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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. ISMAIL (Federation of Malaya): This is the second occasion on which we have been privileged to participate in a regular session of the General Assembly since the Federation of Malaya attained its independence on 31 August 1957, and I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the determination of the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya to observe the principles and further the purposes of the United Nations and renew our pledge to uphold the Charter.

2. Since the emergence of the Federation of Malaya as a sovereign, democratic and independent State, the intention of our Government has been to be on the most friendly terms with all countries in the world. As is inscribed in our Proclamation of Independence, our State is "founded on the principles of liberty and justice, and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations". In keeping with this, the Government of the Federation of Malaya stands for peace, freedom and the well-being of every country in the world.

3. The Government and people of Malaya have great faith in the United Nations. Our foreign policy is based on this faith in the United Nations and on respect for its purposes and principles. It is our policy to support this Organization. We take every important declaration and decision of the United Nations in earnest. I believe that in this matter we share the attitude and feelings of other small nations, which depend for the maintenance of their territorial integrity and sovereignty and for the fulfilment of their desires for peace, justice and freedom on the willingness of the great Powers to respond to the moral force of the declarations and decisions of this world Organization.

4. The balanced picture of the influence of the Organization in support of the goals of the Charter, given in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/3844/Add.1], is most reassuring to the Government and people of Malaya. As has been noted by our esteemed

Secretary-General, it is the quiet and unassuming long-term work of the Organization that merits the greatest praise, particularly from those small nations which perhaps derive the greatest benefit from such long-range developments. The increasing degree of economic, humanitarian and scientific co-operation taking place under the aegis of the Organization is, indeed, proof of the quiet fulfilment of many of the purposes of our Charter at the grass-roots level of human endeavour. Although such co-operation rarely elicits sensational recognition, such as is bestowed upon more purely political issues, nevertheless we all recognize the full value and import of these developments and welcome the measured statement of these achievements contained in the Secretary-General's annual report [A/3844].

5. The happy result of the efforts of the third emergency special session of the General Assembly is an example of the willingness of the smaller nations to settle their differences within the framework of the United Nations.

6. As a new Member, with such faith in the United Nations, we have been greatly disturbed by the failure of some of the greater Powers to respond to world opinion as expressed in this great assembly of nations. In spite of the friendly relations so happily existing between our Government and the Government of France, we have been compelled by our abiding faith in the United Nations to join with twenty-three other Asian-African nations in co-sponsoring the inscription of an item on the question of Algeria on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [A/3853]. It is regrettable that the Government of France should continue to ignore the resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly at its twelfth session [resolution 1184 (XII)] without any vote being cast against it. We join the other nations of Asia and Africa, indeed of other regions as well, in expressing concern that no steps have been taken by the French Government with a view to arriving at a solution in conformity with that resolution. The French Government has not accepted the good offices proffered by the Governments of Morocco and Tunisia in accordance with the spirit of the General Assembly's resolution. Nor have pourparlers in accordance with the resolution been initiated.

7. It is the fervent hope of the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya that the war in Algeria may be terminated as soon as possible, so that peace may be restored in North Africa and the people of the area given the opportunity to channel their energies and resources into the constructive efforts of nation-building, economic development and social and cultural progress. It is our firm conviction that the people of Algeria have a right to freedom and independence.

8. It is also with regret that we have had to join with other Members from Asia and Africa, Western Europe

and Latin America in inscribing an item on the agenda of the present session [A/3872] concerning the policies of a fellow member of the Commonwealth—that is, on the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa. This question has been before the Assembly since 1952. Year after year the General Assembly has called upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to reconsider its position and revise its policies in the light of obligations under the Charter. These appeals from the vast majority of Members of the United Nations, representing the greater part of humanity, have gone unheeded by the Government of the Union of South Africa. We are taking this stand only because of our determination to uphold the Charter, which calls for respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race. We must uphold the dignity and worth of the human person.

9. In expressing our concern at the attitude of a friendly Government which is a fellow member of the Commonwealth, we would at the same time like to take this opportunity to make our position clear on the question of Hungary. We note with great concern the recent events in that country. We gave our support to the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the item, "The situation in Hungary", which was proposed by Australia [A/3875 and Add.1]. The continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly on the part of the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary and their refusal to co-operate with bodies set up, and persons appointed, by the General Assembly greatly impair the efficacy of the United Nations for the purposes which we are solemnly pledged to further. Our firm belief in the principle of self-determination and in fundamental rights is not confined to Asia and Africa but extends to all areas of the world.

10. The upsurge of nationalism in the Arab world is a matter of which we have become fully aware today. We must realize now that Arab nationalism can no longer be contained, whether by internal or external forces. The rest of the world must allow it to find its own expression and to reach its own goals in its unimpeded way. At the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, all the Arab States demonstrated their capability to find an agreed formula to solve the differences that exist within the same family, the Arab nation. It is our belief that, left to themselves, without outside interference, the States of the great Arab nation will, through deeds, give reality to the words of their joint resolution which all of us so enthusiastically and unanimously supported [resolution 1237 (ES-III)], thus further promoting the orderly political, economic and social progress which we all wish for the whole Arab nation.

11. In the Arab world, as well as in the other under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, there is a growing desire for political progress to be matched by equally rapid economic development which could lead to the social uplift of the masses. The United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council and the various specialized agencies, has done excellent work in assisting economic development in these countries; but more needs to be done. However, as a general principle, we hold the view that assistance from outside, in whatever form, must only be given in order to reinforce and sustain the constructive

character of nationalism in these countries. It cannot supplant it in any way, however subtle.

12. Much has been said in this Assembly, as well as outside it, of the desire of well-developed, industrialized countries, especially the great Powers, to assist under-developed countries to improve their economic status. Many and varied are the proposals made but, on analysis, they all have one thing in common; that is, that the under-developed countries must show what they themselves can do, and that they desire to be helped. Against this background, the Government of the Federation of Malaya finds it impossible to reconcile what is professed by well-developed countries, especially the great Powers, with what they actually practise.

13. As is well known, the International Tin Agreement was designed to balance supply and demand of tin so as to hold the price of tin within a range between the floor price of £730 a ton to a ceiling price of £890 a ton. It was agreed by both consumers and producers of tin that this price range was fair. It was fair to the producers because, by guaranteeing a fair price for their produce, they could plan with more certainty not only the future of the tin industry, but also their economic planning as a whole. It was fair to the consumers because the existence of a buffer stock would ensure constant supply of tin for their factories, and the presence of a stable price range would make costs more constant and consistent.

14. The International Tin Agreement is one form of price stabilization which has always been advocated as one solution to help under-developed countries to better their economic status. That Agreement is a good manifestation of the effort made by under-developed countries to help themselves because the initiative for its introduction was taken by them, and my country, as one of the great producers, played a prominent part. And yet, hardly had the Agreement begun to work, when one great Power, the Soviet Union, began to wreck it. By dumping tin on the market the Soviet Union did two things. First, it sold its tin at a price which it would not have dreamt of getting if the buffer stock had not supported the price of tin. In other words, the Soviet Union, a great Power, was selling tin at a price subsidized by the under-developed countries. Secondly, it broke the floor price, because its consistent dumping exhausted the financial resources of the buffer stock manager and thus defeated the objective of the International Tin Agreement.

