



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (continued):	
Speech by Mr. Turbay Ayala (Colombia)	205
Speech by Mr. de Sola (Venezuela)	207
Speech by Mr. Sastroamidjojo	209
Speech by Mr. Tobar Zaldumbide (Ecuador)	214

President: Mr. Charles MALIK (Lebanon).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. TURBAY AYALA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): I realize that the general debate is losing its first impetus, and that everything that can be said about world peace, as well as about matters of lesser importance, has already been said. As spokesman for Colombia I cannot claim that my speech will contain anything strikingly new. I shall confine myself to giving a brief account of my Government's views on certain aspects of international policy.
2. Colombia believes that the most effective way of serving the interests of peace is not merely to speak about its inestimable benefits, which in theory are recognized by all, but to take positive action to reach the desired goal.
3. The word "peace" must not continue to be used as a mask to cover other purposes and disguise the war-like intentions of certain States. It often happens that in the name of peace we find ourselves in danger of becoming involved in disputes which can have the effect of impairing friendly relations between peoples. In the name of peace, congresses and conferences are held that constitute the best psychological preparation for war. Mankind is now watching the reckless progress of a feverish arms race conducted by the great Powers in the name of peace. The banner of peace has been raised in such contradictory causes that if we continue to act in this manner the day may come when the human race will destroy itself to an accompaniment of hymns and hosannas to peace.
4. We have been impressed by the fact that the world situation has led scientists and technicians to concentrate mainly on the production of diabolical weapons of war, while there has been a deplorable neglect of scientific projects that could lead to positive progress in raising the level of civilization and human welfare. If the campaign against the deadly effects of cancer, for example, had been able to dispose of the economic and scientific resources made available for the production of nuclear weapons, mankind might now be free of one of its greatest scourges, at the cost of not being

able to destroy itself quite so rapidly and effectively as it can today.

5. At the present time such observations may seem somewhat romantic and not likely to lead to any practical results, but they may serve to illustrate the ideals of a Latin American nation which believes that mankind will benefit more from progress in literature and the arts, from the fight against illiteracy, from advances in medicine and the raising of the standard of living of God's noble creature, man, than from mere excursions into outer space. In the final analysis the great problem of the world is the problem of the individual human being, who has gradually become overshadowed by the pagan deity of the State, and whom we must restore to his true place if we sincerely believe in spiritual values.

6. Technological progress can be achieved; and has been achieved, by different systems, but that which forms the very basis of Western civilization, which we advocate and which corresponds to our deepest convictions, is the equal partnership of freedom and science, in which the spirit is not subordinated to or valued less than technology.

7. It would be indeed foolish not to recognize the extraordinary progress achieved by those peoples who put their faith in the State rather than in man. The materialistic societies can certainly point to an impressive record of technological progress; in this field their achievements have equalled those of the Western world. It is in the broad realm of the spirit that they have nothing to offer us, and they disclaim the heritage of spiritual values which for us is as vital as life itself.

8. Peace is the result of a compromise between States, and the reward of tolerance, and its preservation clearly depends on the efforts made even by those most diametrically opposed, to permit the coexistence of two forces differing greatly in their philosophies. Colombia's position in defence of Western civilization is based not merely on its geographical position but also on feelings that are deeply rooted in its fundamental beliefs.

9. My country believes that it is only through tolerance and mutual understanding that we can achieve the peaceful coexistence of peoples. I say this as the result of my country's own experience. The hostility which divided the two major political parties in Colombia made possible the triumph of a dictatorship, claiming to have military backing, which not only destroyed our liberties but also ruined our economy. In fact of this grave danger the political parties united and agreed on a system of government by joint responsibility which won the full support of all shades of opinion and especially of the armed forces themselves. This agreement brought about the overthrow of tyranny and made it possible to rebuild our legal institutions

and to strengthen peace. I can therefore speak today as the representative of a democratic and law-abiding nation, a republic entitled to preach tolerance because, as a result of its internal struggles, each of the two great political parties that reflect public opinion has renounced the idea of governing exclusively. Democracy in Colombia is based on public opinion and is practised with the support of the armed forces, which defend these ideals of democracy not only within our own borders but also, as in Korea, in the service of freedom under United Nations command.

10. Those nations which can never be considered as military Powers and which are conscious of their strict limitations, can nevertheless serve the interests of peace, not only within the United Nations where, thanks to recognition of the juridical equality of States, they can bring their influence to bear in the most vital decisions, but more especially in the sphere of public opinion, by refusing their support to dangerous measures and by fully endorsing measures that contribute to the cause of peace and promote closer understanding and harmony among States.

