

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

SIXTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



**1021st
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 2 October 1961,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The first speaker on my list for the general debate this afternoon is the President of the Dominican Republic.

2. It is my honour to welcome to this forum Mr. Joaquín Balaguer, the President of the Dominican Republic, who was good enough to request this opportunity of addressing the General Assembly in order to set forth the views of his Government on the various problems before us. I venture to hope that his words will assist in promoting understanding among nations and friendship among peoples.

3. I now invite the President of the Dominican Republic to address the General Assembly.

STATEMENT BY MR. JOAQUIN BALAGUER, PRESIDENT OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

4. Mr. Joaquín Balaguer, President of the Dominican Republic (translated from Spanish): I should like at the very outset to express the feeling of admiration and respect with which my country joins in the tribute paid recently to the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, in his own native land, by all the nations of the free world, a tribute to a man who died tragically in the service of the brightest ideal of modern mankind—that of universal peace and concord. The finest tribute that could be paid to this extraordinary man, this standard-bearer of peace, this apostle of brotherhood, would be to have all the nations represented here join selflessly in choosing as his successor someone capable of serving the United Nations with the same lofty spirit of self-sacrifice as he displayed in the cause of furthering the unity and solidarity of the human family. This tribute would also be extended to the great Swedish nation, which has given this world Organization two martyrs: Count Bernadotte, who fell heroically in the deserts of the Middle East, and now Dag Hammarskjöld, struck down by the same fatality which has pursued all redeemers since God Himself died on the cross to give us an example of the power of blood to inspire great causes and great human ideals.

5. For perhaps the first time in the history of the United Nations, a country of the Americas is re-

entering this world Organization after having acquired the moral licence to belong to an institution founded precisely to defend the right of man to live in a world free from fear and injustice. The Dominican Republic has been a Member of the United Nations since the Organization's inception in 1945, but it is only now, after years of purely theoretical adherence to the principles of the San Francisco Charter, that, in full awareness of its duties and responsibilities, it is really entering this world forum which should count among its Members only those nations for which international agreements are not a myth, and human rights not a fiction.

6. After the fall of the man who for thirty years personified the Dominican State, we established in our country a régime which is based on the rule of law and which has gradually been modelling its institutions on the pattern of representative democracy. Instead of the single party, as we find in countries where political activity is reduced to directives handed down by a totalitarian authority, various competing parties have emerged, parties in which the divergent ideals and desires of the Dominican people have at last found expression. Fundamental civil rights, without which freedom and civil order are inconceivable, have been extended to all citizens who now, after thirty-one years of political obscurantism, freely exercise their constitutional rights and privileges. The iron curtain which encircled the island, and through which independent opinion could scarcely filter, has been lifted, and the right to travel freely has been accorded to three million people who were virtually cut off from international political life and from world civilization. Today, no arbitrary requirements obstruct the issuance of passports and visas to enter and leave Dominican territory. This political realignment of our country with the countries of the free world has been strengthened by the emergence and consolidation of political organizations which carry on their public activities free from arbitrary restrictions, and which fully enjoy the right of peaceful association and the right to elect and to be elected in genuine elections supervised internationally and conducted with exemplary impartiality with the technical help of experts recommended by the secretariat of the Organization of American States. In addition to these decisive steps in the area of political reconstruction, we have taken other no less important steps to promote free enterprise and to rid our economy of all reactionary controls. The monopolies that benefited individuals and the enterprises established to divert much of the nation's economic activity towards selfish ends are being eliminated, and the widest freedom is being restored to business and private initiative. A series of new laws, drafted in a broad spirit of social justice has been enacted to abolish all taxes which in the past weighed heavily on the consumer and made it practically impossible for the poorer classes to subsist. The basic com-

modities in our export trade have been brought under a new system of duties which channels most of the State's revenue towards the farmers.

7. The institutional life of the country has been reorganized on a truly liberal basis. Noteworthy accomplishments in this field include the law which restores full administrative authority to municipal councils and re-establishes the unrestricted principle of autonomy of municipal corporations; the law which establishes the independence of the University and reinstates the principle of academic freedom in the oldest institution of higher learning in the Americas; the bill to enforce the constitutional principle of the separation of powers and ensure the tenure of judges and the independence of the judiciary—the basis of civil order in any civilized country; and lastly the laws designed to organize the juridical system and to endow the nation with a political physiognomy of a thoroughly republican character.

8. Thus, a Government based on law is coming into being in the Dominican Republic. The dictatorship has collapsed, and on its ruins we have begun to build, patiently and without demagogic show, a régime cast in the forms which we inherited from the founders of the Republic and which are basically the same as the time-honoured forms fashioned by the creative genius of Bolívar, San Martín, Washington, O'Higgins, Morazán, Juárez, Martí and other great heroes of American independence. This is why I stand here unabashed and speak with a clear conscience and with no fear of offending the memory of my country's founding fathers, whose solemn rights we have vindicated and whose unfading legacy we have kept pure as the metal used to case the bells of resurgence. The case of the Dominican Republic is heartening proof that democracy is steadily gaining ground in the Americas and that, despite the poverty which afflicts most of our peoples, despite the distress which ravages our unblessed masses and the difficulties placed by our under-development in the way of our progress towards the high goals of justice, despite all this we are resolutely advancing towards that hard-won ideal achieved in the Americas by only the few nations which can honestly affirm that the lands of the hemisphere are infertile for dictatorship and oppression.

9. The openly conducted process of abolishing all our primitive political methods and of liberalizing our institutions is not, of course, proceeding without impediments or limitations. There are negative elements which are opposing this process of democratization with all the ferocity of their barbaric instincts. In addition, the opposition movements which have once more become part of the Republic's life lack the necessary civic maturity and frequently transgress the limits of the law, openly violating public order and wilfully disregarding the legitimate authority of the State. The new Government, which in effect emerged after the tragedy of 30 May, for only then was it free of the imperious will which for thirty years weighed heavily on the life of men and institutions, is doing everything in its power to offset these two influences which consciously or unconsciously conspire against the rule of law which we wish to establish for our own sake and for the sake of future generations. The suppressed feelings of rebellion and dissent which the dictatorship bred in the masses of the population have burst loose in the country, shattering the controls imposed by many years of Christian teaching on the populace tormented

by long decades of terror. Blood has flowed often, placing its deadly mark on the outbursts of violence. The public rostrum and the balcony overlooking the public square have been used for bitter haranguing and for the flag-waving of professional agitators. But the process has begun, and nothing and nobody can restrain the yearning for political regeneration which is sweeping through the national consciousness with the force of a mighty torrent. It is essential that this political phenomenon should be seen without prejudice and that world public opinion should view it with the sympathy it deserves, as a sincere effort to return an American nation to functional democracy and genuine freedom.

10. For over a year the Dominican Republic has been under a severe sentence of banishment which condemns it, like a pestilence-ridden country, to economic strangulation and diplomatic ostracism. The Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers, which met at San José, Costa Rica, in 1960, meted out a punishment to us upon the justice and propriety of which I shall not dwell for the moment. As everybody knows, we were condemned on that occasion for having interfered in the internal affairs of a sister nation and for having committed a political crime against a distinguished Latin American statesman. I am not denying that that action, in violation of the principle of non-intervention, the bulwark of inter-American relations, and that censurable deed which almost cost the life of one of the leaders of hemispheric democracy, deserved to be punished. But it is not fair that the punishment should outlive the culprit and that an institution characteristic of the Stone Age, when the sons were held responsible for the sins of their fathers and the gates of the accursed cities were painted with the stigma INRI, should be written into international law. The action against which sanctions were taken at San José is a thing of the past. The whole of America rejected it, but failed to appreciate that a sentence condemning a personal act, born of the enmity between two political rivals, cannot be applied to a people and to future generations who were not responsible for it; those who perpetrated or inspired it are now in their graves awaiting the verdict of history.