15. The international tin restrictions have necessitated the closing of mines in the producing countries, with concomitant unemployment. The breach in the floor price as a result of the Russian dumping of tin on the market would further aggravate the situation. More mines will have to be closed and the number of workers losing their employment will increase.

16. I suggest that the Soviet Union should alleviate the harm done to the under-developed countries which have been affected by calling a halt to its present destructive manoeuvres on the tin market, or, better still, by buying back those tons of tin which it has unloaded—thereby proving its regret by deeds and making itself worthy of being called the great Power that it actually is.

17. It is the view of my delegation that international peace and security can be maintained only under con-

ditions of economic stability and healthy growth. It is further the view of my delegation that the more developed Members of this Organization, particularly the advanced industrial countries which are the principal importers of primary commodities, have a duty to participate closely in international efforts at long-term stabilization of primary commodity prices. Such a participation would be in the mutual interests of both producer and consumer countries, and would contribute in great measure to the reduction of the unfortunate economic imbalance which has characterized post-war world economic growth and international trade.

18. However, it must be firmly pointed out that many, if not all, of the less developed countries prefer to participate in fair trade rather than to depend upon economic aid. Thus, to take advantage of a current drop in primary commodity prices, which results from the unusually large amounts of primary commodities that have been off-loaded onto the world market, without giving serious consideration to the disastrous economic, human and indeed political effects such tactics would have on producer countries, is actually to contribute in no small measure towards the creation of conditions of political and social instability in the world which, in turn, would ultimately lead to the paying of a greater price in seeking a solution.

19. It is our earnest hope that through economic co-operation between the more industrialized countries and the economically under-developed ones, through pooling of our resources in human and material terms, and through the application of modern scientific and technical knowledge and know-how, we shall be able to usher in a new era of economic prosperity and stability, thus laying the foundation for an enduring world peace.

20. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Many of the representatives who have spoken before me have rightly observed that the present session of the General Assembly should play an important part in the preservation and strengthening of world peace. It is natural that this gathering should be the focus of attention for all mankind, which is basing great hopes upon it and is expecting that specific decisions will be taken to promote peace. We have no right to disappoint these hopes.

21. This General Assembly has on its agenda a number of important and topical questions which must be solved. Among the outstanding international problems which are agitating the peoples of the world the most important are those of the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, the reduction of armaments, armed forces and military budgets, and the removal of the threat of a new world war created by the aggressive actions of the United States in the Far East. If these problems are to be solved, the United Nations must display a spirit of mutual understanding and practical co-operation, mutual respect and trust in its deliberations, for what the peoples of the world need is not a balancing on the brink of war, an armaments race and the stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs, but peace and tranquillity.

22. My delegation listened carefully to the speech made by Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of

State, on 18 September 1958 [749th meeting]. In his speech Mr. Dulles referred among other things to events in the Far East. He attempted to make it seem that the situation in the Taiwan area has a basis of legality. Mr. Dulles sees this legality in the fact that Taiwan and the off-shore islands have been under the authority of the followers of Chiang Kai-shek for the past nine years, and not under that of the People's Republic of China. Mr. Dulles apparently forgets that Taiwan and the off-shore islands are a part of China, of the great People's Republic of China.

23. United States statesmen have at various times recognized Taiwan to be an inalienable part of China. On 6 January 1950, for example, Mr. Truman, the then President of the United States, said: "...for the past four years the United States and the other allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island". These words confirm that at that time the United States recognized that Taiwan and the off-shore islands lawfully belonged to the People's Republic of China. Everyone knows that were it not for American intervention, the islands of the Taiwan region would long since have rejoined the People's Republic of China.

24. Mr. Dulles mentioned here that the United States was seeking a prompt cease-fire in the Taiwan Strait. The idea of a cease-fire is being given increasing prominence in speeches by United States political and military leaders as well as in the American Press. Mr. Dulles attempted to present matters here as though the Government of the People's Republic of China was opposed to a cease-fire in the Taiwan Strait. But who, may I ask, is using force there, who has seized Taiwan and the off-shore islands and who is threatening the Chinese mainland with war? It is none other than the United States which has seized those islands, is threatening the Chinese mainland with war and is refusing to leave the islands. It is the forces of Chiang Kai-shek urged on by the United States military command which should cease fire. In the face of the incessant threats and provocations from the off-shore islands the People's Republic of China has every right to protect its territory and the security of its people.

25. In their statements only yesterday, Mr. Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary [758th meeting], and Mr. Smith, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada [759th meeting], defended the dangerous policy of the United States in the Far East and, accusing the People's Republic of China of using force, also called for a cease-fire. But why did they say nothing when the United States seized these islands? Why did they say nothing when the forces of Chiang Kai-shek were systematically shelling Chinese towns and villages in the coastal regions of China or when Chiang Kai-shek's warships were piratically attacking the merchant vessels of the People's Republic of China and other countries? At that time they kept silence, but now they manifest touching concern for the followers of Chiang Kai-shek.

26. The question arises, why are these false appeals for a cease-fire being made? They are being made because the United States and its allies wish to lead the world to believe that the People's Republic of China is at war with the United States. But we all know that the People's Republic of China is not at war with the United States. An internal conflict is taking place in China in which no one has the right

to intervene. To put an end to that conflict it is essential that United States intervention in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of China should cease and that the United States Government should instruct its armed forces in the Taiwan region to desist from military intervention in that conflict and let the Chinese decide their own domestic affairs.

27. The policy of dictation and blackmail conducted by the United States State Department with regard to the People's Republic of China runs counter to the true interests of the American people. This was admitted by Mr. Acheson, the former United States Secretary of State, who said that it was not true that the fate of Formosa, far less that of the off-shore islands, vitally affected the interests of the United States. Mr. Dulles' assertion that the defence of these islands is in the interests of United States security is false.

28. Mr. Casey, Minister for External Affairs of Australia, claimed in his speech yesterday [759th meeting] that the Government of the People's Republic of China was disturbing peace and tranquillity in the Far East. He also alleged that the Government of the People's Republic of China was creating the possibility of war. Mr. Casey has put things entirely the wrong way round. The facts themselves are quite different.

29. Chiang Kai-shek's whole army has been brought to a state of battle readiness. On instructions from the United States military command, Chiang Kai-shek has sent one-third of his armed forces from Taiwan to the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. The reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan is systematically making provocative attacks on the territory of the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek's forces are shelling a number of towns and settlements on the coast of China from batteries set up on the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek, the United States puppet, is continually threatening to land on the mainland with his armed forces. It is well known, too, that the United States has concentrated large naval and air forces and marine detachments off the coast of the People's Republic of China. These facts are irrefutable.

30. But it is useless for the ruling circles in the United States to try to slow down the great movement of the Chinese people towards socialism, useless for them to plan to restore their lost domination in China. The Chiang Kai-shek clique can only rule the roost in Taiwan for a short time. By sabre-rattling, provocations and threats the United States militarists think to intimidate the peoples of Asia, but these attempts are doomed to failure.

31. The message dated 19 September 1958 from Mr. Khrushchev, Head of the Government of the Soviet Union, to Mr. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, states the following:

"Those who harbor plans of an atomic attack on the People's Republic of China should not forget that the other side too has atomic and hydrogen weapons and the appropriate means to deliver them and, if the People's Republic of China falls victim to such an attack, the aggressor will at once get rebuff by the same means..."

