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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. VAKIL (Iran) (translated from French): In the absence of the chairman of my delegation owing to a sudden indisposition, the honour has fallen to me of speaking in his place and of making my country's contribution to this general debate.

2. First of all, may I address to you, Mr. President, my congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session. Your dedication and zeal in upholding the principles of our Organization have won you the respect and admiration of all. The contribution which you have made to the work of the United Nations as representative of your country and as chairman of various bodies gives us the assurance that in you the Assembly has elected an eminently well-qualified presiding officer. I am sure that as President you will be able to add fresh lustre to our debates.

3. I should like also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Mr. Víctor Belaúnde of Peru, who so ably directed the work of the Assembly during the fourteenth session.

4. We have reached the fifteenth milestone in the history of our Organization. At each annual meeting we have been faced with a set of new problems and issues, but never before has the world been confronted with the dangers inherent in a situation that is changing so swiftly yet is at the same time so rich in possibilities. We live in a time of great upheavals. Recent technological achievements have profoundly modified man's ideas concerning himself and the world he lives in. Man's penetration of outer space had added a new dimension to life. Under the impact of new ideas and new developments the old pattern is undergoing unprecedented changes. New weapons of mass destruction have brought the world face to face with the threat of the total annihilation of the human species. Meanwhile, as the disintegration of colonialism continues at an increasing pace, new nations with high hopes and expectations are continuing to join the community

of sovereign nations. Everywhere the emphasis is on change.

5. It is a great blessing that we have the United Nations as a stabilizing force in this rapidly changing world. Drawn by its magnetism, men who bear the heavy burden of responsibility come from every corner of the earth and meet here to exchange ideas and express their views on important international issues. Here distinguished statesmen join together in a common effort to identify the causes of international friction and to evolve acceptable solutions. At these annual sessions impetuous action gives way to reflection and restraint; wisdom and tolerance prevail over hate and indignation. It is in meetings such as these, under the auspices of the United Nations that the hopes of mankind are placed.

6. Because the world needs the United Nations, and out of respect for the principles for which it stands, I should like once again to reaffirm most solemnly our faith in the principles of the Charter, and to declare that those principles will guide our conduct in all matters, from petty bilateral differences to the gravest international problems.

7. When we gathered in this hall in September 1959 there was an unmistakable climate of understanding and optimism because of the apparent relaxation of international tensions. The world was looking forward to the Paris Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers. People everywhere hoped that a measure of agreement among the participants would bring relaxation and relief to the world. However, the collapse of the Paris conference and the aftermath of that failure shattered our hopeful expectations. Today—a year later—we are still grappling with the same issues; once again relations among the great Powers are dominated by mistrust and tension.

8. Although our annual meeting is taking place against a background of events that are far from encouraging, we must not despair. There have been certain trends and developments in international relations which inspire some confidence and hope.

9. In the first place, our Organization has grown in stature as an instrument of peace. In grappling with critical and in some cases explosive situations, the United Nations has gradually become a dynamic and vital political organism.

10. In the Congo, timely United Nations intervention has played a large part in introducing into an exceptionally difficult and threatening situation the stabilizing elements necessary to restore peace and order. In this connexion, I should like to mention the decisive role of the Security Council, and to pay a well deserved tribute to Mr. Hammarskjöld, whose ability and impartiality we have always admired from the beginning of his term of office as Secretary-General of our Organization. The renewed vitality of the Security Council has given us an opportunity

to observe the indefatigable zeal and remarkable authority with which he has wholeheartedly thrown himself into carrying out the great task entrusted to him by the Organization. Mr. Hammarskjöld's able and effective handling of a most delicate situation has given new scope and significance to the functions of his office. The breadth and delicate nature of his responsibilities have linked the prestige of our Organization to the outcome of his mission. He may rest assured of our unstinting support.

11. There are today many international problems that deserve the most careful thought and deliberation. However, at this stage of our work, I shall confine my remarks to a few international problems that we regard as particularly important.

12. The unprecedented and increasingly rapid development of weapons of mass destruction has made the balance between life and death more precarious than ever. The threat of complete annihilation, as a result of which an accident may decide the fate of all mankind, should induce every nation—and especially the great Powers—to redouble their efforts to find a solution to this problem.

