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**NEW YORK**

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**President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. DRAGO (Argentina) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to join my congratulations to those Sir Leslie Munro has received from other delegations upon his election to the high office with which this Assembly has honoured him. It is a fitting tribute to him and to his country, New Zealand, which has distinguished itself by its consistently co-operative attitude in the United Nations.

2. I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, upon his reappointment for another term; it is a deserved acknowledgement by the General Assembly of his abilities and the competence with which he is discharging his important functions.

3. I am likewise pleased to welcome the new Member State, the Federation of Malaya, now a partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations as the result of agreement with the United Kingdom, which has once again demonstrated its liberal and forward-looking policy.

4. Year after year new States enter the United Nations. Yet there is one exception which becomes increasingly evident owing to the importance of the State concerned and the arbitrary reasons for its exclusion. I need hardly add that I refer to Germany, part of whose territory has been governed for the past twelve years by a foreign Power which refuses to withdraw its troops, thus preventing reunification. No one can deny the right of Germany, like any independent nation, to choose its own government with power over the whole of its territory by free elections. Nor has it less right to membership in the United Nations, which remains an incomplete organization without the most important State of Central Europe. My delegation hopes that Germany will be reunified and subsequently admitted to the United Nations.

5. The Argentine Government, faithful to its undertakings and to the principles of the Charter, followed

with deep concern the serious events which last year imperilled world peace.

6. The Suez crisis was resolved because the States which had intervened in Egypt complied with the General Assembly's resolutions. The same did not occur in Hungary, which is still occupied by foreign military forces despite repeated resolutions condemning the Soviet Union's aggression and urging the Soviet Government to withdraw its forces.

7. Last year's session opened in an atmosphere of alarm. This Assembly is starting in an atmosphere of anxiety: anxiety concerning Hungary and the Middle East; anxiety concerning the deadlock in disarmament negotiations; lastly, anxiety concerning the unpredictable events which may result from the expansionist policy of a great Power which is seeking world supremacy and uses force without regard for the principles of justice and humanity.

8. In the course of this general debate [681st meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union spoke with commendable moderation. Unfortunately, however, that does not change his country's position with respect to the serious international problems before this Assembly. The USSR representative stated:

"In all its actions in the international arena, the Government of the Soviet Union is guided by the doctrine of Lenin, the founder of our State, regarding the need for peaceful co-existence between countries, irrespective of their social systems."

9. May I say that the endorsement of Lenin is hardly soothing to anyone who knows his doctrine. For the Bolshevik leader said:

"Replacement of the bourgeois State is impossible without a violent revolution ... For all these reasons, the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a prolonged, tenacious, and desperate struggle to the death; a struggle which calls for calm, discipline, firmness, inflexibility and single-mindedness."

And his book *Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism*, referring to the monopoly of certain industries under the capitalist system, Lenin says:

"These results prove that so long as the economic basis does not disappear, so long as the means of production continue to be privately owned, capitalist wars are entirely inevitable."

10. I do not see how those ideas can be reconciled with the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

11. The Soviet delegation has submitted a draft declaration [A/3673] whereby the General Assembly would call upon all States to base their mutual relations upon the following principles: "mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-

aggression; non-intervention in one another's domestic affairs on any economic, political or ideological grounds whatsoever; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence."

12. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, in his eloquent speech, expressed [685th meeting] the amazement caused by that declaration. It could hardly be otherwise when we recall that the proposed declaration, which is in essence a repetition of the basic principles of the Charter, is presented by the State guilty of aggression in Hungary and the occupying Power of eastern Germany.

13. Among the items included in our agenda, by far the most important is the limitation of armaments, an agonizing problem which has been discussed for years now by the great Powers, but which affects all States because not one of us could escape the formidable destructive power of modern weapons if war should break out. As the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles, said:

"Humanity faces a tragic future if the war threat is not brought under control. It would mean that men, in order to survive, must learn to live as burrowers within the earth's surface to find protection against death" [680th meeting, para. 36].

14. It is self-evident that unless mutual confidence is restored, there can be no agreement on disarmament. Yet the mutual distrust between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union makes it imperative to introduce control, though that is difficult enough in the case of armaments and even more difficult in the case of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

15. An eminent jurist and former judge of the International Court of Justice, Charles de Visscher, in a recent book which has already become a classic, advocates international control and lucidly analyses its implications. He says:

"Control, assuming it to be technically feasible, in the atomic and even more in the thermonuclear field, implies genuine co-operation at all stages: agreement on the functions of the control organs; agreement on the permanent stationing and powers of inspection of the control agents; agreement on their competence to decide on the spot the immediate or at least temporary cessation of any prohibited manufacture.

"Such strict control", adds the learned professor of the University of Louvain, "requires not only the elimination of existing antagonisms, but also a high degree of mutual trust constantly kept alive by a clear awareness of the common danger. It is therefore obvious that nothing effective will be done unless there is a general and rapid relaxation of the present tension in political relations. In essence, the problem of control is political, so much so that it raises the question whether the establishment of genuinely effective control does not, in the final analysis, require a renunciation of the very concept of national sovereignty and an entirely new approach to the relations between nations."

16. But the problem of disarmament cannot be considered to be resolved merely by ceasing the manufacture of atomic weapons. The discontinuance of atomic tests proposed by the Soviet Union would be no more than a first step towards a broader, general

plan prohibiting the use of weapons, bombs and missiles the horror of whose destructive power is still fresh in the minds of the peoples who lived through the Second World War.

17. The armaments race is a crushing burden on the world economy. The military budgets of the great Powers run into thousands of millions. The astounding technological advances in arms production force the Powers into constant renewal of their war materiel. The battleships, submarines and bombers built a few years ago are now obsolete, and the same is true of weapons of all kinds. Astronomical sums have been wasted on war machines which soon become antiquated. It is distressing to think of the benefits humanity might have derived from those thousands of millions spent on means of destruction.

18. Economic and social agreements are more feasible than political or military agreements. In both those fields, the United Nations has achieved positive results which demonstrate international solidarity.