11. Almost at the same time as the Dominican Republic, another Latin American country stood in the prisoner's box at San José, Costa Rica. The action taken with respect to our country, accused of being a rightist dictatorship and doubtless the most efficient but the most rigid and implacable of all we have known in American in the past century, was exemplary and drastic. But there were no censure or sanctions against the other country, ruled by a leftist dictatorship in which the interest of a foreign Power takes precedence over true interests of the American continent, because such measures were deemed incompatible with the principle of non-intervention and respect for national sovereignty. Now, more than a year later, these contradictions continue to exist and to weaken the faith of our peoples in hemispheric justice and in the effectiveness of the efforts we have exerted for over sixty years to establish inter-American relations on a basis of international honour. If only to prevent that difference in the treatment of two small countries situated in the same geographical area from continuing to irritate that sector of Latin American public opinion which is still sensitive enough to protest against the injustice of any discrimination, this monstrous anomaly should be eliminated. When

I speak of Cuba, I am not censuring that country or challenging its right to determine its own future and to choose its own political institutions. That right is beyond all dispute and it would be absurd to challenge it from the rostrum of an organization which was created precisely in order to defend the self-determination of peoples and to restrain the imperialist designs of the great nations of the world. The impassioned figure of Fidel Castro, the sanguinary prophet of the Sierra Maestra, and the nature of his régime, are not matters to be discussed outside the regional context in a world assembly of free nations where it is assumed that every country has the inalienable right to decide freely whether to serve the god of the hammer and the sickle or continue to cast its lot with traditional Christian civilization.

12. This, I feel, is an appropriate time to declare solemnly that the episode for which we were condemned at San José is a permanently closed chapter in the history of our international relations. The countries represented in this Assembly may be sure that the present Dominican Government will not commit any act which may be regarded as interference, however slight, in matters which come within the sovereignty of other American states. We should also like to declare solemnly and irrevocably in this Assembly that the new Dominican Government henceforth accepts the jurisdiction of the Commission on Human Rights, of the Organization of American States and of the United Nations. Our unreserved acceptance of those organs and of the principles which they represent, as guardians of the inviolable rights of the individual and as guarantors in America and in the world of the dignity of the human person, shall henceforth be judged in the light of events which have occurred or may occur in the Dominican Republic after 1 July 1961, the date which marked the beginning of the lawful State, for whose political and moral solvency we assume responsibility. Following the tragic events of 30 May, there was a period of approximately one month when the Government authorities were virtually powerless to control the wave of reprisals and violence unleashed throughout the country in the confusion created in Dominican society by that overwhelming event. I should make one last statement with regard to this matter in all sincerity and with the same firmness: with or without sanctions, with or without the injustice of San José, the Dominican Republic will continue to be unswervingly loyal to the destiny of America, a destiny which is identified with that of the United States so long as the United States fulfils its task of defending the freedom of the world and of safeguarding our civilization, even at the risk of its own survival.

13. The political transformation which our country has undergone and the ideology which prevails among its people and in its institutions are the keys to our position with respect to the world problems with which this Assembly is to deal. On each of these questions—prohibition of nuclear weapons, German reunification, elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa, the aggressions in Asia, Laos, Cambodia, etc.—our position can only be one of full support of the Western democracies.

14. Having clarified that point, which is so evident as not to require any clarification, I would beg leave to make a few remarks on the problems of my own country, which is as important to America as Laos is to Asia or Nigeria to the future of the African continent.

15. It is imperative that the world should follow attentively the events now taking place in the Dominican Republic. The danger of total disintegration which threatens the American continent is not in Cuba, which may already be irremediably lost to Western civilization, but in the Dominican Republic, where another crack in the edifice of America might have disastrous consequences for the future of the hemisphere and its collective security. These are not mere conjectures or empty words. Our country is today an unknown factor and its future is surrounded by enigmas. What is brewing there cannot be foreseen or analysed. A people subjected for thirty-one years to one of the most iron-fisted dictatorships known in our time is anxiously seeking the way to its final redemption. But there are many elements working against that endeavor in the midst of a particularly difficult and complex situation.

16. The instinct of the masses, who want freedom but confuse it with licence and anarchy, is being frustrated in my country by thirty years of political barbarity. The precarious conditions in which our political stability is being developed are aggravated by economic poverty which, in our country as everywhere, is the great catalyst of social crisis. The whole atmosphere is fraught with explosive factors and revolutionary ferment. Ours is a people which, like all Latin American peoples, has an irrepressible taste for politics and hopes for a better life without any clear idea of how to achieve its goals. The oppressed middle-class, intelligent and ambitious, many of whom have risen by the hard road of a university education, and whose desire to succeed is often frustrated because of lack of opportunities for employment and for earning a livelihood by practising their professions, emphatically condemns poverty and economic injustice, but it suffers from the lack of direction as the working classes.

17. Add to that dramatic picture the fact that the whole population is increasing at an alarming rate and that there is not enough employment for about half a million frustrated workers, professional men, students and farmers, who are migrating to the city and being lured by their illusory hopes into its treacherous maw.

18. All that social, political and economic disintegration, inherited from a highly constructive dictatorship which was undermined towards the end by internal disaffection and physical waste, can be exploited by communism to establish another agency of the Kremlin in the American Balkans.

19. The opposition political parties and movements have resorted to an intemperate demagogy which has thus far proved incapable of drawing up a programme or of being guided by the principles of constructive action, and the precarious position of the Government, shaken by the constant threat of rebellion and coups d'état, is creating a special psychology which is preparing the whole island for an almost inevitable upheaval.

20. This potentially explosive material, fashioned over thirty years by a totalitarian concept of the economy, human life and social and political relations, is exploited by professional agitators whose objective is not necessarily to seize power, but to prevent the consolidation of any power and the growth of any real democracy within the framework of a Christian and genuinely legal organization of the State.

21. It is essential, therefore, that America should watch what is happening in the Dominican Republic today. The political phenomenon developing there must be observed with true objectivity if communism is to be prevented from piercing that flank of the Caribbean and reaching the very heart of America, that America which should not forget that it was through the Caribbean, through that stormy sea which Humboldt compared to a many-mouthed Mediterranean, that the new barbarians, the implacable enemies of American democracy, came to our shores.

22. I may have taken more time than my country merits to set forth the case of the Dominican Republic, if we compare its conflicts and interests with the serious problems which the United Nations is called upon to consider and resolve in this Assembly. It is obvious, however, that the future of the Dominican Republic should be of concern not only to America but to this world Organization, which had its origin, so to speak, in that tiny corner of the American continent. America is indebted to my country for countless spiritual treasures. It was in our old university, the oldest in the New World, that the first humanists in America were educated—from the first rector of the University of Caracas, established in 1725, and the first rector of the University of Havana, founded in 1728, to the heroes of the spiritual conquest of America; the descendants of Bishop Ramirez de Fuenleal, founder of the first American school in which Latin grammar was taught, and the men who carried on the humanist tradition of Alejandro Geraldini, who, soon after he came to the island, wrote an ode in classic verse to the first university of the New World. But what the Dominicans can be most proud of is not their labour to nurture the spirit and their old university, full of historic parchments and symbol of the immortal radiance with which the beacons of culture illuminate the races of man. Greater than those honours is the glory of having served as the scene of that crucial event which produced the whole idea of the United Nations, an idea which has been in the process of gestation since the most important concept of modern times penetrated the universal conscience, namely, the concept of the freedom of the individual.

