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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
Speech by Mr. Khoman (Thailand)	269
Speech by Mr. Lukanov (Bulgaria)	272
Speech by Mr. Issa (Somalia)	279
Statement by the representative of Ethiopia .	284
Statement by the representative of Greece .	284

President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): I should like, in the first place, to take this opportunity to offer Mr. Slim my very warm congratulations upon his election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly. For those who have had the privilege of knowing him and of working with him, his election is a cause for rejoicing. I feel that the General Assembly is fortunate to have the benefit of his experience, his devotion and his wisdom. I have no doubt he will carry out his great task with high distinction. Our good wishes go to him.

2. The sixteenth session, which assembled only a few days ago, began its work under exceptional circumstances. The Organization is deprived, at a highly critical moment, of its most vital driving force—of its chief, who had for many long years devoted his heart and soul to making it a truly operational and effective instrument for the preservation of peace and the promotion of international understanding and co-operation. The Assembly is also confronted, directly or indirectly, with a series of acute international problems and situations accumulated during recent years: the breakdown in disarmament and nuclear test-ban talks and the consequent resumption of nuclear weapons tests, the situation in Berlin, in Laos and the Congo, to name only the most potentially explosive ones.

3. There can be little doubt that, as we meet now, the circumstances prevailing in the world are indeed grave. The international climate is literally and figuratively disturbed. The air we breathe is increasingly contaminated by unhealthy and dangerous materials, while international goodwill and amity have reached a low point and the angry words, invective and crude threats of possible resort to force and to the most appalling means of mass destruction, which have filled the air already for too long a time, give the impression that the world knows of no other way than to walk fatalistically toward an impending catastrophe.

4. In view of the present serious situation, it is indeed fortunate that we should gather here from all

parts of the globe to express our concern and perhaps also to outline the means each of us believes to be most appropriate to take us out of this perilous impasse. It is to be hoped that, by joining our efforts and the resources of our minds, we may eventually emerge from the deep morass into which the world has been drawn. For in this business of peace or war, of life or death, of preserving or jeopardizing our free and independent national existence, we cannot delegate to any nation or group of nations the authority to speak for us or to work for our salvation. The voice that speaks for our nation must come from our own people and the suggestions we may eventually contribute to the lessening or the solution of the difficulties must spring from the depth of our hearts and minds.

5. In this connexion, we feel indebted first of all to President Kennedy for presenting to us and to the world, in all candour and sincerity, the problems with which the world is faced. His speech in this Hall [1013th meeting] showed us the purposes for which we should work, the danger which would befall us if we fail, and the hope and promises of a better and a more secure life if we succeed in our endeavours of building and strengthening world peace.

6. In spite of the gravity of the hour, we may perhaps detect signs which seem to indicate at this critical juncture that both Mr. Hammarskjöld's death and the convening of the Assembly may have produced a sobering effect upon the tense world. The first event makes us think that if the late Secretary-General and some of his collaborators can sacrifice their lives for the cause of peace, it seems only decent on our part to do whatever we can, even without sacrificing our own life, to halt the drifting trend toward a major conflagration. On the other hand, the fact that most of the nations of the world are represented at this gathering, ready and willing to voice their opinion and perhaps their indignation, helps us realize how close we are to the brink of an unprecedented disaster and that the sane approach is not to drive ahead into the precipice, but to pause and ponder, and veer off toward a more hopeful and secure path.

7. In this connexion, we cannot help thinking whether it would not be useful to set up what one might call a "watchdog committee" for world peace which would be within the United Nations framework but not necessarily inside the United Nations and would meet regularly all year round at a mutually-agreed site, in Berlin for instance, or at any other appropriate spot anywhere in the world. Such a committee might be composed of representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council and five or more representatives from each continent—Asia, Africa, Europe and America. The term of service in the committee would be short, say one year, so as to allow a swift rotation among the various countries.

Finally, the nations elected to serve in that committee may or may not belong to the Organization.

8. The main task of such a body would be to discuss and deliberate on the acute problems confronting the world and to suggest or devise ways and means to prevent those problems from becoming a menace to peace and more especially from erupting into an international conflict. This committee, if accepted, would keep close contacts with the United Nations, other international agencies and organizations. It might make its recommendations directly to the parties concerned and, if necessary, it might serve as an intermediary between those involved in a dispute or other disagreements.

9. From this sketchy outline, it may be seen that such a body would be political in nature and character and its main purpose would be to set up a much needed permanent machinery to take the heat off any international disputes or situations, thereby preventing them from reaching the boiling point, which might lead to direct clashes, and from developing into major conflicts. If this idea could be implemented, then there would be no necessity to set up some conferences, such as the one on Laos.

10. In making this suggestion, we are conscious of the fact that either the Security Council or the Assembly or both of them could have played the role envisaged for this proposed committee. However, I am sure all of us are aware of the impediments from which the Security Council presently suffers, as well as the fact that the Council's composition is far too restricted. Therefore, as long as the structure and the working procedure of the Security Council cannot be improved, it will continue to be hamstrung and cannot perform the functions which it is expected to perform. The Assembly, on its part, is perhaps too large a body and does not meet in permanence. It is not, therefore, equipped to accomplish the task which has just been outlined.

11. This suggestion, which has been made in all humility and flexibility, stems from the fact that we believe that something important is needed, and, if by chance it proves to be worthwhile, the details of it may be worked out to suit the requirements of our time and the present and foreseeable future international situation. It may not be out of place to add that in advancing this simple suggestion, the intention is not to supplant the United Nations but rather to supplement it and the suggestion stems from the feeling that we should try to explore every possible avenue to relieve present international tension and to prevent it from getting out of manageable proportion.

12. In any case, there is no lack of realization on our part that present difficulties are weighty enough and that no suggestion and no device will work as a panacea and produce the miracle we all desire. However, with patience, tolerance and understanding and, above all, with dogged determination, we may perhaps hope to achieve some results.

13. If we were to go now a little deeper into the causes and origins of present world difficulties, we would, I think, unavoidably converge on a few basic facts.

14. From the point of view of procedure and methodology, there is a sad lack, as I just said, of a proper forum where divergences of opinions and interests can be vented at all time, thereby allowing the heat and steam to be let off instead of building up to the

point of explosion. This deficiency would be obviated if the suggestion I have offered of a high-level standing committee for world peace, or any variation thereof, could be accepted and perhaps perfected to meet the requirements. Such a forum can perform a useful role not only as a meeting-ground of divergent ideas and interests, but it may also serve as a rendezvous where opposing sides may discuss and negotiate without having to make the apparently difficult effort of being the first to take the step of going to meet the other side.

15. Another fact which, I am sure, has not escaped the observation of the Assembly is the tendency of the world Powers to keep some burning issues between themselves, thereby risking direct head-on clashes. At the same time, the possibilities for negotiations are negated or greatly reduced by public statements that each side issues to set forth its position and also to appeal for outside support. These statements crystallize and sometimes petrify the positions of the parties and render any alteration or concession difficult, if not completely impracticable, without incurring the danger of losing face or prestige. On the other hand, while the Powers like to enlist moral support for their case or their thesis, they would not look with favour upon outside nations intervening to offer services or advice to settle the dispute. Therefore, whatever disinterested outsiders may occasionally and usefully do just cannot materialize.

16. The case I have in mind particularly is that of Berlin, which up till now has been officially kept out of the United Nations, with all the regrettable effects that we all know. Nevertheless, references have constantly been made in this Hall to that pressing question and there can be no doubt that the question of Berlin, together with that of German reunification, stands as a gloomy background to all our deliberations. On occasions unwarranted remarks have also been heard against certain countries involved in these problems. In our opinion, these observations are totally uncalled for, particularly when the wronged party is not represented in our midst and has no opportunity to reply and to give its side of the story.

17. However, since this session of the Assembly began there have been noticeable indications that opinions seem to have moved in a different direction. The problem may be brought from the narrow and unmanoeuvrable area into a wider forum where perhaps the United Nations may be able to play a helpful and beneficial role in preventing that grave situation from deteriorating still further.

18. This tendency is accentuated by recognition of the fact that after trying unsuccessfully the method of direct negotiations, somewhat outside the United Nations, the questions of disarmament, and more particularly that of the nuclear test ban, are brought back for discussion into this Organization. We can only hope that more concrete results may be achieved in the near future.

19. The present inclination to bring these pressing and acute problems into a larger arena seems natural and is encouraged by the major Powers themselves. It is natural because their effects will not be restricted to those who may be directly involved, but will spread far and wide. If peace were to be disrupted it would be difficult—I would say well nigh impossible—for most of us to escape the consequences. The disruption will be general and, in all likelihood, will affect practically every one, socialist or capitalist, East

or West, committed or uncommitted—to use the official terminology so frequently heard in the Assembly.

20. On the other hand, if the major Powers show willingness to enlarge participation in the consideration of these problems, it is probably not because they desire a larger company but because in their wisdom, born in the midst of these difficulties, they realize that such problems have extensive ramifications and in spite of their military might and their economic power they need the weaker ones to help them out and especially to help them, even in small ways, to extricate themselves and the world from the entanglements into which modern, complex life has led them.

