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**President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN**  
(Pakistan).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MARTINEZ SOTOMAYOR (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Chile I have pleasure in offering you our sincere congratulations on the wise choice made by the General Assembly in electing you to be its President. We are sure that your experience as a lawyer, your familiarity with international problems and your acknowledged qualities of equanimity and judgement will make a vital contribution to the success of our work.

2. I should like also to express our gratitude to U Thant, the Secretary-General, for the services he has rendered to the United Nations and to mankind during the short period he has been in office. Following the example of his illustrious predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, whose spirit and personality will always be felt here, U Thant has taken up the arduous tasks of his office with vigour and efficiency. My delegation hopes that this General Assembly will appoint him to the office which he now holds, because his character is an assurance for us all and because we should give him the opportunity to extend and strengthen the work in which he has made such a brilliant beginning.

3. Chile is once again attending this universal meeting to which the States Members of the United Nations come year after year to appraise the international situation, express their desires and explain their views on the general problems of the world.

4. We believe that this confrontation of ideas is useful if it is conducted with calm, wisdom, realism and, above all, sincerity. We must be true not only to the representatives of the other countries making up the international community, which have subscribed to the purposes of our Organization and have placed their

faith in its ability to maintain peace and security, but also to the people whom we are representing here. We cannot deceive them with false optimism, we should not conceal from them the harsh realities and we have no right to give them the illusion of security which we know, in our heart of hearts, is not warranted by the present situation.

5. We know, and the people whom we represent here should know too, that peace is seriously threatened by the most destructive of wars, the magnitude and consequences of which cannot even be conceived of by the human imagination. It is no longer specific countries or specific continents which are on the verge of a truly apocalyptic end; it is all mankind which is in danger of destruction because of the power of devastation which modern weapons have attained.

6. In the face of such a threat, all leaders have inescapable duties. A tremendous responsibility lies with the leaders of the great Powers, which have created forces so deadly that they may get beyond their control or cease to answer to their will. We who represent small and medium-sized nations also have an inescapable duty. This duty is not merely to wait for others to work out solutions, but it should find expression in actual ideas, which may even come to be enforced by the United Nations or at least to exert moral pressure on the great Powers.

7. We have not the right to remain silent in the face of the dangers which are lying in wait for us all owing to the state of international instability. Because we all suffer from constant anxiety, we must use our moral force — the only force we possess — our vehemence and our faith to promote international co-operation and coexistence among nations, to exercise, by virtue of the legal equality of States, all our rights as Members of the United Nations and to influence its decisions.

8. If we were to act otherwise, for the sake of convenience or through fear, we should be leaving the destiny of mankind to the mercy of those who rely on force and helping to push the world to the brink of a catastrophe. At the same time, through criminal neglect, we would have helped to prevent the United Nations from intervening in time to prevent the differences between the great Powers from degenerating into a tragic conflict which would destroy all nations, large and small.

9. This attitude will determine our position during this session of the General Assembly in matters of vital importance, such as the problem of disarmament or of nuclear weapons tests.

*Mr. Zea (Colombia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

10. We are discouraged by the failure of efforts to achieve agreement on disarmament, a matter which has undoubtedly been complicated by the mistrust between the principal protagonists in the historical drama which we are witnessing. We believe, however, that

the small and medium-sized countries can help both to dispel such mistrust and to create, on rational bases, a peace-keeping machinery which will function effectively. We are well aware that this is an extremely complex question and that the technical implementation of the plans prepared is by no means easy. In this connexion, it is my duty to mention the co-operation of the eight nations not directly concerned which this year, for the first time, became members of the Disarmament Committee; they included two Latin American States — Brazil and Mexico — which expressed our continent's desire for peace with great assiduity and skill.

11. At this its seventeenth session, the General Assembly must do everything in its power to bring about a truce in the cold war and to expedite the negotiations on general disarmament which, to be effective, must be subject to control accepted by common agreement. I offer the loyal and unprejudiced co-operation of the Chilean delegation in the attainment of these objectives.

12. It would be an over-simplification to describe disarmament as an isolated problem or one that has no connexion with the causes of international friction. Nobody now dares to consider war legitimate. Everybody knows that in the event of a conflict with nuclear weapons the victors would be vanquished just as much as the losers themselves, which was not the case in other periods of history. It is a fact, however, that the spirit of conciliation is waning in the face of the accumulation of weapons of war, which have been developed to such an extent that there is always the fear that a human or mechanical defect may provoke a world-wide conflict.

13. We are told that nuclear testing is bound up with the cold war and the arms race. The aim of nuclear tests is apparently both to strengthen the offensive capacity of the great Powers and to provide a mutual deterrent. For the rest of the world such arguments have no moral, political or strategic justification. The rest of the world is horrified by them. Apart from the contamination and other dangers inherent in such tests, they increase tension in international relations and kill hopes of disarmament. Not even the scientists and experts are at present able to assess the harmful effects of nuclear tests on climatic variations, on agricultural production and on human beings themselves.

14. We therefore firmly support the suspension of nuclear weapons tests and the conclusion of a treaty on the subject, or at least an agreement on a moratorium which will reassure the anxious world.

15. The poisoned atmosphere of international relations, the arms race and the resumption of nuclear tests are, unfortunately, signs of the renewal of the cold war. And the most alarming issue in the cold war is the Berlin problem. Although this question is not on the agenda of this session — among so many other matters of very dubious importance — how can we avoid referring to one of the most malignant tumours of the present day?

16. The Berlin problem affects not only the great Powers. To this city is turned the anxious gaze of the peoples who fear that one incident, one rash action, may strike the first note of a dramatic symphony. In this unfortunate city, a great danger is being fostered, apparently consciously — the danger that the Powers responsible may lose control of the situation.

17. In addition to voicing our protest about the Berlin wall, a hateful symbol of the oppression and subjugation

of human freedom, we reaffirm our conviction that the only solution of the problem lies in the consultation of the free wishes of the German people. There is no reason why the principle of self-determination should not be applied to this people.

18. There is no valid reason to prevent a peaceful and speedy solution being found to the Berlin question. In the course of this year we saw how it was possible, through good will, hard work and patient negotiation, to reach agreement in the question of Laos, another cold war issue. Recently, too, we saw how the Governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia, to whose efforts and perseverance in search of peace we wish to pay a tribute, reached agreement on West New Guinea — a question which in previous years gave rise to lengthy debates in this Assembly and represented a threat to peace.

19. Laos and New Guinea are two happy examples which we should bear in mind during the debates at this session, so that we may be inspired with optimism in the laborious search for peace.

20. During the year which has passed since the last session of the General Assembly, new countries have gained political independence. It would be unjust not to quote, as a striking example of this heartening progress, the case of Algeria, which is now a sovereign State and in a few days will no doubt become a Member of our Organization. Through the courage and resolve of the Algerian people and their leaders, combined with the understanding and determination of France and its rulers, the process of independence has been brought to completion in extremely difficult circumstances. All this represents a step forward on the road to peace which does honour to the two nations concerned. Similarly, as an American country, Chile must express its satisfaction at the fact that, in our continent, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have achieved their emancipation.

21. Fortunately, the defenders of colonialism, as a theory at least, have left the field, thanks to the efforts of the United Nations and to the fact that all the peoples of the earth cherish a love of freedom which sooner or later triumphs over foreign oppression. It may take some years for the territories still under colonial domination to achieve full independence and join the international community as free and sovereign States, but no one can now hold back the march of history.

22. One of the policies which Chile has followed most constantly and most actively in international affairs has been respect for the principle of self-determination. We have always given moral support to peoples seeking to advance beyond the stage of colonialism. We have nothing against the metropolitan Powers which administer such territories; on the contrary, we maintain ties of friendship and co-operation with them. But we in Chile, which was also once a colony, are convinced that sooner or later these peoples have to assume responsibility for their own destiny. Good sense demands that this irreversible historical process should take place without bloodshed, hatred or destruction. It is our hope, rather, that between the new State which emerges from the colonial territory and the metropolitan State there will be common interests and fruitful exchanges. For the problem is not simply the attainment of independence but also its consolidation; it is not merely a matter of the achievement of sovereignty, but also of a collective effort to raise the level of living of millions of people who have

known no existence except one marked by exploitation and servility.

23. Chile considers that the safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the provision of guarantees for individuals against violence and the abuse of power are basic aims of our international Organization.

24. We consider that human rights, whether political or civil, economic or social, are values which should be firmly embedded in the institutional practice of States.

25. In San Francisco the United Nations was given the basic task of maintaining peace and strengthening international security. For reasons which are well known, in carrying out this task it has been faced with countless obstacles, upheavals and frustrations. At the same time, however, it has been exploring new paths for international co-operation in other spheres and the encouraging results achieved have opened up new and promising prospects for mankind. In few fields has this work been more innovatory and constructive or more vitally important, for the present generation but above all for future generations, than in that of human rights.

26. By concentrating on the individual, wherever he may live, and by endeavouring to protect his rights, by seeking ways to give him a worthier, happier and freer life, thus making it possible for his personality to develop to the full, we are initiating a new epoch in international law which will bring about a true revolution in traditional concepts and the advent of a more just world in which there will be a genuine international community. My country fervently believes in this great mission and wishes to reaffirm its determination not to spare any effort in assisting the United Nations to carry it out to the end.

27. That is why on this occasion we note with pleasure the progress made in this respect by the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the introduction of periodic reports, which have been submitted by seventy-six Governments, the establishment of national advisory committees on human rights, and similar developments. Nevertheless we cannot avoid mentioning the fact that although some fifteen years have passed since the drafting of the covenants on human rights was begun, it has not yet been possible to get over the last stages and put them into effect. We hope that at this session the Assembly will complete this task, a matter of fundamental importance if we are to bring about that universal respect for rights and freedoms for which we have legislated. We consider it essential that the covenants should recommend suitable supervisory and executory machinery, the only way of ensuring that they are actually put into effect.

28. It is unthinkable that the United Nations should go on receiving thousands of complaints of violations of human rights which have to be kept in a file of sorrow and shame, but not acted upon, for lack of any suitable legal arrangements.

29. It is not enough, however, to keep the peace, and the oppression of one people by another and ensure respect for human rights. Without economic and social development there cannot be lasting peace and tranquillity.

30. The social frustration which builds up among peoples made desperate by inadequate standards of

living and welfare and by the lack of a better outlook for the future is reflected in a loss of faith in free and democratic institutions and a weakening of the State and becomes an incitement to ventures of the worst kind, which undermine the international situation. To draw attention to these inconsistencies and risks is easy. To regard them as unalterable features of man's destiny in this century is difficult and is something in which Chile, at least, can never concur.

31. It is our conviction that the Latin American peoples are determined to defend their freedom as their own possession and not as an abstract value, inasmuch as the political system we have created enables them to break down the barriers of poverty and ignorance which block the path of progress.

32. The Government of Chile is perfectly aware of the people's state of mind. It knows the underlying social dissatisfaction in countries which are still in the under-developed stage and the danger which a violent explosion of that dissatisfaction would represent for the political, social and economic structure which is the basis for our democratic system of government. It knows the dilemma which we face; either we bring about an immediate improvement in the economic and social situation of the great masses of the people or we shall see the disappearance, not just of the present economic and social order, but also of the political structure we consider fundamental.

