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PLENARY MEETING**

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KHEIR (Sudan): In addressing the General Assembly at this seventeenth session, I would like my first words to be of heartfelt congratulations to the President, on his election to his high office. I know that if I were to embark on an enumeration of the qualities that so superbly fit him for the guidance of our deliberations here, I might run the risk of offending that gracious modesty which dominates his character and which has endeared him to our hearts. Suffice it for me to say that his illustrious career, his contribution to the cause of human emancipation, his universally recognized eminence in the world arena, and, above all, his innate wisdom, afford us full assurance that the work of this session is in safe hands.

2. Let me at the outset also pay my homage to the Acting Secretary-General and to his collaborators, both in the Secretariat and in the specialized agencies, for their self-denying labours in the vineyards of peace and human progress. U Thant was placed at the helm of this great ship when her captain was stricken down by a cruel and, as yet, mysterious fate. With patient skill, he has managed to navigate the stormy waves which had threatened the life of this Organization, and thus he has deservedly earned our admiration.

3. I wish to address a word of particular and brotherly congratulation to the peoples and Governments of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago on their accession to independence and their admission to membership of our Organization. This is yet another step in the historic process of making this forum into that universal human family which has always been the dream of the pioneers of international co-operation. I am confident that these new Members will bring with them to our deliberations the vigour of youth and a faith in the principles of this Organization that will further invigorate and enrich our counsels. On behalf of the Government and the people of the Sudan, I convey to these countries and their peoples our best wishes for success and prosperity. The delegation of the Republic of the Sudan is also looking forward to welcom-

ing during this session the admission of our dear neighbour, Uganda, as a full-fledged Member of this Organization. I need not emphasize the indissoluble ties of neighbourliness and friendship which link our two countries.

4. I am sure that each and all of us assembled in this hall feel relieved and gratified to note that our agenda for this session does not include a once familiar item, the question of Algeria, which has figured prominently in the agenda and debates of the previous six sessions of the General Assembly. Our sense of relief and gratification is no doubt shared by men of conscience everywhere. This is no occasion for reviewing the history of Algeria over the last eight years. It is an occasion to take note of the length and depth of sacrifice to which man can go to vindicate his right to freedom, to honour and to dignity.

5. Algeria does not need to be assured by me that while its case is no longer lobbied in the halls of the United Nations, its proud portrait will occupy a permanent place in the corridors of human history. The delegation of the Republic of the Sudan appreciates the positive step taken by President de Gaulle in the solution of this dilemma, and hopes that his auspicious development will mark the beginning of a new era of friendship between France and the Arab world. We should not forget the role that this Organization played in bringing about the solution that we hail today.

6. Critics of this Organization maintain that the world would be better off without it, forgetting that, far from being an effective world government, this is only a forum for the convergence of the moral forces of the world. We have witnessed this alliance of moral forces in the solution of the problem of Algeria. We have recognized it even more recently in the case of the old dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands on the question of the future of West Irian, a dispute that, as I have stated on a previous occasion [1065th meeting] from this rostrum, irritated relations between two countries with much to gain from mutual friendship. The moderating influence of the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, in preparing a settlement of this irritant is, in the view of our delegation, significant in the case for the continued existence of this Organization. It affords an encouraging proof that the United Nations can still act as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations on behalf of the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter.

7. Ever since our admission into the councils of the family of nations, our position on the major issues that irritate, complicate and, more often than not, contaminate contemporary international life, has always been consistent in form and undeviating in substance. This position was set out in detail by our Chief of State, His Excellency El Ferik Ibrahim Abboud, in his address at the 1036th meeting of this august body on 13 October 1961. If I reiterate these positions and attitudes today,

I do so for the sake of perpetuating our record on these issues.

8. We have always maintained, and continue to maintain, even at the risk of tiresome repetition, that the problem of disarmament must be placed at the head of the problems facing the world today whose persistence constitutes a real and formidable threat to international peace and security. It is lamentable to the last degree that the great Powers and the world community at large have so far failed to reach agreement on disarmament and the regulation of armaments, as envisaged by Article 11 of the Charter. With the dynamic technological and scientific achievements of man's creative genius, the dangers inherent in the continuation of the armaments race become only too apparent. It has been quite some time since the General Assembly as a whole decided on general and complete disarmament under effective international control [resolution 1378 (XIV)], but, regrettably, little or no progress has so far been made. Last year, this Assembly set up the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which for several months has been meeting in Geneva.

9. The Committee, although in a way handicapped by the non-participation of one of the great Powers, I mean China, had the advantage of the significant participation of eight non-aligned nations. It had been hoped that under the moderating influence of these non-aligned States the disarmament talks would, this time, fare better. But, judging by the negative results of the Geneva talks, it seems to us that these hopes still remain to be fulfilled. In our view the problem of disarmament is an unprecedented challenge, particularly to the leaders of the great Powers, because there can be no doubt that the entire future of life on this planet would ultimately depend on how these Powers behave in meeting this challenge. If general and complete disarmament is the ultimate goal, the cessation of nuclear tests and the control and destruction of the existing stockpiles of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is an indispensable first step. To all the Governments of countries which have it in their power to unleash these destructive weapons, we renew a solemn and hopeful appeal to substitute positive actions for words, in order to relieve trembling humanity of its most crushing ordeal. It is our prayer that the echoes of this anguished cry of humanity will not be muffled in the wilderness of mistrust or in the jungles of big Power suspicions.

10. Addressing this Assembly on 13 October 1961, our Chief of State, El Ferik Ibrahim Abboud, stressed the necessity of liquidating the outmoded institution of colonialism in these words:

"We are unshakably of the conviction that one of the main causes of the ominous tensions engulfing the world today and posing a direct threat to international peace and security is the continued existence of colonialism, in its classical or modern forms, in many parts of the world." [1036th meeting, para. 17.]

11. There is no doubt that the post-Second-World-War era has witnessed a spectacular progress in the political emancipation of hundreds of millions of peoples, especially in Africa, the Americas and Asia. The United Nations has no doubt made a considerable contribution to this process. In 1960 the General Assembly adopted, without a dissenting vote, its resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Although much has

been achieved in recent years, much also remains to be realized, especially on the continent of Africa, not only in the field of eradicating classical forms of colonialism, but also in combating an equally dangerous plague that has come to be known as neo-colonialism. I feel I am in duty bound to mark out, for the record, the most dangerous of these danger spots on the African continent, as we see them.

12. The situation in Angola, first of all, is notoriously unpleasant. The cruel dimensions of the conflict and its deep-seated causes are too familiar to the world community to call for detailed examination. Our position on this issue was clearly set out in the course of the debates on Angola during the last two sessions and I need not repeat it here again. But what I am anxious to reiterate here is our deep regret that the Government of Portugal has so far chosen to adopt a negative attitude towards the problem. They have preferred to turn a deaf ear to the voice of the conscience of humanity emanating from these halls. We have on previous occasions expressed our regret that blood is being spilled in Angola today, whether it is of Portuguese or of Angolans. Portugal's failure to respond to the realities of the present time is fraught with danger, not only for future relations between Portugal and an independent Angola, but also for the cause of peace and harmony in international relations. Portugal cannot resist the march of history, and the Angolan people, whether Portugal likes it or not, are destined to obtain their liberty and freedom and to join the family of independent nations soon, and very soon. But the cost in terms of human lives and indispensable resources will be heavier the longer Portugal insists on its ill-fated myth.

13. On a perusal of the report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration [A/5160 and Corr.1], we become anxiously aware that the conditions prevailing in other Territories under Portuguese domination are in no way happier than those which are at the root of the present conflict in Angola. Should Portugal passively await a repetition of the bloody eruptions in Angola in these Territories also? We sincerely hope not. It is our prayer that Portugal will perceive, although perhaps unfortunately belatedly, the wisdom of ending its colonial policy, in keeping with the requirements and spirit of the times and the justice of the cause of the peoples under her colonial domination—a domination that has persisted for only too long.

14. For the eleventh year in succession the General Assembly is again seized of the question of the race conflict in the Republic of South Africa arising from the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of that country. In spite of the many resolutions passed by this Assembly in condemnation of this practice, and in spite of the countless voices raised throughout the whole world against the continuance of this obsolete myth of racial superiority, we note, with regret and indignation, that no change in the policies and actions of the Government of South Africa in this regard has taken place. On the contrary, it appears to us that the Government of the Republic of South Africa is tightening up these policies and practices of apartheid. In the face of continued resistance from the people of South Africa, the bill entitled "General Law Amendment Bill", popularly known as the "Sabotage Act", passed in June 1961, has further aggravated existing bitterness and tension between the various racial groups in South Africa. Persistence in this policy, which is completely

out of tune with the principles of the age, and utterly incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Charter, is a continuing cause of international friction and seriously endangers peace and security. We, in the United Nations, have a duty under the Charter to denounce the continuation of such policies and to appeal to the conscience of man everywhere, including man in the Republic of South Africa, to take the necessary collective measures to eradicate this evil from human society.

15. South Africa's policy of apartheid overflows its boundaries into the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. The conclusions of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee for South West Africa in their report [A/5212], sustain our point of view. Whatever the contentions of the Government of South Africa to the contrary, the Territory of South West Africa is a ward of the international community. The United Nations must therefore spare no effort to protect the inhabitants of that Territory against abuses, and should supervise their speedy progress to independence as envisaged by Article 76 of the Charter.

16. Our position with regard to the Congo crisis and our conception of the United Nations mission in that unhappy land has on numerous occasions been stated over and over again in these halls. The United Nations went into the Congo at the request of that young Republic's Central Government to help the Government ensure the preservation of the sovereignty of the Republic, its territorial integrity and the stability which is necessary for the progress and welfare of its people. For over two years now the Congo has been the most painful thorn in the sensitive ribs of this Organization. It has constituted the heaviest drain on the resources of this Organization since its inception. On the success or failure of the United Nations undertaking in the Congo may depend the all-too-important verdict regarding the prestige and the future utility of this Organization in meeting similar crises.

17. In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General tells us that "The core of the Congo problem is that of the secession of Katanga" [A/5201/Add.1, page 1]—a problem born, in our view, of the interplay of power politics and vested interests. We in the Sudan have no sympathy whatsoever for Katanga's claim to secession, because it is a claim that is as devoid of any vestige of legality as it is empty of any moral content. The Congo was born as an independent sovereign State within the boundaries of what was then the Belgian Congo, existing immediately before the date of independence. It was within the full extent of those boundaries that the new State was recognized by the world community. It was to help preserve that territorial unity, so recognized, that the United Nations entered the Congo. All the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions pertaining to the Congo are consistent in upholding this principle of the preservation of its territorial integrity. We cannot, therefore, countenance the United Nations backing down from this firm commitment. What is happening in Katanga is, in our humble submission, nothing less than a treasonable mutiny against the established lawful authority seated at Leopoldville. It should, we believe, be viewed and dealt with as such, if the Congo is to move forward—as it should—on the way to recovery. It is high time that the mandate given by the United Nations be immediately implemented to relieve the whole world, and the Congolese in particular, of this agony, and to

end a secession which is beyond doubt sustained by foreign intervention and vested interests.