11. We believe in the tremendous power of public opinion, in the decisive impact it can have on the historical destinies of nations, and in the influence it can exert to avert the harmful effects of the war of words that characterizes the era of armed peace through which the world is now living.

12. Any nation which cannot make itself either feared or courted, owing to its insignificance from a military standpoint, and which therefore cannot indulge in the pastime of sabre-rattling, has a special duty to help create, through its peaceable views, an atmosphere of peace and harmony in which the futility of any extreme measures would be obvious. I speak on behalf of a country whose views have strength only in that they reflect the nation's purity of purpose and its devotion to the principles of law.

13. Perhaps I am indulging in wishful thinking, but certain trends in public opinion seem to me to indicate that the spectre of another war is receding, in spite of the tension which seems to exist between the two societies into which our world is divided. The reasonable way in which the effective help of the United Nations has been used to resolve highly critical problems, the realization by all the Powers that another armed conflict would lead to total destruction, the weariness resulting from the protracted cold war and the obvious human desire for concord, all appear to be bringing States around to agree on the establishment of the long period of peace that mankind needs for its development, and for which it longs in order to find rest.

14. The preservation of peace requires special preventive measures, since in some cases situations arise which, if not brought under control in their initial stages, may lead to undesirable and dangerous developments. In this connexion, and in order to prevent the frequent occurrence of unexpected situations that might lead to conflicts, Colombia warmly endorses the proposal that the Secretary-General should send United Nations observers to those regions and countries where it is thought advisable to have direct representatives of this Organization.

15. We are gratified to note that the United Nations is making great progress towards universality. A com-

parison of the number of countries represented at San Francisco with the list of States which are now Members of the Organization justifies the assertion that the United Nations has followed, as far as possible, an open-door policy. There is reason to believe that before many years have passed, and following the principles which have guided us so far, the Organization will receive new Members until the day comes when all nations will be able to express their views here. When that day comes the Organization will be further strengthened, and we believe that its decisions will carry more weight and find wider acceptance.

16. Colombia knows that its duty as a Latin American country is to foster continental unity, and it pointed out at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington that the Latin American countries will carry more influence in world affairs if they work in concert and consolidate their unity, instead of breaking up into an archipelago of separate opinions. The Washington Conference strengthened the bonds of solidarity of the hemisphere and emphasized the common destiny of the Latin American nations. Those countries, far from seeking to establish a threatening alliance, have joined in the common purpose of serving the cause of peace and reaffirming their unshakable faith in the principles of the Charter.

17. At the Foreign Ministers' Conference we laid the foundation for a fruitful policy of economic co-operation that will promote continental harmony, since any measures to eliminate inequalities among nations and peoples are certain to produce sound and promising results. We wish to reaffirm that in this democratic continent all nations can achieve standards of living which will enable them to put their trust in the soundness of the principles they proclaim, and show that economic independence can go hand-in-hand with political freedom.

18. In the regional sphere we wish to give our unwavering support to a policy designed to save the citizens of Latin America from the bondage of disease, illiteracy and poverty. This is an undertaking which demands a continuing effort and requires the unity of the whole hemisphere and the active co-operation of the United States, whose new stand towards Latin America gives us confidence in a happy future. As Latin Americans we are also very grateful to the great Republic of Brazil for the notable efforts it has made in helping to develop this new policy.

19. Colombia would like to put on record one happy result of the new attitude of the United States: the signing of the Latin American Coffee Pact on 27 September 1958 in Washington. This agreement covers the fifteen coffee-producing countries and regulates prices in a market whose total value amounts to some \$2,000 million per year. For us coffee is not merely a commercial product but is the very basis of our economy and the mainstay of our currency. Like other basic commodities in other Latin American countries, coffee is the principal factor in our economic prosperity and thus in our political stability and social solidarity.

20. After this necessary digression on exclusively continental affairs, I should like to return to the world situation, not to weary the Assembly with further observations but to voice the optimism of the young nations of Latin America with regard to the future of

mankind. Colombia does not believe that any action it may take can have a decisive influence in the development of world events, but our material weakness does not relieve us of the responsibility to serve the cause of peace and to reaffirm our faith in democracy and the eternal spiritual values.