33. It is for this reason that Chile has undertaken to make profound changes in the basic sectors of its economic and social structure. We are embarking on a land reform programme intended not only to bring ownership of land within the reach of as many citizens as possible and to better the living conditions of the peasants, but to improve the methods of farming the land and to increase its productivity; the aim thus is that the agricultural land of Chile, apart from being distributed among a greater number of persons, should yield a greater amount of produce, through the introduction of increasingly modern techniques of working and farming. We are introducing a tax reform which will lead to a fairer distribution of the national income and of the tax burden. We are planning a tariff reform which will both stimulate and protect the national labour force while providing a permanent safeguard for the mass of consumers through competition and greater productivity. At the same time we are carrying out a well-thought-out general programme of long-term economic development.

34. It is particularly pleasing for the Government of Chile to note that its plans are in accord, both in method and in purpose, with those of the Alliance for Progress approved in the Punta del Este Charter.

35. The same beliefs inspire both programmes and the first aim of both is to bring about an immediate improvement in the social, economic and cultural situation of the masses of the people, within the limits imposed by respect for the rights of the individual, which only a representative system of government can assure.

36. In December 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution of far-reaching importance in which it designated the present decade as the United Nations Development Decade [resolution 1710 (XVI)]. This resolution, which recognized that the gap between the industrial and the economically backward countries was widening rather than narrowing, made a series of recommendations to Governments, to the Economic

and Social Council and to the specialized agencies, which were intended to stimulate a much more rapid expansion of the economies of the developing countries.

37. The Chilean delegation notes with pleasure the action taken by the Secretary-General, the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies in pursuance of this resolution or in conformity with it.

38. Nevertheless, we believe a much greater effort of the imagination is needed, a more realistic view of present situation, a better understanding of the dangers threatening mankind, which is so sharply divided into a privileged minority and the great masses of the under-developed world. The United Nations Development Decade will have no real meaning if there is not a rapid and substantial increase in the technical and financial resources that are required to improve the work of the machinery for co-operation we have created in fifteen years of search and effort.

39. We think that the United Nations, its specialized agencies and the Governments of Member States could make a valuable contribution by giving the fullest and firmest possible support to general long-term programmes of economic development providing for a co-ordinated attack in the main sectors of economic and social activity, such as various developing countries have drawn up or are drawing up. In our opinion, such programmes, if carefully prepared, are one of the most effective means of giving this important work an impetus leading to the achievement of ever more progressive and satisfactory objectives.

40. It is well known that another matter of great concern to the developing countries which export a limited number of primary commodities has been the impact of unstable prices on their economies. We trust, therefore, that all the necessary efforts will be made in the various international organizations considering the problem to arrive at practical conclusions with regard to the stability of commodity prices and the establishment of effective machinery for giving financial compensation to primary-producer countries for the fiscal and other economic losses they have suffered for many years because of this unjust and irregular situation, which must be corrected without delay.

41. If we really want to play a part in history and not just to be carried along on its tide like drifting vessels, we must enter upon a more active stage before it is too late. We must take steps to ensure that it is man's power of reason which governs the world and not caprice or lust for power.

42. We are running the risk that we shall soon conquer the moon, which is a dead planet, without being able to conquer the earth, which is a live planet. To conquer the earth means to make it habitable and capable of providing education, a decent dwelling and sufficient food for the millions of men who at present lack basic essentials and for the millions who are appearing as a result of demographic explosions, which occur precisely in the poorest countries.

43. Fabulous sums are being spent on experiments in space to improve communications between the continents, but no such efforts are being made to bring the benefits of radiotelephony, or even the telephone, to millions of people. Plans are being made to conquer distant planets, when we have not yet succeeded in discovering our own, for we seem to be ignorant of the backwardness, poverty and lack of culture that exist in vast areas of our own world. Unforeseeable and wonderful progress is being made in space flights,

but here below sickness and hunger have not been overcome. These dismaying contradictions must be eliminated, so that we may give rapid and urgent attention to the task of removing the differences in the levels of living of the nations we represent.

44. The creation of economic groups is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the present-day world economy. Nations bound together by geographical, political and economic ties have formed or are forming groups in which the participating countries tend to create common markets and to co-ordinate their economic policies.

45. In my Government's view, not only are these movements based on legitimate considerations, but they may come to profit the whole world. In order for this to be, however, the economic groups must not withdraw into themselves and form self-contained entities but must rather open outwards and contribute to increasing world trade.

46. Also, it is of particular importance to the developing countries that no discriminatory practices should be adopted against them whereby they would be prevented from selling to the developed countries the products in which they have traditionally traded. For Latin America, the loss of such markets would mean a further decline in its commercial capacity and a further decrease in the capital formation which it urgently needs for its economic and social development.

47. Faced with this situation, the Latin American countries have promoted the establishment of the Latin American Free Trade Area as a means of achieving economic integration, which is a step along the road towards political integration, and are seeking to set up a Latin American Common Market which will take into account the need for universal co-operation which we have just mentioned and will be adapted to the reality that all countries and regions are interdependent. We trust that the bonds needed to safeguard the general interests of all peoples will soon be established between our Organization and those which have been set up in other continents. My Government, for its part, intends to spare no effort to achieve such an association as quickly and effectively as possible. That is the shortest road open to us to bring about the rapid industrialization which our countries need in order to make possible for the masses of our peoples the standard of living to which they aspire.

48. Instability and slow economic growth are characteristics common to nearly all Latin American economies and are due to an excessive dependence on foreign trade and to a low capital formation, a situation that is aggravated by what has now become a chronic deterioration in the terms of trade between our countries and the highly industrialized nations. We continue to see, in fact, that while the prices of our raw materials tend to decline, the prices of the capital goods and manufactured products which we must import are constantly rising. This problem is common to all underdeveloped areas of the world, as the Secretary-General has recognized in his report to the Assembly. We believe that the United Nations should give priority to the study of this phenomenon. We trust that the coming Conference on International Commodity Trade will arrive at results that may promise an equitable solution to this acute and, at the same time, vast problem.

49. I would not wish to conclude my remarks on economic and social problems without referring to the Conference on the problems of economic development that was held at Cairo a few months ago. Chile attended this Conference as an observer, and I should like to say — in addition to emphasizing the remarkable contribution which the Asian and African peoples are making to the success of the common task of improving the levels of living — that at this session of the General Assembly we shall lend our support to the recommendation made at the Cairo meeting for the holding of a world economic conference in the near future. This idea is fully in keeping with those which inspired this Assembly when it proclaimed the United Nations Development Decade.

50. Latin America's problems, far from finding a solution, have grown worse since the last General Assembly. There has been no improvement in the economic situation; political and social tensions have been increasing. We would be straying far from the truth and presenting an illusory and perhaps naive view of the present situation if we were to say today as we have said on previous occasions that our hemisphere is united and working together closely. It is sufficient to recall that diplomatic relations have been broken off or suspended between many Latin American States.

51. We are particularly concerned, however, by the fact that the cold war has penetrated into our hemisphere, and that situations which formerly affected us only as members of the world community are today having decisive repercussions on inter-American relations and are even likely to endanger peace among the countries of America.

52. Chile has profound faith, however, that the spirit of peace and the will of our peoples — unless despair paralyzes our efforts — will facilitate the search for means to solve adequately the problems which have unfortunately arisen in our continent. Our conviction is strengthened by a full awareness of the vitality of our ties of brotherhood which, all during our history, have enabled us to overcome difficult circumstances together.

53. On behalf of my Government, I should like to say once again that Chile is especially concerned with maintaining, particularly with the countries of America, the most cordial relations of friendship and co-operation. Our faith in Americanism inspires our whole national life. The principles of international law, respect for treaties and the legal tradition inherent in the inter-American system govern our conduct abroad. Because of the spirit which guides us, any temporary difficulty which may arise between Chile and another American country will never be so great that it cannot be resolved by peaceful means so long as those means are appropriate to the nature of the dispute, that is to say, juridical means for legal disputes and political means for political disputes.

54. On the first of next January, Chile's term of membership in the Security Council will come to an end. We have the satisfaction of having actively contributed to the maintenance of peace. This has been our main objective. We have, in the Council, always acted with an independent mind and have zealously sought formulae for settlement which would be unanimously acceptable and satisfactory to the contending parties.

55. We are, now as ever, firmly resolved to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations, so that it may indeed be an instrument of peace, security

and progress for the smaller and weaker countries. We cannot allow this Organization to become ineffective or powerless as was the League of Nations in its later years.

56. We are here to delve into the deeper causes of international realities and to clear the world's atmosphere of harmful influences such as hatred and violence.

57. The world does long, not for an armaments race, but for a race towards progress; not for the building of nuclear arms, but of dwellings, schools and hospitals. To prevent war with the threat of war is as dangerous as it is senseless.

58. We hope that this General Assembly will boldly draw the necessary conclusions from the present international situation and the world's economic and social conditions. We are confident that the prestige and authority of the United Nations will increase and so facilitate a rapprochement between the great Powers.

59. We will not receive peace as a free gift, but rather it will be the fruit of the day-by-day victory of the concerted efforts of reason and understanding.

*Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.*

60. Mr. ERKIN (Turkey): Mr. President, joining the speakers who preceded me, I want to take this occasion to express to you the warmest congratulations of the Turkish delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. I am sure your distinguished career, your valuable efforts in the service of the United Nations ideals, and your vast experience in the work of our Organization are the best guarantees for the successful conduct and conclusion of our deliberations during this session. I also consider your election to this high office a tribute to your great country, which has a brilliant record in its devotion to the principles of the United Nations.

61. I should like also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the retiring President, Mr. Mongi Slim, whose valuable services for the furtherance of international co-operation and understanding have done honour to him and to his country.

62. It is a cause of extreme satisfaction for my delegation to present our heart-felt congratulation to U Thant, on the most successful fulfilment of the important duties entrusted to him as Acting Secretary-General of our Organization. His brilliant accomplishments in the service of the United Nations confirm the wisdom which was shown by the members of this Organization in selecting him unanimously.

63. During the last years we have been gratified at every opening session of the General Assembly in greeting and welcoming among us an ever-increasing number of new Members who have won their independence. As one of the participants of the Conference of San Francisco, seventeen years ago, I wish to say in all sincerity how happy I feel to see that our Organization has now achieved an almost universal character. Surely, our deliberations are enriched by the views of so many new countries and thus endowed with a wider perspective. It is with these feelings that I welcome from this rostrum, on behalf of the Turkish people and the Turkish Government, the Kingdom of Burundi, the Republic of Rwanda, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago which have been admitted into the membership of the United Nations. I should like also to express my warm-

est greetings to the representatives of the new Member countries.

64. I am sure, we shall soon have the great pleasure of welcoming the Republic of Algeria as well. We are extremely happy to see that the tragic events, the bloodshed and the ensuing human suffering which prevailed in Algeria over long years have come to an end by a settlement which not only does justice to the legitimate aspirations and fundamental rights of the valiant people of Algeria, but is also in conformity with the liberal traditions of France, of which this great country has given so many examples in its glorious history. I should like to pay tribute to the French and Algerian leaders who, by their statesmanship and wisdom, have brought about this happy solution. In this connexion, I should like to specially mention the prominent efforts of the Head of the State of France, General de Gaulle, which were decisive in the achievement of this solution.