18. Regarding the unsatisfactory situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, our position was clearly stated by the Sudan delegation that the 1113th meeting of the General Assembly. It remains for me to reiterate once again that, in our view, Southern Rhodesia is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. This being the juridical position, as we see it, the obligations of both the United Kingdom and of the United Nations, under Article 73 of the Charter, towards the people of Southern Rhodesia are clear and unambiguous. We are supported in this finding by the conclusions of the Committee of Seventeen in its report. <sup>1/</sup> This tense situation is only a natural result of the deep-seated grievances of the indigenous populations of Southern Rhodesia and of the inequitable economic and social structure of Southern Rhodesian society. This sense of grievance has been aggravated by the disappointing provisions of the Constitution of 6 December 1961. We cannot blame the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia for their rejection of this Constitution which, if carried into force, will further entrench the authority of a small and exploiting minority who constitute only 10 per cent of the population of the territory. It is this situation which has for decades constituted the core of African resentment and which is at the very root of the problem of Southern Rhodesia. We must do all we possibly can to avert a repetition in Southern Rhodesia of the experiences of Algeria or Angola.

19. When speaking about danger-spots, we should never allow ourselves the luxury of forgetting that the Middle East has for quite a long time been pestered by some of the most inflammable of these points of international friction. I am thinking primarily, though not exclusively, of the tragic story of Palestine and the heart-breaking tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs. The United Nations and its Members are, I trust, too familiar with the problem for me to enter into a detailed discussion of it. It is a problem that was created by the United Nations when, in November 1947, it decreed the partition of Palestine in the face of the fierce objection of its people.

20. One year later the United Nations discovered the error and, in order to remedy its injustices, adopted resolution 194 (III) wherein the Arab refugees were assured a free choice between returning to their former homes, and being compensated for their losses. This position the United Nations has confirmed in every session since 1948. Still, after these fourteen years of discouragement and tragedy, this chief promise held out to the Arab refugees continues to remain unfulfilled. As time goes on, some people, in good faith no doubt, begin to argue that an approach to the solution of the problem should be based on what they call "a recognition of the political realities of the situation". Others, no doubt also in good faith, let us assume, think that the Arab refugee problem is one of those tragedies in which time may prove a healing agent. In our considered view, these, or similar arguments, are completely untenable since they tend to ignore the origins of the problem, its present dimensions and the grave danger which its continuance is bound to pose for peace and security in a most sensitive part of the world. All the incidents and convulsions that have been plaguing the Middle East over the last fourteen years are easily

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 97, document A/5124.

traceable to the persistence of this problem. In paragraph 11 of its resolution 194 (III) the United Nations has prescribed a remedy. What the Palestine Arabs are now asking of the United Nations is no more than their right: that the Organization honour its pledge and respect its decisions. A concrete response on the part of the United Nations will not only be a proper discharge of its obligations under the Charter, but will also constitute an act of atonement for a grievous wrong done to an innocent nation.

21. The tense situation obtaining in some parts of the south of the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in Oman, should merit the serious attention of this Organization. We have always urged, and continue to plead, that solutions responding to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of these regions, in keeping with their right to self-determination, be found without any further delay. We believe that the cause of peace and the maintenance of friendly relations among nations will be further promoted if approaches consistent with the spirit and letter of the Charter be brought to the settlement of the issues involved.

22. Earlier in my statement, when welcoming the new Members, I alluded to the highly desirable ideal of the universality of this Organization. It is in keeping with our desire for strengthening both the structure and prestige of the United Nations and for making it truly an internationally representative Organization, that we wish to see it become truly universal. Since our admission to membership, we have always derived great joy from witnessing so many new States take their places in our midst. However, there are several divided countries in the world which we would like to see united in accordance with the principle of self-determination, and taking their places in this Organization. But the greatest setback so far to this goal of universality is the exclusion of the proper representatives of China. This, we submit, is a great anomaly. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China represents well over 650 million people. All the legal and rational arguments in favour of having China represented by the Central People's Government have been raised in these halls time and time again and I need not repeat them. How can we keep talking about the universality of this Organization when the true representatives of nearly one-quarter of the population of the globe are excluded from its deliberations? We believe that the right approach to the issue should not be an approach conditioned by power interests, but an approach based on the over-all principle of justice to all, a principle which is one of the cornerstones of the United Nations Charter.

23. Turning to the economic and social fields, let me reiterate my conviction that the general welfare of mankind has, more than ever before, emerged as the one uncontested prerequisite for tranquillity, peace and progress in all directions. By the same token the responsibility of the United Nations as a channel and a focal point for guiding the economic and social development of the developing nations has become wider in scope and greater in magnitude, than it ever did at any time in the past. The developing countries themselves, as well as other countries, have by their own choice elected to channel the major part of their combined efforts through this Organization. They advocated the internationalization of economic aid and technical assistance, without prejudice to bilateral arrangements; they called for the strengthening of international finance and monetary institutions and, most important of all, they emphasized the role of national effort and

self-help as second to none in the process of sustained economic growth.

24. While we recognize that the ultimate responsibility for economic and social progress rests with the developing countries themselves, we must realize, first, that most of these countries cannot but start from a low income level, a fact which renders any subsequent increase, if any, extremely insignificant. Secondly, they lack the minimum capital requirement and technical know-how and, thirdly, they must rightly give the highest priority to social investment which, although unquestionably essential in itself, is not productive in the short period and can therefore have little immediate effect in terms of income. This inescapable process is unfortunately psychologically disturbing to the masses of the developing countries, but understandably so in view of their urge for a fast development of their economic and social potential.

25. The impact of this new consciousness has spread and deepened with the advent of scores of territories to the family of independent nations. While under colonial rule, the hopes and aspirations of these territories for a better life in larger freedom found little expression outside their own boundaries. Now that they have acquired their liberty and become independent and sovereign, they came to realize that what they had achieved was only the beginning, and that the road to national maturity in all its aspects is long, winding and difficult.

26. I submit that this situation calls for increased concerted action on the part of the United Nations and other international organizations and makes it the grave duty of all countries to regard the problem of the economic development of the emerging nations as their collective responsibility.

27. I have heard it said in many quarters that this collective responsibility has a limit; and in the view of some this limit has been reached. Similarly there is a popular contention that the maximum that could be done has already been done in terms of contributions: the creation of new agencies for managing economic and technical assistance, the holding of special meetings and conferences to define the problems, and suggesting appropriate measures for coping with them. Hence, there was the unnecessary delay in the establishment, by its resolution 1521 (XV), of the long overdue United Nations capital development fund; hence there was the reluctance in accepting the idea of a new specialized agency for industrial development; and hence there was the scepticism regarding the value of a world conference on international trade and development.

28. I submit that the need for development is insatiable, that there is no limit at which our efforts can stop, and that the multiplicity of agencies and conferences become wasteful and uneconomical only if inadequately prepared for and carelessly co-ordinated. The Conference on the Problems of Economic Development held in Cairo from 9 to 18 July 1962 which my country had the honour of co-sponsoring, was a typical example of the type of international meetings we need. Here we had a meeting of minds on vital economic problems which affect the life and well-being of two-thirds of the world population and may greatly influence the state and prospects of international peace. The outcome of the Conference in Cairo was a clear identification with the main problems common to most developing countries: a plan of action and priority; a recognition of self-help as a major element in economic and social

development; and a cry for increased international cooperation within and without the framework of international institutions. The Conference further stressed the important role of this Organization as well as of other international organizations. Finally, it transferred the entire problem to the United Nations and called for an international economic conference, under its auspices, to be held as early as possible in 1963.

29. The recommendation of the Cairo meeting happily coincided with, or shortly preceded, a resolution [917 (XXXIV)] by the Economic and Social Council at its thirty-fourth session concerning an international trade and development conference to be convened in 1964. It is, however, our earnest hope that the General Assembly will recognize the urgent element in this question and appreciate the considerations which have prompted the conferees in Cairo to call for this conference early in 1963.

30. It is a happy coincidence that the United Nations Development Decade should coincide with the Sudan Development Decade, officially known as the Sudan Ten-Year Plan. While the former was proclaimed on 19 December 1961 in General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI) and will not practically be implemented until early next year after the General Assembly has approved the programme of action proposed by the Acting Secretary-General, our Ten-Year Plan was proclaimed on the ninth of this month but actually started on 1 July 1961.

31. This perfect and rather unusual coincidence is regarded in the Sudan as a sign of good omen which will give our own plan vigour, vitality and encouragement and allow a large measure of co-ordination for the benefit of both. Indeed, the United Nations Development Decade is not intended to substitute for, but to supplement, organized national efforts which can only be attained through integrated and well-conceived plans.

32. May I be permitted to state that our Ten-Year Plan represents the successful culmination of a hard, persistent and painful process which went on for years before yielding any results. It was preceded by close scrutiny, by a survey of economic potential feasibility, by research into possibilities of internal and external finance, by availability of manpower, and by preparation of well-studied projects which took into consideration the nature of our economy, the existing deficiencies in its structure, the requisite order of priorities, the immediate targets and the long-term objectives. The Plan is firm in its concepts and basic philosophy and yet sufficiently flexible to allow the necessary adjustments which may be dictated by changing circumstances.

33. The Ten-Year Plan of the Sudan calls for a total expenditure of £512 million, equivalent to approximately \$1,500 million over the next ten years. Out of this, \$855 million were assigned to major projects in the public sector, \$156 million for improvements of existing schemes, and \$425 million for industrial projects in the private sector. The percentage distribution of the planned public investment is as follows:

	Per cent
Agriculture and irrigation. . . . .	29.9
Social services; education, health, medical services, housing, etc. . . . .	29.9
Transport and communications . . . . .	22.1
Industry and public utilities . . . . .	14.1
Others . . . . .	3.5

34. This percentage distribution is in complete harmony with the nature of our economy and the needs of our people. Agriculture and social services receive the highest priority followed by transport and communications and industry. The latter, however, will figure highly in the private sector, because by its very nature it benefits the private "entrepreneur". The over-all percentage of industry in the entire Plan will therefore be much greater.

35. To conclude this part of my address, I should like to point out briefly that the main objectives of the Plan are as follows: first, the Plan aims at strengthening and broadening the base of the economy by increasing the national income, removing the barriers and impediments of the past and diversifying agricultural production. Secondly, the establishment of basic industries which use locally produced raw materials and which will substitute for imported finished goods. Thirdly, the creation of employment opportunities, the training of labour and the development of skills. Fourthly, improvement of education and health services with the object of creating a cultural and social environment capable of meeting the requirements of the new economic life. And fifthly, the continuation and expansion of scientific research and experimentation in order to assess the country's potentialities and determine the possibilities of utilizing resources for the next plan.

36. These are only the highlight objectives of the Plan. I should add that the Plan aims at a global increase of 63 per cent in the national income over the ten-year period. Taking the population increase over the same period the ten-year per caput income will grow by 25 per cent at the end of the Plan. This would mean that on the average while the national income will increase at the annual rate of 6 per cent, per caput income will increase by 2.3 per cent.

37. Finally, I wish to impress on this august Assembly that our Plan is built mainly on our own resources, our own ability to finance it and the sacrifice which the Sudanese people are willing and desirous to make. Nevertheless, we welcome any assistance from the United Nations, from other international organizations and from friendly countries. The portion which we hope we may obtain from external sources is only \$390 million over ten years out of a total plan of \$1.5 million million. This represents a very insignificant part of the total cost.