21. Mr. DE SOLA (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): It is a high honour for me and also a source of personal satisfaction to address you from this world rostrum as the spokesman of a Government and people who are today firm in their resolve to stand as zealous and democratic defenders of the cause of liberty and civilization. As Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Venezuelan delegation to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, I am pleased to affirm that my country is now definitely following paths leading towards the establishment of institutions based on the principles for whose safeguard the United Nations was founded. I can also state that the years of violence and anguish now definitely belong to the past. That era, which was so rightly condemned and criticized, is now ended and all that is good and permanent in Venezuela has once more come to the fore.

22. The widespread changes that have taken place in Venezuela since 23 January 1958 are reflected in the standards on which its foreign policy is now based. We reject as contradictory and incongruous the behaviour of a Government which, using self-seeking propaganda, conceals a contrast between theory and practice such that it dares to adopt before foreigners attitudes opposed to those which it assumes towards its own citizens. Fortunately so gross a confusion of fact is always transitory and in some way or other such false positions are eventually doomed to collapse.

23. When the Government which I represent declares that Venezuela has aligned itself with the democratic countries which respect human dignity and countenance no kind of oppression, this is not false propaganda but the declaration of a truth deeply felt by the Venezuelan people and based on indisputable moral authority. As the representative of a country completely devoted to democratic principles and therefore opposed to all forms of tyranny and absolutism prejudicial to human dignity, I should like to refer to some of the more serious problems that are to be considered by this world parliament during its current session.

24. I share the opinion of those who have stated from this rostrum that the present Assembly has opened in one of the most disquieting moments in all history. This makes it necessary for us to be fully aware of the magnitude of our responsibilities. Our task is not only to study the problems before us in an atmosphere of calm reflection but also to find, through firm collective action, solutions which will put an end to the present disturbances. This is what the peoples whom we represent expect of us. To disappoint their hopes is to betray their mandate to us.

25. At the beginning of our work we cannot fail to note the paradoxical position in which the world finds itself today. Although we have certainly made the most extraordinary scientific and technical advances from which the greatest happiness and well-being could be derived, humanity has never felt a greater threat of immediate destruction than it does today. It almost seems as though man's conquest of outer space can be

accounted for by his desperate anxiety to flee from a house which is on the point of collapse.

26. One of our main concerns should be immediately to face up to all the problems which constitute a threat to world peace. This is the preventive phase of our work, in which we must show a will to co-operate in order to reduce the present tension, to stop the armaments race, to end nuclear experiments for destructive purposes, to put an end to the cold war and to find means of agreement between the Powers primarily responsible for the fate of all.

27. If we carry out this urgent task there will open up vast possibilities of fruitful collaboration for the constructive use of the immense potentials which science has placed within the reach of man. These include the use of atomic energy for creative human activities and effective co-operation between all the peoples of the world for the exchange of their material and spiritual riches, and so that they may render assistance to each other and forge closer political, technical, economic and social bonds.

28. In this first phase, the United Nations emerged successful from a difficult test when, as the result of a unanimous vote at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, a satisfactory formula was found for dealing with the serious situation in the Middle East. In the absence of a really permanent solution, however, equally serious conflicts are once again breeding anxiety throughout the world and darkening the future with further threats. Just as in the previous emergency the United Nations found a solution with the means at its disposal, so now we must make every effort to ensure that it finds a satisfactory solution to the problems disturbing the peace and security of the world.

29. Despite some criticism of its ineffectiveness, the United Nations continues to be the channel through which mankind must direct its efforts in order ultimately to achieve the lasting peace which it desires. The great majority understands this and the peoples of the world, conscious of the task entrusted to the United Nations for the maintenance of international harmony, place their greatest hopes in our Organization. One of the means which in our view would assist the United Nations in its task is a very considerable strengthening of the functions and authority of the Secretary-General who has fully demonstrated the effectiveness of his aid in particularly difficult situations.

30. Venezuela is again ready to co-operate earnestly and with conviction as it did in the case of the Middle East conflict. We are fully cognizant of the limited nature of the effective action we can take on world problems; but we do believe in the force of our convictions, in our right to make our voice heard and in our duty to give the best of ourselves in defence of the principles to which we subscribed in the Charter, as those principles are our very own.

31. Consequently, Venezuela will support any proposals which may guarantee peace with justice and will endorse any measure tending to promote not unilateral disarmament, which would lead to the subjugation of the world by any Power which might continue to maintain armed forces, but a general disarmament under international supervision. Venezuela will also agree to the suspension of nuclear tests, which may have irremediably serious and unforeseen consequences,

provided that the suspension is brought about in such a way that it gives no advantage to any country or group of countries.