21. Our attitude in these matters is simple and, I dare to think, realistic. Although the world is sharply disunited ideologically, materially and physically, it remains one and the same and, in spite of outstanding successes in outer space exploration and technology, there is as yet no way to escape for any appreciable length of time from this planet. Consequently, our efforts should be directed to smoothing out these divergencies and working out some kind of accommodation which will enable each and everyone of us to live together without trying to destroy one another and, if possible, to co-operate positively and constructively for the general well-being and progress.

22. When one speaks of disunity or division now existing in the present world, one thinks in particular of a distinct group which upholds a clearly defined ideology and doctrine and characterizes itself by a rigid discipline. As to the rest of the world, one can hardly find any precise demarcations which will make any individual grouping distinctive and self-contained from the others. Between these groupings runs a gamut of concepts, viewpoints and attitudes which vary in shades of opinions and frames of mind, but never fundamentally. In any case, there is certainly no tight compartmenting between those groups; on the contrary there exist a marked fluidity and understandably constant displacements within a comparatively wide range, according to the circumstances and the merits of the case or situation.

23. What I just said applies particularly to my country, Thailand, which, according to present world practice, is labelled by some as a committed nation. The 25.5 million of my people, I am sure, will not disclaim such an attribution. For indeed we are committed as they say. We are committed, first, to the principles and purposes set forth in the United Nations Charter. We are committed, in the second place, to the preservation of our freedom and independence, which we have received as an age-old legacy from our forefathers. We are irrevocably committed to opposing any form of foreign domination exercised by one nation or group of nations over another, either in the form of classic colonialism or any other modern derivative or adaption thereof. We uphold the principle and practice of self-government, not only for Asians or Africans but for every people in the world, not excepting the more advanced peoples of Europe, including the Germans.

24. We are likewise committed to disapprove racialism and religious intolerance, which are so alien to our tradition and our way of life. We are committed to the maintenance of our national security and that of our region. Therefore, we shall always co-operate with those who genuinely intend to work toward the same end. Finally, we are committed to strive for the political, economic and social advancement of

our people. We shall spare no efforts to do so within our national boundaries and, beyond that, we shall work with other nations, near or far, to achieve mutually beneficial results for our respective peoples. Over and beyond that, we accept no other commitments.

25. It may appear to you too bold for a small nation to come out with such a clear-cut profession of faith. We do so—we have enunciated those commitments—at this moment of world uncertainty in the free, fearless and indomitable spirit of Asia. In the past we have stood by these commitments, as our record in the United Nations and our behaviour elsewhere will show, and we intend to do so in the future.

26. Besides these more or less political commitments, there are in the life of the Thai people other moral values in which we have an abiding faith: among these are respect for the dignity and worth of the human person and, above all, the sense of gratitude. We are grateful to those who have done good to us without exacting any counterpart which may impair our freedom and independence. We feel a sense of gratefulness and moral obligation toward them, and we shall entertain the same feeling toward anyone who may treat us in the same disinterested and genuinely friendly manner. This does not mean, however, that we are committed to follow every footstep those nations may take. Our own conscience, our national interests and our age-old heritage of freedom and independence require that we preserve full and complete objectivity and independence in regard to any international issue with which my country may be directly or indirectly confronted. Therefore, our attitude shall conform to the principles which have already been mentioned.

27. As a consequence of the above, the Thai people and Government believe that what they can do as a small nation is primarily to keep our house in order, to ensure that every one of our law-abiding citizens shall enjoy unrestricted freedom in his or her pursuit of happiness and share in the task of national development which has been proceeding satisfactorily during the past two or three years. By so doing, we hope to contribute, even in a modest way, to avoid adding further complications in a world already beset with so many frictions and problems.

28. At the same time, realizing that our country cannot in isolation enjoy the benefits of peace and order while those around us become the scenes of strife and disturbances, the Thai Government and nation have sought to co-operate actively with all our neighbours, without exception, to enhance and promote the well-being of our respective peoples and, through our joint, free and voluntary efforts, to ensure for them a future of peace and progress. It is in this spirit that the Association of Southeast Asia was set up on 31 July 1961 on the basis laid down earlier by the President of the Philippines and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya. The Bangkok Declaration issued on the occasion of the signing of the Accord says, in part:

"... the Association is in no way connected with any outside Power or Power bloc and is directed against no other country, but is essentially a free association of countries of South-East Asia having as its objectives the promotion, through joint endeavour, of the well-being and the economic, social and cultural progress of this region."

29. This declaration, I believe, embodies the new spirit of Southeast Asia which, in the midst of distrust,

fears and conflicting interests, seeks to harmonize rather than divide, to build rather than destroy and to co-operate rather than merely to coexist peacefully or otherwise. It may be of interest to note that the three members of the ASA, namely, the Philippines, Malaya and Thailand, which compose the Association, have little in common either ethnically, historically or culturally. Two of the members are Malay by origin, while Thailand is of Thai stock. Our religions are also different: the Philippines follows the Roman Catholic faith, while Malaya is Islamic and Thailand Buddhist. But in spite of these and other differences, we have come to join together, bound by our faith in freedom and independence, and animated by the desire to see Asia follow a destiny of progress and prosperity through friendly and practical co-operation.

30. Our efforts are no doubt modest and regional in character; they are at the same time historic in our part of the world, which for too long has been divided and kept apart from one another by alien rulers. But we firmly believe that the concept of Asian solidarity will gain momentum and will be beneficial to each and every one of the components as well as to the world at large.

31. While persistent efforts are being deployed, as I described above, to unite and to create a new sense of solidarity and co-operation, others are being exerted to separate one people from another and, within the same nation, to estrange one group from another. To achieve the latter aim, various means, ranging from political propaganda to economic enticements, have been and are being used. In certain cases force may be applied, which may lead anywhere, from local disturbances to seditious movements. At places where conditions are particularly favourable and national dissensions reach a high pitch internal struggles may be encouraged and the rebellious side may get prompt and adequate support, ranging from arms, equipment, cadres, technicians and money. The case in point, as you all know, is Laos which, from being the scene of an innocuous internal strife, has developed into a significant international problem. I may add that, while I am speaking—at this very moment—battles are raging in the Republic of Viet-Nam between the force of freedom and the force of disruption.

32. As to Laos, it is another problem which has been purposely kept outside the United Nations, even though its existence and its seriousness haunt many of our minds. Laos may be a small and remote country, far from both America and Europe, but Laos is a victim of international politics, of the policy of expansion and domination, and there may be other victims like it if not enough attention is paid to its case. Likewise, the Laos problem may loom insignificant in the international horizon; nevertheless, in that faraway kingdom, not only the fate, the freedom and the independence of one small nation will be decided, but also the future destiny of many other small nations which happen to form a very large majority in the Organization. If Laos is allowed to survive as a truly free and independent nation, then many of us of the small nations will have cause to rejoice. For we should not be oblivious to the fact that larger entities, even though ravaged by war and conflicts, have a good chance to survive and recover; but smaller nations, once destroyed, will be for ever obliterated and erased from the map of the world.

33. That is why we have no other course than to join together in support of peace, of a strong, united

and effective United Nations, rather than a reflection of a divided and threatened world. For many of us, it is no exaggeration to say that our status as independent nations is to a great extent measured by the Organization. If the United Nations grows healthy and strong, our stature is enhanced; otherwise our voices will be so feeble that they will hardly be heard. This is the course now open to us. There is no doubt that, as far as the Thai people are concerned, we choose a strong, undivided and effective United Nations. Therein lie our national interests as well as the interests of a peaceful world.

34. Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgarian People's Republic) (translated from Russian): The previous, fifteenth, session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted several sound and valuable resolutions regarding the settlement of international controversial problems which, unfortunately, because of the resistance shown by reactionary forces, were not complied with before the present session opened. Furthermore, the sixteenth session of the General Assembly is beginning its work at a time when international tension is increasing in various parts of the world.

35. For instance, the resolution on the abolition of colonialism [1514 (XV)] has not been implemented and however much the advocates of colonialism may try to claim that colonialism no longer exists, that it is measured in insignificant percentages, we are faced with a number of shocking facts. In Angola everything patriotic is being exterminated; a whole nation is being bereft of its leaders merely because it wants to achieve freedom and the executioners of the Angolan people, with extraordinary effrontery, are claiming that Angola is their province and so they can do anything they like there. Outrages are constantly being committed against the coloured population in the Republic of South Africa. Aggressive action has been taken against the people of Tunisia in Bizerta. Colonial warfare is still being waged in Algeria. Military intervention has been undertaken against free Cuba—intervention that was organized and financed by the United States and conducted from its territory. The enemies of peace are doing their utmost to disrupt the agreement for the formation of a government of an independent and neutral Laos. Fresh impetus has been given to the officious activities of the colonizers and their machinations directed against the unity and national sovereignty of the Congo—machinations which cost the life of the distinguished fighter against colonialism, the hero of the Congolese people, Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

36. Impartial observers of the contemporary scene can give an unhesitating reply to the query: who is responsible for all these developments which exacerbate the international situation and are a threat to peace all over the world. The imperialistic foreign policy of some Western Powers which regard any evidence of progress as a threat to their selfish interests and which have made anti-communism the corner-stone of their foreign policy—this is what is responsible for the developments that constitute such a danger for the fate of the world. The guilty party is colonialism which is still alive both in its most overt, brutal form and also, more especially, in its covert but equally reactionary form—the political and economic enslavement of the emancipated colonies.

