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**President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. HAEDO (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): Uruguay would like to associate itself with the general expression of pleasure at your appointment to preside over what we hope will be the historic deliberations of the General Assembly's fifteenth session.

2. At the beginning of our work I should like to say that those who bear the greatest responsibility for the world's course at the present time are keeping us in a state of distress and anxiety.

3. While the peoples lament their miseries, clamour for justice and long for a happy life, the one institution which stands firm amid the general confusion and the threats of war is this great United Nations, representing perhaps the only symbol of brotherhood at this time of menacing gestures, acrimonious monologues and well-stocked arsenals. So, therefore, coming from a free, democratic and peaceable country like Uruguay, of whose Government I am a member—a Government won, after almost a century of constant struggle, through the democratic victory of my party, but a victory which does honour to all, for there is no general or admiral moving in the shadows behind either victor or vanquished—accordingly, I say, we proclaim the inviolability of this international organization outside of which we see nothing but confusion, potential aggression and the threats of the strong towards the weak.

4. We see gathered here the arrogant, who do not dazzle us, and the humble, who stir our sympathy, the wealthy and ambitious, whom we, the peoples of America, are happy not to envy; the strong, who we hope will remain strong, without forgetting that glory in this world passes and is extinguished, that it may be utterly consumed in the very flames that they themselves may kindle. We recognize their dominating position, but only so long as they show themselves worthy of the trust we place in them. There are here also those who have succeeded in throwing off the colonial yoke, the new nations whom we welcome and to whom we say that there is nothing in their destinies which does not find an echo in our own. It is for this reason that we wish to state from this international

rostrum—the highest of our time—that Uruguay and the other American nations will offer as their best contribution to the development of the newly independent States, all that our experience, our toil, our hopes, our mistakes and our dreams have taught us over a century and a half of sovereignty, since the heroic era of our struggle for liberation.

5. Many of the problems of the new nations call, not for artificially contrived solutions but for an assessment of the action appropriate to the facts of their social and economic life.

6. Uruguay, which has succeeded in eliminating illiteracy entirely, which has dramatically reduced infant mortality, which has proclaimed those human rights that, according to the Charter constitute the very essence of human dignity, which has created a new and progressive social system, is ready to cooperate with the nations which have emerged from the colonial system and offers them the help of its technicians, educators and scientists as the best way of demonstrating its solidarity with them through international action.

7. Sure of ourselves, we know no fear. In vain would weapons of war hail down upon the world with their message of death, for there would always remain in each of our countries a handful of free men who would survive the fearful catastrophe and raise again the banners of liberty, independence, and justice, under which all material progress and the amazing advances of science have been achieved, for they are the watchwords of God.

8. It is as costly and difficult to preserve as to win independence. We of Uruguay recognize this. Independence must be defended against the impatient within and the ambitious without, as Cervantes said, "by day and by night, fleeing or at rest, in peace or in war". That is why, in this period of urgent problems, there is no hope for salvation and international security save in the rule of law, freely agreed on between equals and faithfully observed. Those who believe that, disregarding and disavowing it, they can affirm their supremacy will soon discover that they have laboured in vain and they will discover, too, that those who create violence, destroy order and shatter peace are doomed to perish, no matter how lofty or plausible their motives may appear. After two world wars and with a third in prospect, it is not governments, whether despotic or democratic, in whose hands the final decision will rest, but the people, who neither want, nor deserve nor will allow themselves to be led to destruction and death.

9. In this crisis, which is not the first and will not be the last in the history of mankind, the worst thing we could do would be to adopt a pessimistic approach. There is no finer hour of human existence than that in which each one of us is living, for man's destiny even at the humblest level, is to be an actor and not a

spectator, and a man is an actor to the extent that he lives, feels, fights and loves. This hour of anxiety, confusion and struggle, this hour of conflict between great ideologies is a splendid and not a desperate hour. We are at the time just before the dawn and we should lose our deepest reason for living if, instead of awaiting with joy the new era which is to come, we met it with spirits torn by pessimism and doubt.

10. That great Uruguayan, José Enrique Rodó, rightly known and acclaimed as the Teacher of America, enjoined us to meet uncertainty, injustice and even misfortune with a lofty "It is of no importance". And another Uruguayan, Luis Alberto de Herrera, the leader of our party, who died last year, gave our generation the watchword: "The keel of our boat cuts better through turbulent waters". Bolívar has already given the same message to the whole continent when he said at Caracas, in speaking of the crumbled ruins of the Church of San Jacinto, "If Nature obstructs the building of our freedom, against Nature we shall fight, and we shall subdue her".

11. Despite the difficulties of the time, we are happy in the world in which we live and, though we might wish that it were better, there can be no greater satisfaction than living in it in order to preserve our ideals. In the clash and conflict between what are thought to be great truths, what unites us and binds us together is the knowledge that in the universe there is no going back.

12. In all spheres of human endeavour the desire for progress and perfection is always on high, fluttering like a banner at the head of every standard. Vigorous and deeply felt nationalism is not intrinsically incompatible with the universal outlook that is virtually forced upon us by technical progress, which has made the world ever smaller while extending man's kingdom; the relentless drama of our time is thus unfolding on a single stage.

13. The interdependence of men has become evident in societies, and the interdependence of societies within the international community. This fact is confirmed by the Charter and the purposes of the United Nations. What is even more certain is that, given the existence of the United Nations, there is nothing and no one, neither men, parties, states nor dogmas, with the strength to destroy the peace of the world. But while giving us rights, this interdependence at the same time imposes duties on us. What we must do is to ensure that these rights are properly recognized and protected and not leave them to the mercy of blind chance or the free play of material forces which might, one day, as a result of a capricious or arrogant act, lead us to chaos and death.

14. We who are faithful to our western civilization do not consider that our duties change, either outwardly or inwardly, by reason or race or religious difference or territorial inequalities. Our duties are the same today as they were yesterday, and they will be the same always, because they are fundamental. They bid us oppose an international campaign of hatred with one of friendship and love, and the oligarchy of the powerful with the simple democracy in which we believe, of whose eternal values man is the bearer in every part of the earth—those values which tell us that there is no higher court than a man's conscience nor anything of greater worth than his freedom, that man is highest in the order of creation and that, although

political theories may try to drive him toward anarchy or conformity, he will always triumph because he is God's creation, because he gives meaning to life and death, and because even when, like gentle Cleanto, he is condemned to servitude, he will always find time to inscribe, albeit only in sand, the maxims of Zenon.

15. Uruguay comes here, quite simply, to assume its share of responsibility and action in the task of building peace, in which its own destiny, too, is at stake. The small nations have an important part to play: they cannot be suspected of exclusivism and they are perhaps in the best position to see clearly and to discuss calmly, for they have everything to lose and nothing to gain from any resort to violence. All of us here talk about peace but, paradoxically although we all wish for peace and proclaim our desire for it, its establishment in the world is becoming more and more difficult. We want peace as the man in the street understands it, and not a mere respite between battles. We want peace, less in words and more in deeds. We want peace, less exploited in slogans and more sincerely translated into action.

16. While the principles of aggression, of armed intervention, of blind hatred, remain current on any one of the five continents, little can be gained by our photographing the other side of the moon and penetrating or unveiling the mysteries of outer space.

17. The General Assembly should remain in conclave, should remain in session permanently without any time-limit, until peace is finally assured. Otherwise, we run the risk of increasing the uncertainty of the time and of bringing disappointment to our peoples, for they will be led to believe that these meetings are becoming a mere occasion for barren complaints. Desiring as we do that these meetings of the Assembly should continue, we believe that the greatest risk lies in the possibility that the enemies of the Assembly may conspire behind its resolutions and that we may find ourselves guilty of shameful hypocrisy, proclaiming a principle but acting in a way that is completely contrary to it. We should have descended, then, from drama to vulgar comedy.

18. Of course, we realize that it is not easy to preserve peace, which means preserving the life of the human species in all its physical and moral complexity. The finding of final solutions—and when I say "final" I give this word the relative meaning it has in relation to human affairs, which are by their nature fleeting and changeable—this is not the work of a day nor of months nor of years. But, cost what it may, we must gain time, and remain calm and resolute as the problem requires. Never has it been more necessary than today to practise in our daily lives the quiet but sublime virtues of patience, tolerance and understanding, both in the relations between men and in the relations between States.

19. Devoted as it is to the lofty values of the spirit, Uruguay will support any solution likely to ensure, in this anxious world of ours today, the rule of justice and liberty, and where the international organizations cannot find an acceptable solution, we are in favour of direct negotiations towards this end.

20. We should therefore like to express our hope that discussions should take place immediately, or at any rate as soon as possible, in this the home of the

United Nations, among those whose position qualifies them to offer the peace and security humanity demands. We do not believe that there are insoluble problems or permanent enmities. On those occasions however rare, when reflection brings a pause in impassioned conflict, reason must admit the need for negotiated agreements reached on a basis of mutual respect.

21. In an age such as this, when the possibility of visiting other planets is no longer a matter of mere fiction but has entered the realm of definite scientific possibility, it does not make sense to leave regional or any other problems to be settled by the violent methods of war, either cold or hot. It does not make sense for us to embark on the discovery of other worlds if for this world we inhabit we have not found just and peaceful solutions which take account of opposing interests and ideologies.

22. However complex and serious the circumstances may be or may appear, we cannot allow such important developments, reflecting such heroic and constructive endeavours and fraught with such happy implications for mankind, as the creation of the State of Israel, the resurgence of the Arab world and the rebirth of African and Asian peoples, to result in irreconcilable conflicts which may ultimately bring to naught the strenuous efforts made by those peoples, so liberally endowed with human potentialities.

23. With regard to the problems which are still so critically affecting the relations between Israel and the Arab States, we should like to reiterate from this rostrum our profound hope that they may be settled. This is essential for the peace not only of the Middle East but also of the entire world, and there is no need for us here to ask the representatives of the two sides whether they are ready and prepared to renew negotiations for we are sure that the reply in both cases would be positive. If they were to come together now and could, through direct talks, agree on an armistice which would bring a respite from their struggle, we could give them another opportunity to negotiate, in the hope of attaining the benefits of a lasting peace for the sake of the generations to come in those great regions of the world.