19. Among the plans recommended to this Assembly, one of the most important is that proposing the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). The plan was presented by the Netherlands delegation at the twenty-fourth session of the Economic and Social Council, with the co-sponsorship of Argentina, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, Mexico and Yugoslavia. After an exhaustive debate in plenary meeting, in which the eighteen member delegations took part, it was adopted by 15 votes to 3, [99th meeting] the opposing votes being cast by Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.<sup>1/</sup> The three negative votes were based more on reasons of timeliness than of substance, since all delegations agreed on the need for external assistance to the less developed countries.

20. In view of the difficulties of establishing the Fund with substantial capital, precisely because of the investments in arms, my delegation proposed the establishment of a body with fewer functions and a smaller membership to be responsible for promoting the financing of genuinely effective projects to stimulate the productivity of the economically weak countries.

21. The Argentine proposal, which I had the honour to introduce at the 992nd meeting of the Economic and Social Council during the debate on the international financing of economic development, was accepted by the sponsors as an addition to the original proposal. What is now recommended is that the General Assembly should set up a preparatory commission with the following functions: to prepare the necessary measures for the establishment of SUNFED; and to select a limited number of projects to be financed on an experimental basis by voluntary contributions until such time as the Fund begins full operation.

22. The large majority which supported the proposal in the Council leads us to believe that it will also be supported in this Assembly. The establishment of SUNFED will fill a need felt by the under-developed countries. My delegation's efforts on behalf of the resolution adopted in Geneva were completely disinterested since, as I brought out at the time, Argen-

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 662 B (XXIV).

tina is not one of the countries which will either contribute to the Fund or benefit by it.

23. The United Nations, which was founded in 1945 with fifty-one States Members, now has a membership of eighty-two, among them important Powers recently admitted. There is no doubt that so great an increase in membership should be offset by a proportionate increase in the number of members of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, which have eleven and eighteen members respectively. There is no reason why the Charter should not be revised to that effect with a view to broadening co-operation in those important organs of the United Nations.

24. It has become the custom to bring before this Assembly internal matters or international disputes which it cannot settle. When the parties concerned secure the required majority, the Assembly confines itself to making a moral recommendation which has the effect of widening differences rather than reducing them and serves only to embitter debate. The Secretary-General, in his clear introduction to his annual report [A/3594/Add.1] has reminded us that the United Nations, as an entity, is not a super-State and does not have the powers of a super-State. And that is even more true of the Assembly, whose powers are limited under the Charter.

25. I cannot conclude without expressing my country's fervent hope that this Assembly will accomplish constructive work not only in the economic and social fields, but in the political field as well. The world still hopes for an agreement among the great Powers on disarmament which will remove the nightmare of war and tremendously relieve the burden of military expenditure. Agreement is difficult, but not impossible if the negotiating parties will only reflect on the horrors of a third world conflict, a war of annihilation for victors and vanquished alike. The supremacy of might is precarious. Once the struggle is over, there arise, from among the ruins and the dead, the same conflicts of interest, the same antagonisms, the same problems which destruction and violence could not resolve and never will be able to resolve. Let the great Powers reach that agreement and they will have earned the gratitude of all mankind, which will then be able to devote itself to fruitful labour in the serene atmosphere of peace without fear.

26. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): As the main purpose of the United Nations is to strengthen peace and international security, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR feels it must state its views on the fundamental issues of the contemporary international situation.

27. It should be noted that, through the efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries, the international situation at the moment is somewhat more relaxed than it was last year, notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of aggressive circles among the Western Powers. Nevertheless, we have over the past few months witnessed a revival of the forces of aggression in a number of areas in the world. By generating new conflicts they are endeavouring to plunge mankind into a vortex of fresh disasters.

28. Recent events in the Near East and in the Middle East are the result of a conspiracy by aggressive circles in the West against the freedom and indepen-

dence of the Arab peoples. The aggression against Egypt, the armed struggle which the French colonialists are conducting against the Algerian people, the British aggression against Oman, the bombing of the cities of Yemen by British aircraft, the attempts to strangle the independent Republic of Syria and other events have shown that the aggressive forces will stop at nothing in their efforts to maintain colonial rule in that area. They are resorting to armed force, ignoring the fact that at the present time local military conflicts may develop into a major conflagration.

29. The General Assembly has the duty to bar the road to the forces of aggression and war and to promote efforts designed to reduce international tension and establish an atmosphere of confidence in relations between States. The security of individual States and international security as a whole will be achieved not by the formation of military groupings and the continuation of the cold war, but by the combined efforts of all States, large and small, for the strengthening of universal peace.

30. The representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and several other countries who spoke before me are pursuing a different course, that of increasing mistrust between States. They are endeavouring to intensify the "cold war"; they are in effect opposing any relaxation of international tension. They are utilizing the so-called Hungarian question to this end, and have succeeded once again in having it included in the agenda of the current session. They are endeavouring to intervene in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, once again to let loose a torrent of slander against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.

31. As in the past, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will resolutely oppose any efforts at United Nations intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary. The United Nations Charter gives no one the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other States.

32. We know that the United Nations is based upon the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems. The Organization was conceived as a centre for concerting the actions of States, where the Member States might express their views, where decisions might be taken on questions of peace and security, of economic, social and cultural co-operation, taking into account the interests of all.

33. The Soviet Union and many other States consistently adhere to these fundamental principles of the United Nations. This is attested by the draft declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States submitted by the Soviet Union [A/3673] at the present session. The draft contains an appeal to States to be guided in their relations with one another by the following principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-intervention in one another's domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Whereas these principles are winning an ever greater measure of recognition among States, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Canada and other countries who have spoken from this platform have either ignored these principles, endeavoured not to notice them or have opposed them



because they proclaim the sovereign right of every State to freedom and independence and express the most cherished hopes of the peoples of all nations of the world.

34. Speaking here on 25 September [687th meeting], Mr. Casey, the Minister for External Affairs of Australia, grossly distorted these principles by attributing to the Soviet Union some special interpretation of the concept of peaceful coexistence. Mr. Casey spoke here as an ardent enemy of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with differing social and political systems. He evidently wishes that the American-Australian system were the only one in the world. However, that is not for him to decide. Whether he likes it or not, he will have to reckon with the existence of a world-wide socialist system.