37. And yet, all that is needed to end the present-day tension in international relations is the implementation

of some of the basic decisions of the United Nations General Assembly, such as those concerning the abolition of colonialism, the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament, and the peaceful coexistence of all States.

38. Instead, however, of conscientiously implementing United Nations resolutions and heeding the desire of all the peoples for the safeguarding of peace, we find ourselves witnessing fresh threats to world peace from imperialist circles. I have in mind, first and foremost, their attitude towards the problem of a peace treaty with Germany and a settlement of the abnormal situation in West Berlin.

39. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has declared that it considers it an intolerable state of affairs that, sixteen years after the end of the war, no peace treaty has yet been signed with Germany and the vestiges of the Second World War have not yet been eliminated. Together with all the socialist countries, the Bulgarian Government fully supported the proposals made over two years ago by Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, that an end should be put to the abnormal situation in which the lack of a peace treaty enables the surviving remnants of the Nazi militarists and irredentists to raise their heads again and threaten peace in Europe and all over the world.

40. The Bulgarian people have had practical experience of the consequences of Germany's aggressive, imperialist policy both in the more remote and in the quite recent past. The Bulgarian people have every reason, a keen desire and a firm intention to assist in the general task of preventing a repetition of the disasters caused by the aggressive policy of German militarism. Accordingly, our country particularly welcomed the Potsdam Agreement, signed on 26 July 1945, which was designed to eradicate German militarism, destroy its economic foundations in the shape of the German monopolies and denazify the whole of Germany—in a word, to make it impossible for German irredentists to rise up again and present their claims, claims that invariably involve the use of military force against other peoples.

41. It is common knowledge that, in the interests of all the peoples, i.e., on a completely democratic basis, the Potsdam Agreement made provision for certain "rights" to be denied to Germans: the "right" to re-establish the Kaiser's and Hitler's General Staff, to rebuild the German aggressive war machine and allow the unhindered growth of German monopolies. So, when nowadays some people, pretending to be naive or posing as defenders of theoretical democracy, talk about the "right of the Germans to self-determination", it would not come amiss to remind them of the Potsdam restrictions on German "rights". Self-determination in the framework of a peace-loving, democratic Germany which did not belong to military blocs, did not have an aggressive, irredentist army, did not advance territorial claims or threaten to annex other peoples' territories, a Germany which once and for all ceased to be hotbed of conflicts in the heart of Europe and solemnly undertook to carry out a policy of peace and neutrality—there you have a goal for whose achievement no peace-loving nation would grudge an effort.

42. The fact remains, however, that the conditions laid down in the Potsdam Agreement have been complied with only in the German Democratic Republic, whereas in the Federal Republic of Germany they

have been systematically disregarded to the point of becoming dead letter.

43. The ruins of Warsaw, Lidice, Coventry and Caen were still smouldering when the Western Powers grossly violated the agreements drawn up at Potsdam and Yalta. The Western Powers created a separate West German State and admitted it to NATO. Instead of "denazification", they took the line of overtly protecting the former Nazi leaders; war criminals of World War II are occupying responsible posts in the West German administration; former Nazi generals command the Bundeswehr; Nazi judges are in control of West German courts, persecuting and outlawing all the progressive forces in the country; ex-Nazis form the nucleus of the corps of teachers and professors in West Germany and spread Hitler's theories about revenge, the "Drang nach Osten" and "Greater Germany". Instead of "decartelization", we are again witnessing the formation of big armament and other monopolies in West Germany. Instead of "demilitarization", the West German army is being feverishly expanded and equipped with modern weapons.

44. Thus, German self-determination has operated in such a way that two entirely different German States have emerged, of which one—the German Democratic Republic—for the first time in history is a peace-loving socialist State that threatens no one and is friendly with all the peoples of the world, whereas, west of the Elbe, dreams are again being cherished, and at official level too, of military campaigns.

45. There can be no doubt that today the chief danger to European peace is the feverish rearmament of West Germany. Actively supported by the United States of America and its NATO allies, the West German militarists and irredentists have mobilized all the material resources and moral forces in West Germany for the preparation of a third world war. The West German army is being called—it was recently hailed as such by the former Nazi General Speidel—the backbone of NATO in Europe. Its impending equipment with atomic weapons is an open secret and no attempt is made to conceal the purposes for whose achievement this army is being prepared and trained.

46. The peace-loving peoples of Europe who, barely fifteen years ago, suffered enormous losses in battling to crush the Nazi beast are often being urged to believe that West Germany has broken with Nazism and its Nazi past, that Adenauer is not Hitler, that the Nazi generals who held leading positions in the Bundeswehr and NATO are merely officials performing their ordinary duties.

47. Such assertions deceive no one, if only because, now and then, leading figures in the Federal Republic of Germany themselves drop their pose of peace-lovers. If Hitler were alive, he could hardly put things better than Mr. Adenauer, the West German Chancellor, who, in a statement made as long ago as 1952 said: "Rearmament in West Germany should pave the way for a new order in Eastern Europe ..." and, further on: "We shall be able to seize the Soviet zone when the Western world is sufficiently powerful ...". Were Goering alive, he could not have put things better than the West German Minister of War, Mr. Strauss, who on his return from Washington last year, said: "If the plans for the expansion of our military equipment, which have been approved by the United States, are fulfilled, then in 1962 Moscow will again find

itself within the range of German weapons. And this time the weapons will be nuclear."

48. In the face of such assertions, together with the indisputable facts about the rapid rearmament of the West German irredentist army, no sensible person can possibly expect the socialist countries to fold their arms and wait while Mr. Adenauer calmly prepares a Nazi type of "new order" in Eastern Europe.

49. The United Kingdom Government may be trying to make the British public forget the time when Goering was "Coventrating" English cities and threatening to wipe the United Kingdom off the face of the earth, just as the French Government is trying to induce the French people to forget the days when the Nazis marched under the Arc de Triomphe and shot thousands of hostages. But the peoples cannot and will not forget, and the Bulgarian Government does not even intend to ask the Bulgarian people to forget, the tens of thousands who fell in 1941-44 in the fight against the Nazi invaders and their Bulgarian agents, or the tens of thousands who were killed in the war against Nazi Germany in 1944-45.

50. The Bulgarians, like all other peoples, are not vindictive. Today the struggle against nazism and all the evils it brought on our country is merely a heroic page in our most recent history and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready to maintain, and does actually maintain, friendly relations with the German people. Nevertheless, along with the other countries which suffered countless losses because of the Nazi invasion, our country cannot remain indifferent to the serious menace to European and world peace that is now being created in West Germany and West Berlin.

51. Regardless of the fact that West Berlin is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany, West German Government departments and institutions have been set up and are functioning there under cover of the occupation authorities and with the overt protection of the Western Powers; meetings of the Federal German Parliament and its organs are held and the application of Bonn legislation has been extended to West Berlin. The Government of the German Federal Republic claims the right to represent West Berlin in its relations with the outside world. The most responsible leaders of the Bonn State organize irredentist rallies and provocative activities against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries. The Western Powers use West Berlin as a base for subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic and the socialist countries, send in their spies and subversive agents and foment a war psychosis.

52. In such circumstances, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is the only way of normalizing the situation in West Berlin and removing a source of friction and conflict in the heart of Europe. Only the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany can bar the road to German militarism and irredentism and strengthen peace in Europe and all over the world. The proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States accords with the interests of all countries; the implementation of this proposal will conduce to a healthier international atmosphere. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, therefore, brooks no delay.

53. The lessons of history cannot be ignored, more especially when we are confronted with a repetition

of the same old policy of showing indulgence, and making concessions, to a potential aggressor. No one doubts, for instance, that if Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier had made it clear to Hitler that they would go to war against Germany if he pushed matters to the point of military conflict, instead of allowing him to arm to the teeth and successively ceding him whole States in Central Europe, there would never have been a Second World War. Western propagandists also realize that the lessons of Munich should not be forgotten, but they try to shift the blame from the guilty to the innocent party by accusing the socialist countries of non-existent aggressive intentions in face of which, they claim, the West must not retreat.

54. Yet not one of the socialist States offers the slightest threat to anyone whomsoever; no socialist country claims even an inch of West German territory or wants to deprive the population of West Berlin of its freedom to work and live as it likes, provided only that it does no harm to others.

55. On the contrary, just as it did on the eve of the Second World War, the Government of the Soviet Union, this time with the backing of all the socialist States, is insistently reminding the Western Powers of the dangers connected with the rearmament of the German militarists and is proposing concrete measures for preventing a new war which might be kindled by the unbridled forces of German irredentism, encouraged by certain Western circles.

56. The policy of a "new Munich" is inherent in the continuous concessions being made to West German militarism, in disregard of the lessons of Munich, by the Western Powers, which periodically repudiate the so-called restrictive agreements concluded with Germany in the matter of armed forces and armaments. The danger of a "new Munich" lies in the fact that, just as in Hitler's time, the aggressive, irredentist and militarist forces, helped and encouraged by the West, have grown and are continuing to grow to such an extent in the Federal Republic of Germany that, unless they are checked in good time, unless they are kept within the strictly defined limits and bounds laid down in a peace treaty, unless their appetites are curbed, they will assuredly unleash a third world war, if not today, then tomorrow.