32. Venezuela will apply scrupulously the principle of non-intervention, refraining from intervention in any form, because it is convinced that the strict maintenance of this principle is one of the main guarantees of international harmony. I refer to both armed and ideological intervention, whether in the internal or in the external affairs of States.

33. Armed intervention is the very negation of a principle which is basic to our manner of thinking and way of life—a principle which has been embodied in our Constitution for more than a century: the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. My country cannot therefore support recourse to force either for the purpose of settling differences or for the purpose of intervening directly in the internal or external affairs of any State.

34. No less hateful and inadmissible to Venezuela is ideological intervention which is closely linked with indirect aggression as it pursues the same end of subjugation, not by force of arms but with the more telling power of thought control. The Venezuelan people are independent by nature and by conviction, and would tolerate no foreign domination however subtle and intangible it might be.

35. With regard to the creative task that devolves upon the United Nations in laying the bases for a better world, I can give assurance that the Venezuela of today will participate eagerly in any positive measures in which our co-operation is sought. One of the most important of such undertakings is the co-ordination of economic interests. My Government believes that the international community must press for implementation of measures designed to further such co-ordination, giving first priority to the needs of the under-developed countries.

36. Economic and social development has become a matter of primary concern to all peoples. It should therefore be the unswerving aim of the United Nations to ensure that development in accordance with the basic postulates of human freedom and dignity. There should be no economic and social development which involves the sacrifice of those principles that are dear to all free men. Man's fundamental rights should not simply be recognized in theory, but real bases should be laid for their effective enjoyment. There must be general agreement on these objectives to guide international action in this sphere.

37. The efforts of the United Nations to promote the industrialization of under-developed countries deserve the firmest support and have the unreserved backing of my country. Industrialization is the most suitable means for improving the standard of living of any people. The fears and reservations with which some economically powerful countries used to view the industrialization of under-developed countries have now fortunately been dissipated. This change in outlook is due to the increasing realization that industrialization increases the purchasing power of the people and that it widens the market for exports to the benefit of all. A proper trade policy which takes into consideration the pressing needs of our countries is also an indispensable requirement for the maintenance and expansion of our development plans.

38. Although considerable progress has been made in analysing the problems of trade faced by the under-developed countries, we still have insufficient means at our disposal for rapid and effective solution of the various problems that may arise. Ways are still being sought to reduce excessive fluctuations in the price of raw materials. During the past year a great many countries, including many in Latin America, have had to face serious economic difficulties as a result of the fall in price of basic products, which coincided, moreover, with a rise in price of imported goods. Such circumstances call for energetic remedial action.

39. Another serious danger lies in the restrictive trade policies which highly developed countries may impose on the importation of our goods. A sudden drop in foreign currency receipts could produce serious disturbances in the economies of our countries and cause unemployment and poverty among the great mass of workers, disequilibrium in the balance of payments and a general decline in our industrial activity.

40. Measures which are favourable to trade will always have beneficial effects on economic development. This presupposes wide-scale use of capital goods—equipment, machinery and technical supplies—which cannot be obtained by under-developed countries if they lack the necessary foreign exchange, the principal source of which is trade. It is also essential to foster the growth of foreign capital investment, both public and private. Domestic savings are not sufficient to give impetus to the full development of our national economies and in certain cases would be insufficient to maintain the present rate of growth owing to demographic and other social pressures.

41. We therefore view with sympathy the efforts being made by the United Nations to face the problems of financing economic development both by public and private means. In spite of its modest size and limited scope, we consider that the Special Fund, on whose final establishment the General Assembly will have to reach a decision during the present session, is a first step in the right direction. In this connexion we should mention an event of positive significance, namely, agreement reached at the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the twenty-one American republics recently held in Washington regarding the urgent need to take initial steps towards the establishment of a banking institute especially designed for the promotion of our regional economy.

42. Venezuela has succeeded in attracting a considerable volume of foreign capital which has contributed notably, and in an atmosphere of co-operation and confidence, to our economic development. These foreign investments enjoy the same equitable treatment as is accorded to domestic investments. This has not been due and is not due to transitory political circumstances, but to the firm conviction of the Venezuelan people that such investments are a singularly important contribution to the proper exploitation of our natural resources. For their part, the investors have proved themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them by the Venezuelan people by showing respect for our laws and institutions, by abstaining from interference in our domestic affairs and by showing a willingness to co-operate in the achievement of such plans as are likely to assist in raising the standard of living of our people. Countries which export private capital

could further contribute to an increase in investments through adopting measures to encourage investors; among these a place of primary importance should be given to acceptance of the fiscal policy principle—recommended on many occasions by the Economic and Social Council and by the General Assembly—that profits accruing from such investments should be taxed only in the producer country.