35. Forty years of the history of the Soviet State have fully confirmed that for the Soviet Union the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a matter of tactics or diplomatic manoeuvring, but the general line of Soviet foreign policy in its relations with all States. The great founder of the Soviet State, Lenin, said: "We favour alliances with all States, excluding none." The efforts of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and a number of other countries to distort and vilify the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union are therefore futile.

36. At the present time, among the unresolved international issues preoccupying the peoples of the entire world, no question is more important than that of the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the elimination of the threat of a new war. People all over the world do not want the air-raid sirens to rouse the children out of their sleep. They wish to labour in peace and to enjoy all the advantages of contemporary civilization and culture. If the United Nations could settle the question of disarmament, a link would be forged in a chain leading to a radical improvement in the entire international situation.

37. We understand the concern and alarm shown here by the representatives of a number of States over the armaments race, since it affects the vital interests of all peoples. At the same time we have been called upon to listen to speeches by the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and others who have not only failed to show any concern and alarm, but have, on the contrary, endeavoured in every way to prove that disarmament was a practical impossibility. On the pretext of an alleged "Soviet threat", they regard atomic and hydrogen weapons as the basis of their military strength and are therefore seeking to prevent the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests and to retain the right to use them. In the United States and the United Kingdom, it is widely maintained that it will be possible to initiate real negotiations with the Soviet Union only after a sufficient quantity of atomic and nuclear bombs have been accumulated.

38. These same representatives allege that the Soviet Union has been making its disarmament proposals for propaganda purposes only. It is strange, but a fact nevertheless, that when the Soviet Union makes real and specific disarmament proposals, the Western

Powers declare this to be propaganda. But let us endeavour to put these proposals to the test. The future will show whether they are propaganda or represent the firm resolve of the Soviet Union to bring about real disarmament.

39. Let the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the USSR, which possess atomic weapons, be called upon to assume in the first stage, at least, a temporary obligation not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons, so that, if a broad international agreement on disarmament has not been achieved at the expiration of a five-year period, the United Nations will again consider the question of the obligation of States to refrain from using nuclear weapons. This is a real proposal.

40. Let the Governments of the United States and the USSR be called upon to reduce their armed forces gradually, in three stages, to 1,700,000 men, and the Governments of France and the United Kingdom to 650,000 men, and to reduce their military budgets by 15 per cent in the first stage.

41. Let us call upon the Governments of States which maintain numerous military bases on the territories of other countries to follow the example of the Soviet Union in liquidating their military bases. This would help to put an end to the armaments race, increase confidence among States and terminate the "cold war".

42. In his speech to the Assembly on 24 September [685th meeting], the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Lloyd, endeavoured to paint in rosy hues the position of the Western Powers in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, and on the other hand to vilify the attitude of the Soviet Union on disarmament questions. This was an example of Mr. Lloyd's firmly rooted habit of seeking to shift the blame.

43. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Diefenbaker, whose country is a member of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, also undertook the thankless task of distorting the Soviet Union's clear position on disarmament. In his speech of 23 September [683rd meeting] he turned the facts upside down when he alleged that the Soviet Union had refused to meet the Western Powers halfway on disarmament and that it had even refused to consider the Western proposals.

44. Nothing could be more absurd than such an assertion. As the representative of a country which is taking part in the Sub-Committee's activities, Mr. Diefenbaker really knows very well that the Soviet Union not only considered the Western proposals seriously but on repeated occasions took steps to meet the Western Powers half-way. By his speech, Mr. Diefenbaker has once again shown that Canada and the other three Western Powers are refusing to reach an agreement on disarmament, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the suspension of tests of those weapons.

45. Mr. Diefenbaker vainly endeavoured to prove here that the North Atlantic bloc was not an aggressive bloc. But this is a waste of effort, like trying to show that black is white. No peace-loving utterances about the North Atlantic bloc will enable Mr. Diefenbaker to conceal the obvious fact that at the present time the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the chief instrument in the preparation of a new world war.

46. To form a clearer notion of the position of the Western Powers, including the United Kingdom and France, on disarmament questions, let us turn to the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission which has just come to an end.

47. We have closely followed the work of the Sub-Committee over a period of more than five months, and we have studied the documents submitted by the representatives of the Western Powers as well as by the representatives of the Soviet Union. The Byelorussian people, like all the other peoples of the world, expect the participants in the negotiations to find ways to reconcile their positions, to display the necessary patience, wisdom, goodwill and desire for agreement, and to exert every effort in their search for ways to break the disarmament deadlock.

48. The peoples' hopes were unfortunately disappointed. The question naturally arises, therefore, of the responsibility for the fact that no practical results were achieved in the work of the Sub-Committee and that it failed to deal successfully with the problems before it.

49. The responsibility for preventing a settlement of the disarmament problem lies, of course, with the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada who, as became clear in the course of the Sub-Committee's work, want neither a general nor a partial reduction of armaments, nor even a temporary suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons. While they paid lip-service to disarmament, they made every effort to steer the Sub-Committee away from the settlement of this vitally important problem. They talked about disarmament in order to cover up the continuing atomic and hydrogen weapons race.

50. As we know, the Soviet Union has, since 1946, striven tirelessly in the United Nations for a settlement of this important problem. The purpose of every Soviet proposal in the United Nations has been to end the armaments race, to achieve substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, to prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons and to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

51. The Soviet Government's latest proposals of 18 March, 30 April and 14 June 1957 [DC/112, annexes 1, 7 and 12] with respect to a reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, a temporary suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons and the removal of the threat of a new war contain a number of fresh elements which provide a basis for the settlement of controversial questions. These proposals constitute a great contribution to the cause of peace and pave the way to a practical settlement of the disarmament problem.

52. The Soviet Union went some distance to meet the position of the Western Powers by accepting their proposals with respect to conventional armaments. We would have thought that the Western Powers would, in turn, have agreed to discontinue the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and to prohibit them completely. The peace-loving peoples awaited these measures and expected not words but deeds from the Western Powers. However, their hopes were dashed. Alleging that the Soviet proposals were unduly broad, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada claimed that a programme of partial

measures would have a better chance of succeeding.

53. Taking these views into account, the Soviet Union submitted new proposals for the Sub-Committee's consideration. The Soviet Union proposed that, irrespective of other disarmament problems, the testing of nuclear weapons should be suspended for a period of two to three years. I shall not dwell on these proposals since they have been set out in detail by Mr. Gromyko, Chairman of the Soviet delegation [681st meeting].

