared by many delegations — is that these conditions already exist, inasmuch as there is a general conviction that the sole solution to the economic and financial problems of our society is the economic development of all under-developed areas. What is still lacking is the right political conditions. The most powerful countries of the world should concern themselves primarily with economic and social matters, and rid themselves of at least some of the excessive fear and distrust generated by purely political relationships. The danger inherent in this climate of fear is that the one problem will be confounded with the other, that economic and social considerations will be subordinated to political and military considerations, that there will be an exaggerated confidence in the destructive power of particular weapons and a lack of faith in the moral force of peoples when they really have something to defend and to
- Finally, we hope that in the coming years the United Nations will devote its best efforts to promoting a constructive policy in the economic and social fields. If, within a reasonable time, no radical change is observed in the political conditions which are endangering and hampering international efforts towards economic development, the time will have come for considering economic and financial problems in isolation, and even for making them a decisive factor in the settlement of political difficulties. That will be the time to convene a world economic conference which would consider thoroughly all matters relating to economic development, international trade and the experience acquired during the more than ten years since Bretton Woods, and which would suggest practical measures to all Governments.
- 52. Once agreement has been reached in the field of economic and financial relations, and once international co-operation has been directed towards economic development, we shall witness a relaxation of political tension and of mistrust and fear. "There is no social justice unless society as a whole has access to the country's wealth, and that means that society as a whole must work." Those were the words spoken a few moments ago from this very rostrum by the Head of

the Uruguayan Government. Those words express an irrefutable truth, and it is therefore the duty of the United Nations to promote economic development, which will enable, the peoples to achieve prosperity and justice.

53. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): We shall now vote on the draft resolution proposed by the Second Committee [A/3065 and Corr.1].

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

- 54. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representatives will have noted that operative paragraph 4 of the resolution establishes an ad hoc committee composed of representatives of sixteen countries to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly.
- 55. As a result of consultations with the Chairman of the Second Committee on this matter, I submit to the Assembly for its approval the names of the following Member States as members of the ad hoc committee: Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Egypt, France, India, Indonesia, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly approves this list.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 26 Question of assistance to Libya

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/3072)

- 56. Mr. STANOVICK (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: Regarding the question of assistance to Libya, the Second Committee is submitting for the approval of the General Assembly a draft resolution [A/3072] which was adopted unanimously.
- 57. The debate on this question was relatively short. Eight delegations took part in it. Although many representatives did not speak, I feel that the unanimity with which the draft resolution was adopted should be considered as the best expression of the views and sentiments of the Committee on the matter.
- 58. I propose to the General Assembly the adoption of the recommendation of the Second Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

59. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): In view of the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution [A/3072] in the Second Committee, I shall assume, if no delegation wishes to speak on the question, that it is also adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapters II, III and IV)

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/3071)

60. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Since the report of the Second Committee [A/3071] does not call for any decision by the Assembly, I would suggest that we dispense with its formal presentation and agree at the same time that the General Assembly takes note of it.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.