13. We had an opportunity of stating our views on this question in the Disarmament Commission which met from 16 to 18 August 1960 at United Nations Headquarters. I wish now merely to mention certain important factors underlying our approach to this problem. We believe that suspicion, mistrust and lack of mutual understanding have wrecked every collective endeavour in the past to reach an effective and lasting agreement on the reduction of armaments. And this view has once again been confirmed in the negotiations undertaken by the United Nations.

14. Any serious disarmament proposal must provide for an adequate and effective system of control. Machinery for control generates confidence, if only through constraint. We have in mind an agency that would supervise the application of the proposed plans and ensure that contractual obligations were respected.

15. But we cannot allow past set-backs and disappointments to discourage us or prevent us from continuing our quest for a solution. The participation of every Member of the United Nations in the last session of the Disarmament Commission shows clearly that no Member dares—and I repeat dares—shirk the responsibility of being present when the disarmament question is discussed. The Disarmament Commission's unanimous approval of an appeal calling for the earliest possible resumption of the great Powers negotiations is indeed a great achievement when set against the background of the tension created by the sudden collapse of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. This sense of responsibility and spirit of co-operation must be wisely and patiently sustained in the future until our efforts bear fruit in a practical solution. There can be no doubt that only an agreement on disarmament could lay the real foundation for a world finally freed from tyranny of need and fear. Such an agreement would also bring about a situation in which at least a proportion of the untold millions now allocated to military expenditures could be used to finance economic development throughout the world. It must be our earnest hope that the General Assembly will be able in the course of this fifteenth session to make

constructive proposals with a view to the conclusion of such an agreement.

16. I should now like to say a few words about man's penetration of outer space. This relatively new achievement, which is so bold that we are constantly dazzled by the prospects opened up to modern man, has such far-reaching implications that our time has been rightly called the space age.

17. The question that must be answered is how this vast resource called space should be managed. Should it be governed by law and used for the good of all mankind, or should it be made an arena for national rivalries and become the spoil of the few? It is heartening that as yet no State has claimed any part of outer space or demanded any privileged portion in that respect. However, the fact that nothing like this has yet happened does not necessarily mean that it is outside the realm of possibility.

18. Unfortunately, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has not met since the last session of the Assembly. At the Committee's previous meeting, the absence of the Soviet Union delegation left a serious gap. The Committee decided to proceed with caution in order to avoid endangering its subsequent activities. Nevertheless, the prospects of holding another session seem hardly encouraging for the moment. Here again, the initiative in negotiations on outer space can only come from the great Powers. For its part, my Government feels that the United Nations should not allow the formulation of space law to be indefinitely postponed.

19. In this connexion it is worth recalling that the future of the Antarctic is still not settled because no determined and concerted international effort was made in the early stages to define the status of the continent. I hope that this session of the Assembly will succeed in reconciling the divergent views of the two space Powers and in bringing about a meeting of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

20. The awakening of the African continent, which has been an outstanding feature of the history of colonized peoples during the past decade and was most recently expressed in the admission of thirteen new African States to Membership in the United Nations, is one of the most significant developments in modern international life. The African group which, a mere ten years ago, comprised only four independent countries, will soon have twenty-four representatives, thus becoming the largest group in the United Nations and bringing the total number of African-Asian representatives to forty-four. This development in itself represents the final steps in the liquidation of the colonial system and its replacement at the international level by the voluntary co-operation of free peoples that are the masters of their own great destinies. That is a dazzling victory for the liberated peoples. But it is undoubtedly also no less significant a victory for all the peoples of the world and, in large measure, for the United Nations.

21. We are sure that the participation of these new Members in the work of our Assembly will make the United Nations a still more effective instrument in the service of peace and freedom for all mankind.

My delegation is proud of its record of vigorous support for the natural right of these peoples to self-determination. We have therefore particular pleasure in wishing them a future of increasing progress and prosperity and in repeating to them, and to the people of Cyprus whose representative we are happy to welcome into our midst, the good wishes voiced in this Assembly a few days ago by the representative of Afghanistan.

22. More particularly, we wish to express our hope that the ties between the new Members and the United Nations itself will continue to be strengthened in new forms and will thus permit the gradual and orderly development of those peoples towards complete liberation from economic and social servitudes. My delegation is convinced that for our peoples and for the international community as a whole, close co-operation is on these lines increasingly becoming the key to our common welfare.