"We have a treaty of friendship, alliance and mu-

tual assistance with the great friend, ally and neighbour of our country, a treaty meeting the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, the interests of peace, and may no one doubt that we shall completely honor our commitments."

The Government of the United States should heed these words and consider all the circumstances before taking any action which might lead the world to a catastrophe.

32. The Government of the People's Republic of China demands quite legitimately that the United States should and its intervention in China's domestic affairs and withdraw its fleet from the Taiwan Strait and that United States soldiers should leave Taiwan and go home to America.

33. The Chinese people have law and justice on their side. They have the sympathy and support of all who sincerely want peace. The Byelorussian people fully and whole-heartedly support the policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China in this matter and demand that the United States Government withdraw its armed forces from the Taiwan region.

34. As is known, the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, which examined the question of the withdrawal of United States troops from Lebanon and of British troops from Jordan, adopted unanimously a resolution [1237 (ES-III)] requesting the Secretary-General to begin consultations immediately with the States concerned with a view to the early withdrawal of those troops from Lebanon and Jordan. The unanimous adoption of that resolution was an important step towards easing tension in the Near and Middle East. The peoples of the whole world are following the implementation of the General Assembly's decisions with the closest attention.

35. We know from the Press that the Secretary-General has had talks with the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Lebanon and Jordan, but the results are as yet unknown. It has been reported that the Government of Jordan has refused to ask for the withdrawal of British troops from its territory, referring to a mythical threat to Jordan's independence from neighbouring Arab States. Seizing this pretext, the United Kingdom Government is delaying the withdrawal of its troops.

36. Although in his speech from this rostrum Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, spoke of the situation in the Near and Middle East, he did not, unfortunately, give us any explanation why the United States Government was not carrying out the resolution adopted at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly on the withdrawal of United States troops from Lebanon. Today we have to register the fact that United States and British troops have not yet been withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan. Nor is it known when they will be withdrawn.

37. We listened yesterday to a statement by Mr. Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, who complained that someone was threatening Jordan. He did not, however, say who it was. He also spoke of some new circumstances or other which had arisen in that country. It is clear that Mr. Lloyd had to say those things in order to justify to the world the fact that Britain has still not withdrawn its troops from Jordan despite the resolution adopted unanimously on 21 August 1958.

Mr. Lloyd also made references to the Secretary-General and his forthcoming report. 1/ We are awaiting that report with great interest, but it would have been better if Mr. Lloyd, instead of hiding behind the Secretary-General, had given us the time-table for the withdrawal of British troops from Jordan. That, however, he did not do.

38. We see that the ruling circles in the United States, the United Kingdom and France have not abandoned their true aim—the suppression of the national liberation movement in the Near and Middle East; this has been convincingly shown by recent events in this region. The war waged by the French colonizers against the Algerian people, the bombing of the territory of Yemen and Oman by British aircraft, the acts of terrorism against the people of Cyprus and other events indicate that the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France are stopping at nothing to maintain their colonial rule in Asia and Africa. The General Assembly cannot overlook these facts.

39. I will now go on to the problem of disarmament which continues to be the focus of world attention. In his statement on 18 September [750th meeting], Mr. Gromyko, the Chairman of the Soviet delegation, submitted a memorandum of the Soviet Government on measures in the field of disarmament [A/3929] for discussion by the General Assembly. The memorandum recommends that the General Assembly should first and foremost discuss and adopt appropriate decisions on the following questions: first, the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests; secondly, the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space; thirdly, the reduction of the military budgets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and France by 10 to 15 per cent and the use of part of the savings so effected for assistance to the under-developed countries.

40. The Soviet proposals set forth in the memorandum have one aim: to rid mankind of further wars and to relieve the peoples of the heavy burden of taxation imposed on them by the continuing arms race. The Soviet proposals touch on the most vital questions which are of profound concern to all the peoples of the world.

41. My delegation would like to draw particular attention to the need for an immediate and general discontinuance of all atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. As is well known, the solution of this problem now depends entirely on the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom which have not only refused to follow the generous example set by the Soviet Union in unilaterally discontinuing all hydrogen and atomic weapons tests with effect from 31 March 1958, but, on the contrary, have increased the rate of nuclear testing still further. This year the United States exploded a series of atomic and hydrogen bombs of unprecedented force in the Pacific. Even now, as this thirteenth session of the General Assembly is being held, United States nuclear bombs are still being exploded in Nevada, and British bombs in

the Pacific. On 20 September 1958, The New York Times reported that the United States had conducted 112 officially announced nuclear tests since 1945. It can be seen, however, that the ruling circles in the United States consider even this insufficient. In defiance of all mankind they are seeking to avoid the settlement of the question of the immediate discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests by all countries, by advancing various artificial pretexts and reservations. In these circumstances, the General Assembly cannot remain indifferent. It must call upon the United States and the United Kingdom to put an end to atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, which constitute a great hazard to human life and health throughout the world.

42. Another important issue of the day is the question of the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes and the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries.

43. The achievements of Soviet scientists in the conquest of outer space have once and for all shattered the illusions of those who nursed the hope that the territory of the United States was out of reach and invulnerable. It should be noted that the United States has hundreds of military bases in foreign countries for use against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We therefore consider that the attempts by the United States to separate the question of the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes from a solution of the problem of the elimination of foreign military bases can only be regarded as an endeavour to obtain certain strategic advantages.

44. In the present situation we must find a solution which will ensure the security of the United States, the Soviet Union and other States to an equal degree. Such a solution is indicated in the Soviet Union's proposal for the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space. The Byelorussian delegation supports this important and timely proposal.

45. As you see, the Soviet Union has submitted a number of new proposals at this session aimed at a very rapid solution of the disarmament problem. But what has the United States proposed on its side? In his speech from this rostrum Mr. Dulles did not put forward any proposals to facilitate the solution of the disarmament problem but merely repeated the old American notion that what is most important is arms control. With all this talk of control the United States delegation is attempting to lead the United Nations as far away from the disarmament problem as possible and thus conceal the continuing arms race in general and the atomic and hydrogen weapons race in particular. This arms race has now reached monstrous proportions in the United States.

46. For example, the United States Government has appropriated the enormous sum of \$46,000 million for military purpose for the 1959 financial year which began on 1 July 1958. Of each dollar of budgetary expenditure sixty-four cents is earmarked for military purposes. Military expenditure in the United States will cost every man, woman and child \$427.86 for the year. This is in fact the largest military budget the United States has ever had in peacetime.

47. On 14 May 1957, the French newspaper Le Monde,

1/ Subsequently distributed as document A/3934/Rev.1.

referring to a statement by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, pointed out that:

"The Eisenhower administration can without doubt be regarded as having broken every taxation record since the country's earliest beginnings... In less than five years... the Eisenhower administration has collected \$373,000 million in taxes... From the time of the George Washington administration up to and including the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, the total sum collected in taxes amounted to \$244,100 million".

48. I invite you to ponder over these figures. In the past five years one and a half times as much has been collected in taxes as in the 156 years' existence of the United States up to 1945.