24. As concerns our own continent of America, we are perturbed by the thought that, after almost a century of struggle to evolve the elements of an American legal system, at a stroke, all links can be severed and all bonds loosed in this continent in which, despite the natural difficulties arising from its vast geographical area and from the injustice and misfortunes its peoples may be suffering, an awareness has grown that all its problems can and must be solved within the American orbit, all without exception firmly upholding the doctrine first promulgated by Manuel Oribe more than a century ago, revised by Baltasar Brum and finally enshrined in the Treaty of Rio De Janeiro at Quitandinha. This doctrine decrees that any act of aggression whether from inside or outside the continent, against any American State, shall be considered an act of aggression against the entire continent.

25. We consider that understanding must always be reached among our nations and we could not rest unless every means of attaining it had been exhausted.

26. Faithful to the principle of non-intervention, we are resolutely opposed to all external interference in the affairs of the American continent. We believe that

the best method of preventing such interference is for the parties to a dispute to reach direct agreement between themselves and the peoples of America must never say that it is too late for this.

27. We believe in the great destiny of this America of ours. For us Americans, of every region, the possibility of reaching an understanding for the sake of the common good always exists and always will exist. A course of action which in other parts of the world might seem unattainable or which might be opposed and rejected is enjoined on us by history. We Americans must always solve our difficulties by the method of discussion between equals. This approach is inherent in our way of life. It was advocated by such illustrious heroes of our past as Artigas, Bolivar, San Martin and O'Higgins. In the political, economic and social spheres, our appointed path is the one which accords with human dignity. Much assistance and co-operative effort is needed if the great democratic principles, by which the people of America wish their future to be governed, are to have real meaning.

28. The anxiety which the peoples of the American continent are displaying is due to deeper causes than inadequate development or institutional difficulties. A whole hemisphere endowed by history with the capacity to achieve the full development of its human potentialities, has seen its vital forces sapped and its future frustrated. The tremendous upheaval of the last world war found us ready to occupy a place of responsibility in the new universe which was coming into being after the greatest human tragedy of all times.

29. When the United States, in a colossal effort to meet the situation resolved to assist its conquered enemies of yesterday and its own exhausted allies in order that civilization should not break down, the American peoples and their Governments applauded this step as the beginning of a new era. The aid received by the European and other peoples has no parallel in the whole history of mankind. Without the assistance of the United States not one of these nations would have been able, in so short a period, to re-establish its productive capacity, restore its agriculture and rebuild its industries.

30. When the Marshall Plan was drawn up, nations which had had no part in the assistance still cherished the illusion that a new era had dawned and that the foundations of an integrated world were being laid. But now, with the establishment of the Common Market, the nations of the Old World seem, in one essential respect, to be frustrating this hope. Forgetting their quarrels one with another, they are fencing themselves in behind self-sufficient systems, systems which favour the internal consumption of goods; they are increasing their own production to the detriment of other areas of the world, inventing new forms of economic feudalism, encouraging the formation of industrial cartels to concentrate demand, and imposing qualitative and quantitative restrictions which hamper the industrial development of the under-developed countries. This is a cause of anxiety and concern to America. Latin America, for which Europe has been the natural market for more than a century, has had to accept unfair prices for its raw materials, while the prices of the industrial products which it received in return have increased fifteen fold. Between 1945 and 1960 the decline in value of our basic commodities produced by the blood and sweat of our workers represented a loss of 11,000 million.

31. America has 200 million inhabitants and these 200 million inhabitants are looking to us, their governments, for equitable treatment consistent with the democratic principles and doctrines which we uphold and under which we live. It is no longer in our power to restrain the demand of the masses for economic and social justice in the face of the privileged position of other social classes, who seem quite insensitive to misery, shut up as they are behind their financial barriers protected by their contracts and indifferent to the problems of our development.

32. But the exertions of the great American nation, to which we have referred should be accompanied by a similar effort on the part of those with whom we are linked by the circumstances of our foundation and by blood, those European nations whose traditions we have inherited, for we need their aid as much as they earlier needed aid to regain their strength.

33. Our world of today is a world of inter-dependent peoples, not of rivals. We all depend on each other. Above ideological differences, above ideas which will perish or evolve, as all human ideas have evolved over the centuries, there is the eternal destiny of mankind, indivisible and imperishable, there is the evolution of human life towards perfection and the right of all peoples to find happiness.

34. When the progress of one section of humanity is checked, the course of life is impeded. The finger of God above us points to the need to abandon selfishness. There will never be peace on the earth while there are peoples in misery.

35. With the spread of culture and the progress of the world towards a single system of law, it is becoming increasingly plain that all war is civil war. Every conflict is a conflict between fellow citizens of a wider heritage. All hatred between men is hatred between brothers. In spite of the philosophical pessimism which has done so much to vitiate the sources of modern culture, man must cease to be his own enemy. Poverty, backwardness, ignorance, under-production, lack of markets, the absence of fair prices and the underpayment of the mass of the workers for the fruit of their toil—these are the enemies against which war must be ceaselessly waged. The evils and sufferings which afflict mankind, unexploited wealth in the soil and subsoil of nations, harmful partisan rivalries, dictatorships proclaiming themselves to be of the right or of the left—hemiplegia—seems to be the disease of our century! These all provide ample room for missionary endeavour and achievement in which the indomitable spirit of man has limitless scope for creative activity.

36. In this matter, Uruguay does not falter. It knows the part it has to play. There is a saying in my country and in most of the countries of America that "straight dealing makes long friends". In background, as well as in thought, instinct and spirit, Uruguay feels itself a part of western civilization, to which fell the honour of creating the first culture of world-wide significance. The philosophical spirit of Greece, the legal genius of Rome, the spiritual insights of Christianity, the mystical and heroic sense of Spain—the discoverer of a new world and the mother of nations—and the extraordinary technical progress of the European peoples as a whole have combined to produce the most brilliant and impressive synthesis that the world has ever known. And we should, in justice, also mention the

contribution to this great universal achievement made by the United States of America, the splendid exponent of a progressive and creative individualism and the defender in recent decades of the principles of justice and liberty which are the cornerstones of democracy.

37. Here for the first time in the annals of history is a culture with its roots in humanity itself, awakening the peoples of every race, even those who seemed asleep forever, surrounded by the remains of earlier civilizations, a culture bringing out what these peoples still preserved of value, revealing and fulfilling their hidden potentialities and releasing unsuspected energies. We do not fear the awakening of these peoples. Nations live in a state of continual evolution. The troubles and sufferings experienced by these peoples, like those which our peoples underwent and are still undergoing, will always be most easily remedied by safeguarding their liberty and independence and by combating colonialism and the dictatorships with equal vigour.

38. The age of imperialist enterprise and of selfish, blind domination has gone forever. It would be well for this fact to be understood once and for all. We need not guns and ammunition, but action by governments established as a result of free elections and by universal suffrage; honest, progressive governments, whose aim is not merely to achieve and retain power but to exercise it honourably and in good faith, heedful of the demands of freely expressed public opinion. What we need are assured markets and fair prices providing an adequate reward for human labour. What we need is more economic and technical aid and more development schemes, unconnected with political objectives which may change or be abandoned.

39. The programmes of technical assistance and economic co-operation in the industrially under-developed countries are undoubtedly among the most worthwhile of the activities of the United Nations. But we believe that we should learn and profit from past experience and we should, therefore, like to make it clear that we favour a simplification of procedures lest an elaborate international bureaucracy should be added to the elaborate bureaucracies which we all have within our own countries.

40. It is essential to ensure that applications or requests for technical assistance are not lost, delayed or distorted in the course of the complicated bureaucratic processes through which they may pass. While paying a special tribute to the outstanding work now being done under the technical assistance programmes and by the Special Fund, I should like to suggest the possibility of establishing a single institution which would be in a position to receive, study and deal with applications from countries, which should be handled more directly and expeditiously. We must remember that behind every request there is a people, a host of men and women, a mass of working folk. When we find that more than half the world's population does not earn enough for the minimum needs of life, that two-thirds of the world's children are inadequately housed and fed, that wide areas of the world bear the marks of grinding poverty, we realize that assistance must be given promptly, without complicated formalities, so that the necessary resources may be speedily made available to those in need.

41. To sum up most of what I have said in a few words, Uruguay upholds, among others, principles and aspirations that find expression in governments which are freely elected by universal suffrage and which are honest and progressive, heedful of freely-expressed public opinion; assured markets and fair prices for products; economic and technical aid to facilitate the development and exploitation of the natural resources of countries and the realization of their potentialities. The attainment of all these objectives will enable our peoples to emerge from the poverty and injustice, which generate violence, feed often justified rebellion and provide fertile soil for nationalistic revolutions.

42. But while we are glad to form part of this Western world, we realize that it bears a heavy responsibility, both indirect and direct. If it does not wish, like the sorcerer's apprentice, to be at the mercy of forces released at any and every moment, it must act with energy and decision, but not to the exclusion of liberality and generosity. Both nationally and internationally, solidarity and co-operation are becoming rational imperatives, one might say, obligations.

43. Selfishness no longer pays. The basic problem is to bring this truth home to those who direct the world's destinies, those who guide public opinion and those who now enjoy the benefits of systems which are doomed to disappear. We are aware that attitudes which we do not share have their origin in concrete facts which must be studied fully and all their implications understood. We realize and concede that many of these attitudes are the direct outcome of despotic political régimes or of the poverty and ignorance reigning in a particular part of the world, and that the sins of others often reflect our own.

44. We know that in a suffering world, in which, in the words of Abbé Pierre, one third of the population is dying from over-eating, another third from lack of food, while the other third is undernourished, we must all sincerely and frankly admit our share of guilt. The resources to end this situation are becoming increasingly available to mankind, provided it does not dissipate its talents in destruction.

45. The utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is opening up unforeseen possibilities of human well-being. The great need is to break down the barriers of misunderstanding and hatred, to put an end to the survival of the old, barbaric myths of violence and of racial superiority, and to messianic ideologies. This is not by any means to favour an empty and hypocritical pacifism, to close one's eyes to reality and to lower one's guard before the perils lying in wait for the world. As long as we are unable to establish the reign of international peace and security; as long as steps are being taken—or can be taken—and preparations made with a view to aggression, world dominion, and the subjection of peoples to a system which denies liberty and destroys freedom of conscience by negating individual personality and disregarding essential human rights, as long as there is still an area of the world in which man, the bearer of eternal values, is reduced to the status of a cog in the State machine or a herd animal in the service of the State, and also—for why should we disguise the fact?—as long as an attempt is being made to subject peoples to outdated systems of ruthless exploitation and under-consumption, and the right of all to decent living conditions is ignored, as long as this state of

affairs persists the international community cannot be organized on a sufficiently firm basis of confidence and co-operation to enable all the vast resources of destructive power to be put to the service of peace and progress, without reference to frontiers, race, religion, or political systems.