57. An argument put forward against the immediate conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is the fact that at present there is no single German State in existence. But can those who oppose the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany now tell the peoples when and in what form they think a single German State will emerge and is it realistic to expect this at the present time? Can they then say how long it will be necessary to wait for the signature of a peace treaty with Germany? Of course, they cannot, because the unification of Germany, whose division is the fault of the Western Powers, can be a matter only for the Germans who live on both sides of the Elbe, and at the present moment they are evidently not ready for this. Unification imposed from outside Germany can only be effected by force, that is, by war. Consequently, we are left with one of two alternatives: either to put up with the situation of having no peace treaty for an indefinite period, or honestly to admit that the time is in fact long overdue for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German States that actually exist and are completely different from one another, and that there can be no further procrastination.

58. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, therefore, considers that in international life today there is no more pressing problem than that of concluding a peace treaty with the two German States, that the most important problem of today is that of offering timely resistance to the aggressive German militarism and irredentism that is now raising its head in the Federal Republic of Germany.

59. Against the background of the clearly defined situation in both German States and having regard to the peace proposals made by the socialist countries, what impression does the attitude of the Western Powers make? The United States and its NATO allies not only refuse to participate in concluding a peace treaty with the two German States; more than that, they try to deny the socialist States the right to conclude such a treaty.

60. However, the most inadmissible features of the Western Powers' reaction to the proposals for the elimination of the remnants of the Second World War are the military preparations and the direct military threats aimed by the West at the socialist camp, threats which account for the present extremely tense international situation. For several months past, almost every day (even on days when the United Nations General Assembly is meeting) responsible leaders of the Western Powers have been threatening to use nuclear weapons to prevent the conclusion of a German peace treaty. As has already been stated from this rostrum, the West is responding to the Soviet peace proposals with preparations for war. Naturally, if the socialist countries are attacked, they will have no option but to defend themselves with all the means at their disposal. But it will then be clear at once to the world who are the attackers and who are the attacked; it will be clear what baseless pretexts are being used for unleashing a new war and on whose side the truth lies.

61. It is a matter for gratification that authoritative international organizations, with many millions of members, have spoken up in favour of concluding a peace treaty with both German States at the earliest possible date; an announcement to that effect was made recently by the world Confederation of Trade Unions at the close of its proceedings in Berlin. It can be noted with satisfaction that the majority of those who attended the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned countries^{1/} also recognized both the fact of the existence of two German States and the need for concluding a peace treaty with Germany. As we all know, facts are stubborn things and it is to be hoped that they will be reckoned with by everyone.

62. The United Nations can play its positive role at the present session only by adopting decisions aimed at effectively safeguarding peace all over the world. The decisions should deal principally with the problem of general and complete disarmament.

63. The agenda of the United Nations General Assembly at its current sixteenth session comprises more than ninety items. Most of these are important questions which will undoubtedly be given due attention by delegations. There is, however, one question which as Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, very aptly put it, is the "problem of problems of our time". This is the problem of general and complete disarmament, the problem

of abolishing the material means of waging war, since this would make war impossible and would eliminate it for ever as a way of settling controversial international problems.

64. It can be noted with satisfaction that the idea of general and complete disarmament has now achieved universal recognition. More and more States realize that general and complete disarmament is not only the shortest, but also the most realistic, way of removing the nightmare of a new world war.

65. The opening of the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly was marked by the achievement of agreement between the Governments of the USSR and the United States on the principles on which the conduct of further disarmament discussions should be based (A/4879). These principles are founded not on partial measures of disarmament but on the idea of general and complete disarmament. The Joint Statement signed by the USSR and the United States is an important development in the long history of disarmament negotiations, possibly the most important one since the adoption by the General Assembly at its fourteenth session of the resolution on general and complete disarmament (resolution 1378 (XIV)), the basic provisions of which are confirmed in the Joint Statement.

66. The governmental delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the delegations of the other socialist States, sincerely strove both in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament and during the fifteenth session of the General Assembly for the practical achievement of aims set by the resolution adopted at the fourteenth session on 20 November 1959. Let us hope that the day is approaching when the representatives of the Western Powers will announce that their Governments are ready to pass from oratory to the framing of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

67. Even now, however, certain provisions in the plan [A/4891] for general and complete disarmament submitted by the United States bode ill for the success of future disarmament negotiations. The Bulgarian delegation will have occasion to express its opinion more fully when the Assembly begins to discuss the disarmament problem. The attention of the General Assembly should, however, be drawn forthwith to two important facts.

68. The first point which impresses one is that the plan proposed by the United States, like the disarmament plans previously presented by the United States and the other Western countries, does not specify any time-limits within which the programme of general and complete disarmament is to be carried out. It is common knowledge that even the best plan only really becomes a plan when a definite date is set for its fulfilment. Such a time-limit is provided for in the Soviet Union's proposals. If the time-limit seems to some countries to be short—that is another matter, but there is, and there can be, no plan without a time-limit. This is particularly clear at the present time when, as everyone believes, mankind may at any moment be swept into the abyss of a ballistic-nuclear war even as a result of a mistake, a miscalculation or a technical defect in a mechanism. Mankind cannot go on endlessly living in the atmosphere of a "balance of terror". After fifteen years of fruitless negotiations on disarmament the United Nations cannot phlegmatically offer the peoples nothing more than a new series of discussions and new negotiations

^{1/} Held 1-6 September 1961.

without fixing a definite time-limit. How long must we still wait for disarmament? Five, ten, fifteen or more years? And yet it is obvious that with the continuous perfecting of modern means of destruction any procrastination over the disarmament problem is fraught with ever greater dangers and at the same time augments the difficulties in the path of disarmament.

69. Secondly, if we scrutinize more closely the plan presented by the United States, we cannot fail to notice that in one respect it represents a substantial step backwards as compared with the Joint Statement by the USSR and the United States. The United States plan is still based on the old concept of controlled armaments, not controlled disarmament. It need hardly be emphasized that the socialist countries are no whit less interested than other States in the most conscientious implementation of a disarmament agreement. All the proposals made by the Soviet Union concerning general and complete disarmament contain detailed and concrete provisions for the control and inspection of disarmament.

70. In order, however, for international control to be really effective, control measures must be indissolubly linked with concrete disarmament measures and must conform to such measures. If reservations are again advanced which in substance are tantamount to control before disarmament, i.e., while there is still no disarmament, which is nothing else but control of armaments, there seems to be little prospect of finding a way out of the impasse created by the Western Powers.

71. It has correctly been pointed out here that in 1941 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was subjected to a treacherous surprise attack by an imperialist coalition, which is precisely why the Soviet Union, and nobody else, is morally entitled to refuse to disclose all its military secrets before general and complete disarmament is achieved. And yet the authors of Western disarmament plans would like—evidently as a reward for condescending to make some reduction in their conventional armaments—to be given the right of wide control, i.e., to put it bluntly, the right to gather intelligence information by exploring all the territory under control; in so doing, they might try to find out not only what is left of the armaments to be reduced, but also, for example, how it comes about that Soviet super-rockets manage to make such accurate hits on targets at a distance of 15,000 kilometres, where those rockets are located, how many there are of them, etc.

72. We are quite sure that ultimately everybody will realize what a mistaken attitude this is. We recollect, after all, how two years ago seemingly serious people asserted here, in referring to general and complete disarmament, that war could be waged with sticks and knives and so there was no sense in talking of disarmament. Such childish ideas now sound laughable. It seems as if the forces working for peace will still have to do a lot of work to prove the correctness of the very simple truth that there can be, and there will be, no control without disarmament and no control over armaments.

Mr. Ortiz Martín (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the chair.

73. It appears quite obvious that in the present international atmosphere only disarmament can lead to confidence among States. Naturally, if the idea

is to carry out in the first stage quite insignificant, or even fictitious, reductions of armaments and armed forces, this will hardly help to create confidence. If, however, right at the outset of a programme of general and complete disarmament, steps are taken towards a substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, towards abolishing all foreign bases and adopting other measures which will remove the threat of a surprise attack, then it will undoubtedly be possible to talk of a gradual but real establishment of confidence between States.

74. The peoples of the world and the Members of the United Nations waited nearly a year for the new United States Government to be able to "finalize" its disarmament programme and now it has to be admitted that some of the basic principles underlying this "new" programme are very reminiscent of the previous United States programme and policy which also provided not for the control of disarmament but for the control of armaments.

75. I shall be giving away no secrets if I point out whose interest is served by this kind of policy, a policy which, far from hindering, serves, on the contrary, to screen the arms race. We all know very well that the prices of shares on the New York Stock Exchange fall every time there is any likelihood of a relaxation of the tension prevailing in international relations and rise at the prospect of an international crisis. In 1955, after the summit conference at Geneva, the Wall Street Journal in an outburst of frankness stated that the danger was of peace breaking out all over the world. It is this "danger"—a danger for the armament monopolies, not for the peoples—with which the new United States Government evidently has to contend. There is no other possible explanation for the efforts it, as well as its allies in aggressive alliances, is making to exacerbate any dispute that arises, for its endless sabre-rattling, its attempts to create a war psychosis, to menace the socialist countries with atomic bombs, while hypocritically protesting against the measures taken for their security by those who are being threatened.