23. For it was precisely among the first generation born to the daughters of Spain, on the ancestral soil of Santo Domingo de la Española, that the vital question of individual liberty, the greatest achievement and the most significant political fact to emerge in the first twenty centuries of the Christian era, was first discussed. That achievement, greater than the exploit of the illustrious navigator who broke through the Pillars of Hercules with the keel of his vessels and whose discovery dispelled the shadows of the dark sea, was the work of a humble monk, author of the Sermon of the Advent, who was later to work with Francisco de Vitoria, the Spanish Socrates, to embody in public international law the fundamental concept of the inviolability of the rights of the individual.

24. That missionary was called Fray Pedro de Cordoba and his arrival on the island of Santo Domingo is comparable in the history of America to Saint Paul's arrival at Athens, when the idols came crashing down from their pedestals and the cross on the breast of that apostle of human brotherhood opened its arms before all the people to promise men of good will not only that they should inherit the earth, but they should enter the Kingdom of Heaven and of infinite hope. Thus the doctrine on which this world Organi-

zation is founded was born in Santo Domingo, for it was there that an illustrious precursor of the great Spanish theologians of the Renaissance first proclaimed the right of everyone, including the aborigines of America, who were still on the fringe of civilization, to enjoy the rights which were thenceforth regarded as superior to any reason of State.

25. That assertion, solemnly proclaimed from the pulpit of an obscure hermitage on the island of Hispaniola, set off the most significant controversy in history. While we have passed judgement on it, we have still not resolved it because the drama of man today, the drama of the United Nations, amounts in essence to a struggle between the right of the individual to enjoy his fundamental rights in full freedom in accordance with the Christian concept of human destiny, and the attempts of totalitarian governments to subjugate him in the name of political logic and social expediency.

26. International society, which was still dominated by the spirit of the Middle Ages, with its anachronistic concept of a world divided between two great powers, Church and State, began to undergo basic changes under the influence of the humble Spanish monk who started the crusade in Santo Domingo for the freedom of the indigenous peoples and who enriched jurisprudence from that day forward by introducing a new idealistic and theological concept of the unity of the human family.

27. Before concluding, I should like to take the liberty of recalling from this rostrum the work and the teachings of those humble missionaries of the old island of Hispaniola, so that the United Nations, guided by the example of that group of religious men who have the honour of having been the first civilizers of the continent, may continue to seek peace, strengthened by faith in God and inspired by the beautiful ideal of human brotherhood.

28. A few centuries later, in his address of 1 January 1863, eighty-seven years after the United States had won its independence, Abraham Lincoln, an apostolic figure who symbolizes the equality of men and of civic rights, condemned violence, called for reconciliation among his countrymen and urged that all conflicts between peoples should be resolved by righteousness of man and the grace of Almighty God.

29. May his lofty example and the words of his unforgettable address in 1863 guide this General Assembly in bringing the ship of peace, now anchored on the shores of the Hudson, into all ports and all continents where the peoples are awaiting it, with the message which will revive the hope which has waned in the hearts of men.

30. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the President of the Dominican Republic for the important message he has addressed to us.

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

31. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly has met at a time when as a result of the policies of the Western Powers, international relations have deteriorated sharply. The peoples are showing concern at the danger of war and are insistently demanding that decisive measures be taken to remove it, the more so as new and brilliant vistas are opening before humanity. The old social order,

based on inequality and exploitation, is crumbling. The peoples are marching forward irresistibly to full freedom and independence. The historic successes of the USSR in the conquest of space, the epoch-making flights of the Soviet cosmonauts Gagarin and Titov, the mastery of nuclear energy, the automation of production and other brilliant results in the field of science and technology eloquently characterize the scientific and technological revolution of our times.

32. However, the efforts of peoples to use the fruits of human toil and human genius for the creation of a richer and happier life have hitherto been blocked by the resistance of exploiting, aggressive forces which are doing their utmost to halt the march of history. In order to preserve and increase their profits they are intensifying the arms race, shamelessly using armed force against national liberation movements, grossly interfering in the internal affairs of nations, attempting to export counter-revolution, fomenting war hysteria and deliberately heightening international tension, principally in connexion with the USSR's proposal to eliminate the last traces of the Second World War in Europe.

33. As a result, there is a serious danger that a nuclear world war will break out. Hence the imperative requirement that efforts now be made to negotiate such solutions to vexed international problems as will remove this threat and ensure a lasting peace.

34. One of the major causes of the ever more dangerous international tension and threat to peace is the fact that a peace treaty has not yet been signed with Germany.

35. The German situation is characterized by the existence of two sovereign States which have developed in entirely different ways—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. A proper understanding of the new situation in Germany and Europe is impossible if this fact is not taken into account.

36. The German Democratic Republic, as the first peaceable and democratic State in the history of Germany, has finished with imperialism and militarism and taken the road of peaceful co-operation and friendship among peoples, the road of the construction of socialism. It is pursuing a policy which serves the interests of all Germans, is fully consonant with those interests, and is an important force for peace in Europe.

37. The Czechoslovak people, which in the past has suffered immeasurably from the aggressive policies of German imperialism and militarism, greatly values the existence of the German Democratic Republic and its policy of peace, and is building up relations of cordial friendship with it.

38. Unfortunately, the situation in the other German State—the Federal Republic of Germany—has since its inception developed in quite a different direction. The Federal Republic of Germany, with the direct support of the Western Powers, is turning more and more into a dangerous hot-bed of war, taking the road of revenge-seeking and militarism. Forces are once again in power there which in the recent past committed grave crimes against humanity.

39. In the Federal Republic of Germany, not only have militarism and nazism not been rooted out, as required under the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, but on the contrary the foundations of German imperialism

have been preserved in the name of anti-communism and a State has risen, on those foundations, which is once again pursuing a policy of aggression.

40. To describe this dangerous development in the Federal Republic of Germany and the entirely abnormal situation in West Berlin as grotesque, as the United Kingdom representative did in his statement, is as much of a disservice to peace as that done by the representatives of the Western Powers before the Second World War. The facts are unanswerable and speak for themselves.

41. Twelve years ago the leading statesmen of the Federal Republic of Germany, Adenauer and Strauss, swore that they were against the possession by West Germany of any arms at all. Today they are arming the Bundeswehr to the teeth and are demanding ever more insistently that it be equipped with weapons of mass destruction. The Federal Republic of Germany is already openly seeking the removal of the last remaining restrictions on armaments, which in any case are purely formal, laid down by the so-called Paris Agreements.^{1/}

42. In the Federal Republic of Germany there is a regular army several hundred thousand strong which is organized to fight an aggressive atomic war. The greater part of this army consists of officers and NCO's who at very short notice could assume command of an army of many millions. High-ranking officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht are being deliberately picked for the general staff—men who committed atrocities in Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, Denmark and many other countries.

43. Some Western statesmen are soothing alarmed public opinion in their countries by maintaining that West German militarism is unable to pursue aggressive policies since it is under the control of NATO. They also affirm that, unlike Nazi Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic State.