65. The developments which have taken place in my country since the Reform Movement of 27 May 1960, with the aim of furthering the cause of democracy with all the safeguards and institutions in the most advanced form, are fresh in our memories. A year ago at the 1021st meeting, my predecessor, Mr. Selim Sarper, said from this rostrum that a new constitution, with all necessary guarantees for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, had been adopted through a referendum on 9 July 1961, and that an electoral campaign was in progress in Turkey among four leading political parties. I have the great pleasure to state now that, following the general elections which were held on 15 October 1961, the freely elected representatives of the people have again assumed full responsibility in the conduct of the country's affairs. At the present time, Turkey has established a coalition government, a freely elected National Assembly, a Senate, a Constitutional Supreme Court, and all the appropriate institutions which have been deemed necessary to protect, under full guarantees, the fundamental rights of our citizens.

66. It is often argued that those who carry out revolutionary movements do not voluntarily relinquish power to governments freely elected by the people. The Turkish movement, from its very first day, declared unequivocally that its principal aim was to restore the democratic institutions, with full safeguards, and to hand the power to a government which would be freely elected by the Turkish nation. Therefore, if there is any truth in this argument, Turkey has certainly been an exception to it.

67. The Turkish nation and the Turkish Government are at the present time engaged in serious efforts to achieve speedy economic and social development. As is known, our first five-year plan is about to be submitted to the Turkish Parliament; under this plan the economic and social development of our country will be co-ordinated through the most rational methods available today.

68. The agenda of the present session of the General Assembly contains a vast number of questions which await our arduous efforts to find satisfactory solutions. None of these problems is more essential to the preservation of world peace and more vital to the destiny of mankind than the question of disarmament. Last year, the Turkish delegation, together with other delegations, welcomed the agreement between the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basic prin-

ciples which would serve as guidelines in disarmament negotiations.<sup>1/</sup> At the same time, the agreement achieved during the sixteenth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1722 (XVI)] for the establishment of a new and enlarged negotiating body, comprising eighteen Member nations, had given fresh hopes that substantial progress would be achieved towards the aim of general and complete disarmament under effective international controls. These agreements, it was hoped, could open the way for a disarmament programme which would ensure not only a complete and general disarmament to be implemented by stages, in agreed sequences and under effective control, but also the establishment of reliable procedures and arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. But the negotiations which started in Geneva on 14 March 1962 in the Disarmament Committee have unfortunately not lived up to our expectations, and the net result of these discussions has not given us concrete proof of real progress in this vital and urgent issue. In spite of the genuine efforts made within the Committee, the question of effective control, the hard core of the problem, has continued to be the main stumbling block in the way of progress.

69. It is our deep-rooted conviction that a successful solution of the vital issue of disarmament can and must be found through fostering an atmosphere of mutual confidence and through the sincere efforts of all concerned, directed to the task of earnestly seeking a mutually acceptable solution and refraining from the use, as a means of propaganda, of this question on which may depend the destiny of all humanity.

70. As a nation devoted to peace and progress, the Turkish people are aware of the advantages which would accrue from general disarmament. Certainly, disarmament in confidence and security would allow us to concentrate all our resources, manpower and energy on the attainment of a higher level of economic and social well-being. At the same time, we are convinced that a general agreement on disarmament, containing provisions for both nuclear and conventional weapons, to be implemented under adequate controls, designed to confer no advantages on any side and to be accompanied by appropriate arrangements guaranteeing the security of all countries, large and small, will constitute the only real basis for that lasting universal peace which is our common aim.

71. I should now like to say a few words on another important problem, closely connected with the subject of disarmament. The importance of the conclusion of a treaty to ban nuclear tests under a satisfactory system of verification, where needed, is equally of paramount importance. A year ago the arduous negotiations conducted in the tripartite Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests at Geneva had reached a stage which gave reasonable hope for the early conclusion of such a treaty. Unfortunately, our hopes were disappointed as a result of the unexpected resumption of nuclear tests. Thus, a rather long and promising period of serious negotiations, coupled with a voluntary three-year moratorium on test explosions, was brought to an end, and the world is now witnessing with anxiety a general resumption of nuclear tests.

72. My delegation cannot but express its regret that extremely reasonable proposals on the banning of

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

nuclear tests, which contain genuine concessions and which were made in Geneva a short time ago in a spirit of compromise have not yet been accepted. Having heard the very clear statement of Lord Home at the last meeting on the standing proposals for a test ban, I would add that any further delay in reaching agreement on this important question would be all the more regrettable.

73. The Turkish Government believes that for the continued well-being of humanity and for the preservation of the health of present and future generations it is imperative to conclude an international treaty banning nuclear tests under a satisfactory system of verification.

74. Before I conclude my remarks on the general question of disarmament, I should like to reiterate our belief that a piecemeal approach to the highly complex problem of disarmament cannot provide any realistic basis for a mutually acceptable solution. We are of the opinion, therefore, that proposals containing a partial approach may result only in distracting world opinion from the real issue facing humanity today: the problem of achieving a general, balanced and realistically phased arrangement on disarmament under appropriate guarantees. In our view, provisions on the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons must form part of such a general agreement, which should also include stipulations concerning the manufacture and stockpiling of such weapons, as well as all conventional weapons, at the conclusion of a realistic international agreement on disarmament.

75. International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space has come to be an important subject which is receiving due attention from the General Assembly. I believe that all of us agree that outer space should be explored and used with the sole aim of serving mankind. The space age has opened new horizons to humanity. Therefore the United Nations efforts to establish guiding principles and rules for the exploration and use of outer space in the common interest of mankind should be encouraged and assisted by all means. Here I should like to join other speakers in paying a tribute to the scientists and astronauts of the United States and the Soviet Union for their spectacular achievements in the exploration of outer space.

76. There is no doubt that, when future generations look back to the present era in the perspective of history, the movement for freedom, self-determination and independence will manifest itself as the most characteristic trend of our times. The Turkish people have given ample proof of their allegiance to these high ideals, both in their history and in their present stand. During the past years the General Assembly has wisely and in a constructive manner elucidated the guiding principles of this great movement of our time. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], of which my delegation had the honour to be among the original sponsors, was adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session by a near unanimity of votes. This Declaration reaffirms our faith in such fundamental principles as self-determination, freedom, independence and territorial integrity. These are lofty principles, which the Turkish people hold dear. Imbued with these sentiments, the Turkish delegation, as in the past, will not fail to make its constructive contribution to the safeguarding and realization of these principles. My country's attachment to the ideals of the United Nations and its unflinching efforts towards

the ever-increasing success of our Organization are well known.

77. The United Nations can succeed in its efforts if all the Member nations sincerely adhere to the Purposes and Principles of our Charter and make their contribution in accordance with these precepts. It is also of vital importance that the United Nations should have an independent executive who will carry out his mission strictly in accordance with the terms of the Charter and without any interference whatsoever. The views of the Turkish delegation regarding the preservation of the independence and integrity of the Secretariat were stated many times and are on the records. I will not, therefore, repeat them at length. I would like only to emphasize the utmost importance that my Government attaches to this matter.

78. Speaking of adherence to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, it should be borne in mind that unswerving respect by the Member nations for the rule of law is at the very basis of the United Nations concept. In fact, such high principles as respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, for fundamental human rights and the independence, territorial integrity and the sovereign equality of all nations, are enshrined in our Charter.

79. The Turkish Republic all along the path of its history has given numerous examples of its allegiance to these principles and to the rule of law among nations. During the drafting of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco and since the establishment of our Organization, the Turkish delegation submitted various proposals or supported those made by others with a view to furthering the rule of international law.

80. As is well known, Turkey is also among the countries recognizing the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in accordance with Article 36 of the Statute of the Court.

81. With regard to the efforts deployed within the United Nations to ensure the progressive development of international law and its codification, I would like to mention, among other things, the valuable work already achieved by the preparation of a "Draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States" [see resolution 375 (IV)]. My delegation is of the opinion that this draft constitutes another contribution in the efforts aimed at the ascendancy of the rule of law, which must prevail in the relations of all nations.

82. It is with these thoughts and sentiments that my delegation intends to make its constructive contribution during the examination of the item called "Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", in the appropriate committee.

83. When the General Assembly met last year, the world was confronted with a serious deterioration in the political atmosphere. This political tension was mainly due to the Berlin question. In these opening days of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly the political horizon is unfortunately still darkened by the Berlin problem. The Turkish people nourish sincere feelings of friendship and understanding for the German people. They are distressed to see that the great German nation is still deprived of achieving its unity in conformity with the principles recognized by the United Nations Charter as inherent rights of all nations. The beginning of this year brought with it some rays of

hope as to the possibility of achieving a negotiated settlement over Berlin which would protect the rights and the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. In spite of the darkened horizon, we would like to express our most sincere wish that a negotiated settlement will be finally found serving the cause of peace. In this connexion, I believe it will be well to point out that the decision taken at the Conference of Heads of Government of the four great Powers at Geneva in 1955 acknowledged the fact that the settlement of the German question and the unification of Germany through free elections would be in conformity with the national interest of the German people and in the interest of the security of Europe.

84. Among the items to be discussed in the First Committee is the question of Korea, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for years. We have constantly endorsed the objectives of the United Nations in Korea which aim at the establishment of a freely unified, independent and democratic Korea, in the full restoration of peace and security in the area. I wish to express the hope that the deliberations in the First Committee this year may bring about a better atmosphere towards the solution of this question.

85. The Turkish delegation constantly supported the decisions of the United Nations taken with a view to re-establishing order and tranquillity in the Congo and preserving the territorial integrity of that country. We are happy to see that tragic incidents have come to an end in the Congo and that internal peace and order have been established. We do hope that the efforts deployed with the aim of preserving the territorial integrity of the Congo will prove successful in the near future, putting an end to all moves which endanger the unity of that country.

86. My delegation would like to express its satisfaction and appreciation for the efforts of our Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, and it supports the measures taken by him in conformity with the decisions adopted by the competent organs of the United Nations on the Congo. Here I would like also to recall in tribute the relentless and courageous efforts of the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, who gave his life while trying to uphold successfully the Principles and Purposes of the Charter in the Congo.

87. In addition to its efforts aimed at the settlement of a number of political questions, our Organization is also engaged in other activities which cannot be considered less important. In fact, one may say that the degree of success in these latter activities may pave the way to the solution of many important political problems. Indeed, the activities tending to create a community of nations economically balanced and socially stable, will be decisive in the establishment of a lasting peace in justice and well-being.

88. There is no doubt that the question of engendering an accelerated economic advancement for less developed countries is among the most important problems confronting the world today. A world order in which nations can live in real peace and security can best be created by a community of nations which have successfully overcome poverty, disease and illiteracy. The existing striking disparity between the more advanced and the less-advanced areas in the world cannot be conducive to the harmonious international relations to which we all aspire. The distress which covers vast areas today can certainly be eliminated in this era of unparalleled technological advancement.

Most of the less developed countries — which in this world Organization form the majority — suffer mostly from lack of capital, capital goods and technical knowledge, in their efforts for economic development.