76. With truly unparalleled hypocrisy, those who are preparing to involve mankind in thermonuclear war make a pretence of being concerned about its health. Three years ago nuclear weapons tests were discontinued but this was preceded by prolonged appeals by the USSR and all the peace-loving States; unilateral discontinuance of tests by the Soviet Union; full completion of the projected and prepared programmes of explosions by the United Kingdom and the United States. During this three-year period the latter States dragged out fruitless negotiations, prated about the inevitability of an atomic war, prepared for the resumption of tests and without exhibiting the slightest indignation, watched the tests of atomic weapons being made by their ally.

77. The present hypocritical reaction of the Western Powers towards the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union reminds one of the long past days of the early years of the Soviet regime. It was then that intervention was organized against a socialist State and it did not suit the interventionists when the Soviet communists, whose programme had in fact hitherto called for the disbandment of the regular army, created the Red Army and defeated their enemies. The defensive military measures forced upon the Bolsheviks at that time saved the young Soviet Republic—and much later, the USSR, the first

socialist country. The anti-communists, who had resorted to arms to achieve their aims, were beaten. Their successors should surely realize that they cannot count on a weak USSR or a weak socialist camp. World peace can only benefit from being defended by powerful forces. At this session too the Soviet Union is putting forward the most realistic, the most concrete and comprehensive proposals for ensuring world peace through general and complete disarmament under strict control.

78. While it agrees on the need for the preparation and conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on general and complete disarmament, the Bulgarian delegation considers that, even before general and complete disarmament has been actually realized, it would be possible to adopt separate measures, including measures of a regional character, which would create more favourable conditions and a better atmosphere for reaching agreement regarding general and complete disarmament. The measures proposed in the Soviet Government's memorandum, such as the freezing of military budgets, a renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of war propaganda, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries—these would result in practical progress towards the lessening of international tension and would thereby diminish the danger of war.

79. It would be especially helpful in lessening tension in international relations if the proposal for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and also the proposals for transforming the Balkans into a zone of lasting peace and good-neighbourly relations were put into effect.

80. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has more than once put forward its own, and supported other peoples', proposals for the transformation of the Balkans and the Adriatic region into an atom-free zone, a zone free from ballistic weapons, for the settlement of outstanding problems by negotiation and for the conclusion of a series of agreements such as are usually adopted between neighbours.

81. We note, with regret, that some of our neighbours, instead of meeting halfway the proposals for transforming the Balkans into a peace zone, are continuing to follow in the wake of the NATO bloc's aggressive policy. As you know, the military command of this organization recently carried out manoeuvres on an unprecedentedly large scale with the participation of the Turkish and Greek armies, the United States Sixth Fleet, United States and British parachute and other military detachments. These manoeuvres took place on Turkish and Greek territory in immediate and dangerous proximity to Bulgaria's borders.

82. There can be no doubt that these acts of military provocation are directly aimed at the security of our country, as well as of other socialist countries. It is, therefore, more than obvious that, as was stated on 18 September 1961 by Mr. Todo Zlatev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party: "The Bulgarian Government cannot close its eyes to all this ... it is taking and will, with the help of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries, take all the necessary steps that circumstances require with a view to strengthening still further the defensive power of our country."

83. In taking steps to defend itself, the Bulgarian Government has no intention whatsoever of threatening

anyone; but it would not be justifying the immense confidence placed in it by its people if it did not take all necessary steps to safeguard the peaceful activities, national independence and sovereignty of our country in the face of threats and encroachments.

84. Lasting peace is an essential condition for the successful implementation of the Bulgarian Government's programme for the speedy completion of the country's industrialization and the steady improvement of the population's standard of living. Within the short period of fifteen years, the People's Republic of Bulgaria—one of the most backward countries in Europe at the close of the Second World War—has left its capitalist neighbours far behind in the economic, cultural and social welfare fields. Shoulder to shoulder with all the socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will, in the next one or two decades, overtake a number of developed capitalist countries in per caput production and in living standards.

85. It goes without saying that, if this programme is to be carried out successfully, lasting peace is essential. Hence, the policy of peace which is an intrinsic feature of people's government.

86. Everyone who has had an opportunity in recent years of observing the relations between Bulgaria and her neighbours will clearly realize that the Bulgarian Government has invariably sought in every way to improve, strengthen and widen its relations with those countries.

87. We welcome the initiative taken by people active in Greek public life—people whom, incidentally, no one can suspect of being pro-communist—as a result of which in most of the Balkan countries the friends of peace and of the peaceful coexistence of States have now organized committees for inter-Balkan co-operation.

88. It cannot be denied that this initiative corresponds far more closely to the interests of the Balkan countries than the ties of alliance some of them have with the successors of the German imperialist conquerors who in their day attempted to eliminate the Balkan States altogether.

89. For centuries past the Balkan peninsula was a focal point where hostile interests clashed and a hotbed of dissension among the Great Powers; it was the theatre of several wars even in the twentieth century. Bulgaria has nowadays become a meeting-place for scores of economic, cultural, athletic and other delegations from different countries, for tens of thousands of tourists from all over the world. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will do its utmost to see that the old reputation of the Balkan peninsula as a hotbed of world conflicts disappears.

90. The policy of peace and peaceful socialist construction followed by the Bulgarian Government is unanimously supported by the whole Bulgarian nation. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot, therefore, but rebut indignantly the slanderous remarks we have heard at the present session of the General Assembly with reference to the peoples' democracies, whose peoples were liberated as a result of Soviet military victories and which, after their liberation, were unwilling to tolerate their capitalist exploiters any longer and struck out on a socialist course.

91. May I in this connexion remind those who, in furtherance of the "cold war", seek to slander socialist Bulgaria that the leading social force in our country, the Bulgarian Communist Party, was founded seventy years ago and enjoyed the sympathetic support of the bulk of the Bulgarian nation even in the days when, under that Party's leadership, it fought against Bulgarian involvement in the First World War and when, later on, in 1923 it rose up in the first anti-fascist insurrection in the world.

92. Let me point out that, in the interval between the two wars, tens of thousands of progressive men and women in Bulgaria passed through fascist prisons and concentration camps just because they were fighting for the triumph of the Bulgarian Communist Party's ideal of a free and independent Bulgaria. The Bulgarian people suffered many serious losses in waging an armed struggle against capitalism and fascism.

93. Those are the historical facts. Like all facts, they are inexorable. They are certainly harsh for those who dream of restoring the capitalist system in our country which has once, and for all, forsworn capitalism. But these facts are the people's achievement; they are completely in accordance with the wishes of the Bulgarian nation which, with outstanding energy and enthusiasm, is building a communist future for coming generations. We must, therefore, decline to take lessons in freedom, democracy and equal rights from a world in which the mere utterance of such words results in persecution, arrests, imprisonment and death for "ordinary people".

94. One of the most important problems of our time is the abolition of colonialism and the cessation of imperialist interference in the affairs of independent States.

95. The representatives of colonial Powers try to minimize the significance of this problem and to create the impression that colonialism is already dead and not worth talking about. Thus, the representatives of the Western Powers who have already spoken here have said nothing about last year's General Assembly resolution on the abolition of colonialism; nor have they mentioned the situation in the colonial countries that have not yet been liberated or in those recently liberated where so-called neo-colonialism is creating complications that are a danger to international peace.

96. Lord Home told us that the United States is "prosperous" because it was once a British colony, though it is common knowledge that the United States embarked on a course of rapid economic development precisely after it freed itself from colonial dependence. But neither the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs nor the other responsible representatives of colonial Powers touched on the question of the situation in those countries which only quite recently obtained their national independence and which certainly do not look prosperous. The speakers made no mention of Algeria, Angola, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or of other territories and countries where there are acute colonial problems that are disturbing all mankind.

97. Colonialism has been condemned but it has not yet disappeared from the face of the earth. The General Assembly would be taking the right course if it noted this fact and fixed a specific time-limit for the abolition of colonialism. We consider that

that time-limit should be the end of next year, 1962. Pending the expiry of this time-limit, the primary need is to end all colonial wars immediately and to grant all colonial and dependent countries forthwith the requisite freedoms to ensure their independent development and the creation of an independent State administration.

98. It is essential that colonialism should be eliminated in more than a formal sense. An end must be put to all manifestations of colonialism such as interference in the domestic affairs of former colonies that have attained independence. Compelled by the irresistible desire of colonial peoples for freedom and independence to cede many of their political positions in the former colonies, the imperialist States are doing their utmost to preserve at least their economic domination over these countries. It is precisely this policy of neo-colonialism which led to the attempts to separate Katanga and to the crisis in the Congo with all its tragic consequences. By attempting to induce the new African States to join the European Common Market, by increasing their capital investments in Africa, the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States, having been ejected by the colonial peoples, are trying to enter their former possessions through the back door. The danger of the new form of economic slavery threatening the countries recently liberated from colonialism should not be underestimated, more especially as the imperialist States are not making capital investments without an eye to profits, but are making such investments contingent upon political conditions and, in the final analysis, on political dependence; in addition, they are trying to expand in the under-developed countries not so much industrial production as the output of raw materials.