44. Such unfounded claims testify to political blindness or to bad faith, the purpose of which is to delude public opinion in the Western countries. Not only does NATO not control the Federal Republic of Germany, but it is helping it to arm itself with every kind of weapon and to become one of the major and determinant forces in the policy of this aggressive group. The West German generals and officers are ever more insistently setting the pace in the North Atlantic alliance. Units of the Bundeswehr are stationed in the territories of its partners, in the guise of defenders of peace and freedom. The West German militarists are striving to gain complete control over the North Atlantic alliance. Incidentally, Mr. Strauss, the Federal German Minister of Defence, frankly revealed their intentions with regard to the federal Republic of Germany's NATO partners, when he recently declared:

"First we shall meet our military obligations under NATO. But when the Bundeswehr is ready for action we shall speak in pure German to those who have gone soft in the brain and travel to Moscow, and also to those who advocate the reduction of tension, and we shall show them who really controls NATO."

^{1/} Signed on 23 October 1954.

45. We know very well what is meant by "speak in pure German". The French, the English, the Dutch, the Danes and other peoples know very well too. In the Second World War, this "language" cost humanity tens of millions of lives and left colossal material losses in its wake, and those who spoke this "pure German language" met their end at Nürnberg just fifteen years ago.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the Chair.

46. The goals of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers make it abundantly clear that the Federal Republic of Germany does not recognize the legal force and binding character of the Allied agreements on Germany, especially the Potsdam Agreement. This is the only State in Europe which is openly making territorial claims on a number of European States and calling for an all-round review of the consequences arising from the defeat of Hitler's Germany in 1945.

47. For the realization of these aggressive aims, the West German population is being systematically incited and conditioned. The revenge-seekers are using for this purpose the entire State apparatus, which is in the hands of active Nazi bosses, and war criminals such as Schröder, Förtsche, Globke and like supporters of the Hitler régime now being harboured by the Federal Government.

48. In dozens of fascist and revenge-seeking organizations people are being taught to hate the peoples of the socialist countries. These organizations are headed by such war criminals as Franz Karmasin, who was sentenced to death for his crimes against the Czechoslovak people during the Second World War; Rudolf Staffen, a "specialist" in the extermination of the Czechoslovak people, now entrusted with the "education" of the Sudeten German "Landmannschaft"; the active Nazis Franz Boehm and Hans Neuwirth, and many others.

49. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany takes every opportunity of making it plain that it identifies itself with the policy of the revenge-seeking organizations which it created and which it finances and controls.

50. The deluded anti-communist revenge-seekers would like to liquidate the socialist States and to enslave their peoples once more. Of the many proofs of this I shall mention only the statement of Minister Seeborn at the Congress of the Eger Germans in November 1960, when he said that they wanted to create for German-speaking citizens "a European country stretching to the Urals"

51. Race hatred is growing up again in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the well-known "theories" of superior and inferior races have reappeared.

52. I will give you an example. Professor F. Borman of Bad Nauheim, writing in the magazine Nation Europa, No. 2, 1959, page 17, called the existence of colonialism "inevitable by the laws of nature and the expansion of 'Lebensraum'" and, in the spirit of the Nazi race "theories", maintained that:

"Negroes are less intelligent than Europeans . . . their simplicity and lack of control over the instincts prevent them from participating in the progress of humanity, their incapacity prevents them from joining in the work of their white fellow-men, they are bound by the hereditary structure of their negroid brains."

53. Racial propaganda is not only not forbidden in the Federal Republic of Germany; on the contrary, it is actually encouraged there. The Federal Attorney-General, Max Güde, of the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, expressly admits that "the dissemination of views on the advantages and disadvantages of superior and inferior races"^{2/} is permitted in Western Germany.

54. For the benefit of world opinion, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany clothe their aggressive aims in peace-loving phrases. They babble ever more frequently of the so-called right to self-determination and talk about the renunciation of violence.

55. We are very familiar with these tactics. At the Nazi Congress of Nürnberg in 1938, Hitler too declared that "... what the Germans are demanding is the right to self-determination".

56. In the thirties, the German Nazis, concentrated in Czechoslovakia in the Sudeten German Party of Henlein, also sheltered under the cloak of "the right to self-determination" and the "renunciation of violence", until they received the Führer's order for an open invasion of the Czechoslovak State.

57. Similarly, these tactics are being used today to prepare the ground for aggressive operations by the revenge-seekers. These are putting forward demands for the right to self-determination, which as they understand it means the forcible absorption of the German Democratic Republic and a violent change in the frontiers of Europe.

58. But these plans have not the smallest chance of success. As a proverb says, "the grape-vine is tall but the arms are short". Today the position in Europe and in the whole world is entirely different from what it was twenty-five years ago. However, the great danger lies in the fact that the German militarists—those specialists in the unleashing of wars and in the pushing of nations into conflict—have always been and still are incapable of making a sober estimate of the balance of forces. They are capable of making a lunatic attempt to realize their objectives and pushing the world into a devastating thermo-nuclear war.

59. The demands by the West German militarists and revenge-seekers have absolutely nothing to do with the right to self-determination. The Germans have already exercised this right in creating two German States, diametrically different in their social and economic systems. We must therefore decisively reject manoeuvres centering upon the right of the Germans to self-determination, which on the lips of the German revenge-seekers means revenge, war and imperialist annexation.

60. For the sake of peace and security, the plans of the German militarists must be disrupted by the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States. A peace treaty, which the socialist States are proposing should be signed soon, is an effective means of stopping dangerous developments, of restraining German militarism and of providing lasting guarantees that Germany will not become the source of a new war. Further delay in signing this treaty would even more effectively stimulate the aggressive forces in West Germany to intensify their provocations and war preparations.

^{2/} Das Parlament, Bonn, 18 November 1959.

61. There are absolutely no grounds for postponing a peaceful settlement of the German problem. The conclusion of a peace treaty can hurt no one save incorrigible aggressors. A treaty will legally confirm the present boundaries of Germany which came about as a result of the Second World War, create favourable conditions for an improvement in international relations, and strengthen peace and security throughout the world. It will also create auspicious conditions for the peaceful development of both German States and for their gradual rapprochement.

62. A peace treaty will also make it possible to normalize the intolerable situation in West Berlin. The Czechoslovak Government has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that West Berlin has become a centre for hate-filled, slanderous and subversive propaganda, a centre for provocation and spying against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist countries.

63. As you know, the socialist countries are proposing that West Berlin be made into a demilitarized Free City. On a number of occasions they have formally declared that they are in favour of effective guarantees which would enable the population of a Free City of West Berlin to live its own way of life without outside interference and would ensure freedom of communications with the outside world. It stands to reason that under this arrangement the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic must consistently be respected.

64. For its part, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is ready to develop economic and cultural ties with a Free City of West Berlin.

65. We note with satisfaction that a realistic appraisal of the situation in Germany is making ever more headway, as was confirmed by the recent Belgrade Conference.^{3/}

66. The Czechoslovak Government considers that the cause of peace and mutual understanding between nations will greatly benefit if both German States receive broad international de jure recognition and if diplomatic relations are established with them. Early admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations would also serve this end. The taking of these steps would materially reduce international tension and create a serious obstacle to the aggressive policies of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers.

67. We welcome the voices of reason which in the Western countries are ever more loudly raised in favour of discussion of the German question. We welcome the fact that an exchange of views is taking place between the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States on this question. After all, the socialist countries have appealed for negotiations from the start. The settlement of international disputes by means of negotiations is one of the basic principles of their foreign policy.