89. I would like to mention with gratification the fact that, besides numerous bilateral, regional or multilateral programmes designed to help promote the economic, cultural and technical advancement of the underdeveloped countries, efforts are also being made under the aegis of the United Nations to bring assistance to these countries to meet their most urgent requirements. I would like to mention especially in this respect the valuable services rendered by the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the Special Fund, as well as the specialized agencies. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund have made outstanding contributions to this great cause.

90. My delegation holds the view that in the future the United Nations will have an ever-increasing part to play in the great struggle for economic, social and cultural progress all over the world. It was with these thoughts that we welcomed the proposal made last year by President Kennedy, at the General Assembly [1013th meeting], for a programme of international economic co-operation, namely, the United Nations Development Decade.

91. As will be remembered, this proposal was discussed in the Second Committee and later resolution 1710 (XVI) was adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 1961. In this resolution, which the Turkish delegation had the honour to co-sponsor, the General Assembly pointed to the aims embodied in the Charter of the United Nations for the promotion of social progress and the attainment of higher standards of living in larger freedom and through the use of international machinery. Again, in this resolution, it was rightly emphasized that:

"the economic and social development of the economically less developed countries is not only of primary importance to those countries but is also basic to the attainment of international peace and security and to a faster and mutually beneficial increase in world prosperity".

The guidelines and the procedure established by this resolution are of such a nature as to give additional impetus to international co-operation in the field of economic and social advancement among the developing and less developed countries. My delegation firmly believes that the United Nations will gain added prestige in the eyes of all the peoples of the world to the extent of its success in this vital field of international co-operation.

92. At the beginning of my statement, I spoke of the resolute efforts of the Turkish nation and the Turkish Government for a speedy economic and social development. While trying to cope successfully with the problems arising from this vast scheme of development, the Turkish Government is at the same time making every effort to promote international co-operation in many fields, particularly in the field of education, by providing educational facilities, including scholarships, to the students from foreign countries. I take pleasure in stating that during the past year over one thousand students from the Middle Eastern countries, and many from other countries, were enrolled in Turkish colleges and universities. Although our higher

educational institutions are finding it more and more difficult to accommodate all the Turkish students who apply for registration, the Turkish authorities are doing their best to meet the ever increasing demands for admittance from abroad. Among the scholarships offered by the Turkish Government to foreign students, many are reserved for students from African countries.

93. Two goodwill missions from Turkey which recently visited several African States were received with utmost cordiality and hospitality. I would like to take this opportunity to express once again, from this rostrum, my Government's thanks and appreciation for the friendly welcome extended to the Turkish goodwill missions. As an outcome of these successful contacts, the Turkish authorities, on their part, are taking the necessary steps for establishing or strengthening bilateral friendly co-operation with these countries, especially in the field of education and cultural exchange. As an initial step, an increase in scholarships offered to students from the African continent is being envisaged.

94. Speaking of international co-operation, I believe that the move of solidarity displayed almost spontaneously by the Member countries regarding measures to be explored for bringing help to the victims of the recent earthquake disaster in Iran is a most striking example of co-operation on humanitarian grounds under the aegis of the United Nations. I would like to express once more, from this rostrum, the deep sympathy of the Turkish people and the Turkish Government for the people of Iran in their tragic hour. Turkey immediately extended a helping hand to the Iranian people and hopes that the United Nations will take the most appropriate steps to heal the wounds caused by this tragedy.

95. In concluding my statement, I wish to assure you that in the course of our deliberations my delegation will spare no efforts, in co-operation with other delegations, to support constructive proposals for the harmonious and positive solution of all matters which figure on our agenda. I also wish to reiterate the earnest hope of my Government and of the Turkish nation that this seventeenth session of the General Assembly may successfully conclude its work by furthering the cause of international co-operation and understanding, of peace and security. We have every confidence that, under your able guidance, the General Assembly will achieve substantial progress in the solution of important problems, and thus give to mankind a fresh hope in the pursuit of happiness and well-being in a better world.

96. Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): Since this is my first public appearance before you, Mr. President, please permit me to congratulate you most warmly and very sincerely on your election to the Presidency of this body. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that, if I had to bow, I bowed to so formidable and revered a figure as you have come to be regarded in the highest organs of the international community.

97. My delegation also wishes to extend a warm welcome to the new States which have joined as new Members — Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. It was one of the greatest privileges of my life to be present at the ceremonies which inaugurated the new States of our Caribbean colleagues and to see the spirit of jubilation which attended the birth of freedom. We eagerly wait to welcome Uganda to this family of free nations in the forthcoming weeks,

when that country becomes independent, and also the representatives of the people of Algeria, who covered themselves with immortal glory in their long struggle for freedom from colonization. It is our fervent hope that they will achieve speedy success in the mighty task of national reconstruction which now awaits them.

98. My Government is happy that two of the dangerous situations in South East Asia have been brought under control in a way that satisfies the parties concerned. I refer to Laos and West Irian. This happy outcome was possible only when the realities of the problems were fully recognized. But we cannot hastily conclude therefrom that there is peace and quiet in that region of the world, because the situation in South Viet-Nam causes deep anxiety to all of us. It is not for my delegation to suggest any specific solutions, but we do feel and we want to say that military solutions cannot and will not succeed.

99. Now on the question of the agenda. We have a formidable agenda and I shall not attempt to weary this busy forum with a repetition of our position on the individual items. We shall have ample occasion to deal with them as they arise. The items are many but, broadly speaking, they encompass three main categories: colonialism, economic development, and disarmament. The basic principles in each of these categories are crucial and these principles are well known to all of us. We know the problems and we also know that somehow, in some way, this body is expected, by logic or by magic, to produce the solutions. In a manner of speaking we are like the astronauts. They know their goals, they also know what problems are involved in reaching their goals. They are aware that it is up to them to solve these problems however intractable they may appear. And, in order to do this, with every experimental flight they explore ways and means of how best to use their machinery. The whole world has marvelled at their skill in utilizing their space-ships and their techniques and the success that has attended their efforts to open up for man the era of space.

100. Our task as delegations to the United Nations is not dissimilar. In all the three categories I have mentioned, colonialism, economic development and disarmament, we also are continually opening up new vistas, not in space but here on earth. We are not astronauts; but we are like navigators. We have to deal with the revolutionary forces in the world which, like all forces in a state of revolution, are primitive and destructive unless they are given planning, purpose and direction. Ours is not a space-ship, it is an earth-ship, and just as astronauts can get nowhere without using their machines with the maximum skill, so shall we too fall short of our task unless we use this machine we have here, the United Nations Assembly, with equal ingenuity. This is the challenge that confronts us.

101. This Assembly is essentially a parliament, and every delegate knows from his experience that each session of a parliamentary body has its own mood and temper, its purpose and psychology. This is equally true of this seventeenth session which carries with it the legacy of sixteen previous sessions. Some of these previous sessions merely marked time while the winds of change blew past them, others boldly took up the full burden of their responsibility, courageously met the challenge of the times and, as for example in the declarations on disarmament and on colonialism,

anticipated the dictates of history and became dynamic forces, almost relentless in their forward surge.

102. What is going to be the character of this seventeenth Assembly? That is the query in the eyes of the world which gaze so intensely upon our deliberations and it is also the question in the minds of those who must report and comment upon our discussions and our conclusions. Too often we have been written off as just a talking marathon, all talk and no action; on the other hand, we have sometimes been charged with an excess of ambition and super-abundance of energy, even with irresponsibility.

103. Already three different views have been expressed in the brief period of this general debate. One view has written us off as a failure, a view which, I think, may be dismissed with the utter disdain which it deserves. Another view counsels us to move cautiously, to act slowly, and yet, others and these I think constitute the majority, have touched upon the crucial issues of our time and the desperate urgency to face them with confidence and with the maximum determination at our command.

104. My delegation is one of those that believe that this is no time to drift. Like the famous figures in the "Inferno" of Dante's immortal epic, we are carried on the blast of a great wind, but unlike these tragic figures, we are not yet in the inferno. We are here, happily, still on earth and the choice is still ours whether we shall be puppets or captains of our fate in the age-long challenge that awaits mankind.

105. The question of war or peace hangs over our heads and over the peoples of the world; when we see the peace in Laos we may incline to see the situation with perhaps undue optimism, and when we watch the struggle in Berlin we may feel an equally exaggerated pessimism. Like a feverish patient the world is shaken between the anguish of the cold war and the terror and the imminence of a hot one. In this delirium the world turns to the dubious and addictive medicine of more and yet more arms, and, as happens in any addiction, it steps up its dosage with more powerful and yet more deadly weapons. In this malarial agony it is futile to expect the world either to build or to rest. This state of affairs is reaching a stage of saturation, and there is now no organ available to mankind which can come to grips with this problem on the international plane except this world Organization.

106. This is true also with the peoples still fighting in the colonies for their freedom. Information coming from many parts of the world shows that this problem, too, is not merely a matter of juggling with constitutional processes. The issue of colonialism no longer brooks leisurely solutions. It has now become an issue of war or peace involving millions of impatient, angry human beings. Men and women can be as explosive as bombs, sometimes even more so.

107. So it is with the economic disparity of nations and peoples. That too is reaching a point of boiling saturation. That too is shaping up into a force of war and struggle. It would be a great hoax to convey the impression, as we sometimes see being done, that the sole danger of war in our time is ideological. The danger is no less colonial; it is no less economic. These three forces — military, colonial and economic — are now the indivisible components of war, and what we are seeing today, at this hour, is the peril-point at which they are merging, like some evil amalgam,

into a single force; either we must master it or it will master us.

108. This is the diagnosis as my delegation sees it. The diagnosis is not different from those we have heard from other far more distinguished representatives, Western, Eastern and non-aligned. As a small nation, who along with other small nations find our best shelter in the world Organization, we heard with genuine satisfaction the words of the representative of the United States, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, when he said: "To meet these challenges, we need not just the strong but a still stronger United Nations." [1125th meeting, para. 48.]

109. It is this diagnosis which for us dictates the temper of what we feel this Assembly should be. In our view, if this Assembly is to escape the charge of impotence, nay of betrayal of its trust, it must stir itself to become a forum of action, a parliament of accomplishment commensurate with the challenge that faces it. This Assembly must mobilize its mighty forces — and, let there be no mistake, we have much strength at our disposal. Under the managerial genius of our President, an ability he has already so ably demonstrated, this Assembly must press forward as a powerful catalyst to persevere with the unfinished business of its sixteen predecessors.

110. We have no apology to make to those who accuse us of being an organ for words, a talkathon, because we think that words are important, that words are ideas; and they were most important especially in the formative stage when this Organization was hammering out questions of principles. But now we have gone much further. In the case of the three categories I have mentioned — colonialism, economic development, and disarmament — what is striking about all three is that they have progressed beyond the stage of dispute on principles.