49. Accordingly, the Soviet Union's proposal for a reduction of 10 to 15 per cent in the military budgets of States, and in the first instance of the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom and France, and for the allocation of part of the savings so effected for broad economic assistance to the under-developed countries is more than timely.

50. Nor can we close our eyes to the evidence of a continuing ideological preparation for a war of aggression. United States generals and admirals are actively preaching the theory of preventive war, i.e., that the United States should strike first. They say: "Let us not wait, let us shoot first". The magazine U.S. News & World Report published an article on 13 December 1957, by Captain Puleston, a former head of United States Naval Intelligence, entitled "Should U.S. ever strike first blow?" The author called for a policy of preventive war. "The time in history is past", wrote Puleston, "when this nation can afford to let the enemy deliver the first blow". The author attempts to prove that if the United States attacked first it would not be in violation of international law.

51. Everyone is aware of the anger and indignation with which the peoples of the world greeted the report that United States aircraft carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs had repeatedly carried out flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union. These flights by United States bombers carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, unprecedented in peacetime, constitute a provocation dangerous to international security.

52. I should like to draw attention in this connexion to a book entitled SAC. Strategic Air Command, published in the United States by a certain Richard Hubler. It reports that bombers crews have practised bombing American towns, the topography of which is more or less like that of Stalingrad and Magnitogorsk. So, United States airmen are learning to bomb cities like Stalingrad, the very same Stalingrad in which Soviet fighting men in a mortal clash with the Fascist-Hitlerite army decided the fate not only of their Motherland, but of all mankind. It is time to stop these inflammatory statements and provocative acts.

53. Our task is to make the necessary effort to find ways of breaking the present deadlock in the problem of disarmament, which is of vital importance for the peoples of the world. The next move must be made not by the Soviet Union but by the United States, which must show a spirit of co-operation in this matter.

54. At previous sessions the Byelorussian delegation has repeatedly pointed out that the revival of German

militarism created a serious threat of war in Europe. The particular danger to peace of the remilitarization of West Germany is the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany is the only European State whose Government is striving to have the frontiers in Europe changed. Remilitarization and incitement to revanche are creating a highly tense situation in Europe and preventing the calm and businesslike examination of the proposals which the USSR has put forward for restoring the situation in Europe to normal. Being one of Germany's closest neighbours, the Byelorussian people cannot remain indifferent to the remilitarization of West Germany in which the Adenauer Government is now engaged.

55. Thirteen years after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, West Germany is becoming a force which threatens peace and security. The extensive militarization of the Federal Republic of Germany and the building of a new aggressive army with the active support of the United States and the United Kingdom are being carried out in an atmosphere of revived nazism and desire for revanche. The Allied law dissolving and banning the National Socialist Party has very recently been repealed in the Federal Republic of Germany. Militaristic, revanche-inspired and pro-Nazi literature is widely disseminated on the book market of the Federal Republic and this has become quite normal. This literature, which we examine rather thoroughly, sings the praises of the attack by Hitlerite Germany on the USSR, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and Greece.

56. Former Nazis are to be found in all spheres of public life in West Germany and they hold important positions in many government institutions in the Federal Republic. Monopolists and bankers who helped Hitler to seize power twenty-five years ago and then supplied him with arms for his predatory war against the peoples of Europe are again dominant in the West Germany economy. Suffice it to mention Krupp, Stinnes, Flick, the banker Pferdmenges and other war criminals who now occupy key positions in West Germany economy and finance.

57. The Adenauer Government is devoting great attention to the remilitarization of West Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany already has armed forces considerably surpassing the Reichswehr of the Weimar Republic in numbers and equipment. Direct military expenditure under the 1958-1959 budget will amount to more than 10,000 million marks. By the end of 1958 the strength of the Bundeswehr will be 230,000 men, including 114 generals, 22,000 field officers, and 68,000 non-commissioned officers. I have quoted only official figures given by the Adenauer Government. Seven of the divisions established have been put under the command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Most important, however, the armed forces now being created are regarded merely as a framework on which a large army can be built up at any time.

58. A serious danger to peace is the fact that on 25 March 1958 the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany enacted legislation in the Bundestag giving it the right in effect to begin equipping the Bundeswehr with atomic and hydrogen weapons on a practical basis. On 2 April 1958, the Daily Mirror reported that Strauss, the Minister of Defence

of the Federal Republic of Germany, told Crossman, a British Labour Member of Parliament, during an interview, that if other countries, in particular France, manufactured their own hydrogen bombs, Germany might very possibly be forced to do so too. No one today can doubt the real nature of this danger.

59. The decision to arm the West German army with atomic weapons and the plans to manufacture these weapons are particularly dangerous in that these weapons of mass destruction are being put in the hands of the aggressive forces which unleashed the Second World War—hands which are stained with the blood of tens of millions of people.

60. The peoples of Europe, who experienced all the horrors of invasion by the Hitlerite armies, now see who is pushing West Germany onto the disastrous path of atomic armament. It is now clear to all that the United States is actively reviving German militarism, the mortal enemy of the European peoples.

61. The Byelorussian people has no hostility towards the German people. Like all the peace-loving peoples of Europe, the Byelorussians wish to live in peace with the German people and want to see Germany a single, peace-loving and truly democratic State. That is why we welcome the important initiative taken by the Government of the German Democratic Republic which reflects its concern for the national interests of the German people. The establishment of a commission composed of representatives of the USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France to carry out consultations on the preparation of a peace treaty, as proposed by the German Democratic Republic, would considerably speed up the conclusion of such a treaty and would further the settlement of the German problem.

62. The prime responsibility for the tension existing in international relations rests with the aggressive circles in the United States and the United Kingdom. They are reluctant to take into account the historic changes which have taken place in Europe and Asia since the Second World War. They seek to deny the right of peoples to arrange their lives as they themselves think fit. Moreover, the United States ruling circles are striving by all possible means to implement this policy which is contrary to the United Nations Charter. I cannot pass over Mr. Dulles' statement in the general debate to the effect that "the United States, as one of the so-called great Powers, continues to stand ready to dedicate that power to world order" [749th meeting, para. 84]. United States statesmen cannot give up this idée fixe which openly proclaims their country's aggressive foreign policy. At one time they used to say that the United States had a mission to rule the world; now they assert that their country must maintain world order.

63. But what does this United States foreign policy of maintaining world order openly proclaimed from this rostrum by Mr. Dulles mean in practice? It is a frank admission that the United States intends to continue to intervene in the domestic affairs of other States. Yesterday the United States and the United Kingdom sent their troops into Lebanon and Jordan, apparently in the name of maintaining world order; today United States armed forces are being concentrated in the Far East; tomorrow United States ruling circles will deem it necessary to restore order somewhere else: we do not as yet know where. All this poisons the

international atmosphere and leads to tension in relations between States.

64. At this grave moment of history the peoples of the world want peace, not war. The peoples of the Soviet Union, in particular the Byelorussian people, who are directing all their efforts into constructive labour, ardently desire peace.

65. On 1 January 1959, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic will celebrate its fortieth anniversary. This day is a great historic date in the life of the Byelorussian people. The Byelorussian SSR was only able to attain its statehood through the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Over the years of Soviet rule the Byelorussian SSR has become a flourishing industrial and collective-farm Republic.