54. On their side, what are the Western Powers proposing? After long delays and repeated postponements of the Sub-Committee's meetings, Mr. Stassen, the representative of the United States, speaking on behalf of the Western Powers, submitted their so-called new proposals on 21 August 1957. Having considered them carefully, our delegation has come to the conclusion that these new proposals submitted by the Western Powers fail to remove any of the previous obstacles to a disarmament agreement. Insisting upon their previous conditions, piling reservation upon reservation like ice flows during the spring tides, the Western Powers are making every effort to prevent a discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests and to retain the right to use them.

55. They forget that the destruction which would result from a new war fought with modern weapons would not spare any country in any continent. We should also bear in mind that the level of atomic radiation in the world is constantly increasing as a result of the testing of nuclear weapons. World public opinion is deeply concerned over this fact.

56. Allow me to give a few examples. Charles-Noël Martin, the French atomic scientist, recently submitted to the Academy of Sciences in Paris a scientific study on the harmful effects of atomic explosions. In it he analysed the physical, biological and climatic phenomena resulting from the explosion of extremely powerful atomic and hydrogen bombs. He indicates in his study that over the past twelve years a total of 140 tests were conducted, thirty of them since May 1956. The energy released by these explosions is equivalent to the destructive power of from 6,000 to 7,000 atomic bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

57. In this connexion, I should like to recall that in August 1957 twelve years had elapsed since the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were subjected to the first atomic bombings in the history of mankind.

58. Mr. Fujiyama, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, speaking from this rostrum on 19 September [680th meeting] during the general debate of the current session of the General Assembly, rightly called attention to the unspeakable tragedy which would result from a nuclear war and said that settlement of the question of discontinuing the testing of nuclear weapons was urgently required.

59. Thousands of scientists in Europe, America, Asia and Africa favour the discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons and the removal of the threat of an atomic war. In August this year a large group of Byelorussian scientists issued a statement on the question of discontinuing the use and testing of nuclear weapons. In their statement these scientists called attention to the fact that the testing of nuclear weapons on an ever increasing scale now threatens the life



and health not only of the present generation but also of future generations.

60. That is why the General Assembly must seriously consider the item entitled "Effects of Atomic Radiation" proposed by the delegation of Czechoslovakia [A/3614 and Add.1]. It is the view of all peace-loving people that a settlement of the problem of disarmament, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the discontinuance of the testing of those weapons, must not be delayed.

61. A real opportunity for a decision on the discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons will be provided at the current session. The draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union provides for the discontinuance under international control of the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons for a period of two to three years. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR fully supports that proposal because it reflects the hopes and demands of the peoples throughout the world.

62. The United States and the United Kingdom nevertheless refuse to stop testing nuclear weapons. Thus, in the statement he made on 19 September [680th meeting], Mr. Dulles, in effect, spoke in favour of continuing such tests, for he invited United Nations observers to attend a forthcoming test. Naturally, we want to know the purpose of the United States proposal. Does it not want to continue to test nuclear weapons in its territory with the blessing of the United Nations and to avail itself of the high status of that Organisation to cover up its refusal to discontinue the testing of nuclear weapons? The United Nations cannot and must not lend itself to that scheme.

63. What are the reasons for the opposition of the United States to a settlement of the disarmament problem and, in particular, to the discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons? They may be found in the fact that the American monopolists are prepared to sacrifice hundreds of millions of human lives in order to receive huge profits which, according to Congressman George Mahon, a member of the United States House of Representatives, are sky-rocketing.

64. According to the newspaper Daily Mirror of 24 September 1957, President Eisenhower told the National Security Council that the United States was maintaining "the most powerful military establishment in our peacetime history".

65. Profits earned by American corporations increased from \$23,500 million in 1946 to \$43,600 million in 1956. The well-informed Magazine of Wall Street referred to 1955 and 1956 as the "golden years" of business. That is why the American monopolists are making every effort to maintain the existing international tension and to prevent a settlement of the disarmament problem.

66. One must agree with Mr. Evatt, the leader of the Australian Labour Party, who wrote in the issue of the magazine Tribune of 27 June 1957 that "the influence against disarmament exercised by tremendously powerful capital interests embedded in armaments manufacture...will be found no less sinister than the activities of the notorious arms ring which helped forward the rapid growth of Hitlerism and Fascism between World War I and World War II".

67. The Byelorussian people are vitally interested

in an early settlement of the disarmament problem because their country has been laid waste by German militarism twice within a period of twenty-five years in the present century. During the Second World War alone, the total damage sustained by the Byelorussian SSR amounted to more than one-half of its national wealth. In the post-war period the Byelorussian people carried out a huge construction programme to remove the tragic consequences of the war-time devastation and to rebuild its destroyed towns and villages.

68. Industry has not only been restored but has been reconstructed on an entirely different technical basis. Heavy industry has been developed considerably, particularly machine-building, and now includes new branches such as the building of tractors, motor-cars, instruments and so forth. By 1956 industrial production in the Byelorussian SSR was 2.7 times greater than in the pre-war year of 1940 and 22 times greater than before the revolution.

69. The Byelorussian people are vitally interested in a lasting, durable peace which would allow the peoples of the world to engage in peaceful, constructive work.

70. The Byelorussian people warmly support the Soviet Union Government's proposals on disarmament and the easing of international tension. These proposals reflect the ardent desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union to prevent a new world war, strengthen peace and security throughout the world, and establish confidence and co-operation among peoples. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR hopes that the USSR proposals will commend themselves to the States Members of the United Nations.

71. I should like now to refer to the situation in West Germany. We do so because the Western Powers have artificially linked the disarmament problem to the question of the unification of Germany.

72. We wish to call the General Assembly's attention to the growing threat to European peace and security represented by the West German revanchists. The Byelorussian people, one of Germany's closest neighbours, cannot remain indifferent to the remilitarization of West Germany currently undertaken by the Adenauer Government.