23. I should like now to turn to another important aspect of the work of the United Nations—the development of under-developed countries. This year, as in previous years, speakers from the less developed countries will once again, as so often in the past, have to draw attention to the continually widening gap between the developed and under-developed countries. This imbalance in the world economy and the resulting deep division in the community of nations underline the need for greater economic co-operation. The development gap is a source of instability that must be eliminated by concerted action. It is a truism that economic development is essentially the task of the under-developed countries themselves and sometimes requires heroic sacrifices from their peoples. But the situation in most of the less developed countries is such that they are not in a position to finance the necessary rate of economic growth from their own resources.

24. I should like to express my Government's appreciation of the valuable help we have received under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and from the United Nations Special Fund. I have pleasure in announcing that this year my Government has doubled its contribution to the two programmes. This is the most practical token we can offer of our interest in and our admiration for the great work being done under the United Nations technical assistance programmes.

25. United Nations economic assistance is by no means insignificant, but it may appear so when we think of its staggering objective of improving the economic conditions of the 1,000 million people who live in the less developed countries. Without wishing to underestimate the value of the work so far accomplished under the United Nations programmes of technical assistance, I would emphasize that the need for creating an agency to finance economic development is more urgent than ever. Every effort should therefore be made to encourage the great Powers to participate in an agency on the lines of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED).

26. The Economic and Social Council should take a greater initiative in defining appropriate means of developing the international aspect of economic and financial assistance. The time has come to give serious attention to the question of enlarging the

Economic and Social Council in order to reflect the growth in the membership of the United Nations. Two-thirds of the world's peoples have launched a large-scale offensive in the economic and social fields. The success of this world-wide endeavour depends in large measure on the generous and disinterested co-operation of the United Nations on an ever-widening basis. I hope that this session of the Assembly will be fully conscious of its responsibility in this field.

27. I feel it would be proper if I turn at this point to a brief analysis of certain regional trends and developments.

28. Our Charter prescribes *inter alia* that the nations should live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. Because of its importance, this question has been discussed at earlier sessions and the Assembly has adopted resolutions in which it reaffirmed the need for peaceful and neighbourly relations among the Members of the United Nations.

29. As a country of the Middle East, Iran is naturally interested in the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in that region. By stabilizing its own political and economic situation, my country has thus become one of the stabilizing factors in that part of the world.

30. We are sparing no effort to consolidate, to the best of our ability, our friendly and neighbourly relations with the countries of the region. We have the most friendly relations with our allies, Turkey and Pakistan. We continue to maintain fraternal and cordial relations with Afghanistan. I also have pleasure in announcing that our relations are being normalized, in a spirit of mutual understanding, with Iraq, thus making it possible, we firmly hope, to settle by friendly negotiation the questions pending between the two countries. Finally, we are gratified to note certain encouraging signs in the relations of the USSR with our country. We would like to hope that these developments will dispel the clouds that have overshadowed our mutual relations and will become a solid basis for a policy of neighbourliness and mutual respect.

31. Mr. President, you have rightly stressed the historic importance of this Assembly which you have so eloquently described as the "Assembly of humanity". I can assure you that my delegation will make a very sincere, albeit humble, contribution to the work of this Assembly. More particularly, I hope that the work of this session will produce concrete results and will lead to a lasting solution of the most dangerous problem of our time—disarmament.

32. It is gratifying that the leaders of the two great Powers which bear particular responsibility for the maintenance of world peace have emphasized their profound interest in the solution of the general problem of world peace. We trust that these statements are a happy augury and we earnestly hope that this Assembly will be successful in restoring the climate of confidence that was so greatly weakened by the collapse of the summit conference.

33. Mr. SARFER (Turkey): Mr. President, I have already had the pleasure of expressing the warmest congratulations of the Turkish delegation on your election to this high office. May I reiterate my best wishes for the successful accomplishment of your

important duties. I would like also to pay tribute to your eminent predecessor, the retiring President, Mr. Belaúnde, whose unceasing endeavours in the cause of peace and international understanding are so well known to each of us.

34. It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to address such a distinguished gathering in my capacity as the representative of the new Government in Turkey. It affords me great pleasure to extend to all the delegations present at this Assembly the greetings of the Turkish Government and its best wishes for the success of our deliberations.