38. In conclusion, I wish to voice a note of warning: although since its creation seventeen years ago this Organization has undergone considerable transformation in line with fast developing political and economic events, there is yet a marked tendency to undermine its authority and to regard it as a mere forum for the exchange of views and a debating society where everybody can talk and nobody listens. If this tendency persists, it will be the beginning of the end of this unique and, indeed, indispensable society of nations for which the world has no substitute.

39. This Organization derives its power from the devotion and support of its own Members. It can be an effective instrument of international peace and economic emancipation to the extent its Members want it to be.

40. So let us back it with all our force in unshakable conviction and genuine sincerity, and uphold it in the most crucial hours of its existence—if man is to survive the hazards of the gathering winds on the political horizon.

41. Mr. RAPACKI (Poland) (translated from French): The international situation has now entered a special phase. The great international problems have matured and demand a solution more urgently with each day that passes. Some of them have been waiting for a solution too long already. I shall here mention only the problem of disarmament, the German problem and the problem of the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism.

42. We must be able to take decisions so that events should not spontaneously turn against us all. It is true that the world is divided—in some respects, indeed, more deeply than ever before. But at the same time it is more than ever before united by the common interest in surviving, in avoiding a nuclear catastrophe.

43. The cause of peace is today indissolubly bound up with recognition of and respect for the sovereignty of peoples and with the abolition of dependence and of colonial exploitation in all its forms.

44. If we all accept this as our starting point we can solve all international problems. An ever increasing majority of the human race is in favour of accepting this principle. This is the starting point for the international policy of the socialist States and many non-aligned States take a similar position.

45. It is otherwise in various Western countries and more particularly in the most powerful of them. For many long years the policy based on positions of strength has been the official doctrine of the United States in this matter. This policy has underlain the activities of NATO and other associated military groups. The object has been, by operating from a position of strength or by actually using force, to contain and push back socialism and to stifle the aspirations of the peoples for liberation from colonial dependence.

46. Today the policy based on positions of strength has no material basis. Unrealistic though it is, it is still extremely dangerous. It is dangerous to peace and hence dangerous for all, including the ruling classes in the West.

47. It would appear that an ever increasing number of serious statesmen in the West understand the situation. But a different policy, a new policy which would take into account the realities and necessities of our times, has not yet emerged. That is why use of old criteria is still prevalent in the West. It is the interests bound up with armaments and the exploitation of the economically weak countries that are supporting this old policy, which is further advocated by the fanatical champions of anti-communism and colonialism.

48. Narrow-mindedness, shortsightedness and blindness are arrayed against common sense, realism and a clearer insight into the future.

49. In these circumstances the following questions arise: are there any limits to the subservience shown by the various governmental circles in the West to the most militant groups and the most dangerous trends? How far does their loyalty or their subservience to the positions-of-strength policy go? There are facts that give a disturbing answer to these questions.

50. What do we see at the present time? We see the efforts to solve the majority of the most important international problems meeting with resistance; the unceasing West-German provocations in Berlin; a serious situation further deteriorating in South Vietnam because of the open and continuous intervention of United States troops; the situation in the Congo; the situation in South Korea; the resumption of activity by

the notorious spy aircraft over the territories of various States; and, lastly, the extremely dangerous policy of intervention conducted by the United States against Cuba.

51. It can thus be said that events are taking a dangerous course. At the same time, however, it is common knowledge that the forces of peace and independence are growing steadily. The masses are becoming increasingly aware of the situation and of the solutions that must be adopted and their desire for peace is becoming stronger every day. At the same time, realism and common sense are also gaining ground. If it were not so, there would have been no agreement on Laos nor a peaceful settlement of the problem of West Irian. Nor would there have been any progress towards decolonialization.

52. But the basic factors in the international situation and the course of events cannot long continue to evolve in opposite directions. We have entered a period when a decisive choice has to be made between the policy based on positions of strength and peaceful coexistence.

53. The problem of Cuba provides a dramatic example of the clash between the criteria of the policy based on positions of strength and the criteria of peaceful coexistence. The outcome of this clash may have very serious repercussions for the cause of peace.

54. Why is the United States unwilling to admit the existence of the new Cuba? Why does it refuse to maintain normal relations with it? The Cuban people, it is true, wish to build a socialist society in their country. But are they not entitled to do so, just as the American people are entitled to live under a capitalist system? Not even ninety miles separate certain capitalist States and the socialist States that are their neighbours. West Berlin is situated in the very heart of the German Democratic Republic. But no socialist State is asking the people who are its neighbours or the population of West Berlin to change their social system. Poland and other socialist States maintain friendly relations with the neutral countries and correct and often even good relations with a number of NATO countries. We wish to maintain and develop these relations.

55. But there are some in the United States who appear to think that the principles of the normal coexistence of peoples ought not to be applied, at least to the American continent. That, perhaps, is what they have in mind when they speak, in the year 1962, of the Monroe Doctrine. However, no one is compelled to endorse their attitude.

56. Cuba is said to threaten the United States; but it is well known that there are no foreign bases on Cuba, other than the United States base at Guantánamo. Cuba has no armed forces capable of or trained for aggression, and does not intend to establish any.

57. Cuba, it is true, does possess defensive forces; but it was the United States itself which showed Cuba the need for such forces.

58. Cuba does not and cannot threaten the United States or any other country. On the other hand, entire United States armies are stationed in the immediate vicinity of the socialist countries and there are hundreds of United States and other nuclear and air bases near by directed against those countries.

59. Of course, we do not want to be threatened. We are opposed to the existence of foreign bases in the territories of the various countries, but at the same time we patiently seek solutions based on common agreement.



60. The United States Government, on the other hand, is unwilling to recognize the existence of the new Cuba, which is not threatening it. It was unwilling to recognize it even long before Cuba chose the path of socialist development. Some North American circles, disregarding the voices of reason that are also to be heard in their country, simply refuse to accept the fact that Cuba is independent and has ceased to be an area for exploitation by them.

61. The problem is thus neither a local problem nor a dispute between East and West. What is involved here, in fact, is a problem of principle, that principle relating to the sovereignty of peoples and their mutual relations. It is a question of choice between the colonialist policy of strength or positions of strength and peaceful coexistence.

62. If this aggressive colonialist policy towards Cuba were to achieve its purpose, that would mean a great strengthening of the forces that are ready to push the United States onto the path that is most dangerous for all Latin America, for the entire world, for the United States itself and for everyone. This cannot therefore be permitted.

63. We hope that the attitude of the peoples and the good sense of the responsible statesmen will make it possible to direct the course of events towards peaceful coexistence.

64. We have presented—from this rostrum, in particular—Poland's views on the German problem; we have ceaselessly warned against the dangerous manner in which it is developing; we have submitted and supported proposals which could have changed the course of that development. It is not our fault, therefore, that the German problem has now entered a critical phase and that its solution can no longer be deferred. Here, too, the essence of the problem is the choice that must be made between the policy of strength and peaceful coexistence.

65. For many years the Western Powers—and the Federal Republic of Germany itself—tended to use the German problem as the highest trump card in their policy of strength towards the socialist countries and to transform the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin in all respects into a springboard against the socialist countries. They have succeeded in this aim, but the international situation has by no means developed as anticipated by the authors of the Western plan with regard to Germany.

66. It is already clear that the policy based on positions of strength towards the socialist countries and the entire Western conception of a "solution" of the German problem on the basis of that policy were and still are unrealistic. Such an unrealistic policy could offer only one real prospect—that of a dreadful catastrophe.

67. At the same time it is now plain that the Federal Republic of Germany has not confined itself to serving as the vanguard of the West; on the contrary, it has broken free and has become the most powerful State in the Western part of the European continent. How faded now are the illusions, sincere or pretended, of those who used to claim that, within the framework of the various Western groupings, they could contain and direct the expansionism of the revived West German imperialism.

68. Today the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, skilfully exploiting his French partner's

dreams of power, is challenging the principal NATO allies and is heading directly towards hegemony over the whole of Western Europe. The Federal Republic of Germany has become the most stubborn and aggressive force of the cold war; it is preventing the West from taking more realistic decisions; it is carrying its allies along in its own speculative policy.

69. There are doubtless many Western statesmen who now realize the enormous danger inherent in the policy which the West has pursued up to now with regard to Germany and are aware of the ever-increasing cost their countries will have to bear to the advantage of their German ally and competitor. In spite of that, they do not always succeed in disentangling themselves from that policy and they fail to do so because certain circles, and especially militarist circles in various countries, have not given up their old plans and because in many cases they are themselves unable to discard the old cold-war concepts. They consider, for example, that they cannot lose their prestige in the eyes of the Germans and cannot disappoint the latter's hopes.

70. We, however, know that there are different Germans; we know that it is possible to base oneself on the peaceful forces of the German people, that it is possible to build a peaceful German State—as the German Democratic Republic is doing. But one can also base oneself on the most aggressive and militant forces, arouse and fan their hopes and build an imperialist and aggressive State—as the Federal Republic of Germany has been doing up to now.

71. One can also follow Lord Home's example and play on the passions of the chauvinist wing of German public opinion and on the sentiments of other circles. But the Chairman of the United Kingdom delegation would have done better to make some changes in his statement of yesterday: he should either have corrected several passages in that statement, particularly the one dealing with Berlin, or have deleted, to the satisfaction of all housewives, the harsh adage that "men who . . . stir the pot of trouble when it is simmering . . . are knaves". It would be best of all, we think, if everything were changed to accord with the just arguments his statement contained about the need for negotiation, conciliation and justice, and with certain other ideas—if we have understood them correctly.

72. I come back now to the principal question: which are the Germans and what are the German hopes that various Western statesmen are afraid to disappoint? What hopes would be disappointed by the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German States, by the recognition of the existence of two German States, by the transformation of West Berlin from a "front-line" city and a military base into a free and demilitarized city? What hopes are these that would be disappointed? The hopes cherished by certain Germans of seeing the German Democratic Republic annexed by the Federal Republic of Germany? Such hopes must be dispelled and dispelled as quickly as possible, for they are unrealistic and at the same time extremely dangerous.

73. What hopes would be disappointed if the Eastern frontiers of Germany were recognized as definitive and if atomic arms were prevented—in one way or another—from appearing in Germany and in this part of Europe? The hopes of crossing these frontiers and marching further to the East? These hopes must be dispelled and as soon as possible, for they are unrealistic and at the same time extremely dangerous. Without putting an end to hopes and aspirations of that kind

it is impossible to halt what is a threatening development in Europe.

74. It is necessary to conclude with Germany a peace treaty that will have clear and unambiguous significance. If the Governments and responsible statesmen of the West will not or cannot decide, the socialist countries, for their part, cannot wait passively until this development brings the whole world to the edge of the abyss. Failing what would be better, a joint political and juridical instrument, they will conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, and this will not be a mere formality.

75. It would, of course, be better to reach agreement beforehand on the practical consequences of such a treaty; it could become a turning point in East-West relations, opening the way to the joint solution of other international disputes and problems.

76. In the principal problem, too, the problem of disarmament, time is working against us. The tempo of the nuclear arms race is quickening. The development of nuclear technology, especially in recent months, is not diminishing the threat of a surprise attack or of a war unleashed by mistake or by chance; rather it is increasing that threat.