66. The Byelorussian SSR is devoting great effort to the widest possible economic, technical and cultural co-operation with other countries. Many Byelorussian State and public organizations are establishing international cultural relations by exchanging delegations and periodicals, arranging exhibitions of various kinds and sending representatives to various international congresses, festivals, and the like. In 1956 and 1957 alone more than 130 foreign parliamentary, public, trade-union, cultural and other delegations as well as thousands of tourists from foreign countries visited the Byelorussian SSR. All foreign delegations were given every opportunity to learn about the economic and cultural development of Byelorussia and the life of its people. In their turn a considerable number of Byelorussian workers visited the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, Italy, Finland, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia and other countries. In its international intercourse the Byelorussian SSR is invariably guided by the principles of friendship and peace among peoples and broad international co-operation.

67. The growth of the peace-loving forces struggling to avert war is having a great and beneficial effect upon the whole international situation and inspires hope and faith in a better future for mankind. Millions of people warmly support the idea of peaceful negotiations at the very highest level, as proposed by the Soviet Government.

68. At this session, as you will have noticed, a bitter struggle is going on between the forces of peace and the forces of war. The peoples of all countries are following this struggle attentively, expecting the General Assembly to heed the warning voice of the peace-loving countries and to take effective steps to avert war. Our Organization cannot be turned into an instrument for the encouragement of aggression.

69. The Byelorussian delegation considers that it is possible for important decisions aimed at strengthening peace and the security of peoples to be adopted within the United Nations, provided, of course, that all countries strive for agreement and that the United Nations Charter is strictly observed.

70. We have a number of examples of the unanimous adoption of resolutions by the General Assembly on a wide range of questions. We must see to it that the United Nations effectively contributes to the peaceful solution of international disputes on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples, as proclaimed in the Charter. The peoples of the whole

world expect the united Nations to adopt effective and constructive measures to strengthen international peace and security. Hundreds of millions of people believe and hope that there will be a relaxation of international tension. It is our duty to heed the voice of the peoples; to prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons and remove the threat of a new war.

71. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses confidence that the General Assembly will do its duty in the matter of removing the threat of a new world war and relaxing tension in international relations.

72. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Mr. President, may I be permitted to express to you the sincere congratulations of the Portuguese delegation on your election—a well-deserved tribute to your personal merits and ability and to your wide experience in the work of this Organization.

73. I should also like to take this opportunity to recall with grateful admiration the great services rendered by the outgoing President, Sir Leslie Munro, who presided with such diligence, wisdom and distinction over the twelfth session and the third emergency special session of the General Assembly.

74. Once again, we are meeting in this yearly event, the regular session of the General Assembly. None of us would underrate the importance or doubt the extreme usefulness of such an event. Faced as mankind is today with numerous and most intricate problems, including the supreme problem of its own survival, problems whose complexities and difficulties seem inexorably to increase only to challenge man's ingenuity, it is proper and logical and most necessary that the nations of the world, large and small, should meet together regularly in this forum.

75. By doing so, we learn more about one another, about one another's history, aspirations, economic possibilities, social structure and institutions. That, by itself, is a tremendous advantage, considering that nations are complex realities and that we all need to know each other well in order to work in common, in the fields in which we are able to work, if we want to solve the problems of our epoch. But, above all, each one of us, representing that overwhelming majority of Governments sincerely seeking the ways of peace and harmony not only for themselves but for others, is only too glad to fulfil here, despite the shortcomings of the Organization, the commitment to debate, conscientiously and selflessly, in accordance with the high purposes and principles of the Charter, all those problems connected with the main aspiration of all the peoples of the world—to see that mankind survives, with the civilization it was able to create, in an ambience of human solidarity and of peace inspired by justice.

76. It has already been indicated by previous speakers that, as expected, we are meeting in this session with three main problems in mind—the situation in the Far East, the situation in the Middle East, and the problem of disarmament. They are the paramount problems of the moment, interlinked as they are with peace itself.

77. It is characteristic of this difficult period through which the world is passing that no sooner have signs of hope appeared on the international horizon in regard to the most immediate problems of the Middle East than dark clouds have again gathered over the Far

East, in the Formosa Strait bringing with them a new and most serious crises. For weeks we have witnessed there the clash of deep antagonisms, the expression of mutual threats and the open exercise of violence—now the unfortunate but usual pattern in a world which with good reason fears the atomic holocaust but at the same time is seemingly unable to restrain itself from actions that might bring about this tragedy.

78. The Portuguese delegation believes it to be indispensable that this new crisis, like any other, should be faced calmly, and that no efforts should be spared to ensure its peaceful solution. We therefore consider the conversations now taking place in Warsaw to be a step in the right direction. We also consider that, while they are proceeding, they should not be disturbed or interfered with by outsiders. Therefore, it can hardly be the time for us here to enter into a discussion of the merits of the dispute. On the other hand, it can do no harm and it can cause no resentment on the part of those most directly concerned if I state that Portugal, as a Member of the United Nations and as a country which always has the interests of peace at heart, earnestly hopes that an early cease-fire will be established in the area and that the use of force will be entirely discarded in the settlement of the present crisis.

79. As regards the Middle East, the emergency special session which was convened to deliberate on the serious difficulties which has arisen in that area ended its work only a few weeks ago on a most welcome note of hope and relief. A well-balanced, conciliatory and constructive resolution [1237 (ES-III)], sponsored by those very countries which were most closely involved in the difficulties, had been unanimously adopted. It was a great and inspiring occasion for this Organization since the resolution sought a United Nations solution—that is, a peaceful solution—was inspired by the most important United Nations principles and was to be implemented in large measure with the assistance of the disinterested efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

80. My delegation is now awaiting with deep interest and concern—feelings which I am sure are shared by other delegations—the report of the Secretary-General on the difficult mission entrusted to him. It is almost certain that he has met with difficulties, as might have been expected, considering the unavoidable differences of opinion which exist. Then, too, we know that patience and time are always required to resolve any conflict, even when all the parties concerned—as I am certain is the case here—are working within a framework of good faith. However, we confidently hope that we shall hear from the Secretary-General that, even if no definite settlement of the difficulties is immediately at hand, strong foundations have at least been laid or can be laid for providing an early and practical implementation of all the aims of the resolution. With the political situation thus improved, great prospects would be opened up for the economic and social development of the countries of the area, a point mentioned by so many of us in the debate during the third emergency special session. It is therefore of paramount importance for those countries and also for world peace that the high hopes expressed in the General Assembly when it unanimously voted the resolution should not meet with disappointment.

81. We all know the mixed feelings of hope and des-

pair with which, for many years now, the peoples of the world have been watching the protracted disarmament deadlock. No other problem today is more directly associated with the road that humanity must follow if peace is to be maintained and consolidated. We also know the tremendous difficulties in the way of obtaining a full or even a partial agreement on disarmament, mainly on account of the strength and the policies of expansion of one of the big Powers.

82. Confronted by a growing empire, many nations of the world, including my own, were compelled to unite their forces to stem its expansion, as their own civilization, integrity and independence were by then most seriously threatened. Such an action for self-defence was not new in history and was a natural one. What we have to accept as new in history is that, through the subsequent arms race and the spectacular technical progress made in nuclear weapons, mankind has now the means to destroy itself. There exists, therefore, a potentially pre-apocalyptic situation afflicting all the peoples of the world.