46. My observations have covered the particular problems which may be submitted to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. If we are to make any progress here or in our respective countries towards peace and social justice for all the peoples of the earth, we shall need determination and courage. Cowards will be left behind. There will be no peace without a policy of peace to support it, that is to say, without a policy of justice. Nowhere can a satisfactory policy be based on fear. The art of government, which is the oldest and most illustrious of human callings, requiring courage, resolution and vision. Its end is not a fleeting and perishable glory; nor is undisturbed tranquillity its reward. Its end is the common good and its reward is measured in terms of the good which is accomplished, good in the human sense, in the complete, final and absolute sense, which moreover, is within our power to achieve, if we set our minds to do so before it is too late.

47. Our watchword—and this is Uruguay's philosophy—is to face the immediate future with optimism and faith. The question has been asked from this rostrum of what scientific progress will bring to mankind and what is its gift to this great twentieth century. We reply without hesitation that all achievements of the human mind will necessarily benefit all the members of the vast family of mankind. Let us then set to work with determination and hope.

48. The failing of our time and of our world is our preoccupation with the past. It is our nostalgia for things that have passed away and have ceased to exist. But we are not dismayed either by the threats of warmongers or by the easy popularity of fanatics or by the development of amazing new machines—these would only disturb us if they were capable of composing a sonnet or constructing a symphony.

49. Keeping our faith in man unshaken, let us hold the torch high. With the torch in our hand, we will light our way, remembering that those who cannot hold it high run the risk of burning their hands. Upon the wide horizon illuminated by this torch and by this faith the words "United Nations" are emblazoned.

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

50. Mr. KRAG (Denmark): Disarmament is today the question that stands out as the all-important problem in international politics. While fears of new weapons and new methods of warfare also loomed large during the period between the First and Second World Wars, the risk involved by leaving the armaments problem unsolved has never been greater than it is today. Stocks of nuclear arms are growing day by day; technological discoveries are forever increasing the potentialities of atomic weapons. The human imagination simply cannot visualize the total destruction that a nuclear war might cause. The physical consequences of such a war would be visited upon the human race for generations to come.

51. The long series of negotiations since the Second World War covering general disarmament, the ban on nuclear arms tests, the prevention of surprise attack, and the utilization of outer space have all had one thing in common—they failed to produce results.

52. Military balance of power is considered a strong peace-preserving factor, but this balance is always a precarious one, jeopardized by a continued armaments race. Each group is trying to meet the threat by staking enormous scientific and technical resources on staying in the lead in the production of new weapons and in inventing new methods of getting them to the target. The process of disarmament, too, involves a risk of upsetting the balance of power. Fears that an agreement on disarmament might shift the balance of power have until now outweighed the fears felt about continued rearmament. That is no doubt the main reason why it has not been possible so far to conclude an agreement.

53. It should be possible for military and scientific experts to work out proposals for a series of gradual, adequately controlled disarmament measures in such a way that the balance of power would at no point be shifted. Before an expert study of this nature could be initiated, a negotiated political agreement on the terms of reference of the experts must be reached. These negotiations could be the responsibility of a body which this General Assembly could set up in order to resume discussions where they were broken off in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

54. Whether this latter new disarmament committee should be slightly smaller or slightly larger than the Ten-Nation Committee is not, in the opinion of the Danish Government, of great importance. What really matters is that the committee should be able to work efficiently; therefore its composition must be restricted. It must be able to make a realistic approach to the problems before it; therefore it must comprise the major military Powers of the world. And thirdly, it might well be useful if some mediating element could be introduced through the participation of countries outside the major groupings of Powers. The introduction of such an element might well bring new impetus to the negotiations.

55. The proposals for general and complete disarmament presented a few days ago by the Chairman of the Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/4505] should, of course, together with other previous proposals on the same pattern, be included in the working material of this Committee.

56. At the same time work on more limited disarmament projects should be energetically continued. One of the projects that would seem to be within the most immediate reach is an agreement on a ban on nuclear tests. The negotiating Powers in Geneva appear to have a common interest in putting an end to nuclear tests—an interest of such importance to them that a unanimously adopted text of an agreement may not be a long way off. We must urge the negotiating parties to arrive at such an agreement. While it is true that agreement on stopping nuclear tests would certainly not solve all the problems, it would mark a considerable step forward. The successful implementation of such an agreement would give us practical experiences of value for negotiations in other sectors of the disarmament problem. The fact that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States or the United Kingdom

have made nuclear tests for almost two years gives us reason to believe that our hopes in this respect are based on reality. Agreement among some powers should, of course, be extended to cover all Powers.

57. Another possibility of limited disarmament measures is the idea of a controlled termination of the production of fissionable material for military purposes as it was presented by the President of the United States [868th meeting].

58. There is one more field in which discussions on partial disarmament may be both realistic and useful. I am thinking of the possibility of establishing an international inspection and armaments control. Mutual agreements of this kind need not be accompanied at once by agreements on disarmament measures. The inspection would have a value of its own in giving us an idea of the operation and effectiveness of an inspection and control machinery. It would contribute to the development of means of control and thus pave the way for more extensive arrangements in the future. In a historical perspective, such inspection arrangements may be seen as gradual steps towards that open world which the Danish scientist, Mr. Niels Bohr, advocated in 1950 in his open letter to the United Nations. Mr. Bohr made the point that complete and mutual openness about all scientific and technological discoveries bearing upon the military strength of nations is a prerequisite for peace. This openness must also be a necessary condition for the implementation of total disarmament. It is essential, therefore that this assumption should be put to a realistic test.

59. We heard last week the proposal of the President of the United States for an international armaments inspection machinery, under the auspices of the United Nations, to be called in by a country that wishes to make known to the world the non-aggressive nature of its defence measures. This proposal is an extremely interesting one and should, in our view, be given high priority in any disarmament discussions. Its importance lies not only in bringing the United Nations into the focus of inspection but also in the fact that it attempts to forestall the danger of wars caused by miscalculation.

60. The whole problem of international inspection has been given careful consideration by the Danish Government. In line with the ideas expressed a few days ago by the Prime Minister of Canada [871st meeting] we feel that as a fruitful supplement to the facultative inspection arrangement just mentioned both East and West could at once make available for free and reciprocal inspection definite sectors of their national territories of considerable and approximately equal geographic extent and strategic importance. Within the limited resources at our disposal we would like to offer a practical contribution in this field in order to set an example and at the same time to illustrate the direction in which our ideas are moving. As such a contribution my Government would be prepared to consider opening up for inspection purposes the vast territory of Greenland as part of a mutually balanced inspection arrangement. We hope that this offer could be the first step towards the development of an international inspection arrangement and that other countries will approach this problem in the same spirit.

61. I now turn to the countries which are in the process of development. It has long been realized

that, next to or, indeed, coequal with disarmament, the problems of the countries in process of development and the policies designed to help these countries to achieve a healthy economic growth, are the most important for the safeguarding of peace and for the harmonious political future of the world. The events in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa this summer have brought this viewpoint into very sharp focus.

62. We agree with the Secretary-General that although the impact of economic activities is undramatic these activities are of decisive long-term significance for the welfare of the international community and, therefore, that the work of the United Nations in the long run is likely to be judged by its contribution towards building the kind of world community in which crises will no longer be inevitable. As a natural consequence of this conviction, Denmark has participated from the very beginning in United Nations programmes assisting the less developed countries.

63. Although, Denmark is the greatest contributor, per caput, to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, we intend to increase our contributions still further. We are especially gratified to learn from representatives of the developing countries that the courses and seminars organized in Denmark under United Nations auspices have assisted them in moulding their economic policies. Denmark continues to stand ready upon request to supply technicians and experts in fields where our knowledge and experience might be considered of value.

64. In addition to the United Nations technical assistance programme my Government has felt the need for and has strongly supported another United Nations organ, the Special Fund, rendering assistance in the pre-investment field. At the moment we are also considering an increase in our contribution to this important United Nations endeavour, and we trust that the two programmes will reach their annual goal of \$100 million in the coming year.

65. The necessary following up of technical assistance and pre-investment work is actual capital investment, the greater part of which must naturally be provided by the less developed countries themselves through their own savings. In order to offer incentives for foreign private investments, the under-developed countries can probably do more to improve the climate for increased import of private capital. Foreign assistance is also received from Governments on a bilateral, regional or multilateral basis. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association are most important sources of multilateral capital assistance, but the less developed countries voice with increasing vigour the need for wider multilateral assistance to be rendered through a United Nations development fund capable of capital investments, principally in infrastructure. Whether it will prove necessary for this purpose to establish a new organ or whether the Special Fund will be able to undertake added responsibilities cannot be determined at this stage. However that may be, the less developed countries may count on Denmark's active co-operation if and when it proves feasible to establish a United Nations capital development fund. Until then we shall support, as I indicated during the Economic and Social Council<sup>1/</sup> the suggestion voiced

there by the representatives of the Netherlands<sup>2/</sup> and New Zealand<sup>3/</sup> that the possibility of establishing closer links between the United Nations and the International Development Association should be more fully explored.

66. That during their first sensitive years of independence the new Member countries are in need of assistance in the field of public administration is self-evident. It is, therefore, encouraging to see that, in the opinion of the receiving Governments, the programme for rendering assistance by providing operational and executive personnel, has proved its value. Accordingly we firmly support the Economic and Social Council's recent decision [resolution 790 (XXX)] to establish this programme on a permanent basis and recommend that it be increased proportionally to the requests received, especially from the newly independent countries of Africa.

67. It also goes without saying that Denmark supports the Secretary-General's proposal to meet the Congo emergency needs and that consequently the Danish Government is prepared to ask the appropriating authorities of the Parliament for an appropriate contribution to the United Nations Fund for the Congo.

68. As a country which in no small part owes its comparatively high standard of living to its educational institutions, we should like to voice our support for any United Nations effort to help African countries to implement their plans for educational facilities. Consequently we appreciate the initiative President Eisenhower has taken in proposing the establishment of institutions appropriately located and specifically dedicated to training the young men and women of Africa who are now called upon to assume the heavy and complex duties of building their new independent nations.