35. You are aware that my country has been the scene recently of a series of important events which constitute a very significant stage in the long history of the Turkish nation. I am confident that all friends of Turkey have very fully grasped the profound significance of the historic events of 27 May 1960. Indeed, the compelling reasons for the birth of this movement in Turkey, the very essence of its inception and realization, reside in the sincere and ardent dedication of the Turkish people to the ideals of freedom, independence and democracy. Therefore, the significance to the Turkish people of the movement of 27 May is that it constitutes a fundamental and decisive phase in the establishment of a true democratic structure in the homeland; it marks the end of a régime which had abused the pure and inherent aspirations of the whole nation.

36. You are all familiar with the details of these events. It is for us a source of extreme gratification that the revolt against oppression, spontaneously espoused and supported by the Turkish people, was achieved rapidly and decisively, and most important, without bloodshed.

37. It is also noteworthy that, within the first few hours of its establishment the new Government of Turkey proclaimed to the country and the world at large its unfaltering allegiance to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter as well as to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms. As a matter of fact, the ideals that inspired the new Turkish Government are the high principles laid down by Kemal Atatürk who, having freed the country from foreign invasion, emancipated the Turkish people from autocratic rule and all other forms of bondage and ensured for the Turkish nation full opportunities for democratic, social, cultural and economic advancement.

38. The present Government of Turkey, having undertaken to carry out all necessary and urgent reform measures, is also working to provide a solid foundation for long-term social and economic development programmes of vital importance to the country. The first and most urgent problem in Turkey today is without doubt to ensure the fundamental conditions of democracy under the most effective guarantees. That is why our new administration considers it a primary task to draw up a new democratic constitution and a new electoral law; and to this end it has created an independent body composed of the most eminent and competent personalities of the country. The new constitution will be submitted upon its completion to the approval of the nation.

39. As you know, the Head of the Turkish State and Government announced recently that, not later than the fall of 1961, the present administration will be

turned over to the new Government to emerge from the freely expressed will of the nation at the forthcoming elections.

40. At this point, I would like to clarify one most important aspect of the Turkish movement. It has been argued that those who carry out revolutionary movements do not voluntarily relinquish power to governments freely elected by the people. If that is true, there will most certainly be an exception in the case of Turkey.

41. Before turning to the world situation, I would like to mention, briefly, the matter of the major principles that guide the new Turkish Government in the field of foreign policy. These too have been stated in unequivocal terms immediately after the setting up of the new administration. They derive their inspiration from the general policy laid down by the late Kemal Atatürk and defined in his praiseworthy motto "Peace at home, Peace in the world". The Turkish Government is determined to honour its existing international commitments, to remain faithful to its alliances, and to establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all countries near and far.

42. Guided by these principles, I would like to proceed to other aspects of international relations. I believe that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly will go down as particularly memorable in the annals of our Organization since it has furnished us the happy opportunity of welcoming such an important number of new States which have attained independence and are here to contribute their share in achieving the objectives of the United Nations.

43. The cause of self-determination has come to constitute the most characteristic movement of our time. The Turkish people, all through their history, have proven their devotion to the ideals of freedom, self-determination and independence. Therefore, it is a particular pleasure for me to be able to express personally the great satisfaction which the people and the Government of Turkey feel at this moment when we are afforded the possibility of working together in the cause of peace and international brotherhood with so many new States.

44. It is significant that such a large majority of the countries which have joined the United Nations in recent years are from the great continent of Africa. We are gratified to see that most of the countries of that continent have already achieved self-determination, and that others are soon to follow the same course. There is no doubt that the more universal character thus acquired by our Organization will contribute to its effectiveness in coping with world problems.

45. On the occasion of the admission of new Members to the United Nations, I would like also to mention specifically the Republic of Cyprus which has taken its rightful place among the free and peace-loving nations and in our Organization. My country, which has special and close relations with the young Republic of Cyprus, is particularly happy to congratulate the representatives of Cyprus on this achievement. The wisdom and the qualities of statesmanship shown by all whose common efforts have brought about this happy and harmonious achievement provide ample guarantees for the continuation of brotherly relations among all the inhabitants of Cyprus. The sons of this

young Republic have set a brilliant example which merits praise and respect from each of us.