83. Unfortunately for all of us, if such is to be the general pattern, we have not yet reached what could be an accepted nuclear stalemate, which would render impracticable a third world war. This, I believe, will only come about when no firing of weapons of total destruction can take place without, in the same split second, unleashing a no less total and destructive retaliation. Such a situation may still be technically a long, long way off. Meanwhile, we all have to live with an immediate fear—the fear of a surprise attack.

84. We are convinced that the present situation cannot possibly be prolonged forever. Even Russian leadership, despite certain technical developments where it claims momentary advantages, is by now probably starting to realize—and we hope that if it has to realize it slowly, at least it will also realize it steadily—how impracticable it would be, in terms of the survival of their own country, to continue attempts to enlarge their influence through military means. Furthermore, the call from human conscience is too strong to be unheeded indefinitely. The peoples of the world are suffering; their minds and nerves are continually disturbed by international crises, the gravity of which is too often exaggerated by some for propaganda and political purposes. All the less developed countries are rightly eager for their economic and social development, and there is an ever deeper realization that a reduction of military expenses, which at present are crushing economies, would be of tremendous assistance in the development, progress and social well-being of the world populations.

85. The free peoples of the world are longing, because of these facts, for a military agreement, but they obviously cannot accept any agreement that would mean for them surrender and servitude. They are eager for disarmament, but they want disarmament with self-preservation, disarmament with security. And in this resolve they are adamant.

86. Few instances exist in the history of man in which the human mind has shown itself more fertile than in the search made by the Western Powers, during the past years, for a formula which would bring disarmament with security and which would be acceptable to the Soviet leaders. Such efforts, which no doubt will

be pursued relentlessly, have, unfortunately, so far shown no results, due, we believe, to three main reasons: first, Soviet unwillingness to balance with the Western Powers certain military advantages which it possesses as a result of its geographical position and that of the countries which it dominates; secondly, Soviet unwillingness to discard some trump cards which it holds illegally—for example, the continuance of the Hungarian tragedy and the forced and unjust division of Germany; thirdly, Soviet weaknesses in confidence-credit, a kind of credit which it has largely dissipated through its attitudes and policies in the pre-war and post-war periods.

87. All this, together with other aspects, makes imperative the realization that the crux of the whole problem of disarmament is the establishment of effective systems of inspection and control, if it is to be, as it must be, disarmament with security.

88. Recent months have shown some progress on certain problems connected with the central problem of disarmament. In the words of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles, "a significant breakthrough" was made at Geneva on the arms control front, after the successful conclusion of the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests; and there is hope that a substantive agreement may now be negotiated. There are also expectations that other technical studies on atomic fall-out and on measures to reduce the dangers of surprise attack may be undertaken.

89. All this can be perhaps considered as the first rays of hope in what the Secretary-General calls "marginal approaches" to the central problem of disarmament itself. While not wishing prematurely to raise our hopes too high, we certainly welcome those developments with a renewed conviction that the difficulties encountered on the path towards disarmament with security will sooner or later, and through constant efforts, be overcome; for such is the moral mandate that all Governments, without any exclusion, have received from their peoples.

90. Another problem which we would like to mention in this general debate is that of indirect aggression in its most modern manifestation of inflammatory broadcasting. As I said previously during the third emergency special session of the Assembly, my delegation would welcome the study, or the continuance of studies, by this Organization of such a question. We consider it a deleterious activity in which some, in different parts of the world, are indulging, and therefore the studies should be of a general character and not made only in regard to a particular area. The hope of peace would undoubtedly be greatly strengthened if, through the efforts and work of our Organization, ways and means could be devised to prevent the use of the radio to spread hatred and stimulate unrest and civil strife among peoples of other countries. All this agitation and all these attempts at subversion, from which my country has not escaped, is making a pure mockery of the commitment inscribed in our Charter that nations should live as good neighbours. It is therefore a problem the solution of which requires new and urgent efforts.

91. I now turn to a problem which we consider also of paramount importance. I wish to refer to the efforts

which have been made and are being made to bring about the betterment of living conditions in many parts of the world. In the opinion of my delegation, the progress and development of less developed countries is a vital issue, and represents a challenge which must be met with determination in order to defeat poverty, to combat disease, to eliminate unrest, to further human solidarity among peoples and nations, and to make available to all the benefits of science and of technology.

92. It is, however, certain that material and economic progress will not by itself solve all the problems confronting us today. Moral and spiritual values also have to play their full part, and no effort should be spared to enlighten peoples and to defend them against subversive propaganda which, although utilizing the same words and slogans many times, puts into them an entirely different connotation, thus trying to foster purposes far remote from their real meaning, and which are designed merely to strengthen the economic and political power of some countries.

93. But in counteracting such propaganda, it is essential that we should not lose sight of the other side of the picture. No successful or all-embracing policy is possible if it does not meet all the needs of the peoples. An active and relentless drive has to be pursued in all directions, so as to improve living standards and social and economic conditions generally in all less developed areas of the world. But to achieve this high purpose we must bear in mind that wide international co-operation is of the essence, and that the good will, generosity and understanding of those in a position to help are as necessary as a sense of responsibility, the efforts to provide good administration, the will power to work seriously and to stand on one's feet. These are factors essential on the part of those who are in need of help. Only thus may we be sure that any help rendered will be independent of economic and political servitudes.

94. Only thus, through close and wide international co-operation, can we hope gradually to narrow the gap existing between the developed and less developed nations, which otherwise could still be widened as the rate of economic development in an advanced country tends to be higher than in a less advanced country. Without that co-operation, such would be the situation, and we would have to resign ourselves to the thought that no speedy advancement would be possible in less developed areas. I am sure that all of us firmly reject this view.

95. But while working vigorously and to the utmost for the development of international aid, through bilateral and multilateral agreements, and also through this Organization and its specialized agencies and regional bodies, it would however be reasonable always to bear in mind, in order to try to avoid as much as possible having hopes become illusory, that private capital and recourse to it continue to play a most important part in the development of the world's wealth.

96. It is true that private capital will always require guarantees and compensations. But we believe that they do not necessarily need to affect the full sovereign power of self-determination of Governments, a right which we are the first to claim, and it is therefore difficult to understand why Governments, which have to

satisfy the immediate needs of peoples, should not sometimes forget ideologies and political dissention and try to assure to private capital those guarantees which might be considered appropriate.

97. I can assure the Assembly that my country, for its part, will not shrink from its duties towards the international community and will not fail, within its available resources, to lend its contribution to the strengthening and furtherance of international co-operation in order to achieve an increasingly speedy improvement of existing situations in less developed countries. Within the framework of the United Nations, its technical assistance programme and its specialized agencies, as well as through other inter-governmental regional organizations, of which we are also members, Portugal will discharge its responsibilities, always bearing in mind the paramount interest of the populations concerned.