77. The ending of the race for weapons of mass destruction can be finally achieved only within the framework of general and complete disarmament and, while directing our efforts towards that goal, we can and should at the same time slow down the race and limit its extent. It is even possible in certain regions to reverse the trend.

78. Poland has always advocated the conclusion of an agreement on the discontinuance once and for all nuclear weapons tests.

79. At the fifteenth session of the General Assembly two years ago [874th meeting], Wladyslaw Gomułka, the Chairman of the Polish delegation, proposed the establishment of an early and compulsory date for the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. That proposal was expressed in a draft resolution which, to our regret, was not discussed.<sup>2/</sup>

80. We regret also that the compromise proposals of the eight neutral Powers presented at the Geneva Conference on 16 April 1962<sup>3/</sup> have not been accepted as a basis of agreement by the Western Powers.

81. The conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests is continuing as in the past to encounter opposition from the United States which has up to now refused to renounce underground testing and, as always, adduces arguments relating to control. We do not share the doubts of the United States about the effectiveness of national means of detecting underground tests.

82. Quite apart from these differences, however, it is precisely the United States which, being the most advanced in underground testing, would be running the least risk if it agreed, if not to a treaty, at least to a moratorium in this field.

83. The whole question is whether we do or do not want to arrest the nuclear arms race. It is thus not a technical but a political problem.

84. In these circumstances, it is a matter for congratulation that the idea of fixing an early date for the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests is emerging in this Assembly.

85. Poland has expressed itself in favour of prohibiting the dissemination of nuclear weapons. Such a step would be of fundamental importance as part of the whole complex of measures aimed at halting the nuclear arms race and eliminating nuclear weapons. Linked with this idea are the many proposals that have now been made for the establishment of denuclearized zones in various regions of the world.

86. The establishment of denuclearized zones in areas where a particularly serious danger of conflict exists would be of decisive importance. Central Europe is undoubtedly such an area.

87. We consider as urgent, as increasingly urgent, the proposal to establish a denuclearized zone in Central Europe—a proposal which was reiterated by the Polish delegation to the Geneva Conference in its memorandum of 28 March 1962.<sup>4/</sup> We consider the establishment of this zone as a major step forward towards disarmament and as an essential element in the peaceful settlement of the German problem.

88. While considering these measures with all the seriousness they deserve, we do not forget that they are only partial measures. They are intended to facilitate the only radical and final solution, namely, general and complete disarmament. That is their essential purpose.

89. The measures to which I have just referred are essential because they reduce the threat of a surprise nuclear attack and the fear of such an attack—this fear that aggravates the armaments race and burdens the entire international situation today.

90. The condemnation of preventive war, in accordance with the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly at the present session by the Soviet Union [A/5232], would constitute one of the measures directed against that threat.

91. We consider the removal of the threat of surprise nuclear attack in the earliest phase of disarmament as a crucial element of general and complete disarmament. The most effective approach to this objective would be by way of the liquidation of bases and of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons. In that way nuclear weapons would be immobilized and their continued perfecting and stockpiling and, in general, their possession would have no practical meaning. This should be carried out as soon as possible. In our view, the new compromise proposals which Mr. Gromyko introduced in this Assembly [1016th meeting] established the latest date by which this fundamental requirement must be fulfilled.

92. With such an approach, all the problems of disarmament which are so difficult at present, such as, for example, the problem of preserving the security balance or the problem of control, would become much easier to solve. General and complete disarmament would become an irreversible process.

93. Therein lies the decisive advantage of the position taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on disarmament. By contrast, the chief danger of the Western proposals lies in the tendency to retain nuclear

<sup>2/</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 67, 86, 69 and 73, document A/C.1/L.252/Rev.1.

<sup>3/</sup> See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962*, document DC/203, annex I, section J.

<sup>4/</sup> Document ENDC/C.1/1 of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.



weapons and their vehicles at all stages of disarmament. That would mean that the fear of a surprise nuclear attack and mutual distrust would weigh upon the whole process of disarmament and might at any time result in the halting of all progress and even in the resumption of the arms race.

94. In this matter, too, we have to choose: either the policy based on positions of strength and nuclear strategy or disarmament and lasting peaceful coexistence.

95. There are still 50 million people in the world who wear the chains of colonialism. Men continue to die in the struggle for freedom.

96. We must not relax our efforts so long as a single people remains under colonial slavery. It is certain, however, that we are making progress in this matter.

97. We have welcomed among us the delegations of Rwanda, Burundi and Jamaica as well as the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago. We shall soon be welcoming the representatives of the heroic Algerian people who, after long years of war, sacrifice and dreadful suffering, have broken down the door to freedom.

98. The old colonial system is coming to an end. The whole of mankind now has the new historic task of destroying its baneful heritage.

99. The problem now to be faced is that of the development and economic emancipation of the countries that are under-developed and devastated as a result of foreign exploitation.

100. It is for the peoples concerned themselves to organize their lives in such a way as to make the best use of their own strength and their natural resources and to ensure the speediest possible development of their production potential.

101. It is the peoples concerned themselves who have decisive influence in determining what forms and directions foreign aid should take in order to promote the true development of their economies, for in this area it is not the technical and economic but the political problems that are decisive and the most difficult to solve. Those who exploited and wish to continue exploiting the weakness and backwardness of the poorest nations are still strongly entrenched.

102. Poland, like the other socialist States, without, of course, interfering in the internal affairs of the new countries or imposing its views upon them, considers it its duty to support these developing countries in their struggle to assert their legitimate rights.

103. I should like to mention two problems that can only be solved on a world-wide scale. The first concerns the volume of resources allocated to the developing countries. Their needs, which have been piling up in many cases for centuries, are so vast that they cannot adequately be met unless a substantial portion of the means now spent on armaments is allocated to them.

104. The proposals submitted at this session by the Soviet Union delegation follow these lines. Once again, however, general and complete disarmament must be achieved for these resources to be released. A choice has to be made—between the armaments race and real large-scale assistance to the under-developed countries.

105. The second problem is, first of all, the removal of the obstacles to the development of these countries.

106. Up to the present time, as has been stated many times in this forum, the gap between these countries and the developed countries has not been narrowing: on the contrary, it has been widening year by year. What is still worse, statistics show that the wealth is continuing to flow from the economically weak countries to the developed countries, and not the other way round. The aid which is being given with one hand is being taken back, with interest, with the other.

107. If we add to this the fact that so-called aid is accompanied by military or political conditions or by requests for certain privileges, the picture becomes clear. Exploitation is continuing and the economic dependence of the under-developed countries is even increasing. There are many methods of neo-colonialist exploitation; in practice, however, it is by means of world trade, increasingly influenced by the monopolies, that the wealth of these under-developed countries is transferred to the coffers of the monopolies. What is worse, it is precisely in this field that we are faced with new dangers, dangers that do not threaten the under-developed countries alone. I have in mind the direction that certain processes of integration are taking.

108. No one can quarrel with the development of international co-operation and the specialization of production if these are designed to expand production and lower its cost, to increase exports and reduce export prices, and to expand international trade.

109. It is on these principles that are based the activities of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, of which Poland is an active member.

110. The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is not a monopoly. On the contrary, it may be said to constitute an international anti-monopoly. We erect no tariff walls. We simply want to produce more and more at lower cost; we want to export and import more and more and, in the last analysis, to consume more and more.

111. This is leading in practice to the rapid expansion of our exports of industrial goods, machinery, equipment and entire plants to the developing countries. It is leading to the rapid growth of our markets for these countries' products.

112. In this respect, we want to pass, to an ever increasing extent, from the exportation of machinery and equipment in exchange for raw materials and agricultural products to the exchange of industrial goods for industrial goods, in accordance with the principles of a fair and rational division of labour with these countries. The activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, far from limiting, actually increases the possibilities of trade between East and West, and we have proof of this.

113. The situation is quite different when so-called integration is achieved by first erecting barriers to trade between a particular group of States and the rest of the world. It is quite different when this is done in order to pursue a *sui generis* monopolistic trade policy to the detriment of other countries, particularly the economically weak countries. It is quite different when, in addition, certain political objectives are sought against the interests of a particular group of States.

114. That, in our view, is the direction in which the so-called common market is developing. The increasing role of the Federal Republic of Germany in that group and the German integration programme which bears the

hallmark of the cold-war policy can only increase our concern.

115. The Polish delegation considers that the only common market that the world needs today is a world-wide common market, free of all discrimination and inequality in world trade.

116. That is why we attach great importance to the convening of an international conference devoted to the problems of trade. It should, among other things, deal with the problem of establishing a world trade organization founded on the principles of universality and the equality of States. The fact that the majority of the participants in the Conference of non-aligned countries, held at Cairo, 5/ proceeding from the standpoint of their countries' interests, arrived at similar conclusions can only strengthen our conviction.

117. In the case of this issue also, the struggle for peaceful coexistence links up with the struggle for the full independence of the peoples.

118. In Poland we are convinced that at the present time, when fundamental decisions have to be taken, our Organization is even more necessary than in the past. It will fulfil its tasks if it rids itself of the vestiges of the period when it was so often wrongly used as an instrument of policy by a certain group of Powers, very often as an instrument of cold war policy.

119. The tendencies to use the United Nations in this way have not disappeared. That is why certain vestiges of the past still remain. That is why the seats of the Chinese delegation are occupied by a few private individuals.

120. The United Nations will play its proper part if in its structure and methods of work it reflects the principal forces in the world today, if it becomes, in consequence, their meeting place, their place for discussion, agreement and co-operation in the interest of all, in the interest of peace.

121. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and to congratulate you on your election to your high office. I also hope that this session over which you are presiding may become enshrined in the memories of all who hope to see the United Nations become a major instrument of peaceful development and international co-operation.

122. Mr. SHTYLLA (Albania) (translated from French): On taking the floor for the first time at this session, I should like first to extend my delegation's congratulations to the President of the General Assembly on his election.

123. Seventeen years have now passed since the United Nations was established to save peoples from the scourge of war, to maintain international peace and security and to consolidate co-operation among nations. Since that time great and profound changes have taken place in international life. Spectacular advances have been made in science and technology. The genius of man has made enormous strides forward in the discovery of outer space. It is undeniable, however, that the fundamental purpose of the United Nations, is far from having been achieved and that peace is more precarious than ever. The unvarying policy of peace of the socialist countries and their persistent efforts to avert the danger of a new world war, to guarantee a lasting peace and to resolve international disputes by peaceful

means have met with the stubborn opposition of the NATO Powers. Despite the brief and partial clearings of the horizon which occur from time to time and which are the result of the struggle and the persevering efforts of the peace-loving peoples and Governments, the international situation remains threatening and tension is increasing. No major problem is in process of solution and the world faces a serious threat of thermo-nuclear war.

124. The United Nations Charter extols the sovereign equality of all Member States, friendly relations among them and respect for the right of self-determination of peoples. These principles should be scrupulously observed by all States. If they were, international relations would present a different picture. The People's Republic of Albania, like the other countries in the socialist camp, considers that at a time when the socialist system and the capitalist system exist simultaneously the only just course that accords with the trend of history and the interests of mankind is that of peaceful coexistence among States having different social systems.