69. With great interest we have listened to proposals made by President Eisenhower [868th meeting] and the Prime Minister of Canada [871st meeting] with regard to the promising "Food for peace" programme, including proposals to establish a food bank under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Needless to say, my delegation will study, with the greatest of interest and sympathy, detailed proposals instrumental in implementing a programme designed to assist millions of people suffering from hunger and malnutrition.

70. However willing the United Nations is to render emergency help to the weaker members of its community, we must never forget the overriding importance of our task of assisting the new nations in their efforts to help themselves. This assistance can only be given by helping the developing countries to carry out a diversification of their production structure and by securing for them a fair share of world trade, thus enabling them to sell their exportable products at reasonable and stable prices. Unfortunately the countries in process of development do not generally meet with the necessary understanding in this respect.

71. It is of great importance that the industrialized countries avoid excessive agricultural protectionism and also that sufficient support be given to the endeavour to maintain reasonable and stable prices of

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirtieth Session, 1120th meeting.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., 1117th meeting.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., 1119th meeting.

primary products, which is the object of the various international commodity agreements concluded under the auspices of the United Nations.

72. The attempt to stabilize raw material prices should, however, be seen also in relation to the interest of the developing nations in furthering the industrialization process in their respective economies.

73. Denmark, together with other countries, particularly Brazil, India and Yugoslavia, has been instrumental in establishing a new United Nations organ, namely, the Committee for Industrial Development which we trust will begin its work in 1961, assisting the industrial advancement of the less developed countries. This twenty-four-member group will provide needed advice on production and management techniques, fiscal policies, economic programming, distribution and marketing, essential to formulate constructive policies of industrialization in the new member countries.

74. In times of economic progress like that which the industrial countries are experiencing at present, it should be comparatively easy for the individual countries to contribute to the establishment of a better international division of labour by liberalizing trade and payments and by abolishing or reducing the protection of their manufacturing industries, farming, shipping and aviation. While some progress has been made, it is disheartening to observe that, through excessive protectionist measures, certain countries maintain shipping and aviation on an artificial level, which will not be able to survive if exposed to the full impact of normal competition. Such actions set a bad example to other countries and encourage them to apply similar measures.

75. I now turn to Africa. The great developments on that continent present us with a number of specific problems, but above all they bring new elements into the international situation. The African continent has emerged on the world scene, and African solidarity, as expressed here by the leaders of a growing number of free and independent nations, is here to stay. The African States have much to contribute to the United Nations, just as the United Nations has much to contribute to them.

76. As far as the Congo problem is concerned, the Danish Government welcomes the manner in which the General Assembly at its recent emergency special session endorsed, and the Secretary-General carried out, the policy for that country agreed upon by the Security Council. We should congratulate ourselves on United Nations activities in this field, as carried out by the Secretary-General with impartiality and loyalty to the principles of the Charter.

77. We hope that, with the help and co-operation of their African sister States, the people of the Congo may soon find unity and a national leadership prepared to co-operate loyally with the international efforts which serve the sole aim of assisting them.

78. While speaking about Africa, I must say a few words about the policy pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa, not only in her own territory but also—to our even greater regret—within the mandate territory of South West Africa. There is virtually agreement within the United Nations on these questions, but so far the Government of the Union of South Africa has chosen to disregard the resolutions

of the Assembly. I hope that the Government of South Africa will pay regard to world opinion. In doing so it would, no doubt, also pay regard to world peace. The resolutions of the United Nations in this matter—as well as in other African problems—express a deep but sober concern for the future course of events in case present policies remain unchanged. Recent developments bear witness to this view.

79. I now turn to the new Members and the organization of the United Nations. I wish to take this opportunity to extend to the fourteen new countries just elected members of our Organization a cordial welcome on behalf of the Danish Government. This applies to the thirteen independent African States as well as to Cyprus. The admission of these new Member States is an enrichment of our Organization. There is, as I see it, a valuable interplay between the United Nations and its individual Members. The very fact that we are Members of the United Nations, bound by the obligations of the Charter, influences and broadens our views and policies in the direction of justice, reasonableness, good will and understanding of problems in other parts of the world.

80. On the other hand, the more countries that adopt the principles of the United Nations, the better are our chances for reaching a balanced world opinion. Our new fellow Members have a very important role to play here.

81. It is the well known policy of the Danish Government that all independent States should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. This is, of course, also the basic point of view underlying our attitude to the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. Sooner or later the Chinese people will be represented in this Organization by the Government which actually exercises the authority. This solution is also supported by the fact that no disarmament agreement could in the long run be truly effective without Chinese participation.

82. The fact that the number of Member States has almost doubled since the machinery of the United Nations was created must inevitably accentuate the problem of the efficiency of that machinery. During several previous sessions we have discussed the question of extending the number of seats in such bodies as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, but so far without result. This is a problem which should have the special interest of the new Member States, since under present arrangements it is clear that their parts of the world are not properly represented in these bodies. We are here faced with an urgent problem to which the Assembly will have to give its attention.

83. This may not be the right occasion to make more specific proposals, but I should like to mention that a workable solution may be found in combining the increase in the number of seats with a review of present terms of mandate and principles of representation. What I have in mind in the latter respect is some system which, to a higher degree than the present one, would guarantee a regional group of a certain size representation by the candidate of their choice.

84. It is only natural that a machinery so complex as the United Nations should be subject to review from time to time. Indeed, there has for some years already been a pressure towards such a review, although, owing to the attitude of certain Member nations, no



progress has been made so far. I am sure that we are all prepared to discuss proposals for making the Organization still better and more efficient; this is a goal towards which we must always be pressing forward. Fundamental, however is the will to unite our efforts under the principles of the Charter. Do we want an organization of nations truly united towards the common goal, or do we wish to split up the great family of nations into groupings of interests vigorously opposed to each other, ideologically as well as politically? Surely, only in unity of purpose and with an efficient organization suited to meet ever-changing situations can we contribute to the maintenance of world peace in freedom and justice.

85. **Mr. ZHIVKOV (Bulgaria):**<sup>4/</sup> The Presidium of the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have approved the composition of our delegation, bearing in mind the important questions on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, and have given us wide powers to take part in the discussion and in the solution of the problems on the agenda.

86. No doubt, the main characteristic feature of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly lies in the fact that this is the first time the most responsible statesmen of so many countries have participated in the work of the General Assembly. This is not only an expression of consideration and respect for the United Nations; it is a testimony to our serious and highly responsible attitude towards the problems to be discussed at this session, problems which are of exclusive importance for all States and nations. Let us hope that in this respect the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will mark a turning point in the history of the United Nations.

87. Before expounding the stand of the Bulgarian people and Government on the fundamental problems on the agenda, I would like on behalf of our delegation and our people cordially to greet the newly admitted members of the United Nations and to wish them success in the consolidation of their independence, their national economy and culture, as well as fruitful co-operation in the United Nations for the benefit of world peace.

88. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and its Government are consistently carrying out a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence among the nations with different economic and social systems. The principles of peaceful coexistence are guiding principles in our country's relations with other States and in every step and initiative it takes in international life. This foreign policy of our country is inspired by the Bulgarian Communist Party which for nearly seven decades now has been educating the Bulgarian people in the spirit of international solidarity, respect and love for the other nations and countries. During the very first days of people's rule in Bulgaria, Georgi Dimitrov pointed out that the People's Republic of Bulgaria needed lasting peace, friendship and co-operation with all nations in order to be able to catch up with the more advanced countries and to become a democratic and socialist State with a developed economy and high culture.

89. Our country's foreign policy fully corresponds to and is a continuation of its home policy—a policy of

an all-round upsurge along the road of socialism and of intense economic and cultural development, a policy whose aim is to improve the well-being of the people. In the past sixteen years our people have scored enormous achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, construction, education, science and culture—achievements which have radically transformed our country.

90. Bulgaria's mutual relations with the other socialist countries develop in an excellent way and in the spirit of complete unity and understanding. They grow increasingly closer and stronger on the basis of fraternal friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance in our common socialist cause. Following the line of friendship and co-operation with all nations we maintain diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with many countries in the world. In this respect we attribute an exceptional importance to our relations with the Balkan States and make consistent efforts to consolidate peace in the Balkans.

91. We supported the proposal made by Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, for the transformation of the Balkans and the Adriatic into an atom and rocket-free area. We also supported the proposal of the Romanian Government for the calling of a conference of the leading statesmen of the Balkan States to discuss some basic problems of the situation in the Balkan peninsula.

92. Our Government has always manifested and will continue to manifest its readiness to discuss and support any proposal, wherever it may come from, as long as it is in the interests of the general development of the Balkans along the path of understanding, good neighbourly co-operation and peace.

93. On many occasions, our Government has proposed detailed and concrete measures which would help to improve relations among the Balkan States. We have proposed, for example, that we should sign a non-aggression pact among the Balkan States; reach an agreement for a decisive reduction of the armed forces of the Balkan States to the level sufficient for frontier guard duty; transform the Balkans into the area in which the idea for a general and complete disarmament would first find its application; expand mutual economic co-operation and trade relations among the Balkan countries upon the principles of equality and mutual benefit; build with common efforts hydro and power projects of Balkan-wide significance so as to ensure the fullest possible utilization of the natural and other wealth and resources of the Balkans; exchange industrial, agricultural and other exhibitions and parliamentary, cultural, scientific, sports and other delegations; develop tourism among our countries, etc.

94. In spite of the efforts we are making, the progress so far achieved in this respect is only a beginning. We continue to support our proposals. We are not losing hope that these proposals, which are of mutual benefit, will meet with a favourable response on the part of the Governments of the interested Balkan States and will help to reduce tension in the Balkans.

95. It is our profound conviction that there exist in the Balkans the objective conditions necessary for the solution of the pending problems. There are no such controversial problems among the Balkan countries which could not be settled around the table provided we display good will and a desire for mutual understanding. We are neighbouring countries; we have lived,

<sup>4/</sup> Mr. Zhivkov spoke in Bulgarian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

we live and we shall continue to live in the Balkan peninsula in immediate contact. No Balkan Government desiring to carry out a realistic policy should forget this fact.

96. On behalf of our Government, I would like once again from this rostrum to address an appeal to the Governments of all Balkan States and, more particularly to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, for joint measures and common efforts to transform the Balkans—this former powderkeg of Europe—into a peaceful and tranquil corner of the earth.