98. This leads me to refer very briefly to the Economic Commission for Africa. As we may recall, at the twelfth session of the General Assembly a resolution was adopted recommending to the Economic and Social Council the establishment of an Economic Commission for Africa [resolution 1155 (XII)]. Portugal voted in favour of that resolution and we followed with close attention the discussions on the subject at the twenty-sixth session of the Council. We believe that the text embodying the terms of reference of the Commission might be improved. But we raise no fundamental objections, and my Government is prepared to participate fully in the work of the Economic Commission for Africa. To this effect, a communication has just been addressed to the Secretary-General [E/3182]. We shall lend our sincere and ready support to its activities, and we believe that in the fulfilment of its mandate, the Commission may accomplish much useful work for the benefit of the continent of Africa, thus consolidating the path towards closer co-operation between Africa and Europe on the basis of equal partnership and mutual benefits. We believe, incidentally, that such co-operation is essential to bring about a great and firm prosperity and true independence for both continents, thereby strengthening the prospects of world peace.

99. Further in connexion with the Economic Commission for Africa, it is our understanding that this new creation of the United Nations will be guided in its activities strictly in accordance with non-political considerations, and will deal with the various subjects on that basis only. We believe that this is the best course of action to follow and that any deviation or departure therefrom may bring about the uselessness of the Commission, thus frustrating the high expectations which all of us are placing in the new body.

100. We also believe that much is to be gained by close co-operation between the Commission and the specialized agencies, and other international regional organizations, which for a long time now have been operating in the area and which have covered much of the ground also allocated to the Commission for Africa. In this context we noted the statement contained in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/3844/Add.1] suggesting that concerted governmental action has so far been almost untried in the continent of Africa.

101. This gives me the opportunity to recall that for ten years now close co-operation at the international

level, in respect of the technical and scientific aspects of economic advancement, has been carried out in Africa with very fruitful results, and I am sure that the above-mentioned passage would have been drafted differently had the necessary information been available. Such being the case, it would be disastrous, in the opinion of my delegation, if, out of considerations which bear no connexion with the actual needs, there would be duplication or overlapping of efforts. The problems are many, the field is large, the task ahead is great, and there is room enough for the work of all existing organizations without any of them trying to duplicate or to interfere unduly in the work of others.

102. We cannot afford to disperse our efforts through useless emulation and lack of co-ordination which in the end would merely be detrimental to the interests at stake. My delegation, however, has every hope that the same opinion is held by all concerned and that we all will do our utmost to carry out the common task ahead. For its part, my Government shall do its very best with this purpose in view. And certainly no one will doubt the sincerity of this purpose as the Portuguese nation has many of its overseas provinces located on the African continent.

103. In this frame of mind we should like to praise some recent developments on the international scene as regards regional programmes of technical assistance and economic development. I recall the programme for the Middle East, which is under consideration and which we would be the first to welcome if the countries concerned decide to push it forward. Our historical and friendly ties with the Arab world lead us to see with great satisfaction any plan which might bring about improvement and stability of conditions in the area.

104. We should also like to indicate our agreement with the Foreign Minister of Japan when he expressed the earnest hope a few days ago [749th meeting] that by positive co-operation among the countries concerned a fund for regional development would be established in South-East Asia at an early date. We believe that the proposal deserves praise and encouragement.

105. Last but not least, my delegation wishes to refer to the Pan-American Operation which was launched a few weeks ago. Its scope is vast and comprehensive and the Operation is conceived with vision on a statesmanlike scale. From the other side of the Atlantic we have hailed it with enthusiasm. To express our feelings towards the Pan-American Operation, my delegation can do nothing better than to quote parts of a message by Prime Minister of Portugal to the President of the Republic of Brazil:

"From this side of the Atlantic we cannot view with indifference, but with rejoicing, the position taken in regard to the values of civilization which are at stake and the intention to develop that continent in order not only to provide for a better defence of the areas which are of concern to the free world, but also to increase the contribution which the twenty-one Latin American countries may make to the general cause.

"If that great conglomeration of Western countries, the Latin American countries, could make their voice on world problems better heard, no one would view

this with more sympathy and enthusiasm than ourselves. Equally, we look forward with the greatest satisfaction to the economic and social development which constitutes the main objective of the large Pan-American operation".

106. Like our sister country and neighbour Spain, we maintain with all the Latin American nations specially close ties of deep friendship based on common values and common ideals. We all share the same traditions which, as the Foreign Minister of Argentina pointed out the other day in an impressive speech [751st meeting], emanate from Latin civilization and Christianity. This has given to all of us a distinct outlook and a universal understanding towards other peoples and nations and cultures.

107. May I now say a final word as regards Portugal. Political conditions at home have fortunately give the Portuguese nation a period of peace, renovation and economic growth. To be sure, much remains to be done and we are hard at work, using our own resources to see to it that we shall not lag behind in an advancing world. A first six-year plan will be completed by the end of the year; a new development plan for the whole of the nation is under way, scheduled to start in January 1959. It provides for investments of over \$1,000 million in six years, and we hope thereby gradually to increase the gross national product and generally improve living standards throughout the nation. The welfare of all sectors of the population is the Government's main concern, and through austerity, serious administration and hard work we shall strive to multiply the opportunities for all, thus fostering the advancement of all our various peoples. As a nation based on a multi-racial society, as a country whose structure allows for equal rights and duties, and which does not know any distinction based on social origin, race or creed of any of us, the Portuguese nation believes that above everything else there are the eternal values of human solidarity, equal partnership, social justice and the universality of man. These are our ideals and, as we see them, the ideals of the United Nations Charter. We shall always endeavour to live up to them.

108. Mr. UNDA MURILLO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): May I first convey to you, Mr. President, my delegation's congratulations on your election by the General Assembly. It is a well-deserved tribute to your personal qualities, as well as an expression of good will towards your country and an affirmation of faith in the United Nations.

109. Although a small country, Guatemala views the present arms race with deep concern. I shall not dwell on the alternatives that would face mankind if a war were precipitated in which atomic weapons were used. The Assembly's attention has already been drawn by authoritative speakers to the magnitude of the catastrophe which would ensue. In the interests of the very survival of the small nations, we are deeply anxious that the nuclear Powers should reach an agreement on the reduction of armaments at the earliest possible date since even in the unlikely event that we survived to see the tragic end of a war fought with nuclear weapons, in which we would be the heirs to a world in ruins, the annihilation of the human and physical resources of the most advanced nations would place us in the desperate position of being unable to make use of technical advances and material re-

sources to overcome our backwardness and enable our peoples to enjoy a high material, cultural and social standard of living.

110. In the interests of the advancement and happiness of small nations, it is essential that the great countries in which technology and science have attained their highest expression should continue along the path of progress, for without their help and effective co-operation States having only limited resources would never be able to take the tremendous strides necessary to enable their peoples to enjoy the just fruits of their labour in liberty in the not too distant future.

111. For this reason, the best way to solve world problems is to practise tolerance and adhere to the principles of the United Nations, which was created by the genius of man for the purpose of achieving lawful purposes without having to resort to force.

112. We think, therefore, that while there is undoubtedly some weight in the argument that fear of reprisals will act as a deterrent to aggression, that will not solve the problem. For that reason, we should like to draw the attention of all our sister nations throughout the world to a method of settling disputes which does not call for the use of force—a method which would call for instruments of a different kind and would use good sense, good faith and respect for the rights and liberty of other nations to achieve a lasting peace.