125. In the West, however, the opposite view is held. It is believed that the march of history can be halted and even reversed and that communism can be fought with force. The existence and the tremendous achievements of the socialist countries and the increasing influence and magnetism of the world socialist system are a source of anxiety to the imperialists and incite them to ill-considered and dangerous acts. They have ringed the countries of the socialist camp with aggressive military blocs and bases. They are interfering in the domestic affairs of those countries; they are hampering the national liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by colonialism; they are creating centres of tension in various parts of the world; they are actively preparing for a thermo-nuclear war against the socialist countries and aggression against the peace and liberty of peoples.

126. At the present time, the attention of the peace-loving peoples and Governments is focused on the new aggressive acts by the United States against Cuba. By its valiant revolutionary struggle against fascist dictatorship and North American domination the Cuban people has won the ardent sympathy and admiration of all peoples. Cuba is no longer a property and a colony belonging to foreign monopolies. Cuba belongs to the Cubans. It is a free, democratic and sovereign State which is building a happy life for the whole working people, which threatens no one but at the same time permits no one to interfere in its internal affairs. Since the victory of the people's revolution in Cuba, the United States has carried on aggressive activities on an increasing scale against that country. Its declared object is to overthrow the people's régime in Cuba at all costs and to restore its colonial domination in that country. All its plots and aggressive acts have failed and will continue to fail. At the present time, Washington is in the grip of real hysteria against Cuba. The gross slander that Cuba is threatening the United States and the entire Western hemisphere is being disseminated. Open preparations are being made for aggression against the Republic of Cuba. An order has been made recalling 150,000 reservists. In the past few days the legislature has adopted a resolution envisaging war against Cuba by all means, including force of arms, on the pretext of protecting the Western hemisphere against infiltration by Marxism-Leninism. Already attempts are being made to invent a casus belli, a pretext for unleashing aggression.

5/ Conference on the problems of economic development, held from 9 to 18, July 1962.

127. The United States Government is making a great commotion about the normal and disinterested assistance that the socialist countries are giving to Cuba for its economic development and for the consolidation of its national defence. It is deliberately distorting the nature of this assistance and representing it as an act of aggression, while at the same time it has the effrontery to regard as just and even humanitarian the "aid" which it is itself furnishing to the butchers of the peoples of South Viet-Nam and South Korea and to the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, and which has helped to transform those countries into colonies and imperialist bases for aggression.

128. The United States would like to establish an economic, political and military blockade of Cuba so as to strangle that country. At the present time, however, it is not possible to blockade an independent country which is building socialism. Such acts, vainly embellished with words in support of peace, democracy and self-determination, do more to reveal United States imperialism to world public opinion as the enemy of the freedom of peoples and of progress.

129. The United States does not like the social system chosen by Cuba. It should be reminded, however, that the question of Cuba's social system is the concern of the Cuban people alone. Its policy towards Cuba is incompatible with the obligations of a State Member of the United Nations and constitutes actual aggression. The knights of the anti-communist crusade should realize that we are no longer living in the Middle Ages or in the era of piracy and "cordons sanitaires". Times have changed and Cuba is invincible, for any people fighting for its freedom and independence is invincible. The just cause of Cuba has resolute defenders, first and foremost the heroic Cuban people itself which, under the direction of Fidel Castro, has entered modern history through the main gate, holding high the flag of the revolution. Supporting the just cause of Cuba are the peoples of Latin America, the countries of the socialist camp and all peace-loving men.

130. The people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania are in complete solidarity with the Republic of Cuba; they condemn most strongly and resolutely the aggressive anti-Cuban policy of the United States and consider that it is the duty of the United Nations to stop, while there is yet time, the aggression which is being prepared against a Member of our Organization.

131. In the Far East, the United States of America is conducting a policy openly hostile to the People's Republic of China. It has occupied and holds by force of arms Taiwan and other Chinese island; it has established a veritable ring of military bases for aggression around China and is constantly carrying out hostile acts against that country, also making use for this purpose of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Latterly its activities have been intensified and have become more serious. The Government of the People's Republic of China recently disclosed to the public the Chiang Kai-shek plan for invading the coast of the Chinese mainland, naturally on the instigation and with the support of the clique's masters. Everyone knows that this clique could undertake nothing at all, much less an adventure of that kind, without their permission and support.

132. The claim that the United States Government knew nothing of this plan of the Taiwan puppet convinces no one. Experience does not allow us to believe denials or promises of this kind. Was it not the representative of that Government who solemnly declared in

the United Nations, on the eve of the April 1961 aggression against Cuba, that his country would never attack Cuba while shortly afterwards the aggression was committed and President Kennedy himself personally and publicly assumed responsibility for it? The United States had also solemnly promised that United States U-2 spy planes would no longer fly over the territory of the Soviet Union; on 30 August 1962, however, an aircraft of this type violated the air space of the Soviet Union over the island of Sakhalin. Similarly, on 9 September 1962, another U-2 plane, in the possession of the Taiwan clique, was brought down inside the air space of the People's Republic of China. The United States cannot evade responsibility in the case of such serious intrusions. It is time the United States renounced its dangerous policy towards China. An attack upon that country would be catastrophic for the aggressors themselves. The People's Republic of China has all the necessary means to annihilate them and at its side stand all the other countries of the socialist camp and all the progressive peoples and forces.

133. The people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania reaffirm their full and complete solidarity with the People's Republic of China in all circumstances; they uphold its undeniable right to liberate Taiwan and the other Chinese islands occupied and held by force by the United States and to take over without delay its lawful place in the United Nations, now illegally occupied by an individual who represents nothing.

134. China is a great Power, containing one quarter of the world's population. It is a founder Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. Without the participation of this country, which plays a vital role in the international arena, the United Nations is neither universal nor in a position to solve the fundamental problems which confront it.

135. The great Chinese people, under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party and its democratic Government, is making titanic effort to bring about the peaceful construction of its country. This wonderful people—wonderful yesterday for its heroic struggle for liberation and today for its toil in building socialism—has won the admiration of other peoples by its talent and its great creative abilities, by its exemplary determination to surmount the difficulties it faces, by its lofty moral and political consciousness and by its great contribution to the cause of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

136. The slanders of imperialist propaganda apart, it is well known that the People's Republic of China pursues a foreign policy of peace, co-operation and friendship with other countries; it is constantly expanding its international relations; it has become a great factor for peace, stability and progress in the Far East and in the world at large. Its role at and its contribution to the Geneva conferences on Korea, Viet-Nam and Laos are well known. It has repeatedly taken the initiative and proposed measures calculated to strengthen peace and security in Asia and the world and it is plain that without its participation no solution to the great international problems of the present day, such as disarmament and many others, can be achieved. The People's Republic of China has already indicated clearly that it does not consider valid, so far as it is concerned, any international agreement in the elaboration of which it did not take part and which does not bear the signature of its representatives.

137. The theory of the "two Chinas", put about by those who seek to prevent in the future the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations and to perpetuate the occupation of Taiwan, has no historical, moral or legal foundation. This manoeuvre is doomed to failure. There is only one China, one and indivisible—the People's Republic of China; there is only one Government of the Chinese people—the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is high time that an end was put once and for all to the negative attitude of the United States on this question; it is high time that all Member States which have the cause of peace and of the United Nations at heart expressed themselves in favour of the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and threw out the representative of the puppet Chiang Kai-shek régime.

138. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania will combine its efforts with those of other peace-loving countries to achieve this end.

139. Another source of persistent tension and danger in the Far East is the foreign intervention in South Korea and South Viet-Nam.

140. Korea continues to be divided into two parts. In the North, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, an independent and sovereign country, in which all power belongs to the people, has made enormous progress in all fields and is successfully building socialism. There is not a single foreign soldier in its territory: the Chinese People's Volunteers have been gone since 1958. Its Government pursues an active policy of peace and international co-operation and is making a valuable contribution to the safeguarding of peace in the Far East.

141. South Korea, on the other hand, languishes under a dictatorial régime and has been converted into a veritable colony and an aggressive military base of the United States of America, which is using the name and the flag of the United Nations for this purpose. The people are cruelly oppressed; they enjoy no freedom, no democratic rights; they live in great economic and moral destitution; and they are struggling to free themselves from this dreadful situation.

142. National unity is the profound aspiration of the Korean people. Korea is one and indivisible. It belongs to the Korean people, who have the right to live free, united, independent and sovereign. The only obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea is the presence of United States armed forces in South Korea.

143. The Albanian Government, which has always supported the persevering efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful unification of the country, firmly endorses the recent initiative of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea in calling for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and proposing the conclusion of an agreement between the two parts of Korea whereby both would undertake not to use force in their reciprocal relations. We consider that the United Nations, by means of an appropriate resolution, should call for the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and support efforts directed towards the peaceful unification of Korea.

144. A very serious situation exists in South Viet-Nam. Viet-Nam also is divided into two parts. In the North, in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the people, free and sovereign, is developing its national

economy and culture on the path of socialism. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is an eminently peaceful State. It scrupulously observes the 1954 Geneva Agreements<sup>5/</sup> which ratified the Viet-Nameese people's victory over colonialism and indicated the road that would lead to the unification of Viet-Nam as a peaceful democratic country.

145. The oppressive régime imposed upon South Viet-Nam does not recognize the Geneva Agreements. The population is compelled to fight, arms in hand, for its freedom and democratic rights, for an independent and sovereign Viet-Nam. The United States has carried out military intervention there and is conducting an "undeclared war" against the local population.

146. Our Government is in complete sympathy with the just struggle of the people of South Viet-Nam for freedom and national independence. It condemns foreign intervention and calls for the withdrawal of the United States troops from the country. We shall also support in the future the just policy and the sustained efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to achieve the peaceful unification of the country in accordance with the Geneva Agreements. We consider, moreover, that the United Nations cannot remain indifferent at the cruel massacre of the population of South Viet-Nam by the United States troops and that it is its duty to call for their immediate withdrawal, so that the Viet-Nameese people may solve their own problems in freedom and be able to build a democratic and peaceful Viet-Nam as they themselves wish it to be, as specified in the Geneva Agreements.

147. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania welcomes the Agreement on Laos and regards it as a victory for the Laotian people and for peace. An independent and neutral Laos not only accords with the wishes of the Laotian people but can only be a positive factor for peace and understanding in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

148. We gladly voted, on behalf of our Government, in favour of the resolution concerning the agreement on West Irian [resolution 1752 (XVII)]. This agreement represents a well-deserved victory for the Indonesian people and Government in their efforts to achieve the liberation of a part of their national territory which still languished under the colonial yoke. These successes, we consider, should now be safeguarded and consolidated, and the imperialists and colonialists should not be permitted to threaten them by diplomatic or other manoeuvres.

149. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania expresses its support for the proposal of the Cambodian Head of State for the convening of an international conference with the task of guaranteeing the territorial integrity and the neutrality of Cambodia. The conclusion of an international agreement on this subject would undoubtedly serve the just cause of Cambodia as well as the cause of peace and international co-operation.

150. The problem of the liquidation of colonialism still remains on the agenda. Like a driving storm the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is sweeping the inhuman system of colonialism from the face of the earth. It has changed the map of entire continents and is contributing greatly to the cause of peace and progress.