73. It is well known that both the First and Second World Wars, unleashed by German militarists, began in Europe. Now, barely twelve years after the surrender of Hitlerite Germany, the West German militarists under the leadership of the Adenauer Government are once again emerging as a real threat to European security. Nurturing ideas of revenge, the Adenauer Government joined the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, introduced compulsory military service and created insurmountable obstacles to the unification of Germany. Disregarding the vital interests of the German people, the Adenauer Government subordinated the domestic and foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany to the demands of the ruling circles of the United States which are actively reviving German militarism, the deadly foe of the peoples of Europe.

74. As the whole world knows, the Adenauer Government has undertaken the formation of a West German armed force. Measures have been taken to form twelve divisions, a number subsequently to be increased to sixty. West Germany already has its own air force and navy. Military schools have been set up in the

Federal Republic of Germany. Orders have already been placed for the delivery of 5,000 tanks to the Federal Republic of Germany.

75. The aggressive nature of the West German army is evident from the fact that it is being trained under the direction of former generals such as: Heusinger, Milch, Meister, Osterkamp, Ruge and others, and that former SS officers are serving in it. Military cadres are being trained at a rate which will in future provide military leaders for 200 West German divisions. Already 50,000 unit and company commanders, platoon leaders, not to speak of senior staff, are receiving instruction. Out of the total of 37,000 million marks which the Federal Republic of Germany is spending in 1957-1958, no less than 9,000 million marks are for military expenditures. In the first quarter of 1957 alone military expenditure was nine times higher than during the same period in 1956.

76. It should also be pointed out that the United States is establishing installations in the Federal Republic of Germany for the launching of guided missiles. The concentration by the Western Powers of various types of nuclear weapons on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and their plans to equip the West German army with atomic weapons is tantamount to the conversion of the Federal Republic of Germany into the main European armed camp and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's basic stronghold in Europe for conducting an atomic war. Atomic warfare on German soil can end only in disaster on an unheard-of scale for the people of Germany. However, the Adenauer Government, disregarding all this, has entered into an alliance with the most aggressive circles in the United States. The Bonn-Washington axis has become a political and military reality. The war industry in West Germany has been rebuilt once again with the financial assistance of the United States. That country, as we see, is following a course which constitutes a serious threat to the cause of world peace.

77. The revanche forces are becoming ever more influential in Western Germany. A proof of this is the existence of 1,118 soldiers' and officers' associations, forty-five of which are officially recognized as having formed part of the SS, Hitler's true and faithful servants. In the Federal Republic of Germany twenty-seven newspapers and forty-seven periodicals of Fascist character and tendency are published. An unbridled and large-scale propaganda for revenge is being carried on.

78. Official leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany are indulging in brazen threats of revanche directed against the Socialist countries. Let me illustrate this by an example. On 14 June 1957, Mr. Oberlander, Minister of the Bonn Government, openly outlined the Western German imperialists' programme of conquest at a meeting of the Christian Democratic Union in Berlin.

"In Russia," he said, "land is waiting for us. We must take root there. We must liberate not only the 17 million people of the German Democratic Republic, but also the 120 million people inhabiting the European part of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.... We must constantly impress this upon our young people and train them accordingly."

79. In the face of such statements we cannot but watch the warmongers with increased vigilance. In this

connexion I would point out to the representatives of the United Kingdom, of France and of other Western European countries that these statements seem to us to echo the aggressive appeals of Hitlerite propaganda for living space for German militarists before the German armies invaded France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. Who can vouch that German militarists will not do the same again, if the European nations do not take timely steps to restrain the West German forces of revenge?

80. The facts show that the ruling groups of the Federal Republic of Germany and the forces behind them have not learnt the lessons of history or where the interests of the German people lie. They are not guided by the German people's national interests or by the interests of peace, but by the desire to pander to the militarist and revanche tendencies of certain groups among the West German armed forces. This is borne out also by the Adenauer Government's rejection of the proposal made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should form a confederation on the basis of an international treaty. Yet in present conditions this proposal constitutes the only realistic approach to a peaceful settlement of the German question. The Byelorussian people welcome and approve the proposal which the Government of the German Democratic Republic has made to regularize relations between it and the Federal Republic of Germany.

81. As you are aware, the years since the war have seen great changes throughout the world. The most important historical event during that period is the creation and consolidation of the People's Republic of China, the eighth anniversary of which will be celebrated tomorrow by the 600 million people of China and by all progressive mankind. But it is a most abnormal situation that for eight years the representatives of that great Power, the People's Republic of China, have been refused admission to the United Nations. The Organization is suffering irreparable damage as a result.

82. In Asia, Africa, in the Near-East and in the Middle East, more than twenty sovereign States have emerged which until recently were colonies or semi-colonies. Most of them are now Members of the United Nations. However, for political reasons, the Western Powers are blocking the road for the admission of one of the oldest Asian States, the Mongolian People's Republic. The Byelorussian delegation has repeatedly declared that the Mongolian People's Republic's application for admission to membership should be granted. In connexion with the message sent on 8 July 1957 by the Great Khural to the parliaments of all Members of the United Nations concerning the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet and Government of the Byelorussian SSR, affirms its resolute support for this legitimate desire of the Mongolian people. It will consistently press for the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations.

83. The attainment of independence by many Eastern States has considerably altered the world political situation. But many millions of people in colonial and dependent countries are still fighting to obtain self-government and independence.



84. The colonial powers do not wish to accept the fact that the peoples of the colonies have ceased to be their subservient tool and they therefore strive by all means to delay the collapse of the colonial system and to intimidate the peoples that are gaining their freedom. The reactionary groups of the colonial powers do not wish to acknowledge the historical processes by which the peoples of the East are freeing themselves from the old colonial dependence; they do not wish to renounce the treaties imposing inequality on these peoples by force of arms. These groups disregard world opinion, which is calling for an end to colonial adventures: they wish to restore their domination in the former colonial countries by the use of armed force. They wish to entrench themselves in important sectors of the Middle East by setting the Arab peoples against each other. The representatives of colonialism are in the habit of talking about the "civilizing mission" of the administering Powers in the colonial countries. The policy of neo-colonialism is generally camouflaged by false declarations about what is called economic and cultural "assistance" to backward and under-developed countries.

85. In truth, however, the United States, the United Kingdom and France are restricting the national and sovereign rights of the countries in this area, interfering in their domestic affairs, setting up military bases and attempting to incorporate the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern countries forcibly into the system of military blocs. They cover up these actions by inventing the tale of a threat to these countries emanating from the USSR.