68. We advocate that all States whose armed forces fought against Hitler's Germany take part in the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. In this connexion I shall quote Antonin Novotny, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, who said at the General Assembly's fifteenth session:

"We appeal to the responsibility of all countries, in the first place to the responsibility of the great

^{3/} Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961.

Powers; we urge that a peace treaty with both German States be signed and that the question of West Berlin be settled with the greatest possible speed. In this way the aggressive plans of the West German militarists could be thwarted and peace in Europe ensured." [871st meeting, paragraph 107.]

69. But if the Western Powers continue to ignore our appeals and efforts directed towards a general settlement of this question, and if they are unwilling to take part in a peace conference, which we believe should be convened without delay, then we shall have no choice but to sign, together with other countries, a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and to settle the question of West Berlin on this basis too.

70. As one of the first victims of Hitler's aggression, as a neighbour of both German States and as a member of the anti-Hitler coalition, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic cannot reconcile itself to what is happening on the other side of its western frontiers, where events, particularly in recent years, have been taking an ever more dangerous course. In the interest of ensuring a peaceful life for our own and other peoples, we feel it is our duty and our full right to demand that the consequences of the Second World War be liquidated forthwith.

71. One of the most important tasks facing the General Assembly at its sixteenth session is a detailed examination of the question of general and complete disarmament and the adoption of such measures as will promote, to the utmost, a solution of this problem. The danger of nuclear war can be finally removed only by means of general and complete disarmament under reliable and effective international control.

72. The Czechoslovak delegation was gratified to learn that the talks of recent months between the representatives of the USSR and the United States of America had led to the Joint Statement [A/4879] which can serve as a basis for further disarmament negotiations. We welcome the fact that agreement was reached on a number of basic principles which the USSR and other socialist countries wished to see adopted.

73. At the same time, however, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the Joint Soviet-United States Statement did not remove all contradictions of principle in the matter of disarmament, and to the danger the Western Powers may interpret it differently.

74. Even now the Government of the United States has not renounced its attempt to substitute, for general and complete disarmament, control over existing armaments. In his first State of the Union address on 30 January 1961, President Kennedy said that "arms control" must become "a central goal" of United States policy. It is also worthy of note that the new American agency, whose creation has just been approved by the relevant United States bodies, has the words "arms control" at the beginning of its title. The draft submitted by the United States [A/4891] for consideration by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session is likewise aimed essentially at securing arms control, and in no way at the realization of general and complete disarmament. Such an approach to the question cannot lead to positive results.

75. Arms control has nothing in common with general and complete disarmament. No control without effective measures leading to disarmament can either

prevent or reduce the danger of war. This consideration is indeed, recognized by a number of statesmen in the NATO countries. It has been very clearly formulated, for instance, by G. A. Kissinger, President Kennedy's disarmament adviser. In an article published in the July 1960 issue of the magazine Foreign Affairs he says, among other things, that "... continuous surveillance of the retaliatory forces may help a potential aggressor more than the defender ..."

76. Attempts to substitute negotiations on arms control for negotiations on general and complete disarmament under strict international control are entirely unacceptable. However, this point of view is in no way to be understood as a rejection of strict control, which must be an integral part of any disarmament programme. The Czechoslovak delegation entirely associates itself with the principle, set forth in the Joint Soviet-United States Statement of 20 September, that "all disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations".

77. A further problem which has led to serious contradictions in the past is the relationship between general and complete disarmament and particular practical measures which may be taken independently of it.

78. The socialist countries have always emphasized that negotiations on general and complete disarmament do not exclude agreements for the taking of such practical measures as may contribute to a reduction of international tension and thus create propitious conditions for the realization of general and complete disarmament.

79. Attainment of this goal would doubtless be facilitated by such measures as the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the States members of NATO and those of the Warsaw Treaty, the liquidation of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of armed forces from the territory of foreign States, the creation of atom-free zones in various parts of the world, and other possible practical steps. Plans for the taking of such steps are put forward in the memorandum [A/4892] submitted, a few days ago, by the USSR delegation to the General Assembly for its consideration. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports these plans.

80. The Czechoslovak delegation anticipates that it may be possible, at the present session of the General Assembly, to reach a generally acceptable agreement on the composition of a new disarmament negotiating body. We regard as fully justified the proposal that the new body should include representatives of countries belonging to no military groupings, on an equal footing with the socialist States and States belonging to Western blocs. All previous negotiations on general and complete disarmament, both inside and outside the United Nations, have strikingly demonstrated the active efforts of States pursuing a policy of neutrality to reach a rapid and positive settlement of this question. This was also shown by the attention which the highest representatives of these countries devoted to general and complete disarmament at the recent Belgrade Conference, as well as by the resolution adopted at that Conference.

81. The achieving of general and complete disarmament would also finally settle the question of the

cessation of nuclear weapons tests. The conducting of such tests in circumstances of general and complete disarmament would become not only pointless but impossible, because, after the destruction of all types of weapons and the cessation of their manufacture, there would be nothing to test.

82. Three years of fruitless three-Power negotiations on the cessation of tests have fully confirmed that the cessation of tests alone does not do away with nuclear weapons or reduce the danger of thermonuclear war. We know that, throughout these negotiations, the intensified manufacture and stockpiling of this, the most destructive form of weapon, continued without hindrance. At the same time the Western Powers tried to use the negotiations to obtain unilateral advantages and to put the USSR and other socialist countries in a position of inequality. Throughout the period of the so-called "moratorium", when the USSR made no nuclear tests, France—one of the leading NATO States—constantly engaged in the testing of nuclear weapons. Nobody can deny the fact that these tests helped to strengthen the military potential of the entire NATO bloc.

83. Today the Western Powers are trying to present themselves as zealous advocates of the cessation of nuclear weapon testing. But at the Geneva Conference they blocked the reaching of an agreement on the final cessation of all nuclear weapons tests as proposed by the USSR. They tried to have underground test explosions excluded from the agreement, as they were interested in such tests with a view to the further perfection of nuclear weapons; and they insisted on measures that would de facto legalize these tests. At the same time we know that over a period of many months the United States Government had been preparing to conduct a series of underground tests, which it recently began to carry out.

84. These actions, together with the growing aggressiveness of the Western Powers' foreign policy in connexion with the plan to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, finally led the Government of the USSR to take the important decision to resume nuclear weapons tests.

85. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in its statement of 2 September 1961, has already expressed its opinion that this step by the Soviet Government was necessary from the standpoint of ensuring the security not only of the Soviet Union but also of all States of the world socialist system, and in the final analysis from the standpoint of removing the threat of war and ensuring peace throughout the world—and has expressed its full agreement with it.

86. There is only one way out of the situation in which we find ourselves. In present conditions, the question of the cessation of nuclear weapons tests can be solved only within the framework of general and complete disarmament, with which it is indissolubly connected.

87. Another important task facing the present session of the General Assembly is the adoption of decisive measures to bring about the very rapid liquidation of the shameful colonialist system.

88. On the initiative of the Soviet Government, the General Assembly at its fifteenth session adopted the historic resolution [1514 (XV)] containing the "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". The events of the

past year, however, have shown that great and concentrated efforts must still be made to translate into reality the noble ideas contained in the Declaration and put them into immediate and consistent effect. The colonial Powers are using every possible means to sabotage the giving of effect to the Declaration's demands. They are having ever greater recourse to force of arms in order to crush the colonial peoples' heroic struggle for freedom and independence.