97. We would like to express our satisfaction at the fact that the general line of peaceful coexistence followed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in international relations is asserting itself day after day. Its attractive power is growing. It has already been adopted and is supported by many countries, by different circles and public figures throughout the world. The line of peaceful coexistence corresponds to the basic interests of both the peoples of the socialist countries and of all other peoples. That is why it has grown into a material force in the development of the international situation.

98. It is a happy fact that in the United Nations, too, the representatives of many countries and nations honestly and sincerely stand on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is a realistic policy, dictated by life itself, by the vital necessity to ensure world peace and to solve the international controversies by peaceful means. Only this line in international relations can guarantee and lead to the lessening of international tensions, to the disbanding of the military blocks and the liquidation of military bases, to the realization of general and complete disarmament, to the exclusion of war from the life of society, to broad economic, cultural and scientific relations among the nations.

99. The imperative necessity today is to counteract every attempt to make the policy of peaceful coexistence retreat from the positions it has already conquered. The line of peaceful coexistence should be further asserted and developed. Every attempt to divert the nations from this line should be thwarted. As far as our country and Government are concerned, I should like to stress once again that they will continue to work for the assertion of the principle of peaceful coexistence, that they will go on fighting against the attempts to sow hatred among the nations and to intensify international tensions and the "cold war".

100. On the other hand, it would be naive to fail to see or to underrate the other line in international relations—the line of the armaments drive, of intensification of the cold war and of increasing international tension, the policy of undermining international understanding under the flag of anti-communism. We should openly name the proponents of this line which they so obstinately defend even at the current session. The peoples should know them well. They are the imperialist powers, the aggressive ruling circles in the United States and in other Western countries—United States partners in NATO. Particularly alarming is the fact that the military circles in the United States and elsewhere in the West, who play the game of the monopolies which are materially interested in military production, have gained the upper hand and are exerting a decisive influence on the foreign policy of the

Governments. In the present international situation this fact is loaded with danger. On the other hand, the unsettled international problems resulting from the Second World War form a constant source of tensions in international life and, if not solved in good time, represent a serious threat to world peace and security.

101. No doubt the most serious of these problems is the German problem, the problem of signing a peace treaty with Germany. Many countries and nations, including our own, which more than once have fallen victims to German militarism, are deeply alarmed at the fact that irredentism and militarism are being revived in Western Germany and insolently begin to bare their claws. Could the nations calmly watch how the power of the irredentist Bonn army is being increased and how conditions are being created to provide it with nuclear weapons and rockets? If during the last war many countries and nations became the prey of German militarism, the resurrection of this ghost of war in the heart of Europe could lead to a third world war, to a terrible disaster for mankind. That is why it is extremely dangerous to maintain the present situation in West Germany which creates a climate of insecurity in Europe. This is a real crime against mankind. The West German militarists ought to be bridled before it is too late.

102. It is necessary to sign as soon as possible a peace treaty with Germany and to settle the problem of West Berlin. The solution of the German problem can no longer be delayed. That is why we support the proposal to sign a peace treaty with Germany as soon as possible. Let us hope that the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France will finally support the efforts of the Soviet Union for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and for the liquidation of this dangerous hotbed of war.

103. Let us take another unsettled international problem—the Korean problem. Could one ever ensure peace in the Far East and in the world without the just solution of this problem? There is only one way to solve the problem, and it is the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea, which should be brought about by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference. We support the proposal for a confederation between North and South Korea on the basis of the draft presented by the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

104. Naturally, there can be no question of Korean unification as long as South Korea is under foreign tutelage and as long as American troops exercise full control and behave in an irresponsible way there. That is why the first and foremost condition for the successful solution of the Korean problem is to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea, thus enabling the people not only in North Korea but also in South Korea to have a free say concerning their country's destiny.

105. Mankind cannot remain calm when militaristic circles in the United States and other Western countries are perpetrating provocations and undertaking aggressive actions in one part of the world or another, and especially when these acts are extolled as official government policy. Such is, for example, the case with the perfidious intrusion of United States military spying aircraft into the air space of the Soviet Union and of other countries. Could this be called a reason-

able policy? These actions are incompatible with international law and with the principles of the United Nations Charter; they represent a serious threat to world peace and security. This is a dangerous, adventurous game which should be stopped.

106. We support the Soviet Government's proposal to discuss at the current session the question of the menace to world peace caused by the aggressive actions of the United States against the USSR. It is the duty of the United Nations to make its own the just verdict with which the nations branded these shameful aggressive and provocative acts of the United States. It is the obligation of the United Nations, stemming from its Charter and its fundamental principles, to request all its Members to observe the most elementary norms in international relations, to respect the sovereign rights of all nations and to renounce the methods of violence, provocation and aggression.

107. At present, the questions of abolishing the colonial system and of general and complete disarmament acquire an exclusive importance for the destinies of mankind. Allow me to dwell on these questions.

108. The question of the complete and final abolition of the colonial system is one of the most urgent and cardinal problems of our time. Every State, every Government, bears a responsibility for its solution. No doubt the United Nations Organization also bears a responsibility in this matter.

109. I should like to state, first of all, that the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports, word by word, the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples submitted to the session by the Soviet Government. It is our view that the declaration is a historic document of exceptional international importance. There is not the slightest doubt that the peoples of all continents and that public opinion of the entire world will adopt the declaration as a manifesto, as a charter of the freedom and independence, of the equality and respect for the sovereign rights and the territorial integrity of all nations on our planet, without exception. A testimony to this is the world-wide response with which the Soviet proposal have met everywhere and especially among the colonial and newly liberated peoples. No matter how hard the colonialists try to lessen the impact of the Soviet proposal, no matter what efforts they make in this respect, the incontestable fact is that the declaration of the Soviet Government will remain in the annals of history as one of the brightest and most humane documents of mankind.

110. We should like to express our confidence that the General Assembly will vote and approve the declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. This would tremendously enhance the prestige of the United Nations in the eyes of all humanity. The peoples will see in the United Nations not only an organization expressing their most cherished hopes and striving for a peaceful, free and happy life but also an active organ which defends in practice their just interests and demands and which solves the urgent problems of our times.

111. The great October socialist revolution opened a new page in the history of mankind. It also opened the page of the disintegration and collapse of the colonial system. The fact that the socialist camp came into being in the world and is growing stronger made it

possible for scores of countries to win their freedom and to take up the road of independent development. In the black continent of Africa the peoples are rising en masse to fight and destroy the colonial system. Yet more than 100 million people still suffer in the fetters of colonialism. This shameful phenomenon should no longer be the black spot of human civilization. The time has come for freedom, justice and humaneness to triumph in all corners of the earth and for all nations. Colonial slavery should give way and will inevitably give way to the free, independent and sovereign development of all nations, big and small, black and white. We should all make every effort so that the middle of the twentieth century could be marked by the burial of the colonial system.

112. When we speak of abolishing the colonial system, we are perfectly aware of the fact that the colonizers are making every effort to keep their positions. With sword and fire, with teeth and nails, they are trying to preserve their domination over the colonial and dependent countries. They are shedding the blood not only of the enslaved peoples but of their own peoples as well. With their unreasonable and adventurous colonial policy they complicate the international situation and create a grave danger to world peace.

113. The modern colonialists spread the "theory" that colonialism has allegedly changed and "ennobled" itself, that the colonial peoples—as some representatives of the colonial Powers put it here—have allegedly turned into "allied nations", that the former relationship between the master State and the enslaved States has become a thing of the past. None of this is true. In order to keep the lands and the riches of the colonies and of the newly liberated countries, the modern colonialists still refuse to renounce the barbarous methods and means of plunder and oppression which were used by their ancestors in the past centuries when they were conquering those lands. For what does the unprecedented aggression against the Congo prove, or the six-year-old bloodshed in Algeria, the police terror in the countries of East Africa, the outrages of the racist Government in the Union of South Africa, the savage terror in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the provocations and plots against Cuba, Indonesia and Laos? The rapacious plunder of the wealth of individual countries; the crushing of all human rights and liberties, the punitive expeditions, the prisons and concentration camps; the hard and unbearable slave labour; the misery, starvation and ignorance of the colonial nations; the incitement of nations and tribes against each other—all this in plain language is nothing but shameful colonial policy. This has hardly anything to do with philanthropy and benevolence or with a "civilizing mission" in the colonies.

114. It is not for philanthropic or civilizing activities that the imperialists need the colonies. They need them to plunder their riches, to extract and pile up fabulous profits from these countries. It is no accident that the economy of the colonies is a backward economy, an economy of exploitation and plunder. It develops in a denatured and one-sided direction. The colonialists are full masters of the wealth and raw materials of the colonies. The colonizers—as our people say—skin the sheep three times in order to extract the biggest possible profit.

115. That is why we, just like any self-respecting Government and self-respecting people, stand for the

immediate and complete abolition of colonialism, that black spot of humanity. It is hardly necessary for me to enumerate in detail what the results of the abolition of the colonial system would be. Suffice it to say that its abolition will bring freedom to the peoples of a number of countries. There would be an end once and for all to the indescribable sufferings, the unparalleled humiliation and suppression of the national and human dignity of the colonial nations. The abolition of colonialism will improve their national self-confidence, it will free and open up wide vistas to the development of their creative activities and initiatives. The productive forces of society will get a powerful impetus. Conditions will be created for a much more fruitful utilization of the world's resources and the present gaps in economic development among the different countries will be bridged.

116. Do I have to point out the growing beneficial effect which the abolition of the colonial system will have upon the development of international relations, the lessening of world tensions and the consolidation of world peace? We are deeply convinced that the complete and final abolition of the colonial system will be an epoch-making success not only for the enslaved nations but also for mankind as a whole. It will help human progress develop at an unprecedented pace, thus opening a new page in modern history.

117. The experience of the Bulgarian people also shows what it means for a people to throw off the shackles of imperialist bondage. I beg the Assembly to allow me to mention a few data. For decades our people suffered under the domination of foreign militarist and monopolist groups. Our country's economy was extremely backward and was actually transformed into an appendage providing agricultural products and raw materials to the advanced, industrialized Western countries. For sixteen years now our people have been masters of their country, conscientious builders of their life and their destinies. From a dependent and backward agrarian country, Bulgaria has changed into a free industrial-agrarian country. The productive forces are rapidly developing and our national economy is growing stronger. Many new branches of industry, including branches of heavy industry, have been created. In 1959 industrial production was eleven times that of 1939, whilst the ratio between the volumes of industrial and agricultural production during the same period changed roughly from 25:75 to 71:29. Whereas formerly in Bulgaria there was an insignificant number of tractors and reapers and absolutely no harvester-combines, now thousands upon thousands of tractors, harvester-combines and many other agricultural machines are being used. Unemployment—that scourge of the working people—has been dealt away with once and for all. Real income per caput has risen by 73 per cent since 1952. The State provides pensions to all aged industrial and office workers and co-operative farmers. Illiteracy has been done away with. Medical aid and education, including university education, are free. The people have unlimited access to the fruits of science, education and culture. Suffice it to point out that the number of university students has risen from 10,000 in 1939 to 49,000 in 1960. This means that 63 out of every 10,000 people in our country study in higher institutes of learning.