86. In his statement [680th meeting] in the general debate on 19 September 1957, Mr. Dulles tried to show that the Soviet Union is attempting to subjugate the Middle East and to use it as a basis for its domination over Europe, Asia and Africa. Such disgraceful fabrications and inventions are necessary for those who, each year, obtain more than 100 million tons of oil from the Near East and the Middle Eastern countries, sell them at exorbitant prices on Western European markets and elsewhere and who are bent on perpetuating this inequitable situation. Suffice it to say that the net profits which the American monopolists obtained from oil in the Near East and the Middle East in 1955 amounted to \$1,900 million.

87. Mr. Dulles went so far as to make the absurd allegation that a small country like Syria with its 4 million people was threatening Turkey and its other neighbours. As the saying goes, the wolf himself cries wolf. Mr. Dulles wished to intimidate the General Assembly by saying that the Eisenhower doctrine would be applied to Syria, that is that there would be armed intervention in the Middle East. You are aware that the United States are rushing arms to Israel, Jordan, Turkey and Iraq by air. This has profoundly alarmed the Arab countries, because they realized that the United States is working for the instigation of war in the Middle East. Needless to say, the Arab countries would become a battlefield, and armed conflict could not be confined to that area.

88. Mr. MacDonald, the representative of New Zealand, also made a completely false statement on 23 September 1957 [683rd meeting], when he repeated Mr. Dulles' assertion that the Soviet Union was trying to establish its domination in the Middle East. Mr. MacDonald was displeased to find that the Arab coun-

tries were not opposing the alleged Soviet Union penetration into the Middle East, a process occurring merely in his imagination. He is well aware that the Soviet Union in no way threatens the Arab countries. On the other hand, such a threat is clearly contained in the Eisenhower doctrine and emanates from aggressive groups in the United States.

89. The Arab peoples themselves appreciate that the Soviet Union desires peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with all Arab countries. Unlike the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the Soviet Union consistently advocates the strengthening of peace and security in the Near East and the Middle East and does not interfere in the domestic affairs of the sovereign States of that region. It is sympathetic to the national liberation movement among the Arab peoples.

90. The United Nations should join the defenders of the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern security; it should condemn the formation of military blocs by the United States and the United Kingdom in that area, the establishment of military bases by them and their interference in the domestic affairs of these countries.

91. The United Nations should see to it that the idea of force is buried once and for all in relations between States; that in its place the concept of peaceful co-operation triumphs, based on confidence and mutual understanding between States, irrespective of their social and political structure. It should promote the solution of hitherto unsettled international issues by means of negotiation and agreement between the States concerned with due regard to the rights and interests of those States.

92. Never before has the United Nations borne so heavy a responsibility for the maintenance of peace and the future of peoples as in our day. World opinion expects the work of the United Nations to be fully consistent with the noble Purposes and Principles of its Charter, designed for the maintenance of universal peace and security.

93. Like other peace-loving peoples the Byelorussian people are vitally interested in preventing a new deterioration in international relations. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is confident that the General Assembly will fulfil its duty toward humanity by removing the threat of a new world war and strengthening peace throughout the world.

94. Ato Yilma DERESSA (Ethiopia): I have already had occasion to congratulate the President during my previous intervention [686th meeting]. I will now add to what I said then, if I may, that we are indeed fortunate to be entering upon the twelfth year of our work under his guidance and widely respected ability.

95. At the close of the eleventh session of the General Assembly, we were already a great family of eighty-one nations, the greatest ever known in the world's history. On 17 September 1957, we welcomed yet another Member, the Federation of Malaya. The Ethiopian delegation extends a warm welcome to our most recent Member, and we are confident that its contribution will strengthen our efforts for peace and security.

96. The growth in membership is in itself proof of the accomplishments of the decade which has followed the birth of the United Nations. It is also a recognition of the service that the Organization has rendered in



advancing the cause of world peace and the liberation of a large portion of mankind. Thanks to the efforts of this Organization and thanks also to the co-operation it has received from some of its worthy Members, we have in recent years had occasion to congratulate, year after year, the new nations that have risen to the status of sovereign States and have joined us in this world forum. The Government of the United Kingdom and its great people deserve to be commended on the results so far achieved in this field.

97. Furthermore, my delegation is happy to note that the vast emancipation which is nearly accomplished in the continent of Asia is now at work in our continent of Africa. It is with gratification and joy that we are witnessing the rise of African nations, one after another, into sovereign entities. Yet, although a good beginning has been made, there still remains a vast work of liberation to be achieved in Africa. There is no other continent where so many nations are still subjected to colonial rule. The African people who are still under foreign domination are anxiously awaiting the fulfilment of the promises of the Charter for themselves. We therefore urge the United Nations to accelerate further the process of liberation in Africa. For our part, we will do everything we can to help the cause of freedom.

98. The principal problem before this session is undoubtedly the problem of disarmament. My Government's views on the perennial problem of disarmament are well known. Although we have always recognized the difficulties, we confess we have not grown accustomed over the last decade to the apparently permanent deadlock on disarmament proposals which has existed in the relevant United Nations organs. It is sometimes claimed that disarmament is difficult to achieve until a political settlement has been reached upon some of the important problems which divide the nations today. The technical arguments by which the discussions on disarmament are so often clouded seem to suggest that a correlation exists between disarmament and political settlement. On the other hand, there are some who hold the view that disarmament in itself is a road to political settlement.

99. The achievement of disarmament is too big a stake for humanity to be enclosed in a vicious circle. We believe the time has come when the United Nations should make every effort again in order to find a new approach to the problem of disarmament. If disarmament appears to be contingent on a degree of political settlement, it will be worth while to work on both sides of the board.

100. As regards so colossal a matter, which mainly concerns two formidable Powers, a small nation such as my own has but little influence upon the course of action. Yet we are mindful that no nation, great or small, powerful or weak, can pride itself on being free from the deadly danger of atomic holocaust. Long ago it was said that peace was indivisible; in our atomic age destruction has become equally indivisible. We are therefore hopeful that the increasing pressure of popular opinion among all the peoples represented in the Assembly will be heard in this year's discussions. My Government nourishes the ardent hope that the coming years may make it possible to devote a much smaller part of the budget of Member States to national defence. Apart from the danger with which the armaments race is fraught, this heavy burden of expendi-

ture on arms is a wearisome charge upon each Member's programme of social, economic and educational development. Moreover, my Government is fully aware of the possibilities that would result from the decrease of defence expenditure on the part of the capital-exporting countries in opening up new programmes of co-operation in economic development and assistance.