46. Looking upon the world situation in these opening days of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly and comparing it with that of the corresponding period last year, any objective observer must admit that unfortunately a number of recent trends constitute a deterioration in international relations. The atmosphere which prevailed during the fourteenth session had given us high hopes that a prompt start might be possible towards the settlement of many problems which have been at the root of international tension ever since the end of the Second World War. It is highly regrettable that our hopes and aspirations for the improvement of the general political atmosphere have failed to materialize. I do not believe that any positive advantage would be gained at this stage from a detailed discussion of the unfortunate chain of reasons and events which has brought us to the troubled international situation in which we find ourselves today. But I do believe that in these opening days of the current session we should direct our attention to the fact that all the nations of the world are represented right here in this Assembly; and we should endeavour to seize the unique opportunities afforded by such an important gathering for dispelling the clouds of distrust, fear and bitterness which have darkened the political horizon during recent months. The eyes of humanity are focussed anxiously upon this rostrum which will be occupied in turn by the representatives of each Member State represented here. Thus statements and comments from this rostrum may destabilize and increase even further the present tensions which cause concern and suffering to the nations of the world. As an alternative, the tone and character of our deliberations at this session can perform a great service to humanity by helping to decrease international tensions and open up new avenues for the solution of many problems in a healthier and more serene atmosphere.

47. It is my fervent hope that this second alternative will prevail. My delegation will do everything in its power to play a constructive part in this direction, in the plenary session no less than in the committees of the General Assembly.

48. I believe that all of us who sincerely desire genuine progress towards international security, peace and understanding will agree that there exist two fundamental prerequisites if the debates in this Assembly are to be successful in the direction we envisage. First of all, at a time such as the present when the prestige of the United Nations has risen to a peak never reached before, the misuse of this august Assembly for the purpose of expounding bitterness, mistrust and discord should be considered a flagrant contradiction of the Purposes and Principles of this Organization. In the second place, in all our deliberations and in seeking solutions to all our problems, we must constantly keep in mind that the use or the threat of force is outlawed by our Charter and that any attempt to exert pressure can only undermine international morality and thus impede any constructive international co-operation.

49. Looking at the main and specific items on our agenda, we see that there figures prominently among them a subject of vital importance for the future of mankind: I am referring to the problem of disarmament.

50. This vital issue is indissolubly linked with the question of international security and mutual confidence. On the one hand, even partial progress towards effectively controlled disarmament will invariably result in the opening of new avenues towards international understanding. On the other hand, a genuine improvement in international confidence and security will pave the way to the elimination of many obstacles which, up to now, have hindered progress in our efforts to achieve effectively controlled disarmament.

51. As a people devoted to peace and progress, the Turkish nation is aware of the advantages that would accrue from a general disarmament. Certainly, disarmament in confidence and security, under effective controls, would make it possible for the Turkish people to concentrate all their resources, manpower and energy on the attainment of the goal of a higher level of economic, cultural and social well-being to which Turkey, like other free and peace-loving nations, has dedicated itself.

52. That is why Turkey has unfailingly endeavoured to bring its own contribution to the solution of this vital issue ever since international conferences on the subject of disarmament were first inaugurated, both in the old League of Nations and in the United Nations. However, today the unprecedented destructive power of modern armaments, on the one hand, and the universal desire of peoples all over the world to attain a higher standard of living, on the other, make it imperative to concentrate on new and untiring efforts aimed at achieving true progress in the field of disarmament.

53. Consequently, all proposals capable of providing a solid foundation for a disarmament agreement that covers nuclear as well as conventional weapons and to be enforced under an effective system of international controls, should be examined with all due care and attention.

54. If we look back at the deliberations on disarmament during the past years, both here in the General Assembly and in the various committees which we established to study this problem, we may observe that much precious time was spent on the procedural methods of approach and the composition of the technical bodies appointed to this end. It may be true that all of these procedural aspects, including the size and the composition of the bodies assigned to make a first study of the question, are of considerable importance for the success of our joint efforts; but it is imperative to remember that an issue as vital as that of disarmament, one on which the fate of mankind might be at stake, should not, and cannot be, envisaged in terms of majorities and minorities by a show of hands. True progress in this field can only be obtained through a sincere determination on the part of all nations, and in particular of those possessing the largest quantities of armaments, to render the international atmosphere more propitious for a fruitful study of this question, and, secondly, to achieve at least an initial degree of accomplishment through concrete results. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly will constitute a challenge and an opportunity to test the sincerity of our determination in this direction.