99. In discussing the foreign economic policy of the capitalist Powers, one inevitably calls to mind the case of the Latin-American States which have been figuring in the United Nations technical assistance lists year after year as under-developed countries, although most of them gained their national independence 100 or even 150 years ago; United Nations official statistics show that in the period 1946-1954 for every dollar of new investments made by United States companies in Latin America three dollars seventeen cents were brought back in the shape of profits.

100. Closely connected with neo-colonialism is the practice of the major Western Powers of intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. It is the duty of the United Nations categorically to denounce this dangerous practice. The agenda of the present Assembly session contains an item concerning the aggression which the United States is preparing against Cuba. One act of aggression against Cuba was committed by the United States this last spring. Instead of learning a lesson from that failure, the United States is trying to justify a right that it does not possess and to dictate to the people of Cuba, regardless of their own wishes, the kind of domestic regime they should have. And when the Cuban people refuse to listen to the advice of their big neighbour, preparations are begun for fresh aggression with a view to a further attempt to impose a particular political regime and social system upon it. The way United States leaders are behaving towards Cuba is an excellent example of how widely the imperialists' fine talk about respect for other peoples' sovereignty differs from their ugly deeds. But the sympathies

of the whole progressive world are with the independent Cuba and the aggressors will have to reckon with this fact. If the General Assembly wishes to avoid international complications, it will take a definite stand against all anti-Cuban intrigues and the aggressive action contemplated.

101. I now pass on to matters connected with the re-establishment of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the need for structural changes in the Organization itself.

102. The Bulgarian Government and its delegation have had frequent occasion to express the opinion that those who are preventing the People's Republic of China from taking its seat in the United Nations are, in reality, taking a line which will disrupt the United Nations itself. There would be no sense in having the United Nations as a club for a "meeting of minds" and it is not such a club. Yet the great People's China is not being admitted to the United Nations because it is communist. Such a disgraceful state of affairs cannot be tolerated any longer, though it does not in actual practice prevent China from successfully organizing its own life. It is the United Nations and its effectiveness that suffer and some of its decisions may prove to be built on sand. That is why we must go on repeating the demand that the real China should be given its own seat at this present session of the General Assembly.

103. As regards the structure of the United Nations, the need for its improvement is accepted by the majority of delegations. It is necessitated by the fact that in the world of today there are three groups of States which must be taken into consideration, more especially in connexion with the task of achieving a more satisfactory organization of the executive organs of the United Nations, particularly the Secretariat. We must resolutely rebut the charge levelled at the socialist countries that, in demanding the formation of a collective secretariat, they are seeking to destroy the United Nations itself. It is being destroyed by inaction, by impotence in the face of aggression, by passivity towards the destroyers of its own resolutions. The foundations of the United Nations are undermined when acts are committed such as those we have witnessed in the Congo. When such acts become impossible, when the Secretariat ceases to function in the interests of one group of States and to tolerate action detrimental to the interests of any other group of States, then the authority of the United Nations will rise to unprecedented heights.

104. One of the characteristic features of the situation in which the sixteenth session has begun its work is the fact that international political problems concern millions of people all over the world as they have never done before in history. The peoples have risen up to wage a determined struggle for the maintenance of peace. In this Hall, we cannot but be conscious of the will of the peoples who are thirsting for peace. It will greatly facilitate the work of the Assembly at the sixteenth session if it can resolutely go forward and meet the desires of the peoples. True, attempts are still being made here to foment the "cold war", inter alia, by asserting that the representatives of eighty-one communist and workers' parties meeting in Moscow were concerned with world conquest, whereas they were in fact engaged in evaluating the prospects of world development; the domestic regimes of States are the business of those who inhabit them. What is true, however, is

that the idea of the proper role and real possibilities of the United Nations is making an increasingly powerful impact.

105. We take pride in the fact that at this session, too, the socialist countries, and, more especially, the country which sent the heroes Gagarin and Titov into outer space and brought them back again—the mighty Soviet Union—are consistently defending the peaceful coexistence of all States and are facilitating the work of the Assembly by their proposals. The adoption of these proposals will remove the danger of military conflicts both now and in the future. Accordingly, the Bulgarian delegation will support them in the firm conviction that they correspond to the interests of all the peoples of the world.

106. Mr. ISSA (Somalia): I would like to join the distinguished speakers who preceded me on this rostrum in paying solemn tribute to the memory of the late Secretary-General and to the devoted officials of the United Nations who met an untimely and tragic death in Africa while serving on a vital peace-restoring mission.

107. The President of the Somali Republic sent messages expressing the condolences of the Somali Government and people as soon as he learned of this sad event. I want to take this opportunity to express our condolences to the United Nations, to the Government of Sweden, and to the family of Dag Hammarskjöld for this irreparable loss. We wish also to extend our sympathy and condolences to the Governments and to the families of the officials who died with the Secretary-General.

108. The loyalty with which the late Secretary-General served the United Nations and its noble ideals is a shining example of selfless and wholehearted dedication to this body and to the cause of peace, and it will not be forgotten by mankind. I feel confident that the ideals for which he strove so faithfully, energetically and diligently will one day triumph.

109. It gives us great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Slim upon his election to the office of President. His long experience at the United Nations is well known to my delegation and I am sure that all here who have known him for many years will add affection to their respect. He is a well known and highly respected figure at the United Nations and needs no praise in the Assembly. My country congratulates its sister African Republic of Tunisia for the honour bestowed on one of its most valiant sons. Therefore, I wish to express the sincere hope that God may inspire the President in the fulfilment of his difficult task.

110. For fifteen years the cold war has bedevilled international issues. It has been an almost insuperable impediment to world stability and, one may add, to the economic progress of the whole world.

111. Today the peace of the world is under a greater threat than it has been at any time since the end of the Second World War. The principal cause is the armaments race among the great Powers.

112. The people of the world desire peace and are vitally concerned with the armaments race because it galvanizes mankind's attention and reflects the fear of war. The last world conflict caused incalculable loss and misery to humanity. Yet today the great Powers are piling up thousands of tons of destructive weapons in their arsenals.

113. It is most deplorable that astronomical sums of money and inestimable amounts of human energy

should be spent on the manufacture of such diabolic weapons instead of on humane measures and on social services such as the abolition of hunger, illiteracy, disease and other manifestations of economic poverty in the less developed countries of the world.

114. The current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will again examine the perennial problem of disarmament. I hope that the General Assembly, and particularly the great Powers concerned, will realize the consequences of the threat to world security which the armaments race imposes, and that they will strive to find a solution.

115. The recent resumption of nuclear tests by some great Powers has shocked the world. These tests have shattered the hopes of millions of peace-loving peoples and they should be strongly condemned because they only increase world tension.

116. The French Government has persisted in carrying out nuclear tests in Africa in complete disregard of the wishes of, and contrary to the demands made by, the people of that continent not to use their soil as a testing ground. The matter has already been raised before several international conferences, and resolutions urging the cessation of these tests were passed. We strongly condemn these French actions, as they are in flagrant disregard and defiance of these resolutions.

117. It is imperative that measures be speedily taken to ban all nuclear tests if world peace and the physical integrity of mankind are to be preserved. We therefore urge the Powers concerned to reconsider their decisions to resume the testing of nuclear weapons, because they affect the lives of millions of people throughout the world. I am confident that an agreement banning the testing of nuclear weapons will soon be reached.

118. We know that there is no effective defence against intercontinental nuclear missiles and that a nuclear war would be devastating. We are also conscious of the danger that can be caused to present and future generations by the effect of radiation. Knowing therefore the havoc and destruction that can be wrought by nuclear warfare, we consider it essential that constant efforts be made towards the conclusion of a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons.

119. Since the end of the last world war there has been a series of major crises in different parts of the world—in Korea, Algeria, Laos, Angola, the Congo and elsewhere. Today we are faced with an even more highly critical situation in Berlin.

120. The possibilities of an uncalculated and explosive incident in Berlin increase daily. Since the results of a major conflict over Berlin could be disastrous to all mankind, it is essential that we give this matter our most careful and unbiased consideration in our deliberations and that we unanimously agree to urge both sides to continue their efforts to reach a settlement by means of peaceful negotiations. It is my belief that a permanent solution to the Berlin situation can be found if the German people are permitted to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination.

121. The existence of military bases in foreign countries adds to world tension and is a factor in the cold war. The evacuation of these military bases would certainly lessen world tension.

122. Deeply concerned about the deterioration in the world situation, Somalia and the other non-aligned countries that participated in the recent conference held at Belgrade^{2/} have sent an appeal through their emissaries to the President of the United States of America and to the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. The need that prompted this appeal still obtains. Our responsibility towards humanity impels us to urge these two statesmen to consider how their actions affect the entire world. We urge them once more to meet and seek an early settlement of those problems which are causing world-wide anxiety.

123. Government leaders have often expressed their desire for peaceful coexistence among nations with different political and social institutions. It is desirable that we recognize the legitimacy of these differences and that we agree to respect the wishes of all other nations to follow the political, economic and social systems which they have chosen. To achieve peaceful coexistence, all nations must refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other States.