111. For example, there is no longer any difference of opinion that colonialism must go. By its historic Declaration [resolution 1514 (XV)], this Assembly has already decreed the complete liquidation of this festering anachronism. The problems before us now are those of ways and means, of methods and procedures. Views may differ on tempo, but we all know where we are going. As for my delegation, we favour a stepped-up tempo, a stepped-up pace, a double tempo. We have heard many excuses for delays but not a single good reason, and we find that the excuses are mostly evasions of one kind or another of the principles of the Declaration. But even if we are inclined to temporize, is the choice completely ours? Every morning's newspaper tells us that the peoples in the colonies are on the march, many of them under the banners of militant political parties, behind leaders whose precious qualities and undoubted genius, now dissipated in political gaols and police persecutions, could well be used and should be used in the building of new nations, and, as our new Members have so ably demonstrated here in this Assembly, can be used for the veritable strengthening of our own Organization. Either this Assembly will grasp the historical meaning of this struggle against colonialism and direct its forces to constructive goals, or it must be prepared to face another crop of Congos and Angolas, with their potential threat to regional peace, international security and even the very existence of the United Nations itself.

112. For this task the Assembly has before it a monumental mass of information from the Special Com-

mittee established under paragraph 3 of resolution 1699 (XVI), the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, the Committee on South West Africa, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the Special Committee established under paragraph 3 of resolution 1654 (XVI), whose prodigious labours and remarkable results have given us a pattern of action for the earliest liberation of all non-free peoples. As I have stated before in the Committee of Information, of which I was Chairman, if we move with dispatch we shall see for the first time, and even within the lifetime of most of us, a world of peoples who will all be self-governing.

113. Similarly with the Decade of Development. Here, there is even less differences of principles. Like the Declaration on colonialism, the Decade enjoys the unanimous decision of the Assembly, and here there are minimum differences even as regards method. In addition, we have the excellent guidance contained in the many constructive statements and reports made in recent months by our Secretary-General, U Thant.

114. Our problem in this respect can be summed up as one of correcting the danger of imbalances — imbalances in the price of primary and manufactured commodities, in development, in the flow of development capital, in the techniques of administration, and, most dangerous of all, imbalances in standards of living.

115. And now, when the world needs balance most, there arise new hazards in the growth of the common markets. My Government, as a member of the Commonwealth, shares the anxiety of all our sister dominions in regard to the Common Market as we see it shaping up in West Europe. Much of the economy of my own country of Ceylon rests, as with most developing countries, on foreign trade. Our economies are in a formative period. We still depend largely on the export of a limited number of products, mainly agricultural, to pay for our essential imports of capital and consumption goods. Not too infrequently we have suffered from the fluctuation of the prices of our products, over which we have no control. Will the dividing of the world into economic blocs corresponding to the political blocs aggravate our difficulties? Shall we be left entirely at the mercy of economic giants? Will these internationally co-ordinated economic plans result in indirect political penetration and neo-colonialism in our small countries? These are genuine apprehensions, and due notice must be taken of them.

116. It would be a gross misrepresentation to portray the European Common Market as a headache of the Commonwealth only. The anxieties which the proposal has aroused have been expressed also by the Latin American States, by most African States, by the European non-aligned States, by States of the Middle East, by the socialist States, even by many circles in Britain, and, I might add, also by many American statesmen who, while seeing virtue in the rise of the European Common Market, never fail to express, with a detectable note of misgiving, the hope that the market will not be "inward looking" but "outward looking". But it is not America so much as the Six who will have the power to decide how they will deal with world trade, and indeed they have already laid down the rules by which others must bargain with them.

117. My delegation would like to make itself very clear on this issue. We are not against common mar-

kets. They are probably an inevitable chapter in the growing regionalism of the world, as the next step in history beyond the unicellular sovereign State, and we might welcome this development. In some areas of the world the grouping of States, as in the case of Central and Latin American States and also as seen in Africa, may be the only solution for accelerating the rate of economic development.

118. But, as regards the European Common Market, there is nothing common about it. How can there be any such thing when six of the most developed countries in the world have pooled their resources in a combination which has not only economic implications but political and perhaps even military implications? This Common Market may well presage the rise of a new empire since it reaches out far beyond the economic components of a marketing organization.

119. Last year I had the opportunity to express from this rostrum some thoughts on the regional, political organizations and the danger that they may gradually evolve beyond the control of the United Nations Charter. The same warning might be raised also with regard to regional economic organizations. It is for us to ponder whether the trade of the world which involves the livelihood of peoples should become a war of the regions.

120. It is in this light that my delegation welcomes the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council for the holding of a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1963, which is none too soon. When the agenda of that Conference comes up, my Government will support those principles of economic development which have been so ably formulated this year in the Cairo Conference on the Problems of Economic Development in which Ceylon was privileged to participate. It will also support giving the broadest possible scope to deal with the problems arising from common market practices. This important development, if it is not to deteriorate into bitter economic warfare, must be brought within the principles of the Charter and, we hope eventually within the United Nations itself, possibly under a special agency.

121. Finally, there is the question of disarmament. Here, too, we have unanimity at least on basic principles and even on diagnosis. It is interesting to note that in each of the major statements made before this Assembly, by the United States and the Soviet Union, we have a "leitmotif" which stresses that the current runaway arms race is folly and madness, and yet the solution appears to evade these two great countries.

122. In Shakespeare's play, Hamlet, faced with a problem which was beyond him, lapsed, as you will recall, into madness, and in this condition found a solution indeed, but one which destroyed all, including himself. Therefore, to engage in self-laceration would not in itself contribute to the solution any more than to engage in the castigation of the other side. But we must not under-estimate this confession of folly on their part. It does connote a change of heart, a laudable measure of self-criticism and a new state of mind. The Assembly must therefore press forward at this psychological moment, for a possible break-through, on the important progress already made on the halting of nuclear tests. In such a push, the Assembly has the encouraging example of the great contribution made in Geneva by the eight non-aligned nations, which have forever destroyed the arguments of the doubting Thomases on

the powers of non-alignment. The Assembly also has, in addition, the tremendous force of world public opinion behind it, and its expressed revulsion against the continuation of an armaments race, which has lost all semblance of even the remotest value as a factor in the security of States. We believe with Acting Secretary-General U Thant that the peoples of the world are becoming more and more impatient with failure to find a way out of the dangerous impasse we have now reached.

123. Thus, armed with the moral influence which can come to a Parliament, this Assembly, with its membership of 108 States, enjoys the rare opportunity of being able to mobilize all its energies in order to push this crucial problem of the age to some kind of a breakthrough. In fact, all the three categories of colonialism, economics and armaments are now ripe for a breakthrough. So much so that, it being customary to dub each session with a symbolic title, this seventeenth session might well be called the "break-through Assembly".

124. In this effort the ordinary resolutions of the past, enunciating and re-enunciating already accepted principles on disarmament, will fall short of what is needed. There is, in fact, as the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, Mr. Howard Green, stated, little left for this Assembly to do than to admonish, with some prodding, the Committee of Eighteen in Geneva to continue its deliberations. But I suspect that the wise Minister of Canada had some doubt in his own mind about leaving it entirely to the negotiators, and it is probably for this reason that he added:

"This Assembly should bring to bear the full force of world opinion to ensure more rapid progress in disarmament." [1130th meeting, para. 61].

In this connexion, my delegation feels that the proposed Soviet declaration [A/5233] on the conversion of arms expenditure to peaceful purposes commands considerable merit. The economics of siphoning such savings for reconstruction are not new and were first proposed by the late representative of India, Sir Benegal Rau. But the grand dimensions in which it is now formulated are new and carry great impact within the context of the current picture in the arms situation. The proposal commands attention because it states the reconversion of military to civilian uses, not in mere negative terms, but in positive terms of realizable achievements. It is basically sound because it is built on the findings of the United Nations Committee on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament, which was itself the outcome of the initiative of the Pakistani delegation, be it said to its glory. Not only does it appeal to the depressed masses of the world, but it also allays the fears of those millions of workers whose livelihood, civilian and military, is so closely tied to the world productive forces which now, alas, are too closely harnessed to engines of destruction. It can, therefore, be a psychological break-through of the greatest impact at this auspicious juncture of events and, in the light of the unanimous approval the proposal received at the 150th meeting of the General Committee only yesterday, my delegation would express the hope that the Soviet delegation would invite all great industrial and military Powers to co-sponsor this declaration so that it might completely escape the taint of propaganda and become a document worthy of unanimous acclaim by this Assembly.

125. It is now almost fashionable in certain political and journalist circles to talk of a crisis facing the United Nations. It is true that the United Nations has many problems, its financial difficulties, structural and organizational weaknesses and imbalances. But these are merely the reflection of the unsatisfactory world situation. The real crisis, as we see it, is in the hearts of men, and it is there that we must overcome it by unflinching courage, by bold action and by enlightened and firm determination. The crisis is due chiefly to our failure to take account of the realities of the world situation and to have our actions conform with those realities. We are often asked to be practical, but, when it comes to dealing with practical problems — for example, that of the recognition of the rightful position of the People's Republic of China — what is our reaction?

126. We would therefore counsel an Assembly of action, as the first logical step toward the stronger United Nations which we all desire and which Mr. Stevenson called for. Here we have an Assembly that is a unique democracy, representing the greatest number of people ever represented in any body in history. Let this be a session that will mobilize the best resources of the men and women who now constitute its record membership. We agree with Lord Home's wise counsel, given to us at the last meeting, for moderation and conciliation, but we must not allow moderation and conciliation to be made synonymous with inaction. So we say: let this be a dynamic session, an Assembly worthy of its historic mission in these revolutionary times. When that great French leader, Danton, was asked to give a formula for the mood of an Assembly coping with revolutionary forces, as indeed we are ourselves doing today, his immortal reply was: "de l'audace, encore de l'audace et toujours de l'audace". Let his words be our slogan as well.

127. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you at the outset, on behalf of my delegation and myself, our warm congratulations upon your election to this high office. Your distinguished career, your long and rich experience and your high qualifications are well known to us all. I therefore wish simply to say to you that we wish you all the success that you and all of us want.

128. I should like also to extend the warm welcome of my delegation to the new Member States which have just joined our family of nations: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

129. Seventeen years ago, after an unprecedented cataclysm in the form of a most devastating war, a tree was planted to shelter mankind from winds and storms and to give the men and women of the world a new hope for a fuller and richer life. This tree, the United Nations, was meant to be an expression of faith in a society where peace shall prevail, where differences shall be resolved by peaceful and amicable settlements, where efforts shall be joined to ensure to all a prospect of a more promising and beneficial future. Around this tree would rally men and nations from the four corners of the world to meet and devise together the best means to attain the objectives of peace and progress. Unlike previously, each and every participant, whether rich or poor, mighty or weak, would enjoy greater equality and have a say in the affairs which concern and affect him, rather than being a mere shadow witnessing the decisions of the great and powerful of this earth. This, indeed, is a significant advance in the evolution of the international

society, a democratic improvement in the functioning of the community of nations which only recently was dominated by a privileged few who reserved for themselves the authority to shape the destiny of the world. It took a world war to bring about the democratization of that authority which is now embodied in this Organization, no doubt to a much greater extent than in any others. It is, therefore, natural that those who yesterday were voiceless and powerless should do what they can to maintain the gains which are now acquired, to oppose any attempt at taking them away and to strengthen the one and only international forum at their disposal which allows their democratic rights to be exercised, their grievances to be heard, and their fundamental aspirations to be pursued. My country, Thailand, is well aware of this situation and will spare no efforts to join with others of like-minded dispositions in upholding the rights of smaller nations to have a decent and respectable place in the sun, to enjoy the protection of their basic rights and interests and to be secure and free in their pursuit of happiness as independent national entities. With this purpose in mind, the Thai people and Government hereby pledge their loyal support for the work of this Organization, reaffirm their faith in the high Principles and Purposes of the Charter as well as their profound attachment to the increasing importance of the United Nations for the sustained progress of our international society.