55. The issues involved are of such vital importance for all mankind and the frustration of our efforts is fraught with dangers of such magnitude that we

cannot afford to fail. I would like to note in this connexion that the ideas relative to the methods of approach to the problem of disarmament formulated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the Introduction to his Annual Report [A/4390/Add.1] on the work of the Organization deserve to retain our attention and should be explored further.

56. The same report of the Secretary-General contains a great number of other ideas equally shared by my Government. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate our Secretary-General on his concrete personal contributions to the cause of peace and international understanding. In particular, his accomplishments during the last few months have enhanced the prestige of our Organization all over the world. I wish to assure him of the full confidence of my Government and wish him continued success in his endeavours.

57. Among the major political problems to be discussed in the First Committee figures the question of Algeria. The tragic events, the bloodshed, and the ensuing human misery which have prevailed in Algeria for such a long period of time have caused sorrow and concern among the people of Turkey. My countrymen are imbued with fraternal sentiments for the gallant people of Algeria, and nurture sympathy for their legitimate aspirations. On the other hand, my country is also an ally of France, with which we have maintained friendly relations over a period of many centuries. Therefore, an early and peaceful settlement of this tragic issue, in justice and equity and in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people within the Charter of the United Nations, is ardently desired by the people and the Government of Turkey. During the past year some important and positive developments have taken place in this direction. The President of the French Republic and, through his declaration, the French Government have accepted the principle of self-determination for Algeria. The Algerians for their part have accepted the principle of negotiation for a cease-fire under certain conditions. It is regrettable that no final agreement has been reached up to the present on the conditions and the content of these negotiations. Nevertheless, the gap which existed between the parties has been narrowed to a certain extent. We hope that no efforts will be spared by both parties to reach an agreement on the remaining points of contention. Such an agreement will undoubtedly serve the best interests of France as well as doing justice to the Algerian people.

58. Among the new countries which have attained independence this year, the Republic of the Congo is presently undergoing temporary difficulties. The prestige of the United Nations has been highly increased all over the world through the wise provisions of its resolutions¹ on this question and through the effective and impartial action of those responsible for their implementation. I am confident that the independent Republic of the Congo will soon overcome its present temporary difficulties and that it will enter into a new era of progress and prosperity.

59. The vital importance of the political problems included in our agenda should never divert us into

underestimating the equal importance of the tasks that confront the United Nations in the social and economic fields. The concerted struggle of all the Member States for a higher standard of living, for universal education, and for improved conditions of health and welfare in all parts of the world through efforts in this Organization and through other channels, is a matter which commands our constant attention.

60. In the opening portion of my statement I mentioned that the attainment of self-determination constitutes the most characteristic trend of our times. No one can deny that political independence and self-determination are closely linked to economic, social and cultural advancement. Wide margins of disparity in economic, social and cultural levels, whether within a country itself or between the various regions of our globe, cannot provide favourable conditions for the establishment of lasting, harmonious and peaceful relations in the world. Today, the majority of the Members of this Organization come under the category of underdeveloped countries. Most of these countries are eager to attain economic maturity in as brief a period of time as possible. In their struggle towards this goal they face severe hardships arising in most cases from the lack of capital or capital goods and of technical know-how. Much has been done under the aegis of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to bring assistance in these fields to a great number of countries. But the problem is of such magnitude and its solution is so essential to the welfare of mankind in our time that it demands tireless efforts backed by utmost enthusiasm and imagination.

61. The attainment of independence by so many countries and the coming of age of the great continent of Africa necessitate the acceleration and the increase in quantity of economic and technical assistance rendered within the framework of the United Nations. In this connexion it is a pleasure for me to note that a United Nations team has been sent to the young Republic of Cyprus to examine the economic conditions prevailing there and to determine the type of technical assistance which would best suit the needs of the Island.

62. In conclusion, I wish to state that during the course of deliberations in the appropriate Committees, and in collaboration with all other delegations, my delegation will spare no efforts to support constructive proposals for the harmonious and positive solution of all matters which figure on our agenda. I also wish to reiterate the earnest hope of my Government and of the Turkish people that the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly may successfully perform its task, furthering the cause of international co-operation and understanding, of peace and security.