151. The Albanian people, having themselves known foreign oppression and exploitation from which they

<sup>5/</sup> Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China.

freed themselves by force of arms, have always felt and continue to feel complete sympathy with the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. United by firm traditional friendship with the Arab peoples, the Albanian people welcomed with joy and enthusiasm the historic victory of their Algerian brothers who, for more than seven years, waged a heroic struggle and bore innumerable sacrifices, threw off the century-old colonial yoke and proclaimed a free, independent and sovereign State. We shall be happy to see the representatives of the Republic of Algeria in the near future take their proper place among us in the United Nations. We also hope sincerely that the struggle of the valiant people of Oman will very shortly end in their accession to national independence.

152. Our delegation is happy, on behalf of the people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania, to greet the young States of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago on their admission to membership in the United Nations and to wish them success in their efforts to remove the last traces of colonial oppression and to develop as independent and sovereign States.

153. We have the utmost sympathy for and will support until victory the just struggle for liberation of the peoples of Oman, Zanzibar, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and other peoples still languishing under the colonial yoke.

154. The colonial Powers are endeavouring by all possible means to maintain their domination in the colonies and even to return to those colonies from which they have been driven out, as in the case of the Congo. The tragedy of this martyred country is far from played out. The Congo remains divided, blood is being shed and its immense resources are controlled by the colonialists and the United States monopolies. We consider that the United Nations should condemn this plot against the Congolese people who have every right to live united, free and sovereign and to enjoy their country's wealth themselves.

155. The Albanian Government reaffirms its position which is already known: it does not intend to share in any way in the costs of the United Nations forces in the Congo and the Near East; only the imperialist and colonialist aggressors who are responsible for this situation should pay. It is high time that all the peoples of the world were free, independent and sovereign. Our delegation, having also in mind the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)], considers that the United Nations should take specific measures to eliminate the colonial system for all time and without delay—and to eliminate also the system of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories.

156. The German problem has not yet been solved. Seventeen years after the end of the war, the peace treaty with Germany has not yet been signed because of the refusal of the Western Powers. German militarism, which twice in a period of twenty-five years set Europe and the whole world aflame, is resurgent in Western Germany, with the support of those Powers. It again threatens peace and security and is pursuing a revanchist and aggressive policy towards the German Democratic Republic first and foremost, and towards other neighbouring countries. The German Democratic Republic—the first workers' and peasants' State in the history of Germany—has become a stronghold of peace in the heart of Europe. The Potsdam Agreements have been fully carried out there and no trace of nazism or

militarism remains—which is by no means the case with the Federal Republic of Germany, now become the most explosive arsenal of NATO. West Berlin, situated in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, has been transformed into a NATO military base and a dangerous hotbed of acts of provocation, sabotage and espionage against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries.

157. The Albanian Government considers that the only just solution of this acute problem is that proposed by the Soviet Union, namely, the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. This would also provide the basis for the solution of the question of West Berlin, which would become a free and demilitarized city. The peace treaty would remove the vestiges of the Second World War; it would put an end to an abnormal, legally unjustifiable and politically intolerable and dangerous situation; it would pave the way for a rapprochement between the two existing German States; it would consolidate international peace and security.

158. The countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp, which are all agreed on this matter, are, as they have stated, determined to sign a peace treaty with Germany, whereas the NATO Powers are opposed to its signature and to the ending of the occupation régime in West Berlin.

159. We have been and we still are in favour of solving by negotiation this problem of such vital importance for the German people and for European security. The Western Powers, however, do not seem to be prepared to solve it. They are dragging out the negotiations in order to prevent any solution and to maintain, in the very heart of Europe, a powder-keg which might explode at any moment. The more time passes the worse the situation becomes, which can profit only the enemies of peace. The interests of the German people, of the people of Europe, of peace, demand the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany. The People's Republic of Albania and other socialist countries consider that the peace treaty should be signed with the two German States. If, however, the Western Powers persist in their negative attitude, the socialist countries and the other countries concerned which desire to do so will sign a separate peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

160. That peace treaty would strengthen the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic, its security and that of all Europe. West Berlin would cease to be a powder-keg and become a free and demilitarized city.

161. On signing a separate peace treaty on behalf of the Albanian people which fought heroically, with great sacrifices, against the Nazi invaders, the Albanian Government, along with the other members of the Warsaw Treaty and the socialist camp, will assume its share of responsibility with regard to the security of our ally, the German Democratic Republic.

162. General and complete disarmament is still the profound and compelling aspiration of all peoples throughout the world. The General Assembly, however, cannot fail to note that despite the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries no progress has been made towards this aim. Our delegation regrets that it cannot share the optimism expressed by certain previous speakers concerning the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. The work that has proceeded up to the present time is no more encouraging than that of the various committees previously established by the United Nations to deal

with this subject. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has supported and fully supports the Soviet Union proposals on general and complete disarmament and the draft treaty it submitted at Geneva. We consider that general and complete disarmament constitutes a fundamental and sacred task for the United Nations, which should spare no efforts to achieve it. The arms race has become a heavy burden for the peoples of the world and a serious threat to international peace and security.

163. In the matter of disarmament, two conflicting lines or policies are apparent. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as other peace-loving countries, are in favour of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, of the immediate, complete and final cessation of all nuclear weapons tests, for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. On the other hand, the United States and its partners are in reality opposed to an agreement on general and complete disarmament as well as to an agreement on the cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. They are calling for a system of arms control, together with a system of on-site inspection of all underground nuclear tests, clearly for the purpose of espionage against the socialist countries, knowing full well that the latter could not agree to such controls without betraying their own security and that of world-wide peace.

164. The nuclear explosion which the United States has carried out in outer space for military purposes is contrary to General Assembly resolutions 1472 (XIV) and 1721 (XVI) and is fraught with grave consequences. Outer space belongs to the entire human race and must be used solely for peaceful purposes. We consider that all achievements in the sphere of science and technology, including conquests in outer space, are the fruit of the work of experts, scientists and technicians; they should be regarded as a common property of humanitarian nature belonging to all peoples. They should not be used, as the imperialists are endeavouring to use them, for purposes of propaganda and to cover up failures in other spheres, or to intimidate the peoples.

165. While the disarmament negotiations are proceeding, the NATO Powers are speeding up the arms race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons; they are increasing their military budgets and the strength of their armed forces; they are strengthening the aggressive NATO, CENTO and SEATO pacts and their military bases in foreign territories; they are holding provocative manoeuvres close to the frontiers or territorial waters of the socialist countries and are expanding their hostile activities against those countries and other peace-loving countries. They are engaging in frenzied war propaganda, in which the most highly-placed persons are taking part. Not long ago, Mr. Kennedy, the President of the United States, inaugurated, as a contribution to the creation of a war psychosis, what he calls "Captive Nations Week". This is how he refers to the countries in which the socialist revolution has triumphed, in which the peoples have freed themselves for ever from all oppression and exploitation and have become the real masters. No one has given him the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, still less to tell them what social system to adopt. The Albanian people, as in the past, will never permit foreign interference in its own affairs and any attempt by the imperialists to restore their inhuman system in the countries of the socialist camp will be fatal to the aggressors themselves.

166. Only recently, in the United States, the famous "basic strategy" plan of United States imperialism was proclaimed, aimed at the liquidation of the socialist system, the revolutionary and national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and the establishment of United States hegemony throughout the world.

167. The statement by the President of the United States to the effect that his country in certain circumstances would start a nuclear conflict cannot be dissociated from that strategic plan and reveals the true nature of that country's policy and the fundamentally aggressive nature of United States imperialism which brandishes the threat of preventive nuclear war against mankind. The speeches by prominent Americans in favour of peace and disarmament are in reality just so much bluff designed to deceive the peoples while they are preparing for nuclear war. The peoples of the peace-loving countries must increase their vigilance and their defensive measures against so dangerous a policy and the United Nations should take effective steps to condemn and put an end to propaganda in favour of preventive nuclear war and call on the peoples of the entire world to rise against such a monstrous crime.

168. We consider that the negotiations on general and complete disarmament should be continued with a view to reaching the desired agreement. It is essential, however, that these negotiations should not proceed aimlessly, that they should not create the illusion that something is being done there when actually nothing specific is being achieved, and, above all, that they should not serve as a screen for the NATO Powers behind which to continue their arms race undisturbed. The peoples of the whole world are in favour of general and complete disarmament; the United Nations should see to it that their voice is heard in the official negotiations. The will of the peoples for peace and disarmament should be imposed upon the adversaries of peace and disarmament.

169. The People's Republic of Albania will firmly support in the future also efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, to bring about the halting of nuclear weapons tests, the prohibition of the manufacture of such weapons and their use for war purposes, as well as the elimination of all existing stockpiles. We are in favour of the establishment of denuclearized zones in Europe, Africa and the Pacific Ocean as well as in Latin America and we will continue to work for the implementation of the joint Albanian-Soviet proposal of 30 May 1959 for the transformation of the Balkans and the Adriatic regions into a zone of peace in which there would be no atomic weapons or missiles.

170. We are also in favour of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the countries of NATO and we consider that such partial measures would contribute to the relaxation of international tension and to the efforts to reach an agreement on disarmament.

171. The People's Republic of Albania persistently follows a policy of peace and friendship among peoples.

172. The Albanian people, closely united around the Albanian Labour Party and their Government, are devoting all their energies to the peaceful building of their country and the safeguarding of peace. In the past eighteen years since its liberation from Nazi-Fascist occupation, Albania has made great progress. Once an agricultural country, it has become an agricultural and industrial country. Industry and mining are expanding rapidly; in 1961 our industrial production was



twenty-seven times greater than in 1938 and it is increasing at a satisfactory rate; agriculture, collectivized and largely mechanized, is expanding; education and culture are spreading, for the benefit of the whole people; medical services are very extensive and provided free of charge; the standard of living is rising rapidly. The third five-year plan, for 1961-1965, is being successfully carried out. The People's Republic of Albania has entered the stage of the complete building of socialist society.

173. The Albanian people are ardent fighters for the cause of peace, which they consider a vital need, for only in peace can they build a new and happy life. They know too well from their own experience what war is like; that is why they are opposed to war and support with all their strength the peaceful policy of their Government. At the same time, they are compelled to be very watchful and to see to their national defence, for the imperialists have not ceased for a single day their hostile activities against the People's Republic of Albania. Our people will always know how to give them the rebuttal they deserve and defend their fatherland, and the cause of socialism and peace.

174. In presenting the new Government's programme to the People's Assembly on 16 June 1962, Mehmet Shehu, President of the Council of Ministers of Albania, said the following:

"The Government of the People's Republic of Albania remains as in the past ever faithful to the Albanian people's desire for the safeguarding of peace and the building of socialism. As we have done hitherto, we shall always fight to defend the peace side by side with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp. We have supported and shall continue to support all the efforts undertaken by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other socialist countries with the object of safeguarding world peace".

175. The People's Republic of Albania, a member of the socialist camp and of the Warsaw Treaty, considers friendship and co-operation with the other countries of the socialist camp and fraternal mutual assistance to be a fundamental principle of its foreign policy. It also attaches great importance to relations with other countries and endeavours to develop those relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Our Government devotes particular attention to relations with neighbouring countries and is striving to make the Balkans and the Adriatic region a zone of peace and active co-operation on the basis of peaceful coexistence between countries having different social systems. Albania at present maintains diplomatic relations with thirty countries and is endeavouring to contribute to the development of peaceful international co-operation.