124. The question of unwarranted intervention in the internal affairs of other States deserves our consideration at this meeting. Such intervention is regrettable and is an additional source of international tension, as was observed in the Congo crisis and in other similarly serious situations. Had the Congolese people been allowed to settle their own national affairs with only the assistance of the United Nations, the wanton destruction of lives and property, the disruption of normal public activities and the present grave constitutional, administrative and economic problems prevailing there might have been averted.

125. The vast sums of money and the energy devoted to repair the chaos created by external interference in Congolese internal affairs could very well have been devoted to much more fruitful and beneficial enterprises. I sincerely hope that everything possible will be done to prevent such unwarranted intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

126. While on this subject, may I point out that it would be most unfortunate and inequitable if the legitimate territorial claims of a State were to be interpreted as unwarranted intervention and were disapproved of on that ground. It would likewise be a gross injustice to regard any support granted to colonial peoples struggling for self-determination as unwarranted interference.

127. Colonialism constitutes not only an alarming and persistent source of local conflict, but also a direct threat to world peace and security. The attention which has been given to the problems of colonialism has brought about a certain measure of common understanding, for it has been recognized that colonialism must be considered first and foremost from the point of view of human dignity, world security and peace.

128. I believe that, quite apart from the threat to international peace which it represents, colonialism is one of the evils that mankind not only abhors but is determined to eliminate once and for all. In this regard, it should be added that this was the aim and hope of the resolution [1514 (XV)] which the General Assembly adopted at its fifteenth session, a resolution which condemned colonialism in all its forms and

manifestations. Again, in Belgrade the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries not only endorsed the United Nations resolution on colonialism but also went further by calling for the immediate granting of independence to peoples under colonial rule. But despite these resolutions calling for the liquidation of colonialism, millions of people, particularly in the African continent, are still oppressed and ruled by alien minorities.

129. The valiant Algerian people, as all know, has been carrying on a heroic struggle for independence for the past seven years. We hope that their efforts will be crowned with success and that they will soon realize all their national aspirations, without any diminution of their territorial integrity. We have consistently supported the Algerian cause and solemnly declare our intention to continue doing so until the Algerian people attain their final goal and occupy their rightful place in the community of nations.

130. I wish to inform the Assembly on this occasion that my Government has recently decided to extend official recognition to the provisional government of the Algerian Republic as the sole and legitimate Government of that African sister nation.

131. The African people's struggle for independence in Angola has been frustrated by the Portuguese Government with brutal reprisals, reprisals which involve the indiscriminate massacre of thousands of Africans, irrespective of sex or age. The argument that Goa, Mozambique, Angola and so-called "Portuguese Guinea" form an integral part of Portugal is a legal fiction too absurd to merit any serious consideration.

132. The plight of the African people in South Africa, South West Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Ruanda-Urundi and other African territories, who are also the victims of oppression by alien minorities, likewise deserves our profound sympathy and attention. The life of misery and injustice to which millions of Africans, particularly in South Africa and South West Africa, have been subjected by an alien minority presents an explosive situation which may plunge the whole of the African continent into a disastrous conflict.

133. The Assembly should strongly condemn the high-handed action of the Government of South Africa. That Government has hindered all attempts by the United Nations to supervise the administration of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa, and it has suppressed the desire of the people for justice, freedom and independence.

134. A federal system of government with a legislature and an executive composed of European immigrants is being imposed on the Africans who constitute the vast majority of the population in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Africans there are determined to oppose the unjust rule of these fascist elements who have the same racial outlook as the rulers of South Africa. The earnest desire of the Africans of the Federation is to obtain justice and independence.

135. A tense situation prevails in Northern Rhodesia, where a number of Africans were recently brutally massacred. In Southern Rhodesia, Africans are faced with a life of frustration and are denied their fundamental rights. Let us consider how we can best support these Africans and protect them from meeting the deplorable fate of those in South Africa.

136. We heartily rejoice in the fact that Tanganyika to attain its independence this year, but we regret that we cannot express similar pleasure in regard to the constitutional situation in the neighbouring East African territories of Kenya and Uganda. Recent developments in these territories have aroused some optimism regarding their constitutional future, however, and it is our fervent hope that both Kenya and Uganda will soon attain their independence.

137. We ask therefore that the right of self-determination be granted to all peoples of Africa and elsewhere, so that they may freely choose the kind of social and political institutions that suit them.

138. I should like to draw your attention to the tendency by many of us to regard colonialism solely as the domination by a European nation over African or Asian territories and to remain aloof and mute when we see a people of one race dominated by an alien people of the same race or colour. Such a state of affairs obtains in the continents of Africa, Asia and Europe. It would be advisable for us to study closely all such disparities and to request friendly States to use their good offices to persuade the parties in these situations to reach amicable settlements, since these divergencies, which may seem of secondary importance today, may in the near future develop into matters of primary importance.

139. As I stated earlier, colonialism can assume a variety of forms and manifestations, and the consequences of colonialism have left many problems unresolved in the African continent. Today, the Somali people are suffering from these problems and in particular from the "scramble for Africa" in the nineteenth century. It was at that time that the European colonial Powers, in their penetration of Northeast Africa, divided the Somalis into several political entities. We regret to say that a neighbouring African State participated in this scramble.

140. The dismemberment of the Somali territory is a matter of vital concern to Somalis wherever they may reside. The Somalis are ethnically and culturally homogeneous and possess a common tradition, religion and language. It is therefore only natural that they should desire to be united and that the artificial boundaries arbitrarily imposed by the imperialist Powers on the Somalis be removed as soon as possible.

141. The Somali Government and the Somali people want the unification of Somalia in a single national entity to be obtained by peaceful and legal means. So far, we have been able to achieve the reunification of the former Trust Territory of Somalia and the former Somaliland Protectorate, and we hope that the rest of our territories will be restored to us soon by peaceful negotiations.

142. One portion of Somali territory still under the yoke of foreign rule is French Somaliland. French Somaliland, together with Algeria, represents the last barricade of French colonialism in the African continent. In order to suppress the national aspirations of the Somalis there, the French imperialists have employed excessively harsh measures, including large-scale arrests and intimidation. France's tyrannical policy has caused many of the inhabitants to seek asylum in the territory of our Republic and elsewhere. The absurd results of the referendum held in French Somaliland in 1958 are ample proof of the hypocrisy of the French colonialists. The

inhumane measures taken by the French authorities to eradicate Somali nationalism have been intensified since the attainment of our independence.

143. I want to turn to another portion of Somali territory under foreign rule. During the process of colonial expansion and the consequent dismemberment of our country, Ethiopia seized the opportunity to absorb a large portion of Somali territory. The Somalis who inhabit this territory have repeatedly voiced their desire to join their brothers in the Somali Republic.

144. Still another section of Somali territory lost to foreign jurisdiction is today considered a part of Kenya.

145. The dismemberment of Somali territory by foreign Powers has produced serious tensions. It is likely to endanger the peace and stability of the Horn of Africa. The just and legitimate aspirations of the Somalis for national unity, therefore, should be given prompt and serious consideration. We are convinced that the one and only solution lies in the granting of the right to self-determination of the Somalis still under foreign rule, this right to self-determination to be expressed through some form of plebiscite conducted under the supervision of an impartial body.

146. In 1950, Somalia was placed under the United Nations Trusteeship System and Italy was appointed as the Administering Authority. Since the boundary between Somalia and Ethiopia was not then defined, Italy accepted with reservations the provisional administrative line, arbitrarily drawn by Ethiopia and Great Britain without the knowledge or consent of the Somali people directly concerned.

147. Throughout the Italian administration, the Somalis urged an early solution of the boundary problem. In response to our appeals the United Nations on several occasions recommended that both Ethiopia and Italy should intensify their efforts to achieve a just, equitable and final settlement of the boundary question.

148. Despite these recommendations, the problem remains unresolved. We are profoundly concerned about the absence of a defined boundary. Our apprehensions can be better appreciated if you take into consideration the fact that the provisional administrative line extends for approximately one thousand kilometres.

149. The situation is aggravated further by frequent Ethiopian troop movements along the provisional administrative line as well as by the continual entry of Ethiopian armed forces into our territory and by violations of our air-space by Ethiopian military planes.

150. Our very existence as a sovereign State has been repeatedly endangered by this unresolved boundary problem. Time does not permit me to elaborate on all the difficulties we have experienced during the first year of our independence. The world Organization is morally obliged to seek a speedy solution to this serious problem which we have unfortunately inherited from our period as a Trust Territory.

151. Another serious problem which the Somali Republic faces derives from the transfer of parts of the Somali territory known as the "Reserved Area" and the Haud by the United Kingdom to Ethiopia in

the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty^{3/} of November 1954. These regions, which are inhabited exclusively by Somalis, are the main grazing areas for the Somalis who inhabit adjacent regions.

152. The restrictions which were imposed by Ethiopian authorities on the free movement of Somalis residing in the area and the denial of access to vital water supplies to Somalis were the main causes of the serious incident of Danot in which many Somalis, including women and children, were brutally massacred by the Ethiopian armed forces. Other serious incidents in which many Somalis lost their lives and property under similar circumstances occurred at Aishaa, Beyu Anod and Dagahbur.

153. These and similar incidents convince us that Somalis inhabiting Ethiopian-held territories are systematically persecuted. Although such frequent brutalities occur outside the present territorial limits of the Somali Republic, we can remain neither silent nor indifferent to the plight of our Somali brothers who lack security and protection for their lives and property.