118. These are only a few facts about the situation in our country. This is how the "slaves" in Bulgaria work, live and create. Some of the speakers at the

present session have shown a strange compassion for the peoples in the socialist countries. Our people, however, are very familiar with this type of compassion since they have been "enjoying" it for quite a number of years.

119. I would invite you, Mr. Diefenbaker, to come to our country to see conditions there for yourself. Our Slavic hospitality is well known and we shall meet you with an open heart. We shall not organize pitiable demonstrations against you, not only because this is alien to the spirit of the Bulgarians but also because it is incompatible with the elementary rules of hospitality. Come to see for yourself the enthusiasm of the Bulgarian industrial and office workers and co-operative farmers, of all sections of the people; come and see how they are building their happy socialist life. You will be able to see with your own eyes that the slaves of yesterday, whose rights were trodden upon and suppressed, are today the real masters in the new Bulgaria. Therein lies our power, therein lies the power of the entire socialist camp. It is rooted in the inexhaustible possibilities of the socialist system, in the unlimited prospects it opens for the all-around development of human personality.

120. So that you will not say I am making propaganda, let me repeat: Come to our country, gentlemen; come to Bulgaria to find out personally how things stand.

121. When we speak of the rapid progress of our economy and of our historic and peaceful victories, we cannot fail to stress the decisive role of the assistance which we receive from the Soviet Union, the role of our mutual co-operation with the other socialist countries. The Soviet Union supplies our country and a number of other countries with the best up-to-date machinery and equipment and helps us rapidly to develop our economy. Thus, for example, forty-five big factories and plants and twenty-five individual construction sites have been built in our country with Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union generously provides us with tractors, harvester-combines and other agricultural machines, with raw materials, credits and specialists; it renders us an all-sided economic, scientific, technical and cultural assistance. This assistance creates the conditions necessary for the rapid development of the forces of production in Bulgaria and guarantees its national independence and state sovereignty. This is disinterested assistance such as is given only by brother to brother. By its scope and content the assistance of the Soviet Union is unprecedented in the history of the Bulgarian people. It is a fundamental truth for us that without the assistance and support of the Soviet Union, without our mutual co-operation with the remaining socialist countries, the great economic and cultural achievements of our country would have been unthinkable. Our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union is not only deeply rooted in the past; it has been won in the hard struggle our people fought against monarcho-fascist dictatorship, it has been won at the price of the heavy sacrifices which have paved for us the salutary road of socialist development.

122. It goes without saying that it is not enough to achieve only formal independence. This independence should become a real one, so that the former colonies may set out upon the road of free and sovereign development and create and develop their national economy.

123. We realize only too well that the newly liberated peoples will not be able to overcome their backwardness by their own efforts and resources alone. They need the all-sided assistance of the advanced countries. It is logical and justified for the United Nations Organization to request those economically and technically advanced countries which until now have had colonial possessions, to restore, for the moment at least, part of the wealth they have plundered, so that the material and cultural progress of the newly liberated countries may be helped and so that conditions may be created for the provision of at least the most elementary living standards for their populations.

124. But when we speak of aid to the under-developed countries, we know that there is aid and "aid". Here, from this rostrum, we cannot but condemn the intentions and aims of a number of colonial Powers which, under the form of "aid", strive to perpetuate the economic backwardness and dependence of the under-developed countries. We cannot ignore the fact that this "aid" is accompanied by overt and hidden political, economic or military conditions. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that such strings seriously endanger the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the individual States. It is no secret that some rich countries which strive to appear as benefactors and philanthropists get a hundred dollars of profit for every single dollar of "aid" which they provide to the under-developed countries. It is quite obvious that this type of "aid" leads to the further exploitation and exhaustion of these countries' economies. As a matter of fact, this is a bait, a trap masked as aid. The under-developed countries need no such "aid".

125. It is quite clear that the main problem facing the colonial countries which have won their independence is the problem of creating their own national economy and their own industry, of abolishing feudal economic forms, of carrying out land reform—in a word, of developing all branches of production. It is precisely on this major problem that the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, did not say a single word in his speech to the General Assembly. His proposal was aimed primarily at measures for rendering social assistance to the under-developed countries. The under-developed countries do not need charity, mites and alms. It is a well-known fact that there can be no real freedom and independence that these countries will not be able to create and develop their national economy, unless they rid themselves of their economic dependence upon the monopolies.

126. We, like many other countries, consider that the under-developed countries should be helped with an open heart—honestly, sincerely and selflessly; that the aid granted to them should have no strings attached, or either a political or any other nature; and that the aid should bring no privileges to the country providing it. This is the type of aid the socialist countries are giving the under-developed countries. It should be recognized as a fact that this is the first time in history that such aid is being granted, that a new type of economic relations, unknown in former times, is being created between highly developed and under-developed countries. These relations are based on the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's internal affairs. We may note with satisfaction that the economic and technical assistance granted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the under-developed countries in Asia, Africa,

and Latin America is growing year by year. This disinterested aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries not only makes it possible for these countries to consolidate their economy and independence, but is also becoming an important factor in world economic relations.

127. Some people who like reading the Gospel upside-down insinuate that in helping the under-developed countries the socialist countries are after spheres of influence. It is unnecessary to prove that the socialist countries do not strive for spheres of influence and do not divide the world into blocs, into privileged and unprivileged nations. This patent belongs to others. But we are justified in asking the following questions: What is it that prevents the Western countries, too, from giving the same type of disinterested assistance to the under-developed countries, assistance with absolutely no strings attached? Would it not be more reasonable if, instead of spending huge sums on blackmail, bribes and provocations, on "coups d'état" and on supporting anti-popular puppet governments, on the maintenance of police forces and on the armaments drive, the Western Powers invested at least a portion of these funds in the development of the economy of the new States?

128. We cannot fail to stress our anxiety at the fact that the imperialists, under the leadership of the United States monopolists, are taking co-ordinated steps to preserve colonial bondage; they are trying to replace the present colonial forms by new forms and methods of enslavement, with new masters taking the place of the old.

129. Can we ever regard calmly the danger represented by the various forms of modern colonialism, under the shield of the United States imperialists, to, for example, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America? Attempts are being made to substitute a system of the joint exploitation of the colonies and the newly liberated countries for the former domination by individual Western States, to substitute one type of slavery for another. Naturally, these nations are none the better off as a result, just as a person who has been robbed does not feel better off when he realizes that he has been the victim not of one bandit but of a whole gang of highwaymen.

130. We are also seriously alarmed at the fact that the military and political alliances and organizations such as SEATO, CENTO and others are in fact tools of modern colonialism. These blocs pursue the infernal aim of crushing or hindering the national struggle for liberation of the enslaved nations in order that such slavery may be perpetuated. It is no secret that some newly liberated countries have already been drawn into the above-mentioned military and political groups and have thus again lost their independence—falling, as we say, from the frying pan into the fire.

131. I should like to point out that what we have in mind is the complete abolition of colonialism and not, as the colonialists desire, the substitution of one of its forms for another. The colonialists are trying to convince us that the colonial peoples possess no statesmanship, that they are not yet ripe for independent development, that they are not capable of governing their countries and disposing of their riches, and so forth. According to them, if the colonial authorities left the colonies a "vacuum" would be formed there. What kind of "vacuum" have they in mind? A "vacuum"

which would enable a group of monopolists to get a foothold in these countries and to continue to plunder them? There is no vacuum here. Here there are nations, which alone have the right to be the masters of their land. The peoples who have rejected colonial bondage have demonstrated that they can successfully rule their countries and exploit their resources.

132. Our epoch, as the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, correctly described it here, is an epoch of tempestuous renovation of the forms of existence of human society, a period of unparalleled drive for mastering the forces of nature, of unprecedented striving for a more progressive social system. Our century is a century of the fight for freedom, of the liberation of the people's forces, a century of the collapse of the colonial system. The disintegration and complete abolition of the colonial system is an irresistible and logical process. No matter what efforts the colonizers may make, they will not be able to stop this process, just as they were not able to prevent the formation of scores of new States in Asia and Africa. No pitiable efforts can eclipse the bright light of freedom and national independence. Our poet Ivan Vazov wrote: "Tyrants, your efforts are in vain! You cannot put out the light that dies not!"

133. The time has come for the colonial Powers to heed the just voice of all mankind, the imperative need of our times, and voluntarily to grant freedom and independence to the colonial peoples. Should they fail to do so, it is the duty of all progressive mankind, of all nations to render the necessary moral and material support to the fighting colonial peoples so that the colonial system and all its vestiges and remains may be erased from the face of the earth once and for all.

134. We, the Bulgarian Government and people, proceeding from and guided by the right of every nation to self-determination and to independent development, have always supported the struggle of the colonial nations for freedom and independence. We shall continue to do everything in our power to bring about the quickest possible victory in the sacred struggle of the colonial and dependent nations. We shall work and fight for the triumph of justice on earth in our lifetime.

135. The proposals for general and complete disarmament made one year ago by the Soviet Union at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly [A/4219], as well as the new disarmament proposals submitted by the Soviet Government [A/4505] are of exceptional importance to the development of international relations, the relaxation of international tension. They place on a completely new basis one of the main and vitally important problems of our times—the problem upon the solution of which depend to a great extent the preservation of peace and the destiny of mankind.

136. The fact that it was precisely the Soviet Union—the great country which was the first in history to open up the road to socialism—which made these proposals is an absolutely logical phenomenon. The idea of general and complete disarmament is inherent in the very nature of the socialist system—that most progressive and profoundly humane social system which liquidated the exploitation of man by man and renounced the enslavement of one nation by another, a system in which there are neither groups nor persons

interested in piling up profits for military industry and military orders. Therefore, it is only too natural that all the socialist countries should endorse without any reservation the programme of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament.