176. In our view, international trade constitutes at present one of the most important problems for all countries. World trade is seriously handicapped by the policy of discrimination and arbitrary restrictions pursued by the principal NATO Powers, and first and foremost by the United States, with regard to the socialist countries. Closed economic groups have been established, such as the European Common Market, which serve the policy of the aggressive NATO bloc. In the sphere of trade there are even cases where the countries concerned have gone so far as to establish real economic blockades and to adopt measures which are usually applied to countries about to be attacked.

177. The Albanian Government is opposed to discrimination in trade and is in favour of the development of trade on the basis of mutual advantage. Trade should constitute a means of bringing peoples closer together, an instrument in the service of international peace and co-operation, and not a means of discrimination, pressure and aggression. We are in favour of convening an international conference on trade problems.

178. Our delegation deems it necessary to reaffirm that the admission of the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, to membership in the United Nations would usefully serve the cause of peace and of the Organization itself.

179. I should also like to emphasize, as we have in the past, that we are in favour of the reorganization, on a collective basis, of the executive organs of the United Nations.

180. At the present session the General Assembly has before it a large number of important problems which must be solved for the sake of peace and international co-operation. We consider that the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "The question of Hungary" constitutes inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations, the Hungarian People's Republic. It is a flagrant violation of Article 2 of the Charter and represents an attempt to distract the General Assembly's attention from the basic problems.

181. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the wish that the work of this session of the General Assembly will be successful and records its conviction that peace can and must be safeguarded by the joint efforts of all peace-loving countries and peoples.

*Mr. ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.*

182. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):<sup>2/</sup> I feel especially gratified to be expressing my heartiest congratulations to the President on his election to the highest office in the General Assembly. In appointing him, this Assembly has paid a deserved tribute to his country for the truly significant place which it occupies among the peace-loving nations of the world. Over and above this, however, the Assembly has wished to express its appreciation for the outstanding virtues which the President has displayed during the many years of his participation in the activities of the United Nations. His eminent competence and wisdom are qualities which appear indispensable to the success of our work. The Italian delegation places great reliance on these qualities and expresses the conviction that his extreme ability and superior impartiality will be a precious guide to us.

183. I should also like, on behalf of Italy, to welcome the delegations of those countries which have recently been admitted to the United Nations: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

184. These delegations are participating for the first time in the General Assembly's work, and I therefore wish to express to them my delegation's particular satisfaction and desire to co-operate with them towards the realization of the common aims and ideals set out in the Charter of our Organization.

185. At its seventeenth session the General Assembly is faced once more with a heavy programme of work.

<sup>2/</sup> Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English and French versions of his statement were supplied by the delegation.

It will depend on us, on the determined good will of all of us, whether we succeed in further strengthening the machinery of the United Nations and in enabling it to take another step forward towards the concrete attainment of the goals of peace, economic and social progress and international security which are set before it by the San Francisco Charter and by the expectations of all peoples of the world.

186. The Italian delegation wishes to stress that it is more conscious than ever of these needs and that it intends to offer the most positive contribution possible to the Assembly's deliberations. My long experience of the work of the United Nations and my experience in my own country have taught me—and this is probably true of others here—how much more important are deeds than words. My remarks in the general debate will therefore be limited to essential matters and based on concrete facts.

187. The first matter on which I intend to dwell is the question of decolonization. I do so not only because it is an objective fact that this question dominates the historical era in which we live, but also because my country, by reason of its history and civic traditions, cannot but view with genuine sympathy this vast, irresistible general movement towards freedom for the peoples of the world. Italy not only attaches great importance to this supreme ideal, but is also aware of all the labour which is required if independence is to be given a content of total liberty. Italy knows, as a result of its own experience in the course of the last hundred years, how arduous and slow is the road towards this solution of the social and economic problems which accompany the attainment of independence. Only by a steady and orderly process can this goal be securely reached.

188. Italy is indeed pleased to have been associated with the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and wishes to reaffirm its steadfast position in this respect.

189. In its participation in the work of the Committee of Seventeen, Italy has based its action on the following principles:

(a) Full acceptance of, and full support for, the 1960 Declaration;

(b) The quest for all means likely to facilitate or accelerate this process towards independence in co-operation with the Administering Powers. Our aim here is not only the attainment of the ultimate objective, but also the timely preparation of the necessary political, administrative and economic infrastructures;

(c) Support for all measures likely to bring about independence by appropriate and peaceful means, the object being to ensure that the newly born States may constitute an element of stability and may be in a position to co-operate effectively with all other States.

190. This position may not always be fully shared by those who are inspired only by an impatient concern—however legitimate—for the speedy achievement of their goals; our positions, however, is dictated by the experience of my own country.

191. No less importance is attached by the Italian delegation to the problem of disarmament. This problem does not concern only those countries in possession of weapons, for each and every one would be inescapably involved in destruction and chaos if the

engines of death invented by modern science were unleashed.

192. The armaments race is a grim consequence of the unresolved political problems facing the world. In my opinion the armaments race itself helps to increase the tension and the mortal danger. It is therefore an imperative obligation, which no Government may shirk, to put a stop to this race and to bring about the gradual dismantling of the existing military establishments.

193. As a member of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament Italy has a particular responsibility in this field, a responsibility of which it is fully aware and which it has tried to discharge as faithfully as possible, co-ordinating its efforts with those of other friendly countries. We sincerely desire the achievement of that general and complete disarmament for which all peoples long, provided that it is properly guaranteed. We know that, in a world still sadly dominated by mistrust, this process of total disarmament is extremely difficult to accomplish and that we will only be able to bring it about gradually, by progressive, concrete and realistic measures.

194. We have no aggressive intentions against anyone and we desire the peaceful and free progress of all peoples, a progress protected and guaranteed against every threat. We are convinced that this goal is attainable if we have the co-operation of the Soviet Union and its allies. Pursuing our efforts with tenacity and patience, we must create a new peaceful and unarmed world in which all violence, all sedition and all threats are replaced by the rule of law and by fruitful competition in peaceful endeavours, a world in which the immense resources now swallowed up by the armaments race will be devoted to the economic and social progress of all the peoples and particularly of the newly independent nations and those which will soon attain independence.

195. With these objectives in mind, Italy has participated in the Geneva negotiations, making every possible contribution of goodwill and concrete initiative. The proposals advanced by the Western countries in the course of these negotiations seemed to us constructive and realistic, free of propaganda motives and capable of forming a serious basis for an agreement. I say a "basis", because these proposals have never had the nature of an ultimatum and it is our intention to take into due account any other constructive proposal or any useful suggestion.

196. We have given the greatest attention to the proposals formulated by the Soviet Union. But, while acknowledging the intentions which seem to have inspired those proposals, we have had to recognize that they contain elements which are unacceptable because they are inconsistent with the very principles of progressive and controlled disarmament consecrated in the well-known "Agreed Principles" approved by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.<sup>8/</sup>

197. Although these differences remain, we consider the Geneva negotiations useful and necessary, and we are indeed pleased that the necessity for them has been recognized by all in the undertaking to resume discussions as soon as the disarmament debate in the General Assembly is completed.

198. At Geneva, the problems have been thoroughly studied, even though the Soviet Union has not agreed to

<sup>8/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879 and resolution 1722 (XVI).

the establishment of the committees of technical experts which the Italian delegation, as well as other delegations, and particularly the delegation of Brazil, considered necessary. Thanks to the Geneva negotiations, there is now an appreciably improved mutual understanding of the respective positions, and on some points, the importance of which cannot be ignored, there has been a significant rapprochement of views. I consider as another very positive factor the co-operation offered for the first time at Geneva by the delegations of some non-aligned countries, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Italian Government in this Assembly since 1960.<sup>2/</sup> These delegations, I am sure, have been the interpreters of the sentiments of many Members of this Assembly, and we have always given earnest consideration to this fact.

199. We have no doubt that, as a result of the discussions in this Assembly, the work at Geneva will receive new impetus and effective encouragement. For my part, I am able to state that the action of the Italian delegation at Geneva will be inspired by the ideas and hopes expressed here.

200. The road to general and complete disarmament is a long one and bristles with technical and political problems, problems which must be studied and resolved one by one. Uncertain solutions cannot be accepted without jeopardizing what is the concern of every country, namely, its own security. But at the same time we must proceed along this road with level-headed courage, beginning with the early conclusion of at least some preliminary agreement on some concrete initial disarmament measures. Such preliminary agreements will lead the way to fuller and more binding agreements, re-establishing the necessary confidence among countries.

201. In this regard, an initial agreement which seems absolutely indispensable is one banning nuclear tests. We would like a complete agreement prohibiting all tests, but we know that with regard to some of them—namely, tests held underground—there are still profound differences of view regarding the need for controls. I trust that it will prove possible to overcome these differences, by taking advantage also of the memorandum<sup>3/</sup> submitted by the non-aligned countries and of the necessary technical studies. But, in the words of an old proverb: "Half a loaf is better than none". In my opinion, the goal of a complete agreement "is not a sufficient reason for failing to conclude immediately a partial agreement, limited to the banning of those tests which are the most dangerous for the physical well-being of the human race and which do not, furthermore, need special forms of control.

202. Interpreting the desire expressed by the great majority of non-aligned countries, Italy proposed at Geneva the consideration of such a limited agreement, for which the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom subsequently submitted a specific draft treaty.

203. This proposal has so far been rejected by the Soviet Union, but the work of the nuclear Sub-Committee at Geneva is still continuing on the basis of it. I trust that the Soviet Union will not ignore the appeals addressed to it from all corners of the world so that it may be possible to put an end at least to those tests

which, as a report [A/5216] of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation has recently shown, are most harmful for mankind and for future generations. The Italian delegation trusts that if this Assembly makes a further appeal to the parties concerned, such an initial and partial agreement can be reached. The way would thus be opened for a general agreement prohibiting all tests and a favourable psychological climate would be created for rapid progress in the work of general and complete disarmament, with all the attendant beneficial consequences for international relations as a whole.

204. The Italian delegation has carefully studied the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5201 and Add.1] during the last twelve months. It is a serious and realistic document which in principle meets with our approval. With the permission of the President, I should like to take this opportunity to express to U Thant the satisfaction of the Italian Government with the way in which he has carried out the heavy task entrusted to him last year by the General Assembly in such difficult circumstances.

205. The problems and questions raised by the Acting Secretary-General in his report cannot be ignored by anyone genuinely concerned with the present and future fate of our Organization. Unless we propose to indulge in empty rhetoric, it is completely useless to spell out grandiose programmes when we are not prepared to solve, first of all, those problems which are before us and which, although less spectacular, are of particular importance. These problems are organizational, financial and political.

206. On the organizational level, the Italian delegation believes that it would be possible to have better co-ordination between the various organs of the United Nations. We have recently witnessed a proliferation of committees created by the General Assembly, some of which are separately considering questions which are directly connected with each other. This leads also to an increase in expenditures for the Member States and for the Organization at a time when the latter is already in very serious financial difficulties. I believe we should give full heed to the appeal which the Acting Secretary-General addressed to us in this connexion.

207. Likewise, in the opinion of the Italian delegation, the problem of increasing the number of members of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council should be solved without further delay. It is completely useless, on the one hand, to extol, and rightly so, the position of the new Members of the United Nations and to advocate an increase in their numbers by means of a rapid process of decolonization and, on the other hand, to make it impossible to carry out the ensuing amendments to the San Francisco Charter. It is thus necessary that a place should be made for the new Member States in the organs of the United Nations, but, it should be possible to do so without depriving the Organization of the benefit of the experience of the older States.