130. This reaffirmation and this pledge are not mere words which are lightly spoken for a passing occasion. Rather they represent an invariable tradition of loyalty to the Organization, which finds concrete translation into tangible deeds. In 1950, when the United Nations appealed to its Members for assistance in meeting aggression in Korea, Thailand faithfully and promptly responded. In 1958, when Cambodia for the first time and for no valid reasons, broke off its diplomatic relations with Thailand, my Government, animated by the deep desire to see harmony prevail in the area, refrained from responding to this unfriendly act by commensurate inimical actions. Instead it requested the United Nations to use the means at its disposal to bring about a normalization of the relations. Thanks to the helpful efforts of Baron Beck-Friis of Sweden, representative of the late Secretary-General, the relations were restored.

131. In 1960, when differences with our difficult neighbour, Cambodia, sharpened again, my country sought the good offices of the late Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, whose diplomatic tact and skill, joined with those of the Under-Secretary of State of Norway, Hans Engen, were instrumental in bringing about the signing of four separate agreements.<sup>2/</sup> However, owing to the other party's failure to observe the terms of the agreements, the efforts so painstakingly deployed by Mr. Hammarskjöld and his representative remained fruitless.

132. Even after the lapse of these agreements, Thailand continued to seek a compromise with Cambodia and to live on neighbourly terms with it. This friendly desire found no response and, in October 1961 Cambodia, for some obscure political and psychological reasons of its own, broke off for the second time in less than three years, its ties with my country. This time, however, Thailand has made no move to have the relations restored, for we do not believe that international relations should be treated like a mere

doll whose neck can be broken at any one's whims and then glued up again when it suits their purpose.

133. Although diplomatic relations with Cambodia remained severed, Thailand readily complied with its obligations under the Charter when the International Court of Justice rendered a decision<sup>3/</sup> which was not in our favour. It did so under protest and under deep disappointment that the Court, in my Government's view, has indulged in legal aberrations and inappropriate consideration of both the facts and the principles of law. This attitude of the Thai Government and nation to observe faithfully their obligations while — at the same time, reserving their legitimate rights reflects their readiness to accept and to uphold the rule of law provided, understandably, that such rule of law and the dispensing of justice be fair and just.

134. In spite of my country's moderate and restrained dispositions, our neighbour showed no appreciation. Its leaders, unaware of the already tense situation in South East Asia brought about by their own erratic doings, launched fantastic charges against Thailand, alleging among other things that four hundred Thai marines accompanied by ten United States advisers landed on Cambodian soil. The accusation has not, of course, been substantiated and could not have been. The charge was forgotten as soon as it was made and both the Thai marines and the American advisers simply vanished into thin air. Obviously, the tale was too gross and too crude to gain any credence. Other charges by Cambodia followed the same fate.

135. As you may see, Thailand and the Thai people have been suffering and continue to suffer from uninterrupted pressure, malicious propaganda and provocations at the hands of the Cambodians. Not later than at the last meeting the representatives of Cambodia felt obliged to make untruthful remarks about my country. Procedurally — I would have asked for the exercise of the right of immediate reply. We did not do so because we did not want to disturb the orderly proceedings of this Assembly and because we did not believe in getting involved in polemics, either with Cambodia or with anyone else. However, some of the remarks which had been made this morning have to be corrected, I must say that I sadly and reluctantly do so, just with a view to having the record set straight.

136. In the first place, the Cambodian representative said that Cambodia's neighbours had nibbled its territory — province by province. It seems that the Cambodian representative is in need of refreshing his knowledge of geography. Those who did not only nibble at Cambodian territory but took over the whole of it are by no means Cambodia's neighbours. Moreover, the Cambodian representative may be interested to know that practically one hundred years ago an ancestor of the present Cambodian Chief of State wrote to the then King of Thailand, asking for aid and protection against foreign invaders.

137. Secondly, the Cambodian representative also suggested that the disputes between Thailand and Cambodia sprang from the remote past and had nothing whatever to do with current ideologies. It seems that the Chairman of the Cambodian delegation does not follow very closely statements made by his own Chief of State nor has he been reading recent newspapers published in Cambodia. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to read just a very short

<sup>2/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382 (1960), I, Nos. 5490-5493.

<sup>3/</sup> Case concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear (Cambodia v. Thailand), Merits, Judgement of 15 June 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 6.

passage of an article written by none other than Prince Norodom Sihanouk in *Réalités Cambodgiennes* of 27 July 1962. The text is in French. It reads:

"Cambodia has chosen to be neutral in the face of the ideological conflict that sets the free world and the communist world against each other.

"Thailand and South Viet-Nam ... have chosen to identify themselves with the enemies of the communist camp.

"...

"It is this wide difference of ideological preference which makes it impossible to compare the case of our three countries with that of France and Germany."

In other words, Prince Norodom Sihanouk considers that the obstacles which stand in the way of friendly relations between Thailand and Cambodia are its differences in ideology, and that is why he said that the countries, namely, Thailand, Cambodia and South Viet-Nam, cannot be compared to France and Germany.

138. Thirdly, the Chairman of the Cambodian delegation expressed the desire that Cambodia should remain an island of peace. I wish simply to say this, that Cambodia can become an island of peace if it has a greater respect for truth.

139. In spite of all this, my Government and the Thai nation prefer to live by ourselves and have observed all restraint. They do not wish, however, to see world public opinion deluded, nor do they think that the puerile, if enervating, practice of inventing stories of imaginary threats and danger should be allowed to complicate still further the already delicate situation; they consequently appealed once more to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send one or more representatives to Thailand and to South-East Asia to investigate the situation. The Government of Thailand did this because it is innocent of the charges, because it has nothing to hide, because it wants the whole world to know the truth and because it believes in the impartiality and the worth of the United Nations and its able Secretary-General for whom Thailand entertains the highest consideration and in whom we place our full confidence rather than in other more controversial authorities.

140. I brought out these facts for no other purpose than to illustrate my country's unswerving loyalty to, and support for, the United Nations. We say so, not only with our words but also with our deeds. At this juncture, opinions seem to agree that the United Nations is in far greater need of supporting deeds and actions than of mere words. For what accomplishment does it bring to this Organization, if wise words flow from this rostrum while bullets also fly elsewhere, like in South Viet-Nam, striking indiscriminately at women and children and at those who refuse to submit themselves to attempts at their enslavement. Similarly, what useful purpose does it serve when themes of freedom and independence are developed in this gathering while a wall grows higher and more impenetrable every day in Berlin, barring people from having access to one another, separating and disuniting those who want to live together, to exercise their basic right of self-determination and to follow their own destiny.

141. Obviously this Organization of ours is facing a crucial moment in its young history and it needs much strengthening through active and concrete support; so that it will be able to play a vital role in our

less than ordinate international society and to perform, as we expect it to do, the highly exacting tasks of preserving peace and preparing for a progressive development of our world community. Contrary to what some may say, it is not too much to ask the United Nations to discharge the duties I have just mentioned. There seems to be a certainty that every nation here represented intends to require the United Nations to do just that — for there is no one else to whom we may turn.

142. However, if that were to be the case and if we expect the United Nations to work for us all, it is only reasonable to give it the necessary wherewithals. It is indeed inconceivable to deny it the funds which are needed to carry out its functions. My country, on its part, is ready and willing to bear its share of the financial burden. If it had not yet effected payment of the last assessment of the Congo operations cost and had not yet made a pledge for purchasing its share of the United Nations bonds, it was because we strongly felt the inequity of the fact that those who enjoyed a position of high responsibility and influence had refused to bear their allotment of expenses and let the weight of the burden fall on weaker shoulders. We hope there will be a reversal of such an attitude which will permit this Organization to return to a more healthy and more normal financial position, thus increasing its ability to perform its useful functions.

143. Furthermore, it should be realized that, if the United Nations is to be successful in its momentous tasks of keeping the peace and bringing progress to the world community, it has to depend in no small measure on the Member States themselves. For, after all, this Organization is but a machinery, the sum total of all its Members. It will be strong if the Members want it to be strong. It will remain weak if Members neglect their duties and fail to accept their share of the responsibility.

144. This reality applies with particular force to the thorny problem of disarmament and its corollary, the question of the suspension or banning of nuclear testing. If they remain unsolved, it is no doubt due to the fact that the parties concerned, even with the participation of non-nuclear nations in the deliberations, feel in no mood to consent to the give-and-take process which alone can bring about an agreement. Armaments, conventional or nuclear, remain for some, if not for all, a very important instrument of national policy and ambitions in peacetime and a vital means of victory and survival in time of conflict. Therefore, those who possess them do not willingly agree to surrender them unless they are assured, on the one hand, of adequate guarantees for their own defence and, on the other, of being provided with worthwhile substitutes for carrying out their national policy.

145. As things now stand, the consensus appears to be that the likelihood of an agreement being reached is remote. Perhaps we shall have to wait until the day when the principal parties concerned are themselves convinced that a continued arms race will bring about certain destruction for them, as well as for others; only then may an agreement to halt the arms race be closer at hand.

146. At any rate, even though an agreement were to be concluded tomorrow to put an end to the arms race and the testing of nuclear weapons, it would not seem justified to claim that peace had been won and secured. The most one could say would be that the chances of

an outbreak of large-scale hostilities had been somewhat reduced. For, while a total war or nuclear war may be the most redoubtable occurrence, other kinds of clashes and conflicts are also destructive. In other words, even if nuclear testing is banned and disarmament agreed upon, it does not necessarily follow that there will be as yet a real and long-lasting peace. In point of fact, even now there are instances in which Governments proclaim their aversion to war and their longing for peace, but at the same time there are assertions of support for what is called wars of national liberation — which to all practical intents and purposes, means that interference and even intervention will be condoned in national societies which may have dissident elements within their own internal structures. Or, if no such elements existed, efforts would be made to create misunderstanding, to foster local grudges and dissatisfactions so as to develop them into dissenting movements of major proportion. Once a wedge has been driven into even homogeneous entities, intense divisive measures will be progressively applied, with the result that families, communities and even nations may be torn apart. Political support, as well as men and "matériel", would flow into the area of conflict; and if that was still not enough, threats of intervention or even open warfare might be brought into action. These kind of disturbances, which at the start may be purely local, may develop into issues of national or even international significance. The disturbances generally end, either with a complete ideological change of régime, or at an international conference table where agreements concluded after prolonged negotiations sanction the bisection or trisection of the formerly unified and united entity. We in South-East Asia can validly claim to have broad experience in this kind of international venture and are well placed to know that destruction does not come only from general warfare, but may also result from clandestine operations, from infiltration and subversive activities. The outcome is unavoidably the loss of freedom, and if in some cases independence is still maintained for the sake of appearance, it is purely nominal and without much meaning or significance.