137. The simple and perfectly clear proposals of the Soviet Union were welcomed with satisfaction, relief and hope by nations all over the world. All those who sincerely desire to avoid the calamities of a new world war greeted them and supported them. From the United Nations rostrum the representatives of a number of countries hailed them as epoch-making proposals which were of a revolutionary character and indeed opened up wide vistas for the radical solution of the problem of disarmament. The idea of general and complete disarmament was also unanimously embraced by the General Assembly.

138. It could not be otherwise. The Soviet proposals pointed to the only way out of a situation which represented a serious and constantly growing danger for all mankind. Discovering the secrets of nature, human genius mastered the power of the atom. This obliged the world to face problems which it had never faced before. A new weapon—whose destructive power had not yet been studied and was not even known—was created. Intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of striking any point in the world were also created. It became clear that a new war would present a real danger for the annihilation not only of individual armies but of whole countries as well, of world centres of industry and the hearths of a centuries-old culture. That is why there is no more urgent task today than the task of saving mankind from a nuclear disaster, of opposing war by all the means at our disposal, of preserving peace.

139. Every honest person, every Government which places the interests and the existence of its nation above everything else, realizes only too well that, in the prevailing circumstances and in the presence of modern military technique, a new approach for the preservation of peace is needed, that the very means which make war possible should be abolished. The programme of general and complete disarmament presented by the Soviet Union is precisely such a new approach and the only salutary and correct one which would help us to avert a military holocaust. As is well known, the aim of the Soviet proposals is the destruction and abolition of all types of armaments and the disbanding of all armed forces. Their aim is to exclude war by making it impossible.

140. The implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament will open up a new stage in international relations, it will open up prospects which will ensure peaceful destinies for mankind. The peoples will be freed from the constant fear in which they live. The atmosphere of suspicion and insecurity among States will give way to mutual confidence, good-neighbourly relations and sincere co-operation. Conditions will be created for the equitable solution of the unsettled international problems. Lasting peace, longed for by mankind for centuries, will become a reality. Unlimited vistas for constructive labour, for a full swing of human creative genius, for an upsurge in economic development, for boundless material and cultural progress will open up for all countries. That is why general and complete disarmament is a ripe historic necessity, an absolute need for all nations and

countries, a sine qua non for the existence and advancement of human society.

141. It was the task of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament to work out a comprehensive and constructive plan on general and complete disarmament. Our country gladly took up the task of participating in the work of that Committee. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria empowered the Bulgarian delegation to be guided by the proposals of the Soviet Union and by the explicit resolution on disarmament adopted by the General Assembly at its fourteenth session [1378(xiv)] and to make every effort to contribute to the correct solution of this problem, so that an agreement might be reached and a treaty on general and complete disarmament worked out. We must say here, however, that the information on the work of the Ten-Nation Committee and on the stand of the representatives of the Western countries on the Committee, which our Government received from the Bulgarian delegation on a regular basis, aroused our serious doubts and anxieties.

142. What did actually happen in the Ten-Nation Committee? Despite the consistent efforts of the delegations of the USSR, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania to reach an agreement so that, in conformity with the United Nations resolution, the concrete principles of a plan and a treaty on general and complete disarmament could be worked out as quickly as possible, the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada led the Ten-Nation Committee into an impasse and brought about the interruption of its work.

143. What was the stand of the Western representatives? From the very first meeting of the Ten-Nation Committee it became obvious that their aim was to sabotage the drawing up of a concrete disarmament programme and to prevent the practical solution of the disarmament problem. They obstinately refused to proceed to the discussion of the constructive programme presented by the Soviet Union and supported by the other socialist countries; the draft which they submitted, although also entitled "General and complete disarmament", contained no concrete measures for disarmament and absolutely no time-limits for the practical implementation of such measures. Everything which the representatives of the United States and the other Western countries proposed in the Committee boiled down to a repetition of their demands for the establishment of the international control and inspection of armaments. These demands of the Western Powers do not go beyond the narrow limits of control of existing armaments; as a matter of fact they do not lead to any disarmament at all and have no other purpose than to establish a system of international espionage.

144. Simultaneously, the Western delegations were doing their best to kill the idea of general and complete disarmament and to compromise it in the eyes of world public opinion. They transformed the meetings of the Committee into a parlour rather than the place for a business-like exchange of ideas and for fruitful decisions it ought to have been. Moreover, they openly expressed their disagreement and dissatisfaction with the resolution of the General Assembly by virtue of which a constructive solution of the disarmament problem should be found and a concrete plan and treaty on general and complete disarmament worked out as soon as possible.

145. In these circumstances, it became quite obvious that the United States and its NATO partners were only trying to use the Ten-Nation Committee as a screen for misleading and deceiving world public opinion. The stand of the Western representatives at the Geneva talks, aimed at deceiving world public opinion, compelled the delegations of the socialist countries to discontinue their participation in the work of the Committee.

146. While the Committee was sitting at Geneva, provocative espionage flights were undertaken with the knowledge of United States leaders over the territory of the Soviet Union and other States. Everything possible was done to foil the Paris Summit Conference upon which the peoples had laid great hopes for the consolidation of peace. While the Western representatives were making speeches about disarmament in the Committee, their Governments, and the United States Government in particular, boisterously announced new measures in the armaments drive—measures for an increase in the stocks of nuclear weapons and in the production of chemical and biological weapons of mass extermination. They threatened to resume nuclear tests; they expanded the construction of nuclear missile sites in the United Kingdom, Italy, the Balkans and other countries; they ordered atom-loaded United States bombers to be on the alert day and night; they proceeded to a still more rapid rearmament of the West German militarists and irredentists with rockets and nuclear weapons, and, despite the resistance of the Japanese people, they imposed a new United States-Japanese military treaty on Japan.

147. To sum up, vague speeches for peace and against war were delivered in the Ten-Nation Committee, obviously under the pressure of anxious world public opinion, but in practice everything was done to intensify international tensions and to complicate the international situation.

148. Take another example. The President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, often delivers speeches against war and in favour of general and lasting peace and justice; he often declares that the striving for peace exerts a decisive influence upon the principal actions of the United States Government, and so on. In his speech in this Assembly [868th meeting] the words "peace", "justice" and "general welfare" also abounded. But whilst his lips utter words about peace and justice, his hand signs completely different orders. On 8 August 1960, in his message to Congress, President Eisenhower announced that he had ordered the deployment of additional aircraft carriers to the sixth and seventh fleets, the expansion of the long-range military programme, the strengthening of air and ground forces, the development of the B-70 bombers and of the reconnaissance satellite Samos, the perfection of the Polaris ballistic missile and the increase in its production, the construction of new submarines armed with the Polaris missiles, and so forth.

149. Or look at the latest activities of NATO. On the eve of and during the present session, at which we are to discuss the problems of general and complete disarmament and of ensuring peace, they are conducting huge war manoeuvres and demonstrations of their military might in the region of the Mediterranean and in other regions of the world.

150. Does all this indicate a real desire and a sincere striving on the part of the United States and other

Western Governments to proceed to the real solution of the disarmament problem?

151. The ruling circles in the United States are pursuing a policy which leads to the constant complication of the international situation. This not only constitutes a grave danger of a nuclear disaster for mankind, it also shows that those who are at the head of the United States administration have learned nothing from world developments, that they are not carrying out a realistic foreign policy and that they live with the obsolete and illusory desire to dictate their will to other nations. It is high time they left their castles in Spain, it is high time they came down to earth and took the real situation, the real correlation of forces in the world into account. The current session of the Assembly has convincingly shown the profound changes which have taken place in recent years, the immense strengthening of the forces of peace.

152. It is true that we, the socialist countries, are not to the liking of the imperialists. But we have never nourished such illusions, nor have we set ourselves such tasks. However, likes and dislikes are not the things that matter. It is high time the ruling circles in the United States understood once and for all and accepted some elementary truths, no matter how much they may dislike them. We, the socialist countries, exist; we not only exist, but our forces are growing at an incredible pace. The peoples can no longer be ordered about as they used to be. They are no longer defenceless in front of the imperialists.

153. Take the General Assembly. A few years ago less than seventy nations were represented in it. Tell me how many delegations of non-socialist countries dared at that time raise objections against the foreign policy of the United States? And when a representative nevertheless dared, though timidly, to criticize some aspects of United States policy, he was humiliated and forced to apologize. Look how greatly the situation in the United Nations has changed. See how many delegates of new nations have taken their legitimate place in the United Nations. The imperialists used to look down upon the colonial peoples, they considered them second-rate people, draught animals. But today, although some may not like this fact, they are sitting in this hall side by side with the representatives of the African nations which have just won their independence.

154. It is obvious that the Head of the Government of the Republic of Cuba is not to the taste of the United States Government. Two days ago he delivered a remarkable speech in the Assembly [872nd meeting], a speech which made mincemeat of the theories of the imperialists and their attempts to oppress and plunder the nations. He defended the right of the Cuban people and of the other Latin American peoples to independent existence and sovereign development. This speech was a bitter pill for some delegations in this hall. Nevertheless, they listened to it. We, the representatives of the socialist countries, are also in this hall, and no matter how unpleasant this fact may be to some people, they sit here and listen to us.

155. The time will come—and soon—when those to whom the United States are barring the door—the representatives of the People's Republic of China and of the Mongolian People's Republic—will also come to take their lawful place in this hall. There is no doubt that by force of the objective necessity the repre-

sentatives of Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the other colonial peoples will also sit here with us. They exist as nations and they will send their representatives to the United Nations, if not tomorrow, then the day after tomorrow. Such are the facts, such is reality, such is the real correlation of forces.

156. What is the conclusion we ought to draw? The conclusion is that a realistic policy should be followed, a policy taking into account the facts of life. There is no other road. The only alternative would be to undermine confidence among the nations, to increase international tensions and to court nuclear disaster.

157. We consider that the disarmament problem should be discussed at the current session of the Assembly as one of its major tasks. The Assembly can outline the basic trends, the basic principles of the plan on general and complete disarmament and entrust other organs of the United Nations with the task of working out concrete measures for the solution of this problem. It would be correct, for instance, if the detailed working out of these main trends and principles were entrusted to an enlarged disarmament committee comprising also representatives from neutral countries. This would contribute to the creation of conditions for efficient and fruitful work in such a committee.