89. The peoples of many countries fighting to overthrow colonial slavery, principally in Africa, are already well aware of the shameful role which the North Atlantic Treaty plays in support of the colonial Powers. For example, could the Portuguese colonialists really conduct a war of extermination in Angola if they were not being supported by their NATO allies, especially the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany? Mutual aid and co-operation by the members of this aggressive group have also made it possible for France to wage bloody war against the heroic Algerian people for many years.

90. However, Angola and Algeria are far from being the only examples of the way in which the colonial Powers cynically flout the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The peoples of Oman, South and South West Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and other territories, amounting in all to over 70 million individuals, are still having to fight for their freedom.

91. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it is extremely urgent for the General Assembly to take effective steps for the immediate implementation of the Declaration, so that the colonial system can be completely and finally ended next year. It therefore fully supports a thorough discussion of the item concerning "the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", placed on the agenda by the Government of the USSR. The Czechoslovak delegation also favours the establishment of a Commission for the close supervision of the Declaration's implementation.

92. We resolutely urge that the colonial wars against the peoples of Algeria and Angola be speedily brought to an end, and that the peoples of those countries be enabled to enjoy their inalienable right to self-government and the independence of their State.

93. The situation in the Republic of the Congo continues to require the General Assembly's attention. With effective assistance from the forces of peace throughout the world, the Congolese patriots have been able to set up a new Central Government in the Congo which is the direct successor of the Central Government of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba. But the imperialist Powers are continuing to interfere with and intrigue against the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the Congo. An obvious example of this can be seen in the attempts to wrest from the Congo its richest province, Katanga. The Czechoslovak delegation firmly supports the view of the Congolese people and of a number of delegations from Asian and African countries that it is now essential to disrupt the intrigues of the colonialists in Katanga and to return that province to the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

94. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic also supports the just demand of the Indonesian people that

West Irian, its territory from time immemorial, should be united with the Indonesian Republic.

95. The march of history shows that colonialism is inevitably doomed to perish. More and more peoples are freeing themselves from colonial bondage. A few days ago, another new African State—Sierra Leone—was admitted to membership of the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to wish the people of Sierra Leone, on behalf of the whole Czechoslovak people, great success in building up their country.

96. The warm sympathy of our people and of all freedom-loving peoples goes out to the heroic people of Cuba, which has overthrown the hateful Batista dictatorship, is resolutely defending its freedom and independence against all imperialist intrigues and interference, and is building a new life in its beautiful country.

97. It is clear that United States imperialism has not accepted defeat and is preparing further aggressive actions against Cuba. The heroic Cuban people may be assured that it will always have the full support of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in its peaceable striving.

98. We denounce the systematic interference of the imperialist Powers, particularly the United States of America, in the domestic affairs of Laos. We hope that the negotiations at the Geneva Conference^{4/} will finally result in the granting of the Laotian people's just demand—for a guarantee of the true independence and neutrality of Laos.

99. It is high time to put an end to interference by the United States of America in the domestic affairs of South Korea. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it is necessary to terminate immediately the continued occupation of South Korea by United States armed forces, which now constitutes the main obstacle to the Korean people's efforts directed towards the peaceful reunification of Korea.

100. The General Assembly session must also concentrate its attention on the danger presented by "new" and insidious forms of colonialism, in whose operation West German imperialism plays a large role. Where the colonialists can no longer maintain their position by using the "classical" colonial methods, they resort to "new", indirect forms of colonial domination. By these means, they endeavour to regain or preserve military and strategic positions in their former colonial territories, with the prospect of exploiting the peoples of those territories, and their natural wealth, to an unlimited degree. This is achieved, in the main, through the conclusion of inequitable agreements and treaties.

101. The treaties of so-called "military assistance and co-operation" concluded, in connexion with the attainment of independence, by certain new States—particularly in Africa—are especially dangerous to the sovereignty of the new countries. Those treaties, and, above all, the military bases enable the colonialists to maintain control over the new countries and draw them into the network of aggressive military pacts—and hence into their military adventures—for the purpose of restricting the independence of those countries and stifling the freedom not only of their peoples but also of the peoples of neighbouring lands. Striking evidence of the purposes for which military bases on foreign territories are employed was the

^{4/} International Conference on Laos, opened at Geneva on 16 May 1961.

colonialists' use of Belgian bases in the Congo and the French base at Bizerta against the Congolese and Tunisian peoples.

102. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that any kind of inequitable treaty containing neo-colonialist commitments of a political, economic, military or other nature is contrary to the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. The General Assembly should declare that inequitable treaty obligations are illegal and that the countries on which they have been imposed have the right to cancel them.

103. We regard it as absolutely essential to take effective measures to guarantee full independence to the new States and to help them remove all restrictions upon it. The newly emerging States must be afforded all kinds of assistance, without any conditions, so that they can strengthen their position as soon as possible and achieve true independence by building up their own economy. Relations with these States must be based on the principles of non-aggression, recognition of their territorial integrity and sovereignty, and non-interference in their domestic affairs.

104. It is on those principles that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other socialist countries base their co-operation with the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The results of our co-operation with these countries are mutually beneficial. I should therefore like once more to assure the representatives of the African, Asian and Latin American countries, from this rostrum, that the Czechoslovak people and Government will continue to strengthen their friendship and co-operation with these countries and give them, so far as possible, the greatest measure of disinterested support and assistance.

105. It must be frankly said that the part played by the United Nations in the solving of urgent international problems cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

106. The main reason for this is that a certain group of States, headed by the United States of America, still regard the United Nations and its agencies as their own domain and shamelessly try to use it for the purposes of their own foreign policy. For a number of years the United States of America and its allies have been misusing the United Nations, with a view to intensify the "cold war" and to dragging onto the agenda such provocative and, in fact, non-existent questions as those of "Hungary", "Tibet", etc.

107. For many years the United States of America has been preventing the lawful representatives of the 650 million people of China from entering the United Nations, and has been keeping in the Organization the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique. We are convinced that at this session the majority of the Member States will decisively reject any machinations which undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations. The absence of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China is, at the same time, seriously hampering the solution of the problems which are the most important in the work of the United Nations. I refer primarily to general and complete disarmament, the final elimination of colonialism, and aid for the economic development of under-developed countries. It is therefore a most pressing requirement of the present time that the

lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored.

108. Similarly, the admission to the United Nations of the Mongolian People's Republic, which fulfils all the requirements for membership, can no longer be delayed.

109. The facts of life demand that the Western Powers should cease to misuse the United Nations and its agencies, including the Secretariat. And the United Nations should at long last reflect the fact that there are, in the world, three groups of States: the Socialist countries, the neutral countries and the States which are members of the Western blocs.

110. Until that happens, the United Nations will not be able to play its proper part in the settling of important international problems; these can be settled only on the basis of an agreement which takes into account the legitimate interests of all three groups of States.

111. It is obvious that that principle must also apply to the higher administration of the United Nations Secretariat. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic holds to the view that this question must be settled by the Security Council, in conformity with the existing world situation and on the basis of an agreement between the Member States.

112. The Czechoslovak delegation considers that it is impossible to overlook the well-founded complaints of many Member States to the effect that in the United States of America various difficulties are hampering the activities of their delegations and permanent missions to the United Nations. It is therefore time to consider the question of transferring the United Nations to a place where normal conditions for the work of the Organization and all its Members will be ensured.

113. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic consistently defends, and is pursuing, a policy of peaceful co-existence and competition between States with different social systems. Such a policy is favoured by peoples throughout the world, and is accepted by the overwhelming majority of States. There is no other way—either there will be peaceful coexistence, or we shall have a devastating thermo-nuclear war. Hence we resolutely denounce all attempts to minimize the importance of peaceful coexistence and to distort its meaning.

114. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and economic systems really means the comprehensive development of relations between them and of co-operation in all fields. For that, however, the basic prerequisite is the acknowledgement of the right of all peoples to settle their own affairs and to decide the question of the political and economic system under which they wish to live, and the inadmissibility of any interference in the domestic affairs of individual States.

115. The Czechoslovak people does not impose on anyone the system which, of its own free will, it has chosen for itself. But at the same time it will not allow anyone to interfere in its own domestic affairs or to try to threaten the construction of socialism in its country.

116. To those who do not like our system and who from this rostrum, have expressed their hatred of socialism, I would reply by using the words of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic,

Antonin Novotny, who at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly said:

"... stop speculating on a change of the social system in our country, speculating on the defeat and destruction of socialism [871st meeting, paragraph 39].

"... you must understand at last that the notion of freedom as you understand it and which you so ostentatiously advocate is today incomprehensible and absolutely unacceptable to our people.

"We see our freedom from another point of view, the point of view of the interests of the development of the whole socialist society and, therefore, also the full development of man, devoid of the rapacious features of your capitalist society." [Ibid., paragraphs 42 and 43.]

"The fact that our people have definitively broken off with the representatives of the capitalist world is to an extent their fault too. In 1938 they threw their faithful ally into Hitler's throat as to the beast, thinking that it would be appeased and that by doing so they would open to Hitler the road to the East." [Ibid., paragraph 128.]

117. Because the Soviet Union, by its victory over fascism, frustrated Hitler's barbaric plans for the physical destruction of our peoples, our nation regained its freedom and independence and embarked on the road of socialist construction. Therefore we have finally and forever linked our existence with the Soviet Union and with the great community of socialist States.

118. In close co-operation with the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries, we are striving untiringly for the further development of the national economy, the flourishing of culture in our country, and the securing of a happy life not only for the present generation but for future generations.

119. The high degree of development already achieved by our national economy makes it possible for us to prepare far-reaching plans for the building-up of our country over the next twenty years, by which time the material and technical basis for communism will, in Czechoslovakia, have been constructed.

120. We have set ourselves a noble task: to compete with the most highly developed capitalist countries, not in the production of destructive weapons, but in the economic field. We wish to catch up with them and surpass them in per caput production. In order to carry out our bold plans, we need a lasting and stable peace. We are therefore honestly striving to avert war and to settle all urgent problems peacefully. We appeal for a decisive struggle on behalf of peace, freedom, equality and well-being for all peoples. Let us make a united front against the aggressive circles which, throughout the world, are intent upon increasing international tension and inflaming war hysteria. Let us implement the principle of effective negotiations as the only reasonable way of settling existing disputes.

121. All honest people expect the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly to assist in the relaxation of international tension and in the creating of a firm basis for lasting peace and international co-operation.

122. The Czechoslovak delegation, for its part, will do everything possible in order that these objectives may be achieved.

123. Mr. SARPER (Turkey): Today it is with a heavy heart that I come to address the General Assembly in which I have had the honour and the privilege to represent my country for over a decade. The tragic loss of the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, is indeed a great misfortune for the Organization. For those who had the privilege to know him closely it has also been the sad bereavement of a personal friend.

124. The sixteenth session of the General Assembly, which was inaugurated under such sad circumstances, may be decisive in determining the extent to which the United Nations will be in the position, during the coming years, to fulfil the hopes and aspirations which the peoples of the world have placed in the Organization as well as in the principles and purposes set forth in its Charter. The Turkish people and the Turkish Government fully endorse these principles. We see in the United Nations the only hope of progress towards a world in which mutual understanding will reign instead of bitter division, and lasting peace will replace the constant threat of war.

125. We believe in a strong United Nations. The security of the smaller countries which form the majority of the Organization, the solution of the numerous problems which the world faces today, the gradual evolution of human society from its present dissensions to a more harmonious future demand a world Organization capable of acting with determination and efficiency.

126. According to the Charter, the office of Secretary-General constitutes one of the main organs of the United Nations. In a way, it represents our executive, entrusted with the task of implementing objectively and unconditionally the collective will of the Organization. Article 100 mentions the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and further states that:

"... the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization."

127. These provisions are clearly opposed to any form of political or ideological approach in seeking to develop the office of Secretary-General. On this point my Government fully endorses the ideas so eloquently set forth by our late Secretary-General in the Introduction [A/4800/Add.1] to his annual report on the work of the Organization. We fully share his views concerning a dynamic United Nations aiming to bring about closer harmony and understanding among the various political divisions which are manifested in the course of its activities. We cannot be a party to any scheme which would emphasize and eternalize political division. What is more, we cannot place our faith in a United Nations having a paralysed executive.

128. The United Nations is an international body, where debate and discussion must take place in order to reach an agreement. The *raison d'être* for the General Assembly, the Councils and the various Committees is indeed to render possible such an exchange of views, so that we may arrive at a decision. However, once such a decision has been reached, we cannot admit the renewal of discussion or a veto in any form in the phase of implementation. Our peoples have

placed their faith in the United Nations, basing their trust on the minimum of effectiveness provided in the Charter. We would be betraying this faith were we to compromise in any manner this effectiveness. For this reason, my Government stands for one Secretary-General, who must be capable of fulfilling the mandates of his high office with objectivity, integrity and determination.

129. In these inaugural days of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the world is unfortunately once again confronted with a serious deterioration in the political atmosphere. An uncertainty, full of anguish, has come to dominate international relations. Atomic tests, from which we had been spared during the last three years, have been resumed. In these circumstances, although sixteen years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, armies are reinforced instead of being disbanded. This is tragic. It is particularly tragic because, by signing the United Nations Charter, the nations of the world have set forth all the basic principles whose strict observance would suffice to eliminate a new crisis. The very preamble of our Charter proclaims respect for the obligations arising from the treaties and other sources of international law. Article 2 requires the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The very spirit of the Charter is based on mutual understanding and respect for the rights and obligations of others as well as on the strict observance of one's own commitments. It bans unilateral action. It is against transgression on the rights of others.

130. The Charter of the United Nations and the implementation of the principles set forth in it ever since the foundation of this Organization are contradicted by the very existence of the so-called Berlin question. It is our ardent hope that the present tensions will be eliminated and that the peoples of the world will be relieved from their anxiety by compliance with these basic principles. All the nations of the world are entitled to expect from those directly concerned that they should do their utmost to spare humanity the agony of a tragedy which can and should be avoided.

131. While keeping our eyes on the major issues which have heightened political tension today, we cannot overlook certain attitudes which even if minor and local in scope and character, still serve as sources of friction and impede the establishment of good-neighbourly relations. We have heard from this rostrum complaints of direct interference in the internal affairs of other States and of subversive propaganda being carried out in the general direction of the Middle East on an unprecedented scale. The least that can be said about such activities, which are contrary to the Charter and to international law, is that they breed mistrust and lack of confidence, thus hindering good-neighbourly relations.

132. The constant growth in the membership of the United Nations is a continual reminder of the fact that the movement for freedom and self-determination constitutes the most characteristic trend of our period. Today there are one hundred independent countries represented in our Organization. We have the happy prospect of welcoming other new countries in the near future.

133. The United Nations has made constructive contributions in elucidating the guiding principles of this

great movement of our times. Last year the General Assembly adopted, by ninety votes to none, with nine abstentions, the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] of which my delegation had the honour to be among the original sponsors. That Declaration is centred around such high aspirations as freedom, self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. These are ideals which are highly valued by the people of my country, and my delegation will therefore continue to co-operate in all constructive efforts for the maintenance and realization of those ideals.