147. The issue, then, remains that real peace, real security and stability are yet to be achieved, and this will add to the problems with which the United Nations will be confronted. What this Organization can do to bring this undertaking to a successful conclusion is a matter that requires continuous thinking and preparation. By itself, and with only its limited means, little if anything can be done to bring about the desired results. What is required of the nations of the world is not simply a declaration, but also the willingness to accept and uphold the four freedoms for nations — namely, freedom from pressure, propaganda, provocation and prejudice.

148. Among the occurrences a nation has to face in its daily life, pressure is perhaps the most constant hazard. It presents itself in varying degrees, from a more or less gentle persuasion, from threats of the possibility of resorting to certain measures to the actual adoption of those measures. Most important of all, it may come from friendly as well as from not so friendly sides. Its effects may be more or less harmful, depending on the nature of the methods resorted to. In more extreme cases pressure may lead to actual conflict if the victim decides to resist and even to retaliate. Consequently, it may be concluded that pressure may result in the deprivation of the right of nations freely to determine their own course of action,

and in some cases in the compulsory abandonment of a policy or a line of action to the detriment of the interests of those nations, with the result that ill will is created and the seeds of conflict thus sown may develop into more serious disturbances.

149. Propaganda is another common by-product of the present division of the world into many camps. All nations, with hardly any exception, are enveloped by it and have to submit to it, whether they like it or not. Propaganda goes on without interruption day and night, and takes multifarious forms ranging from the crudest to the most subtle ones. Its objective is always the same; to wage a battle of words to capture men's minds and to win them over to a particular cause or ideology. For that purpose, each side will try to expound the merits and virtues of its own political and social system and will not hesitate to claim that such a system represents the coming trend of the future, while other competing ideologies are doomed to failure. This sort of propaganda is particularly aimed at the less developed nations, and is designed to sway the latter's thinking and sympathy in the hope that more practical support will be gained.

150. My country, like many others in the world, has also been exposed to that kind of propaganda campaign. Our people, however, do not feel attracted to any of the systems offered to us. On the contrary, we feel that these systems are tainted with certain peculiarities and have been devised to satisfy the requirements of limited racial or ideological groups rather than the universal human needs. We prefer to keep faith in our own system of human and moral democracy, which is inspired by the teachings of Lord Buddha and transmitted to us through long generations. According to this creed, human beings have their worth and values, not because they belong to certain ethnological origins, or because they subscribe to certain political thoughts, but because as humans they are bound by time-honoured ethical principles and by traditional love of freedom and independence.

151. Another source of difficulty in the present world stems from acts of provocation which unfortunately are frequently resorted to by far too many nations. Short of actual hostilities, they disrupt friendly understanding and relations among peoples and may endanger the peaceful and orderly life of the international community. In particular, when such acts of provocation take the form of military measures, including the provision of arms and military equipment, the danger to international peace obviously is greatly increased. We readily subscribe to the indignation that has been aroused in this Assembly against the so-called "stuffing" of a nation with all kinds of arms. We believe that such measures are not calculated to enhance the chances of peace and good understanding. Much to the contrary, they contribute to the deterioration of existing situations. It is our hope that nations will refrain from carrying out such disturbing actions, especially in areas which are already afflicted by international problems and disputes which may turn simmering crises into larger conflagrations.

152. As regards the problem of prejudice, one may say that while their effects are felt mainly within the boundaries of nations, they may have also far wider repercussions in the international scene. The Thai people have never shared those feelings of prejudice against anyone, and will steadfastly oppose the prevalence or practice of such prejudices. We hope that as time goes on and progress is brought about in our present world,

they will completely disappear and be replaced by feelings of human brotherhood.

153. These requisites for international understanding, goodwill and harmony may be a long-range hope and prospect for a better world community, but we firmly believe, however, that they are worth striving for. If achieved, they will bring the most satisfactory dividends, as well as the assurance of a genuine friendship and co-operation among all the peoples of the world.

154. Thailand is a small nation which is devoted to peace, to its freedom and independence. Our means are limited, therefore our interests cannot be extended throughout the world. But within the limits of our means, we intend to play an active and, we hope, a useful role for the peace, progress and prosperity of our region. We want to serve our own people, but at the same time we intend to be helpful to our neighbours, for we fully realize that the stability of our region will be beneficial, not only to ourselves, but also to the world at large. That is why we fondly cultivate the friendship of neighbouring nations, and, with only one unfortunate exception, we may claim to have succeeded. The Thai people feel rewarded by the cordial feelings reciprocated to them by those friendly nations of the area. My delegation is particularly touched by the cordial and generous words spoken by the Chairman of the Australian delegation, Sir Garfield Barwick. I can certainly say that the Thai nation highly and heartily values the friendship of such a stalwart and progressive people as the Australians, with whom we are gratified to be closely associated. We are convinced that, as the result of the Royal Visit and many other joint endeavours for the good of our respective peoples and the region in general, our mutual co-operation will continue to grow and prosper.

155. Likewise, in a similar manifestation of friendly and practical collaboration, the Association of South-east Asia, which joins together the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of the Philippines and Thailand, has made encouraging progress within a short period of only a little more than a year. There is no doubt that such a mutual undertaking, which aims only at increasing the prosperity and welfare of the peoples concerned as well as those of the area, responds to the present needs and provides great opportunities for their future development. Instead of staying apart, we want to see our nations and peoples joined together, not for the negative purpose of being opposed to anyone, but in a common, constructive endeavour to build up a promising future.

156. This encouraging trend has been further strengthened by the settlement of the West New Guinea or West Irian question between the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands, which portends a greater stability and a more fruitful co-operation among all concerned.

157. In a world marked by deep division, by incessant struggle and turmoil, Thailand wants to be its own self. It wants to be free and independent to follow its own destiny without being tied to anyone's coat-tail. None of the political concepts so far advanced by the various groupings now in existence appeals to it, for each and all of them suffer from apparent defects and do not suit the character or the aspirations of our people. Nor do we wish to derive benefits wherever they offer themselves. What we seek is to be truly free to determine our individual and national life, to be com-

pletely objective in facing both national and international issues, and, finally, to be fully independent in order to reach decisions on our own. In this manner, we hope to serve the interests of our nation as well as the cause of peace and international amity. It is our earnest hope that the United Nations, as well as those who are friendly to us, may help us to achieve this high objective.

## AGENDA ITEM 8

### Adoption of the agenda (continued)

#### SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/5241)

158. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to the next item on our agenda for this afternoon, the second report of the General Committee on the adoption of the agenda and the allocation of items [A/5241].

159. The first of the two items dealt with in the report of the General Committee is entitled "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war". The General Committee recommends that this item be included in the agenda. If there are no comments, I will take it that the Assembly approves the recommendation of the General Committee.

*The item was placed on the agenda without discussion.*

160. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends that this item be allocated to the First Committee.

161. Mr. SEMENOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The Soviet delegation expresses satisfaction at the General Committee's recommendation [150th meeting] to include in the agenda of this session the item "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war", which was introduced on the initiative of the Soviet Government.

162. In the adoption of this decision there is reflected the necessity and timeliness of action to suppress the propaganda for a preventive nuclear war which is now aggravating the international situation and greatly increasing the danger of armed conflict.

163. As the Soviet delegation has already pointed out in the General Committee [150th meeting], we should prefer the item entitled "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war" to be considered directly in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly, without first being referred to a Committee. It seems that such a procedure for discussion does not please the United States and its military-bloc allies. This cannot help, of course, but be disquieting to all who are sincerely interested in strengthening peace and who regard it as their business to work for the relaxation of international tensions.

164. The Soviet delegation would have no objection if the item "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war" were first discussed in the Political Committee, on the understanding that it would then be discussed also in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. What matters, of course, is not merely where the item is first discussed, but that the General Assembly should devote to this acute problem the attention which it merits.

165. The PRESIDENT: In the absence of any formal request for a vote, may I take it that the Assembly is in favour of the recommendation made by the General Committee that this item be allocated to the First Committee?

*It was so decided.*

166. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the second item, entitled "Economic programme for disarmament". The General Committee recommends that this item be included in the agenda and that it be referred to the Second Committee. If there is no objection to the inscription of this item, may I take it that the Assembly accepts the recommendation of the General Committee as to inclusion?

*It was so decided.*

167. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee has recommended the allocation of this item to the Second Committee. Are there any comments?

168. Mr. SEMENOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Committee [150th meeting] has decided to include in the agenda of the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly the item proposed by the Soviet Union entitled "Economic programme for disarmament" [A/5233].

169. The Soviet delegation considers it preferable that this item should be discussed in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, since it has not only an economic but also a broad political significance. As various comments have been made in this connexion, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to state here certain additional considerations motivating its position.

170. The importance of the question of an economic programme for disarmament is underlined first of all by the fact that never before in peacetime has mankind expended such immense resources on armaments as in recent years.

171. In the opinion of the Soviet Government, this question cannot fail to elicit the concentrated attention of the United Nations.

172. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, speaking on 10 July 1962 at the World Congress for General and Complete Disarmament and Peace, in Moscow, showed the tremendous opportunities for economic development which would be opened to all countries of the world if the untold resources and wealth now being thrown into the bottomless pit of the arms race were diverted to peaceful production. Mr. Khrushchev went on to expound an economic programme for disarmament which, if put into effect, would meet the vital interests of all countries in the world, the industrially highly developed as well as the under-developed, the capitalist as well as the socialist countries.

173. This question has special importance for the future of economically under-developed countries. It is more than obvious that there is a huge gap, in regard to levels of living and economic development, between the industrially advanced colonial countries and those which, because of colonialism, are backward. Anyone who has been in Asia, Africa and Latin America knows that the difference between the situation there and the situation here is the difference between night and day, between heaven and earth. You will understand, of course, that the Soviet delegation

does not want to go into details at the moment; we shall speak about all this when the time comes. There are, however, certain considerations which we do want to bring out now in support of our proposal that this question should be discussed in the plenary meeting.

174. Today the overwhelming majority of countries which have risen from the ruins of imperialism's dead colonial system must cope with an odd situation. The peoples of those countries have expelled the foreigners who enslaved them, and their own national flags now fly over their lands. They have convincingly demonstrated the absurdity of the colonialist thesis of second-class peoples and have shown that the only inferior people in the world are those who are trying to defend colonialism and are banking on an intensification of the arms race.

175. The young sovereign States are striving to break loose from the terrible grip of backwardness, hunger and poverty. The scope of so-called aid to under-developed countries is incommensurable with the prevailing poverty born of centuries of colonial exploitation. To break the vicious circle, these countries must overcome the legacy of colonialism, their own economic backwardness, and adopt a more advanced type of technology than they now have. This problem, and its practical solution through the implementation of general and complete disarmament, is one of the most important aspects of the economic programme for disarmament which the Soviet Government is now proposing for discussion and action.

176. It is our opinion, as we said in the General Committee, that the General Assembly must give full attention to discussion of this question, preferably in plenary meeting, so as to give it special importance.

177. We should like to adduce several examples. Look at South-East Asia, inhabited by almost a quarter of the world's population. Huge power and mineral resources are concentrated there: oil in Indonesia and India; iron, manganese and other ores in India, Burma and the Philippines; tin and bauxite in Malaya, Thailand and Indonesia. It is an area rich in rubber, jute, shellac and many other valuable raw materials. Its huge rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Mekong, are wrapped in legend and looked upon as sacred, so great is their importance in the lives of hundreds of millions of people in that area.