158. Expressing the will of the Bulgarian people and the peaceful policy of the Bulgarian Government our delegation fully supports the programme of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament and the basic principles of the treaty on general and complete disarmament, submitted to the current session of the United Nations by the Government of the Soviet Union and taking into account the expedient proposals made by some countries. We hope that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will advance towards the solution of the disarmament problem and the working out of a treaty on general and complete disarmament providing for time-limits for the implementation of the disarmament measures and for control. In so doing, the United Nations would respond to the aspirations of mankind and would justify the hopes of the peoples.

159. We cannot fail to express our surprise at the fact that the delegation of the United States and some other Western delegations do not want a single one of the vital problems on the agenda of the current session to be discussed in plenary meeting, so that the basic provisions and instructions for their further study in the respective committees and commissions may be approved. They do not want to manifest goodwill and reason in the solution of these questions. Such is their stand on the problem of the abolition of the colonial system, the disarmament problem and other major issues.

160. Obviously, they would like the General Assembly, at the current session, to debate these problems in general terms only and submit them afterwards to the various commissions and sub-commissions so that they do not come into the open and so that they could be more easily killed. This is precisely what recent experience has proved and more particularly the experience with the stand of the Western Powers on disarmament in the Ten-Nation Committee.

161. Would it not be more expedient if the basic problems were discussed here in plenary meeting? In this case, the General Assembly could approve the basic provisions and instructions and leave the further



concrete working out of the problems to the respective United Nations organs. This would indeed be a democratic method which would enable all Member countries to expound their views to world public opinion. If the Assembly follows the practice of adopting only the most general and platonic resolutions and if they are reversed afterwards in the United Nations organs we shall be creating a grave threat to the authority of the United Nations.

162. We are all convinced that we should constantly enhance and strengthen the authority of the United Nations. But this can be the case only if the United Nations works and acts in the spirit of the ideas and principles of the United Nations Charter. It has to be regretted, however, that there are negative sides and tendencies in the work of the United Nations which have already been mentioned here. Allow me to dwell on those negative sides and tendencies because, if they are not removed, they may seriously impair the prestige of the United Nations.

163. We all say that the United Nations is a universal international organization. And this is quite correct. We cannot say, however, that it is a truly representative organization of the entire human community. Thus, the lawful representatives of China, the country with the biggest population in the world, the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic are still absent from the United Nations. Every sensible person will agree that this situation is quite abnormal that there is no reason whatsoever for it. It is high time that reason prevailed in the United Nations on this problem and that the representatives of the People's Republic of China found their lawful place in the United Nations, so that great China could make its contribution to the joint efforts of mankind for the solution of the vital problems of our time and for the consolidation of world peace, also within the framework of the United Nations. And, as a matter of fact, what grounds can there be for preventing the Mongolian People's Republic from taking its lawful place in the United Nations?

164. The existing practice of admitting new Members to the United Nations mainly on the basis of the likes and dislikes of the big western Powers should cease because it is unworthy and insulting to the United Nations. The political map of the world has changed. There are capitalist States in the world, there are also socialist States, including the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic; there are white yellow and black people. The United Nations should open wide its doors to all nations so that it may become a truly universal and all-embracing world organization. Should it fail to do so, it will not prove worthy of the great tasks and high aims laid down in its Charter.

165. We regret to have to point out that work in the United Nations does not always proceed in accordance with its fundamental principles and with the provisions of its Charter. The attempt of some Western States to use the institution of the Secretary-General and the United Nations apparatus for their own economic and political ends and for various machinations is laden with grave dangers for the normal relations among States and for peace.

166. When the United Nations apparatus commits acts which are in flagrant contradiction with the Charter of the Organization—as is the case with events in the

Congo—the international authority of the United Nations is seriously undermined. It has now become clear that the lawful Government and Parliament of the Republic of the Congo have been removed with the aid of the Secretary-General and the United Nations apparatus. In this case the Secretary-General and the United Nations apparatus are undoubtedly playing the role of executive organs of colonialism. A tense atmosphere has been created in the Congo. An open and gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Congolese people which has just shaken off the colonial yoke, has been perpetrated; this is a cynical outrage against the free will of the people. These activities have created a dangerous situation for peace in Africa and in the whole world.

167. The United Nations should help the freedom-loving Congolese nation in its struggle for the achievement of complete and real independence against the attempts of the colonizers to violate the country's territorial integrity and to preserve the colonial régime in the country. It is the sacred duty of the United Nations energetically to co-operate for the re-establishment in the Congo of the Government legally elected by Parliament and headed by Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

168. Now let us take the case of the Republic of Cuba. The heroic and glorious people of Cuba overthrew the puppet dictatorial régime and took the road of freedom and independence. This, however, was not to the liking of the American monopolists and of the ruling circles in the United States. Two days ago the Prime Minister of the Republic of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro very clearly and convincingly explained to the General Assembly what were the reasons for this. Under the eyes of world public opinion perfidious provocations are perpetrated against Cuba and an armed aggression is being openly prepared against the young republic. And though this is happening, so to say, under the very eyes of the United Nations, the Organization has done nothing so far and continues to do nothing to thwart the aggression prepared against Cuba; it has not undertaken the defence of the people of Cuba. Does one have to remind the Assembly that it is the task of the United Nations to take effective measures against the interference of one State in the internal affairs of another and against the aggressive actions of one State against another? We cannot fail to stress that the people of Cuba, who did not bow in the face of threats and who are firmly defending their freedom and independence, have won the respect and admiration of all peoples and the right to decide themselves on their fate and to dispose of the riches of their country.

169. We are also of the opinion that the time is ripe to reorganize the Secretariat and the United Nations apparatus so that the necessary impartiality and objectivity could be ensured in the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations and its organs. In this connexion we consider expedient the proposal made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev [869th meeting], to reorganize the United Nations Secretariat and to create a collective leadership of the Secretariat.

170. It is obvious that the entire work of the United Nations and its organs should be so directed and guided as to ensure the implementation of the main task of the Organization—the maintenance of world peace and security, the development of friendly relations and co-operation among nations, and the consolidation of the

policy of peaceful coexistence. Let us take the following example. Tomorrow, when we come to the establishment of international armed forces under United Nations command, the question may be asked: Who is going to command these forces? Will it be a representative of the Soviet Union? Obviously, the United States will not agree to that. Or will it be a representative of the United States? It is obvious that this is inappropriate and wrong. In this case we shall need a command which would reflect the prevailing conditions, the real relationship of forces in the world. Thus, it will be necessary to establish a collective and not an individual leadership of the Secretariat of the United Nations.

171. In connexion with this proposal the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, and the United States representative in the United Nations, Mr. Wadsworth, alleged that this was an attack on the United Nations, and that the USSR intended to destroy the structure of the United Nations. They started speaking about a "crisis" in the United Nations. This is indeed a strange reaction. Mr. Khrushchev's proposal takes into consideration the necessity for the groups of States which have come into existence in the world—the socialist countries, the NATO Powers and the non-committed nations—to be represented in the United Nations Secretariat and apparatus by ensuring a collective leadership for the implementation of the will and the decisions of the General Assembly. Thus there will be an end to the present situation in which the United Nations Secretariat and apparatus are virtually subsidiary bodies of the United States Department of State and are being used by the latter and by NATO against one or another State, against one or another group of States.

172. What do these gentlemen really want? Perhaps they want the General Assembly sessions to consist of a few speeches, of some conversations resulting in certain general decisions. Afterwards the only interpreter and executor of those decisions would be the Secretary-General and the United Nations apparatus, that is to say the United States Department of State.

173. I feel that the frank statement made by Mr. Hammarskjöld to the General Assembly to the effect that, whenever he was given no concrete advice and his interpretation of the United Nations resolution was contested, as was the case in the Security Council on 21 August, he had no choice but to follow his conscience only goes to prove the expediency of the proposal to establish a collective leadership of the United Nations Secretariat. This is a question of principle and we, the socialist countries, on the basis of recent experience, will not reconcile ourselves with the present state of affairs as far as concerns the institution of the Secretary-General and the present structure of the United Nations apparatus.

174. In the United States, which some people call a country of freedom and democracy, the conditions for the work of the delegations to the United Nations depend upon the tasks, political course and whims of the American authorities. An open, large-scale campaign of discrimination against the members of a number of delegations is now under way. Is this a normal atmosphere for the work of the United Nations and of the individual delegations? Obviously everything that

is being done—not without the knowledge and even with the participation, of the United States Department of State—creates a poisonous atmosphere around the United Nations. We thank you for such freedom and democracy. Let the gentlemen keep this type of freedom for themselves. We are opposed to every kind of discrimination, both discrimination against the representatives of individual nations and discrimination because of colour, race, etc. It is indeed necessary to consider the question of whether the United Nations Headquarters should not be removed from the United States to some other country where the necessary freedom and the elementary conditions for normal work will be guaranteed to all delegations.

175. The eyes of mankind are focused on the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. The peoples nourish the hope that in accordance with the imperative of our time—a time of great social changes—reason and wisdom will prevail in the United Nations. They have grounds to expect that the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will advance the solution of the vital problems of our times—the relaxation of international tension, the elimination of the "cold war", the realization of general and complete disarmament, the exclusion of war from the life of the nations, the abolition of the colonial system. The centuries-old dream of humanity—to create a world without armaments, a world without wars and oppression—is realistic and feasible.

176. It is our duty openly to state here that the forces of war, frightened by the striking successes of the policy of peaceful coexistence and by the relaxation of international tension during the last two or three years, are again trying to poison the international climate by undertaking new adventurous actions in the world arena—actions which create a serious danger of a new world war. This is the truth and we should not conceal it from the peoples. No doubt the struggles of all peoples are of decisive importance for exerting pressure on the imperialists and for paralysing their efforts to intensify international tensions. No doubt the joint efforts of the peoples all over the world and of the United Nations are needed in order to compel the bellicose imperialist circles to abandon this dangerous and adventurous course in international relations so that mankind can be saved from a terrible world holocaust. Let all of us, the representatives to the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, governments, statesmen and public figures in all countries do everything that depends upon us to justify the hopes and aspirations of all nations.

177. We cannot fail here in this most representative forum of the nations to pay tribute and express our gratitude to the Soviet Union for the colossal energy it has deployed in the preservation of world peace and for its constructive proposals for the solution of the major problems of our times. Nor can we fail to express our gratitude personally to Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, that untiring and consistent fighter for peace, understanding and co-operation among all nations.

178. Let us hope that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will successfully acquit itself of the great tasks which history has placed before it.

*The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.*