208. With respect to the financial problem, the position of the Italian delegation remains unchanged. We favour strict compliance with the obligations relating to ordinary and extraordinary financial contributions. For that reason, Italy has subscribed to the United Nations a loan to the extent of approximately \$9 million, corresponding, percentage-wise, to twice its proportionate share in the budget. If the same good will is shown by other Member States, the Organization will

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, First Committee, 1085th meeting.

<sup>3/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/263, annex 1, sect. J.

be able to weather the present critical phase, and the difficult task which it assumed in the Congo will also be brought to a conclusion.

209. In this connexion, we cannot but welcome the recent favourable developments in the Congo, developments which seem to bring nearer the goal which we set before us when the United Nations first intervened in the Congo. Italy, which has participated in the United Nations operations in the Congo even at the sacrifice of human lives, is happy now to give its support to the plan recently drawn up by the Acting Secretary-General, in the expectation that this plan will help to bring an end to the Congo tragedy.

210. With regard to the activity of the United Nations during the past year in the political sphere, I have already had occasion to express my views on the work of the Committee of Seventeen and the Geneva Disarmament Conference. I should now like to associate myself with the satisfaction expressed by the Acting Secretary-General regarding the settlement of the problem of New Guinea.

211. There are other problems, too, which have been a source of great anxiety and the settlement of which gives us cause for rejoicing; I refer in particular to Algeria and Laos. The fact that it has been possible to bring to an equitable solution these grave complex questions confirms our faith in the possibility of settling by peaceful methods other problems which still remain unresolved.

212. May I also draw the attention of the Assembly to the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In this field, too, Italy has taken an active part. Besides being a member of that Committee and occupying for some time the chair of the Legal Subcommittee, Italy submitted one of the most concrete proposals for collaboration in this field, namely, the San Marco programme.<sup>11/</sup> In the opinion of the Italian delegation, it seems desirable to give a multilateral character to as many initiatives as possible for the exploration or exploitation of outer space, in order to provide a guarantee that it will be used for peaceful purposes, since collaboration can eliminate rivalry and thus the risk of the utilization of outer space for non-peaceful ends.

213. The Italian delegation is also firmly convinced of the growing importance of the tasks which the United Nations is assuming in the economic field. These are tasks of the most demanding and complex nature, which confront us with dramatic urgency. The full realization of the ideals of equality, liberty and peaceful coexistence among peoples proclaimed in the Charter is to a large extent dependent upon the fulfilment of such tasks. These have arisen as a result of the gradual elimination of the colonial system to which I referred at the beginning of my statement and the subsequent appearance on the world scene of new independent countries which are still of a fragile structure and in need of assistance.

214. While the attainment of independence extends the benefits of membership in the great United Nations family to new geographic areas, it also increases the number of countries which rightfully ask for the means to carry out a process of accelerated economic development.

215. For this purpose it is necessary to strengthen the economic and social systems of these new countries, to create their principal basic infrastructures, to encourage industrialization by protecting new industries,

to give a fresh stimulus to trade. What is needed, in other words, is to create the indispensable prerequisites for raising the standard of living of hundreds of millions of men who expect the necessary assistance from their brothers.

216. As I have already recalled, this is a historical phase from which my own country has only recently emerged. It is a difficult stage in which impatience is understandable, although it does not always make things easier. We too, as individuals, were impatient in our younger years to come of age, but no matter how ardent our desire to shorten the distance between ourselves and our elders, we had to bow before certain insuperable requirements of time and nature. We ought to hasten this process, and it is our desire to do so, since this is to everyone's interest, both of the developing countries and the more advanced countries; however, we cannot disregard the means at our disposal.

217. If we look for a moment at the recent past and pause to consider the progress made on the road towards economic and social advancement, we can only express our satisfaction with the results which have already been obtained and with the impetus which has been given to this programme of action by the United Nations.

218. There is no doubt that in the last ten years the more economically advanced countries have become convinced that economic development on a world level is absolutely necessary for all. There is full awareness, both in the United States and in Western Europe, that any great increase in income and production is only possible in a world which is in the process of dynamic economic expansion: all ships ride higher at high tide.

219. At the same time—and this phenomenon has assumed a definitely revolutionary character—the developing areas have come to realize that a faster rate of development is no mere chimera. By making the best use of human resources and by employing new techniques, it is possible to break the vicious circle of backwardness and neglect.

220. Nevertheless, during these last years there have been signs of economic tension which have helped to spread a feeling of disillusionment and uneasiness. While the very mechanics of the process of development, on the one hand, awakened slumbering forces and attracted increased interest from foreign countries, it required, on the other hand that those forces and those resources should be channelled towards an organic effort of development.

221. It appeared necessary then to carry out a long-term project, on a world-wide scale, which would comprehensively take into account all the main aspects of economic development, not only in the economic field but also in the social, technical and educational fields.

222. There was no better organ to express that requirement, by natural vocation as well as in compliance with its statutory functions under the Charter, than the General Assembly. The adoption, last year, of resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade gave birth to the most far-reaching programme of economic co-operation which has yet been drawn up on the international level. This programme calls for the absolute commitment of both the economically advanced countries and the developing countries. It is the responsibility of the former to encourage a larger flow of capital, as well as of financial and technical assistance. The latter are asked to create the necessary conditions to encourage investments

<sup>11/</sup> Document A/AC.105/4.

from abroad, to make the required improvements in their infrastructures, and, above all, to prepare well-considered plans of integrated development.

223. The Italian Government has noted with satisfaction that these ideas of interdependence were also taken up at the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development. We must now work actively to translate this programme into practical action, so that the United Nations Development Decade may act as a catalyst of joint efforts and concrete achievements. In this way the United Nations will be able to play the role of activating agent and common forum which was advocated by the Secretary-General. This can be accomplished, thanks also to the efficiency of the tools at the Organization's disposal particularly in the field of pre-investments, such as the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

224. It is in this framework of increased economic interdependence and joint solidarity for the improvement of living conditions in all continents and in all countries that Italy intends to make its contribution, with a full awareness of the importance of assisting the developing countries.

225. In this connexion, I should like to state that the steps taken by the Italian Government both in setting up and in perfecting the European Common Market and towards the establishment of a European political union aim at creating the necessary conditions for the better accomplishment of this task of solidarity. Unless we improve conditions in our own countries and ensure the existence of adequate resources, how can we respond to the pressing appeals which are being made to us?

226. On the subject of the Common Market, I feel obliged to reply to what was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in his statement at the 1127th meeting on 21 September, namely, that it is impossible to avoid "the impression that this exclusive economic grouping is used above all with a view to intensifying the arms race and strengthening the West German revenge-seeking forces".

227. No country which is aware of the objects and achievements of the Rome Treaty can possibly have received the impression to which Mr. Gromyko refers. To speak of designs to intensify the arms race and of other aims of this kind is deliberately to ignore the purposes of the European Economic Community. These purposes, of great social import, are clearly defined in the treaty which creates the Community, and their implementation, unlike those of other economic compacts sponsored by the Soviet Union itself, takes place in full daylight and under the constant control of the national parliaments of the member countries.

228. While the immediate objective of the Common Market is the organization, in freedom and democracy, of the economies of the member States and the gradual irradiation of this system throughout the world, by means of the development of fruitful exchanges and relations, its ultimate objective is to build, through economic integration, a European system which is not directed towards cold war purposes but is designed to contribute towards the peaceful and balanced development of international life.

229. A stable Western Europe, that has left behind political and economic nationalism as well as the old rivalries between sovereign States and that has succeeded in acquiring a structural form of its own, cannot but constitute a determining factor for the peace of the world and give an impetus to international economic

co-operation. Moreover, the European Economic Community as it develops and grows stronger, will increase and not decrease its imports from all the other countries of the world.

230. These are the eminently peaceful goals towards which the Common Market is directed; and, I repeat, this Market has not, and cannot have, by reason of its very constitution and nature, any aggressive tendency towards any country.

231. In the two preceding sessions this Assembly has dealt with the problem relative to the implementation of the Paris agreement of 1946<sup>12/</sup> concerning the status of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Alto Adige. On this subject, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria has stated to you the views of his Government. I should like now to inform you of the position of my own country on this matter.

232. As you know, the terms of this problem are, in our opinion, essentially of a juridical nature and this approach has been accepted by the resolutions of the fifteenth [1497 (XV)] and sixteenth [1661 (XVI)] sessions of the General Assembly. It has thus been a question of ascertaining whether the above-mentioned 1946 Paris agreement has been fully implemented. Italy is confident that it has carried out its own obligations and, as a consequence of the position taken by Austria, proposed—and still maintains its proposal—to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice in the event that a bilateral agreement should not be reached.

233. In its two resolutions of 1960 and 1961, the General Assembly suggested to the parties: (a) direct negotiations; (b) in the event of the failure of such negotiations, to seek peaceful means for the settlement of the dispute, with particular mention of a recourse to the International Court of Justice; and (c) to refrain from any action which might impair friendly relations between the two countries.

234. Italy has not departed from such suggestions. Concern, however, arose in my country because some demands, by certain Tyrolean extremist circles, appeared to go beyond the Paris agreement and to aim at concealing a territorial revision of the peace treaties which settled, once and for all, at the Brenner, the inviolable natural border of Italy. Moreover, the resort to acts of terrorism appeared to confirm that impression. Italy recognizes its international obligations, but in no way and in no case will it accept any demand for revision.

235. The conversations between Rome and Vienna which took place in the course of 1961 did not yield concrete results; Italy, however, did not regard the negotiations as closed. This position was expressly endorsed by the resolution of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. Shortly before that resolution, the Italian Government had decided to make a new effort—on the domestic level—for a broader review of the implementation of the Paris agreement.

236. Pursuant to the resolution of the sixteenth General Assembly, the direct negotiations between Italy and Austria were resumed, and on 31 July I met with the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs in Venice. On that occasion it was agreed to continue the bilateral negotiations with a view to reaching a satisfactory agreement.

237. During these past twelve months the acts of terrorism have considerably abated and the impression

<sup>12/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

was gained that they have been replaced by a realistic willingness to consider the dispute in its natural frame, which is the juridical one. Consequently, the Italian Government has recently decided to waive the requirement of an entry visa on the passports of Austrian nationals wishing to enter Italy, a requirement which was introduced at the time when the acts of terrorism had reached their peak. This measure was adopted to give a further proof of our goodwill and in the hope that certain remaining unfriendly manifestations will come to a speedy and complete stop.

238. The Italian Government continues to be favourable to anything which may lead to a final disposal of this dispute, thus removing it from our relations with a neighbour and friendly country.

239. The controversy, however, should realistically be kept apart from the context of the momentous prob-

lem affecting the fate of the international community, which should be the main concern of this forum.

240. In the present difficult international situation, the work of the seventeenth General Assembly can and should constitute an important factor towards the relaxation of tension. We have once more returned here, inspired by the hope that we may succeed in making the United Nations live up to the task assigned it by the San Francisco Charter. This is a task of peace and welfare for the entire international community. It is a task which is not only in compliance with a legal duty, but above all in compliance with the will of our peoples, of all peoples in every continent.

241. In the performance of this duty the Italian delegation, prepared as it is to make every possible effort, intends to be second to none.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*