113. Let us join in a race for positive, creative and life-giving goals, making use of all the peaceful, lawful and honourable means which are at our disposal within the framework of the world Organization. When these resources are mobilized fully in the service of mankind and when we multiply them by our ever-increasing scientific, cultural and social advances we shall have no need to safeguard peace, because instruments of this kind not only possess the dynamic virtue of creating peace by their very nature but also completely eliminate any possibility of war. These instruments are economic prosperity, freedom and justice in their broadest and most genuine sense.

114. Guatemala, like all less developed countries, is fully convinced of the imperative need for encouraging economic development in order to bring about better international relations and what might be termed an economic balance between nations, which will run parallel to, and substantially supplement, their legal equality. We believe that as long as there are countries in the world whose inhabitants suffer from both material and spiritual hunger and poverty, it will be impossible to bring about the peaceful, constructive and neighbourly relations which are aimed at in the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

115. Guatemala is also aware of the fact that among those countries in the world today which are considered highly developed, not one has reached that stage by its own unaided efforts. It has been true throughout the course of history that the more advanced countries have always given their share of scientific and technical knowledge, as well as financial assistance, to order States, and this practice is all the more necessary at the present time when our transport and communication facilities have brought all the nations of the globe in close proximity to each other.

116. We do not propose to draw up a balance-sheet of

the progress achieved in Guatemala, but we should like to say that we have not only succeeded in overcoming considerable difficulties in the immediate past, but intend to continue with growing determination along the path of progress; to this end we are prepared to co-operate whole-heartedly with our sister nations, especially those whose future is linked to ours by strong historical and geographical ties.

117. During the past few years my country has received useful technical assistance from the United Nations and valuable technical and economic aid from the United States, which has helped us to mobilize the human, material and financial resources at our disposal—resources which, to be sure, are relatively limited, but which we are using to the maximum in order to attain a greater degree of economic development which will find its concrete expression in a higher level of living for our people.

118. It is, however, important that all under-developed countries should remember that material progress does not necessarily lead to the happiness of their people unless it is accompanied by spiritual progress and a deeper comprehension of spiritual values, including, above all, liberty and human dignity.

119. It is natural that the efforts made by less developed countries to achieve economic development should be directed along paths best suited to their special characteristics and environment; this can be done by adopting, on the basis of sound, selective criteria, methods and procedures which are recognized as the most suitable for the purpose and which produce the most favourable results. Guatemala is a country in which it is possible to compare the results obtained by two systems of economic and political philosophy which might be described as mutually opposed.

120. In the years before 1954, the Government of Guatemala was infiltrated and dominated by elements inspired by the Communist ideology and it put into operation a system of State intervention in the economy serving partisan political ends. On the other hand, ever since the triumph, towards the second half of that year, of the libertarian movement which opened up a new era in our national life, Guatemala has followed an economic policy which is more in keeping with the way of life and ideology of its people. The efforts which we are making for progress in the economic field are based on such fundamental principles as private initiative, free enterprise and the adoption of measures which will enable private enterprise to develop in the most beneficial way for the country as a whole, while in the political field, they are based on the genuine principles of Western democracy.

121. The comparative results achieved by the two systems are obvious. Up to 1954, the economic and social position of Guatemala was on the verge of total collapse: our international monetary reserves were shrinking dangerously, our national income was persistently increasing at a slower rate than our natural population growth, and the disruption of our social and moral order was leading to open class war. In 1958, on the other hand, we can count ourselves among those countries which possess a satisfactory monetary balance, where the trend of economic activity is upward, and where there is a steady increase in mutual respect and understanding between the forces of

labour and management. We sincerely believe that Guatemala might very well serve as an example to countries which are in need of greater economic development and which are under pressure to adopt a specific economic philosophy and policy.

122. It is obviously a source of danger to the under-developed countries that their economies are fundamentally dependent on international trade and, above all, on the export of a few products which fall within the category of raw materials. It is necessary therefore to strengthen our economies by sound industrialization accompanied by an expansion of agricultural production; this cannot be done except by increasing the rate of capital investment. Since, however, in most of our countries the volume of savings is insufficient to permit an adequate rate of capital formation, we have to depend to a large extent on foreign investments in order to achieve greater development. We believe that all under-developed countries are, like Guatemala, strongly in favour of encouraging foreign investments, provided they are made on a just and sound basis and provided they work to the benefit of the recipient country.

123. We wish to emphasize in particular the important role played in this field by the agencies which the United Nations has set up to finance economic development projects, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation, from which we expect very beneficial results.

124. The small size of the domestic markets of many of the less advanced countries is one of the major obstacles to the proper development of their economies, and for that reason my Government attaches the greatest importance to the steps now being taken towards the regional integration of economies. My Government is working enthusiastically for, and giving its full support and co-operation to, the effective integration of the economies of the Central American countries, which we earnestly hope will become a reality in the not too distant future and which will undoubtedly lead to greater understanding between the countries of the Isthmus and convince them that their unification is both feasible and desirable. It is a pleasure to inform this Assembly of a gratifying event that took place a few weeks ago, the conclusion of the Central American Multilateral Free Trade and Economic Integration Treaty and the Agreement on Central American Integration Industries.

125. The Government of Guatemala wishes to reaffirm its determination to maintain liberty in all walks of life and to respect the victories which our people has won at the cost of such heavy sacrifices. It is impossible to make any positive contribution to peace if we do not possess the one essential means to that end, liberty. We have made a solemn and irrevocable pledge to preserve and respect our present political system.

126. We are deeply interested in seeing the policy of reconciliation which the Guatemalan Government is carrying out at the national level extended to the international level. We are, therefore, prepared to afford the United Nations our full co-operation in accordance with the principles of the Charter in the solution of political and social problems, especially those affecting our sister nations, with a view to eliminating situations which endanger peace. We will look with sympathy upon any action taken within this Organization that will tend to re-establish harmony between nations.

127. We believe that justice is one of the pillars of peace. Perfect justice cannot exist as long as there continue to be situations which are inconsistent with democratic principles and the integrity and sovereignty of the nations of America. Like other places in the Western hemisphere, Belize, an integral and vital part of Guatemalan territory, is still in foreign hands, a circumstance which is a serious affront to the dignity and feelings of our peoples. The present Government of Guatemala, which has viewed with deep sympathy the efforts of the Western democracies to find just solutions for problems which have recently given rise to international tension, would also be greatly gratified if similar good will, mutual understanding and international co-operation were applied to bring to a just and early settlement the existing differences caused by this violation of our national integrity. For our part, we are prepared to discuss, as soon as possible and in a spirit of impartiality and good faith, any just and reasonable solutions which may be offered to eliminate once and for all what today constitutes an obstacle to complete harmony with nations that in other respects constitute bulwarks of freedom and democracy.

128. We insist that justice is one of the fundamental means for obtaining peace, because the moral authority which compels respect within a legal system is the great leveller that places both great and small countries on a footing of equality and constitutes the most effective means of guaranteeing liberty in internal matters. Our Republic, founded on those principles of respect for law which are also the firm foundation of legal system that gave birth to the Western democracies, is categorically opposed to the subversive methods advocated by international Communism for the purpose of establishing the Communist dictatorship and destroying human dignity.

129. We are fully confident that representative democracy is capable of giving the nations of the world all the material progress to which they may possibly aspire and that that may be done without sacrificing the freedom to which they are entitled by the very fact that they are human beings; we have faith in the free peoples of the world and in their democratic institutions.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.