154. Particular attention must be paid, I think, to the despicable policy of apartheid as practised by the Government of South Africa and to other forms of racial discrimination which negate the fundamental principles of human rights and dignity.

155. This problem, which concerns millions of Africans all over the continent, represents a discouraging and frustrating feature in the African people's struggle for progress, well-being and human dignity. In addition, apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security. It is, therefore, a problem not only for Africans but also for the international community.

156. The fundamental rights of all men are clearly stated in the Charter of the United Nations. They were made an integral part of the Charter in order to advance and safeguard man's heritage of liberty, freedom and human rights. This implies that no nation, no race, can be expected to progress when, as in some parts of Africa today, its people are governed by a minority of immigrants who deprive the vast majority of their legitimate rights to political, social and economic advancement and security.

Mr. Slim (Tunisia) resumed the chair.

157. South Africa's policy of apartheid has subjected millions of Africans to indescribable humiliation; and by depriving Africans of the right to vote, to acquire immovable property, to receive all forms of higher education, and to hold any position of importance in any sphere, it has reduced the inhabitants to a status of serfdom. These actions are an affront to humanity and an insult to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which represents the very foundation of the Organization. Therefore, my Government, opposing vigorously any form of racial discrimination, cannot refrain from unequivocally condemning the apartheid policy as practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

^{3/} Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Imperial Ethiopian Government relating to certain matters connected with the withdrawal of British Military Administration from the territories designated as the Reserved Area and the Ogaaden. Signed at London, on 29 November 1954. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 207 (1955), I, No. 2811.

158. We also condemn other forms of racial discrimination and segregation practised by other Governments.

159. Experience during the last decade has shown, however, that mere verbal condemnation is totally inadequate to resolve this problem which is a blight on contemporary civilization. The resolutions of the Organization must go beyond mere rhetorical condemnation and must be in the form of concrete proposals for remedying the situation.

160. My Government now regards it as crucial that the United Nations should give serious consideration to the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations. For, having acted in derogation of the principles of the Charter, having denied to millions of Africans the basic human rights, and having disregarded the decisions of the United Nations, the Government of South Africa has forfeited its privilege of membership of the world Organization. We further propose that collective diplomatic and economic sanctions be taken against South Africa by Member States.

161. The United Nations deserves our deep appreciation for its attempt to maintain world peace and its work towards the economic growth of less developed countries. The Somali Government gives its full support to the United Nations. We know that the amount of assistance which the United Nations can provide can only be in proportion to the financial and moral support which it receives from Member States.

162. The Organization came into existence at the end of the Second World War. The Charter of the United Nations was intended to achieve a lasting peace in a world which had just emerged from a destructive and merciless war. Since then, there has been an appreciable change in the international situation. The political colouring of the map of the world has changed considerably for the better. Many African and Asian territories have attained independence and are now Members of the Organization.

163. The Charter of the United Nations remains the same as it was in 1945. The United Nations is a living body and reflects the world political situation. Today there is great and urgent need to review and revise the Charter so that the various bodies of the United Nations will better reflect the composition of the General Assembly. The African-Asian Member States constitute nearly half the Members; yet in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other organs, they are not represented according to their numerical strength.

164. Any alteration in the administrative structure of the United Nations Secretariat intended to reflect the ideologies of different blocs would only destroy its effectiveness. We should remember that the United Nations Secretariat exists to serve the United Nations as a whole and not the interests of any particular bloc or State. Considering the various and diverse duties performed by the Secretariat, we must affirm that sound administrative principles induce us to believe that the executive body of the United Nations should continue under the direction of a single Secretary-General.

165. We hope that the African-Asian countries will be given proper representation on the staff of the Secretariat, especially in the key positions.

166. Despite the limited resources at its disposal, the United Nations has contributed greatly to the stability of the world. The United Nations has performed admirably in the Middle East, in the Far East and in the Congo. The Organization is a guarantee of the independence of the small and weak nations. Our responsibilities oblige us to strengthen the United Nations so that it can continue to perform the tasks expected of it.

167. Our attention should be directed to the possible need for revising Article 27 of the Charter. Whatever the original merits of confining the veto power to five Powers, we now regard the veto as an insurmountable barrier to the speedy settlement of serious international problems.

168. For the past several years the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations has been raised. This controversial issue is once again on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. I do not think it is appropriate to continue to ignore the existence of a Government which exercises sovereignty over a vast area of land inhabited by over 600 million people. My delegation fully supports the immediate admission of the People's Republic of China to the Organization.

169. The economic advancement of the less developed countries is a problem of collective responsibility which properly falls under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, particularly since the United Nations has as an important aim the improvement of the standard of living of all peoples in the world. World stability and peace, in large part, depend on the achievement of that aim.

170. Regarding the economic functions of the United Nations, I should like to assert first of all the view that the Organization is the most suitable one through which aid can be channelled to the less developed countries, essentially because international aid through the United Nations eliminates the fear of undesirable political conditions which may be associated with certain types of unilateral assistance.

171. Since political independence and self-determination are so closely linked to economic and social advancement, it is obvious that the less developed areas in Africa and elsewhere desire, in fact require, the acceleration of disinterested aid and an increase in economic and technical assistance. A particular aspect of the struggle for independence in these countries is their eagerness to attain economic maturity in the briefest possible time.

172. The problem, in my view, lies in the manner in which assistance is distributed to the less developed countries. For no one here doubts the fact that political independence is an empty abstraction if it is not based on a strong and diversified national economy. Our aim should be to try to bridge the gap between the highly industrialized and the less developed countries by rapidly increasing economic and technical assistance.

173. We are delighted that at last the principle of channelling the greater part of aid to less developed countries through the United Nations is prevailing. Unilateral aid to less developed nations is always, as experience has demonstrated, more or less conducive to the imposition of political conditions on the recipient countries. As a substantial step towards the economic development of less developed countries the Assembly, at its last session, decided [resolution

1521 (XV)] in principle that a United Nations capital development fund should be established, and it resolved that a committee of twenty-five representatives of Member States should be set up to consider all concrete preparatory measures necessary to that end. We therefore urge that the extension requested by the committee be granted so that it may complete its work. In the meantime, we believe that the Committee should submit an interim report on the work thus far completed.

174. Finally, we rejoice to see Sierra Leone, an African sister-nation, being admitted [1018th meeting] to the Organization. We hope that very soon other African States also will take their seats amongst us.

175. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Ethiopia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

176. Mr. YIFRU (Ethiopia): I did not intend to intervene at this stage of the general debate, but my colleague from Somalia made certain statements which give me no alternative but to come to the rostrum. It is indeed very unfortunate that my colleague from Somalia has seen fit to put before the Assembly his Government's expansionist policy.

177. One of the ways of the operation of neo-colonialism is by balkanization, or the deliberate policy of the fragmentation of countries by the creation of artificial entities, based on tribalism and parochialism, which are not economically and politically viable.

178. As far as my Government and people are concerned, we have no designs on any neighbouring country, least of all Somalia. That has been the tradition and history of Ethiopia. We want to live in peace with all countries. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but at the same time we shall not tolerate others interfering in our domestic affairs.

179. It is an historical fact that my country went to war against the fascist colonial invaders to preserve its independence and territorial integrity. Again, no matter when, our people and Government will not tolerate any expansionist policy, whatever its source may be. We have no desire for expansion, but at the same time we will not cede an inch of our sacred land. We hope that this is very clear to our neighbours, who are hanging on still to the false dreams of the old colonial Powers.

180. In spite of the false dreams of the Somali authorities, Ethiopia has its hand outstretched to

live in peace and brotherhood with all our kinsmen in Somalia.

181. May I reserve the right of my delegation to give a further detailed reply when the appropriate time comes.

182. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I give the floor to the representative of Greece, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

183. Mr. PIPINELIS (Greece) (translated from French): In his statement just now the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs mentioned among other things certain military manoeuvres which have taken place in Greece, as in Turkey, and to which he imputed aggressive intentions. The Assembly is not unaware that in the present tense atmosphere similar manoeuvres are taking place in several other countries, countries with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria enjoys excellent relations.

184. It would therefore be pointless to waste the Assembly's time by demonstrating the reasons for these manoeuvres. With particular regard to Greece, I think the tragic history of the Balkan peninsula is too well known for me to have to defend, in this Assembly, the peaceful and conciliatory attitude of my country. On this point I might simply observe that to refer to aggressive intentions on the part of Greece can only be a joke in bad taste.

185. There is another part of the statement by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister which seems to me more interesting and more worthy of notice. This concerns the distinction he tried to make, perhaps inadvertently, between the attitude adopted by the Royal Government, which was set up by free elections and is generally recognized, and the attitude of certain other circles which he did not specify but which can easily be identified by anyone who knows the situation in my country.

186. I do not wish to continue the discussion on this point except to observe that the course on which we have just embarked is very dangerous. I appeal to the members of this Assembly, and even to those who represent the neighbouring countries of Greece, not to follow it. If we really have a sense of our responsibilities at this time, I think, as I explained this morning, that the first thing to do is to avoid subjects which, lacking any real and practical interest, cannot but embitter the debate and disturb the calm which we urgently need at this moment.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.