101. In this connexion my delegation noted with interest the summary statement in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report [A/3594/Add.1] extracted from the World Economic Survey, 1956, regarding the uneven rates of economic development in different parts of the world. The need for more rapid economic development in the less developed regions of the world is recognized, and the Secretary-General well states that it will be necessary to redouble the efforts of all concerned.

102. The emergence of the International Finance Corporation under its clarified status as a new and important factor in international commercial and financial affairs is a matter of great satisfaction to my Government, and the future of the corporation will be followed with close interest. My delegation likewise welcomes the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency, with its great promise for the future.

103. The delegation of Ethiopia would also express its appreciation of the Secretary-General's reiteration, in his annual report, of the importance of the universal acceptance of international law and his statement that "in the present state of international society there are many disputes which would be closer to settlement if the legal issues involved had been the subject of judicial determination" [A/3594/Add.1, p. 5] in this connexion, my delegation would express its concurrence with the view expressed by the representative of Denmark from this rostrum at the tenth session of the General Assembly, when he noted the "tendency to seek a political settlement, even in cases where a conflict stems from questions of law", and added that "reaching settlements of as many matters as possible on principles of law [will] in the long run ... safeguard, not threaten, the freedom and independence of national States" [526th meeting, para. 102].

104. My delegation is fully aware that differences or disputes are sometimes best subjected to political settlement, but we consider that the proper use of legal procedures is frequently ignored, to the disadvantage of a truly acceptable settlement. In the language of the Charter itself, our objective is the establishment of "conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained".

105. In an effort to curtail my remarks and at the same time to contribute usefully to the general debate, I have mentioned but a few of the many and often familiar items on our agenda. But any review, complete or incomplete, would leave my delegation with a feeling of measured optimism and of confidence that, in a spirit of accommodation and with an earnest effort at comprehension, our work at the twelfth session will go forward steadily and faithfully under God's blessing.

106. Mr. ARISMENDI (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Venezuela is attending the present session of the General Assembly with undiminished faith in the guiding principles of the United Nations. It does so with the conviction that at the present critical stage

in world affairs effective action by the United Nations is more than ever necessary.

107. Member States look to the United Nations, which emerged from the chaos of the Second World War, to discharge the heavy responsibility of safeguarding the rights of peoples in such a way as to ensure that clashes of interests and reliance on force, which lead to conflicts, are replaced by the rule of law. The fact that it has not succeeded in solving all the problems confronting it has in no way undermined the status and high ideals of the United Nations for it is still the supreme embodiment of the desire of nations to develop their international relations in accordance with legal concepts.

108. Unfortunately, as a result of the extraordinary upheavals of the last world war and of the conflicting ideologies which have divided the world into opposing camps, anomalous and dangerous situations still exist. Among others, we have the eloquent examples of Germany, still divided, Hungary, subjugated by a foreign Power, and the Middle East in a state of tension - a source of concern to us all. It is clear that not only have we failed to achieve peace but the "cold war" has been succeeded by a war of manoeuvre which is much more serious. Consequently, the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples has been overshadowed by a more urgent and pressing need, that of international security.

109. However, such a state of affairs does not mean that we do not recognize the justice of these aspirations. The agenda of the present session shows clearly the interest that has been aroused by these matters of unquestionable importance to the lives of nations. The discussion of the various items will surely lead to a reaffirmation of the principles upon which the Organization is founded, and we can safely predict that with the goodwill of the participants we shall make an appreciable step forward towards our aims of friendship and security among States.

110. Among the items on the agenda the question of disarmament is by far the most important. It has recently been the subject of detailed deliberations; a reasonable solution to this problem will remove many of the obstacles now impeding the peaceful coexistence of States. Although no agreement has yet been reached, the material produced provides a basis for the clarification of ideas and the legitimate hopes of peoples everywhere for a proper settlement of the armaments problem.

111. At this session of the General Assembly we have heard optimistic assertions by several representatives of authority that the conference held in London was not a complete failure. Such views are very gratifying to us all since they keep alive the hope that the world will eventually return to peace and mutual understanding.

112. In referring to disarmament as a basic problem whose solution will release from fear the nations now living under the constant threat of war, I should like to express my warm support for the proposal [A/3630 and Corr.1] submitted to the Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium. This proposal is aimed at acquainting the peoples of the world by every possible means with the enormous destructive power of modern weapons and with the danger of complete and immediate annihilation which a nuclear war would bring to mankind. Such knowledge will of course bring

agony of mind but it will in the end strengthen the movement of public opinion in favour of disarmament agreements which will free the world from fear and bring about an atmosphere of peace and security.

113. We are glad to note that as much attention has been given to the problem of ways and means of giving effect to the peoples' will for peace as to the analysis of the factors involved in the armaments race.

114. This year we have succeeded in bringing into being an international agency designed to ensure that the immense potentialities which science has opened up in the vast field of atomic energy will be directed towards peaceful ends. The efforts made by the various States towards the establishment of such an agency, culminating in the entry into force of its statute, are evidence of their unshakable determination that the potentialities of the atom shall be utilized for worthy purposes. In this way they have supported the initiative shown by President Eisenhower when, on that memorable occasion, he explained to the General Assembly [470th meeting] the need to ensure that the forces which cause such anxiety to the peoples of the world are put to constructive uses.

115. The considerable progress made by international co-operation in recent years has profoundly changed the traditional mode of diplomacy, once the reflection of the isolation in which, until a short time ago, States lived. Modern diplomacy is inspired by a new concept of human solidarity; it is based on that interchange of ideas, opinions, goods and, in short, all the benefits of civilization, which is the most beneficial result of the improvement and growth of communications.