63. We have every confidence that under your able guidance this session will achieve substantial progress in the solution of important problems and thus provide all mankind with cause for fresh hope in their pursuit of happiness and well-being in a world in which peace and justice shall reign supreme.

64. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States, having asked for the floor in exercise of the right of reply, I now call upon him.

65. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States): I rise on the question of the right of reply to the Soviet Union. On behalf of and with the authorization of the Secretary of State of the United States, I wish to make the following statement.

¹/Security Council resolutions S/4387, adopted at its 873rd meeting; S/4405, adopted at its 879th meeting, and S/4426, adopted at its 886th meeting; also resolution 1474(ES-IV) adopted at the 863rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

66. The United Nations is in a crisis. It is in a crisis first through the efforts of the Soviet Union to turn the world's greatest body for peace into a propaganda forum to serve the interests of communist imperialism.

67. The Soviet Union has, I am sorry say, chosen the path of invective and falsehood instead of the path of constructive progress outlined in the speech of President Eisenhower. The response of the United States will be vigorous, brief and straightforward.

68. Let there be no mistake, it was the Soviet Union which injected into this Assembly an atmosphere of dissension and vindictiveness. Mr. Khrushchev has accused the United States of aggressive acts against the Soviet Union and has demanded they be discussed immediately in plenary session. The Security Council has already rejected these charges. The Soviet Union itself vetoed our offer of an impartial investigation of the wanton destruction of the RB-47 airplane over international waters.

69. The Soviet charges are false and they are not made in good faith; they should not be on our agenda in the first place. We will oppose the kind of debate that the USSR wishes to have in plenary session on the subject, although we will never object to having the truth brought out in the proper committee forum, as we will demonstrate in the General Committee deliberations soon to come.

70. Mr. Khrushchev accused the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada of having indulged in nothing but meaningless talk about disarmament in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Let us leave to the verbatims of those talks as to whether his charge is correct. Let us remember that it was the Soviet Union which walked out of those talks at the very moment when it was told that new Western proposals were about to be submitted.

71. This was not the first time that the USSR walked out on disarmament negotiations. The same Soviet delegate, Mr. Zorin, walked out of the disarmament negotiations in London in 1957 immediately after new Western proposals had been put forward.

72. Let our attitude in this not be construed as meaning that we will not continue to try to get the USSR to negotiate seriously, even though we have failed so far; but we will not and cannot and should not tolerate disarmament being made into a sheer propaganda battle. We will oppose its being taken up in plenary and will press for thoughtful consideration by all Members of this Assembly in the First Committee.

73. The Soviet Union also demands immediate plenary consideration of the elimination of colonialism in the world. This is a strange demand, indeed, from a country whose imperialism has embraced more people, more territory and more oppression than anything else the twentieth century has ever seen or any other century before.

74. We are in agreement with the principle that the world has long realized that colonialism must go—President Eisenhower made this clear yesterday—both the nineteenth century type of colonialism, which is already disappearing, and the twentieth century communist colonialism which at present is rampant. The Soviet proposal in their declaration as presented today is not the way to deal with either type of colonialism. If we of the General Assembly succumb to the emotional pressures which the Soviet Union is seeking to generate, it will make more difficult, not less difficult, the unprecedented rapid progress towards independence and self-government which the world is undergoing and which is reflected in the happy presence of so many new States at this Session, particularly from Africa.

75. Let our decisions be sober and constructive, not flamboyant and destructive.

76. But there is a second and possibly even more serious crisis, a crisis which consists of an attempt to destroy the office and the very structure of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat and, through it, to destroy the United Nations. This is the same sustained crisis which the Soviet Union posted at recent meetings of the Security Council and in the Fourth Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly which closed just before this fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly opened. In both these bodies, the United Nations stood firmly and the Assembly firmly endorsed the stand. The crisis has now been sharpened by a direct attack from the Head of the Soviet State himself against the office of the Secretary-General.

77. The Soviet Union has sought to crush another Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, because he stood up against communist aggression in Korea. It is now attempting to crush the very office of the Secretary-General itself, in keeping with the philosophy of what we might term, "What we cannot control, we will destroy". The United Nations must face this crisis head-on. If it does not, it will fail.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.