178. The resources which would be made available through disarmament could be used in the most fertile and densely-populated parts of India and Pakistan to construct scores of hydroelectric plants on the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Indus Rivers with a total capacity of about 36 million kilowatts. Huge irrigation systems, providing water for millions of hectares of land and eliminating the threat of catastrophic floods, could be produced by building a series of dams. On the basis of cheap hydroelectric power, not only individual isolated industries, but huge industrial complexes producing a diversity of products could be constructed.

179. In the Near and Middle East the land and the sands are literally saturated with oil and natural gas. Thousands of ships sail to the ends of the earth with the black gold which the inhabitants of, for example, Iran call the "black death". Even if only the natural gas which in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Afghanistan and the Arabian Peninsula is almost entirely burnt up uselessly in the flambeaux of the refineries were used for the benefit of the people, huge chemical plants for the production of fertilizers, artificial

fibres, building materials, medicines, valuable industrial raw materials and many other useful items could be established in those countries.

180. Engineers have long been working on the problem of using the vast energy of the great Congo River and the very rich geological deposits in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia, which they call a geological miracle. Scientists estimate that the hydroelectric potential in the Ingi region of the Lower Congo alone amounts to approximately 26 million kilowatts. This energy would make it possible to use for the benefit of the whole world the copper, lead, zinc, tin, uranium, diamonds and precious metals in adjacent parts of this fabulously rich region where people live in poverty amidst wealth and in deprivation amidst abundance.

181. A few words now about Latin America. It is known that under an existing plan a huge hydroelectric system calling for the construction of a series of hydroelectric plants having a total capacity of 7 million kilowatts could be built along the rivers of Argentina and Uruguay in the foothills of the Andes. In Argentina alone it would be possible to build an extensive network of plants for the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metal products, petroleum products and machinery. Part of the electric power of this network could be transmitted to the neighbouring countries of Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay. There are plans for the creation of a huge system of power-stations and industrial plants on the Orinoco and Caroni Rivers in Venezuela and Colombia. All these exceptionally important projects could be included in the economic programme for disarmament. The programme would also include many other important projects; its implementation would ensure the success of national development plans in various parts of the world and enable countries to co-operate in their efforts to achieve industrialization.

182. All these projects, taken as a whole, give some idea of the potentialities for economic development on a world scale that exist in the present state of science, technology and agriculture and that could be realized if reason and justice should prevail in the event of general and complete disarmament. This is a very important question, and that is why, in our view, it must be discussed by the most responsible representatives of States in plenary meetings of the Assembly. Experience has shown that discussion in plenary of such a question as the abolition of the colonial system of plundering and piracy has had great international significance. Who can say, however, that the present question has less significance?

183. We have already pointed out in the General Committee [150th meeting] that the economic programme for disarmament reveals the complete absurdity, futility and pointlessness of the aims pursued by the arms manufacturers and those who act as cover for them. It shows the genuine possibilities for rebuilding the life of peoples on an intelligent basis. General and complete disarmament cannot, of course, solve all problems or cure mankind of all its present ills and misfortunes, but if States and peoples were released from the heavy burden of military expenditure, a stable peace would be assured and progress would have been made towards creating the material and technical prerequisites for accelerated development. We must not take a fatalistic attitude towards the future of mankind and regard war, destruction and poverty as its inescapable lot. Our times call for the mobilization of peoples and of all who are for

peace in a resolute and unwavering struggle against the arms race, which benefits only the manufacturers and merchants of death. These are the reasons why the Soviet delegation would prefer the item "Economic programme for disarmament" to be discussed at plenary meetings of the General Assembly. The discussion in the General Committee showed that the United States and its military-bloc allies have no desire for discussion of this item. This ought to put on their guard all those who are interested in discussing how the huge resources now swallowed in the arms race can be diverted to peaceful purposes.

184. The Soviet delegation will not object if this item is first discussed in the Second Committee, provided the General Assembly in plenary session can then have its say in the matter. We are assuming also that the discussion of the economic programme for disarmament in the Second Committee, and later in the General Assembly, will be given the full and serious attention which it merits as a problem of direct interest to all countries of the world.

185. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (translated from French): In the course of its meeting yesterday afternoon [150th meeting] the General Committee adopted the proposal of the representative of Colombia that a new item on the agenda, "Economic programme for disarmament", should be referred to the Second Committee. That decision, adopted by a very large majority, showed that the arguments presented by the delegations of the Soviet Union, Romania and Poland in favour of a discussion of the item in plenary meeting had not convinced the other members of the Committee.

186. The representative of the Soviet Union, who discussed the substance of the item and did not confine himself to the question of its inclusion on the agenda, is asking the General Assembly to disregard the recommendations of its General Committee. My delegation therefore finds it necessary to indicate as briefly as possible the reasons why we consider that the best procedure would be to refer this new item to the Second Committee.

187. Yesterday, at the meeting of the General Committee, the representative of Colombia pointed out that this question already appeared on the agenda of the Second Committee under the heading "Economic and social consequences of disarmament" [item 33].

188. I have also listened with attention to the argument advanced by the representative of the Soviet Union, who endeavoured to establish a substantive difference between the item already submitted for the consideration of the Second Committee and the item which he proposes should be discussed in plenary session. If I have properly understood his point of view, the new item presented by the Soviet Union [A/5233] cannot be considered only from the economic point of view, unlike the item which is already on the agenda of the Second Committee. The latter item would be merely a sort of preparatory study which would foreshadow the political decisions.

189. This is not the place in which to consider questions of substance, as I have already said, but I should like to point out that any economic problem presupposes or implies political decisions, and if we were to accept the position of the Soviet Union most of the items on the agenda of the Second Committee would have to be transferred to the First Committee or to plenary meetings of the Assembly.

190. Even assuming that the item already on the agenda of the Second Committee, on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, is merely a preparatory study, it would still be necessary to allow the Second Committee to complete the task assigned to it. Last year the Assembly expressly recognized the overwhelming importance of the work undertaken by the Second Committee and the Economic and Social Council. If the Soviet delegation wishes to lay stress upon the political aspects of an economic programme for disarmament, there is nothing to prevent it from doing so in the plenary meetings when the General Assembly takes a decision on the Second Committee's proposals concerning item 33 of the agenda, and in particular on the report of the Secretary-General.<sup>4/</sup>

191. Speaking more generally, I should like to protest against what I consider to be an inaccurate conception on the part of certain delegations of the role of the Committees. Yesterday, at the meeting of the General Committee, the Soviet Union representative said—if the French interpretation was correct—that he did not wish his draft to be buried in a Committee.

192. It would seem, therefore, that in his view only secondary questions should be referred to Committees, whereas important matters should be dealt with directly in plenary session. That, of course, is not our point of view. The Committees are not organs independent of the General Assembly, and we consider that the allocation of items must be done on the basis of practical considerations and in such a way as to permit of a really thorough discussion, which the procedure in plenary session does not always afford. In other words, the consideration of an item by a Committee does not deprive the General Assembly of its rights, and the General Assembly, as is natural, always has the last word.

193. For these reasons, the French delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly should approve the recommendation of the General Committee.

194. Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation welcomed with satisfaction the fact that, as regards the proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the General Committee decided that the question of an economic programme for disarmament be included as a separate item in the agenda of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Our country took part in the work of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee and, later, in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. We consider the elaboration of an economic programme for disarmament as an important contribution to the solution of the question of general and complete disarmament as a whole.

195. In fact the consideration and solution of the economic aspect of disarmament would help substantially to remove different obstacles in the way of a proper understanding, and putting into practice, of the idea of general and complete disarmament. The elaboration of the economic programme for disarmament would contribute to creating a useful atmosphere by easing international tensions which are being created by the armaments race. In addition, the elaboration of such a programme would make it clear to everyone that the solution of many problems of economic development, as regards all nations and the whole of humanity, and mainly for the developing countries,

would be largely facilitated by achieving the programme of general and complete disarmament in the shortest possible time.

196. Finally, it would be an important contribution to the process of decolonization, which is a very important and noble task before the United Nations. Moreover, it would help to solve the question which has been put so often during the discussions on general and complete disarmament, namely, what would be the shape of the world when the programme of general and complete disarmament was achieved, and what would be the main tasks ahead of humanity then.

197. For all these reasons, and in view of the significance of the question, the Czechoslovak delegation has been, and continues to be, convinced that this question should be considered by the General Assembly in plenary meeting. We regret that the stubborn opposition of Western delegations did not permit the allocation of this question to the plenary and thus, in that way, to give it the attention it deserves on the agenda of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Our delegation therefore deems it necessary on this occasion to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the importance of the item entitled "Economic programme for disarmament". We hope that the attention and interest, which has been manifested by many of the interventions of the representatives who have spoken up to now in the general debate, will help us to study the problem in the Second Committee attentively and in a constructive way and afterwards to have it discussed fully, and with a positive result, in the plenary meeting.

198. Mr. FLORES AVENDAÑO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Without wishing to go into the substance of the item which the representative of the Soviet Union has proposed [A/5233] should be taken up by the General Assembly at its plenary meetings, the delegation of Guatemala supports the General Committee's recommendation that this item should be referred to the Second Committee. Our delegation concurs with the important views expressed by the representative of Colombia at the 150th meeting of the General Committee, the validity of those views being apparent from the mere title of the item. The item proposed by the Soviet Union is entitled "Economic programme for disarmament", and the second item, which has been allocated to the Second Committee, is entitled "Economic and social consequences of disarmament: report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study of the group of expert consultants appointed under General Assembly resolution 1516 (XV)". By merely reading these titles, therefore, we can see the similarity that exists between these two items. When the Second Committee takes up the report of the group of experts, it will undoubtedly deal with questions concerning the economic consequences of disarmament. The logical course is for these items to be considered from the same standpoint and by the same Committee.

199. My delegation shares the views expressed by the representative of France that to refer a question to a Committee does not in any way mean to under-rate it, or—as the representative of the Soviet Union has said—to prevent a decision from being taken with regard to the ideas which it propounds. That is not so. It would be like saying that all the items referred to the different Committees lose their value because they do not come before the General Assembly.

<sup>4/</sup> Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1).

200. There is something more, however, that can be said in this regard. The greater an item's importance—and the Soviet representative has stressed the importance of this item by enumerating at length how complex and how extensive can be the process of applying to the economic development of the underdeveloped peoples the resources released by disarmament—then the greater, without doubt, is the need for that item to be discussed unhurriedly and thoroughly. This is so much the case that the question of general and complete disarmament, which has engrossed the attention not only of the General Assembly but also of the whole world, was allocated to the First Committee. Hence the greater a question's importance and complexity, the more logical it is that it should come before a Committee, although this does not in any way

mean that the General Assembly will not deal with it, since in any event the Assembly will have the last word.

201. For all these reasons, the delegation of Guatemala supports the recommendation by the General Committee that this item should be allocated to the Second Committee.

202. The PRESIDENT: Since everybody appears to be agreed on, or reconciled to, the allocation of this item to the Second Committee, it is so decided, and the First Committee and the Second Committee will be informed of the decisions of the Assembly taken on the report of the General Committee.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*