134. Looking over the agenda of this session, we see that once again the problem of disarmament, which figures directly or indirectly in six agenda items, is the most crucial task entrusted to the Organization. In a period when the moratorium on atomic tests has been broken and when the political situation has been perturbed by increased tensions and anxieties, this problem assumes an even greater significance. For the problem of disarmament cannot be separated from the question of international security. Nor can it be solved without taking into consideration the element of mutual confidence. Up to the present time, a realistic approach to the solution of this problem has been impeded by too great an emphasis on the procedural and organizational aspects of the question. A renewal of efforts by all of us to approach this vital problem with sincerity, determination and realism is long overdue. It is regrettable that after so many years we should still be debating the composition of the committee which will examine this problem in the first instance, and that there should still be confusion as to the exact meaning of the terminology used in describing our goals.

135. As far as my Government is concerned, we stand for a disarmament programme which will be comprehensive and realistic. By "programme" we mean that disarmament must be implemented through various pre-determined phases. By "comprehensive" we mean that the programme should contain provisions regarding all types of weapons and personnel. And by "realistic" we mean that all the phases of such a programme should be devised in a manner which will reassure the signatories that the implementation of the programme will not confer any advantage on one party to the detriment of another. The only hope of rendering such a programme acceptable to all concerned lies in prescribing effective international control for the implementation of every phase.

136. Progress in the field of disarmament is of such vital importance for the destiny of mankind that all Members of the United Nations bear a heavy responsibility to do their utmost to achieve at least the first encouraging results.

137. Among the major political problems assigned to the First Committee is the "Question of Algeria". In recent months we have been heartened by happy developments towards an ultimate solution of that problem. For seven long years that unhappy land has been the scene of bloodshed and human suffering. 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. Recent events and official declarations have inspired us with hope for, and confidence

in, an early and peaceful solution of this problem in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people. The French Government has accepted a solution through negotiation on the basis of self-determination and independence for Algeria, a solution which at the same time would recognize Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara. Such a solution not only would do justice to the gallant people of Algeria, but at the same time would be in keeping with the best liberal traditions of France, of which it has given so many examples in its glorious history.

138. As a country which is part of the Middle East, Turkey naturally has a keen interest in all the happenings which affect our geographical region. The Arab States certainly occupy a very important position in the Middle East. The sentiments of the Turkish people towards all their Arab neighbours stem from brotherly ties strengthened by common cultural and social bonds.

139. Ever since the end of the Ottoman Empire—to give an exact date, ever since the proclamation of the National Pact by the Turkish Parliament on 28 January 1920—Turkey has proclaimed and defended the right of all our Arab neighbours to decide their own destinies in accordance with their own desires and without outside interference. Turkey, which is primarily interested in the establishment of peace, stability and progress in the Middle East, is naturally anxious to see a reign of harmony and brotherly co-operation among our Arab neighbours themselves. However, the form in which this harmony and co-operation may find expression is certainly a matter to be decided by our Arab neighbours, according to their own desires.

140. Some years ago Syria, our neighbours to the south, decided to form a union with Egypt. As was natural, we recognized this union born of the free will of the people in the two countries at that time, and our wish was that the new United Arab Republic would inaugurate an era of happiness and prosperity for all its citizens. Last week our Syrian neighbours proclaimed their decision to revert to their former status of a separate and independent State. For its part, the Government of the United Arab Republic proclaimed that it would not oppose such a decision by force and would leave it to the Syrian people to decide their future. Our attitude, as was the case before, has again been to recognize the decision of the peoples concerned.

141. Under these circumstances, we find it difficult to understand how this clear position of the Turkish Government, which was based on the attitude of all concerned, could be misinterpreted as though it were against anyone. Turkey has a common frontier of over 400 miles with Syria. This frontier contains trade routes, transit connexions, communications and other links of common interest. To give an example, along this frontier there are Turks who possess farms on the Syrian side, and Syrians who own land on the Turkish side. By mutual agreement they are allowed to cross over the frontier to earn their daily bread.

142. Under these circumstances, it is only natural that Turkey has found it appropriate to recognize the existing reality as accepted by all concerned, and that we should have done so before some other countries which are located geographically at a greater distance than Turkey.

143. In view of these facts, it is with a sincere sense of regret that we have learned of the decision of the United Arab Republic to sever diplomatic relations with our Government. On our part, we attach particular importance to the maintenance of brotherly relations and friendly co-operation with all the Arab countries. Despite the fact that diplomatic relations may be momentarily broken, the Turkish people will always continue to maintain most sincere feelings of friendship and good will towards the people of the United Arab Republic.

144. As I have already stated, we are desirous of seeing a close and brotherly co-operation among all the Arab peoples as an important prerequisite for peace and stability in our region. But the form in which such co-operation may manifest itself is a matter which can only be decided by the various Arab countries themselves.

145. Whether they may choose to be under one or under various administrations, under one state or separate independent states, all the Arab peoples have much to gain from a close co-operation among themselves. The Government and the people of Turkey ardently hope that brotherly relations will continue to prevail among all our Arab neighbours, as we hope to maintain the same friendly relations with all of them.

146. The importance of the international issues with which we are faced today should not make us overlook the basic problems which affect more directly the life of individual human beings. The struggle against disease, poverty and illiteracy, the struggle for preserving human dignity, must continue to be at the forefront of our preoccupations.

147. During the last decade the course of economic, cultural and social development has opened new avenues for international co-operation. Much has been done in this field by the United Nations, by the specialized agencies and by individual Governments. A great deal remains still to be done.

148. The rapid increase in population, brought about mainly by progress in the medical field, has made it imperative for most Governments to strive for development in an ever-increasing rhythm.

149. My own Government has given top priority in its endeavours to the task of making secure under appropriate guarantees the rights of the Turkish people to advancement in the cultural, economic and social fields.

150. Almost exactly a year ago, when I had the honour to address the General Assembly from this rostrum at the fifteenth session [870th meeting], I stated the determination of the new Turkish administration to prepare a new constitution with the aim of establishing all necessary guarantees for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country. I also stated the unfailing resolution of the Turkish reform movement to proceed to free elections in the fall of 1961.

151. I am now happy to state that both of these resolutions have been carried out. The new Constitution of the Turkish Republic was prepared by an eminent group of personalities competent in the matter and was subsequently approved by the Constituent Assembly. Furthermore, this new Constitution was submitted to the acceptance of the Turkish people through a referendum on 9 July 1961. The majority

of the electorate having voted in its favour, the new Constitution is now adopted.

152. As for the elections, of which I had informed the Assembly a year ago, an electoral campaign is in progress in Turkey at this moment among four leading political parties. The Turkish people will cast their votes on 15 October 1961.

153. After that date a freely-elected Government and a freely-elected opposition will take it upon themselves to guide our nation in facing the pending economic, cultural and social problems, and to secure the establishment of the fundamental democratic freedoms.

154. Before I conclude my statement, may I be allowed to express to Mr. Slim the heartiest congratulations of my delegation on his election as President of the Assembly. For those of us who have worked in close collaboration with him over a long period of years in the United Nations, and who have had so many occasions to admire his sincere devotion to justice, peace and international understanding, there can be no better guarantee for successful achievements during this session than to know that he will be presiding over our deliberations. May God grant that the sixteenth session of the General Assembly will bring about constructive solutions to many problems of the day under his able guidance!

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.