116. At the same time, the Government of Venezuela feels that, although considerable progress has been made in this direction, international co-operation proper, that is, co-operation which brings tangible benefits for all concerned, leaves much to be desired. Indeed, so far, much of this action has been bogged down in recommendations, projects and suggestions - in short in a mass of words which have no real effect. The best theories and the wisest heads are of little avail if the determination to put ideas into practice is lacking.

117. From a careful study of the international situation it is evident that in the society of nations as in that of individuals there is only one practical method of tackling the difficulties that arise from the existence of backward or insufficiently developed communities which lack the bare necessities of subsistence, not to speak of development - rational study of the problems involved and the effective application of the appropriate solutions. In our domestic affairs, in order to ensure that no one in our respective countries lacks the essentials of life, we fight against poverty, ignorance and disease by making provision in our national budgets for allocations to cover expenditure on health, education, housing, etc.

118. Any careful observer knows full well that one of the most direct ways of securing the enjoyment and exercise of human rights - a subject which the United Nations has included in its annual agenda for several years - is to satisfy men's basic needs. It is pointless to speak of human rights when men are not given the means of earning better wages and when their families lack proper housing, schools, welfare services and all



those facilities which enable them to lead a healthy social life. The fundamental right of the individual is the right to live and, undoubtedly, the failure to satisfy these vital needs, sometimes bordering on sheer indifference, amounts in fact, to put it crudely, to granting men only the miserable right to die of hunger.

119. The international community must take steps to improve this situation. Its most noble task would be to determine how the prosperous States may satisfy the most pressing needs of other States in those fields where timely assistance may be decisive for their development.

120. Believing that this is undoubtedly the best way of giving practical expression to the term "international solidarity", General Marcos Pérez Jiménez, President of Venezuela, proposed to the American nations represented at Panama by their Heads of State, the establishment of an economic fund made up of contributions from all the members of the regional organization and designed to solve the most pressing problems of the American continent. I wish to repeat here, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the conviction then expressed that prosperity cannot be achieved "without the participation of all or without the application of practical and effective measures". I would like to state again that the Government of Venezuela is ready to participate in undertakings that are designed to bring positive benefits to mankind by raising their moral, intellectual and material standards and promoting their development and welfare.

121. As this specific aim is the same as that underlying the proposed Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, whose establishment is to be considered again at the present session, I am pleased to state that Venezuela views this project with particular interest and supports it wholeheartedly. In doing so it hopes that the Fund will also receive the full support of the great economic powers. My country is convinced that one of the best possible contributions to the work of the United Nations will be to ensure that this proposal really becomes effective.

122. I have great pleasure in announcing to this Assembly that Venezuela will vote in favor of the decision to establish a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development and is ready to contribute its share towards the implementation of the experimental projects listed in resolution 662 B (XXIV) of the Economic and Social Council and of the various projects which the Fund will undertake once it is established. In supporting the establishment of the Fund and in declaring our readiness to contribute financially towards its operation, we are following our traditional policy of giving a firm backing to realistic plans for human welfare.

123. So far, international economic co-operation has been more theoretical than practical. Within the United Nations, the technical studies prepared by experts and the research carried out by the secretariats of the regional economic commissions are of course excellent. But we must add to them fruitful, effective and technically-planned action.

124. The establishment of a fund for economic development will reinforce the activities of existing organizations. It will not conflict with any of them, but rather complement them. Nor will it interfere with the flow of private capital; on the contrary, by helping

to improve the social and economic infrastructure of the under-developed countries, it will create the conditions necessary for the investment of private capital.

125. We are well aware that, so far, certain difficulties have prevented the Fund from being established. However, I do not think that they should discourage us. According to the recommendation made by the Economic and Social Council to the General Assembly, an initial phase of an experimental nature and of modest proportions is contemplated, which may provide invaluable experience for the United Nations. We hope that all countries will contribute to this brave experiment. Perhaps the most important reflection that we can make when confronted with these new plans is to think not how much it will cost us to establish the Fund but how much it will cost us not to establish it.

126. The encouraging results of other plans for international co-operation under the auspices of the United Nations strengthen our conviction that success will attend any activities which receive the wholehearted support of all Member States. The technical assistance programmes of the United Nations, which have been described as the greatest and most durable of its achievements, are proof of this fact. My Government has supported these programmes unreservedly.

127. Although economic, social and cultural development has always been and is now the primary responsibility of the individual countries themselves, the technical assistance programmes serve the highly useful purpose of supplementing and strengthening the action taken at the national level. No country can claim to be self-sufficient in all fields of knowledge and technology. Perhaps in the future no country will ever be entirely self-sufficient. By sharing their experiences with others, nations can increase the common patrimony of humanity to the advantage of all. In recognition of this truth, Venezuela is ready to continue to support these programmes.

128. In Venezuela itself we have felt it appropriate to associate the United Nations technical assistance programmes, albeit to a limited extent, with the most important of our economic development projects and with certain of our principal social and cultural activities. This co-operation has been particularly useful in the mechanization of our agriculture, in industrial training and in the formulation and execution of our bold plans for the transformation of our physical surroundings and for the over-all development of our economic potentialities in such fields as electrification, railways, and the iron and steel and petro-chemical industries.

129. May I also mention, finally, the assistance given by the Economic Commission for Latin America in the organization of an intensive training course on economic development problems inaugurated recently at Caracas from which we expect very satisfactory results.

130. On several occasions in the past, the Government of Venezuela has stressed the danger which arises from interference by international organizations in the inviolable sphere of domestic affairs, in complete defiance of the wishes expressed on defining their terms of reference, by the States which founded them.

131. Once again my country records its opposition to this undesirable trend which, if not corrected, is

liable to endanger the very lives of these bodies. Indeed, if international organizations are to act effectively and discharge their duties fully, they must bear in mind that they were created by sovereign states and that they must always give the correct interpretation to that expression without limiting its real meaning in any way. We must avoid the risk that Member States, seeing what they consider rightly to be inviolable - their autonomy, their freedom and their independence - being endangered, may prefer to withdraw from these organizations.

132. In conclusion, I should like to convey to the President my warmest congratulations upon his well-earned election to the Presidency, and at the same time to congratulate the Secretary-General on the extension of his term of office, in recognition of the good work he has already accomplished. I express the most sincere hopes for the success of the present session of the General Assembly which has opened in a spirit of good will which augurs well for the future.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.