43. In the social sphere, particularly in connexion with the international covenants on human rights, I must confess that Venezuela views with discouragement the marked contrast between the number of statements on the subject and the slow pace at which these covenants are coming into force. In fact, the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris will fall on 10 December 1958. The most solemn and significant action which could be taken to commemorate that date would be to embody those principles in a formal undertaking. Indeed, the day when the United Nations succeeds in guaranteeing respect for the basic human rights by giving force of law to the covenants, it will have achieved one of its finest and most fruitful aims.

44. Another principle which is historically identified with the Venezuelan nation and which will always receive our support is that of the self-determination of peoples, the practical application of which carries with it the elimination of all vestiges of submission or dependence. This principle will become effective when it is finally recognized that the colonial system is as anachronistic and absurd in international relations as is slavery in relations between individuals.

45. I have spoken frankly, as befits the delegation of a country which today addresses this world forum with its head held high, and I have stated the position of my Government on some of the problems which will occupy the attention of this Assembly. The position of my Government can be summed up as follows: maintenance of the rule of law in international relations and promotion of co-operation between peoples in all spheres of activity.

46. My country's attachment to the rule of law is not merely theoretical. It is something vital to our survival. We have neither nuclear weapons nor powerful armies nor inexhaustible economic resources. We have, however, for the protection of our sovereignty and national heritage a more noble and effective means of recourse than that which we may hope to derive from our limited forces: this is the practical application and observance of the principles of law. This we shall defend unhesitatingly whenever we see it endangered.

47. In the sphere of international co-operation we are prepared, moreover, to promote any measures which tend to bring peoples together, to improve their knowledge of each other and to foster material, spiritual and technical exchanges. In these spheres, where the work of the United Nations has been and still is so fruitful, Venezuela will continue to participate with growing interest.

48. I am convinced that this line of conduct is entirely in keeping with the principles underlying the Organization of American States. These include: the supremacy of law, the principle of non-intervention, the peaceful settlement of disputes, mutual respect between members, and co-operation of all for the benefit of each

and for the good of the community to which all members belong.

49. Venezuela therefore does not stand alone. In speaking to this Assembly, I am convinced that my words will echo with a familiar ring among a group of sister nations which share our concerns and harbour the same hopes as ourselves. Ours is a community which has succeeded in achieving within itself mankind's ancient ambition to live in peace and to prosper through work. It is for that reason that we are proud of the designation "New World" given to our region. May God grant that in the face of the grave perils that threaten us that same spirit will animate all the Member countries of the United Nations so that they too may truly claim to be "United".

50. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): Sometimes it happens that we reach a turning point in international relations, when the course of our actions is narrowly circumscribed and we are made acutely conscious of the fact that the future awaits only the verdict of our triumph or failure. It is at such a time in history that this session of the General Assembly convenes, coming as a hiatus between the crises in the Middle East and the Far East. Whatever we do, whether we mark time or rise to the challenge, we will be shaping to a great extent the future course of events.

51. In the immediate post-war period, when Europe lay war-shattered and the nations of Asia and Africa justly claimed their right to develop their individual national identities on the basis of equality, the founding of the United Nations represented the supreme effort of the community of nations to establish a new equilibrium in our international life. It rested, in the first place, upon the hope that the close association forged between the leading Powers in time of war would endure in time of peace. But this hope, slim to begin with, was bound not to be realized at that time. With the emergence of the cold war, the final curtain of disillusionment was rung down. In the United Nations, the great Powers fought out their differences with words while building up their military strength.

52. After all that had already been accomplished, it is perhaps not too surprising that disillusionment should have led the great Powers to turn once again to the old conventional means of ensuring their security. But what we must remember is that the building up of military strength and alliances was a stop-gap measure. It was not designed to replace the original idea of co-operation among the leading Powers in the United Nations. At the same time, it could obviously not achieve the close association that had obtained among the wartime allies. Moreover, the fashioning of military alliances was an emergency measure to maintain the status quo in Europe, where the countries concerned already have a long history of independent nationhood.

53. But, in time, reliance upon military arms and pacts became a fixed position. Europe was divided into two armed camps—the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and those of the Warsaw Pact. And even while, in recent years, there has been a growing tendency in Europe to try to replace this uneasy status quo through greater rapprochement among the leading Powers on a basis similar to that achieved in Austria, the policy of armed strength and military alliances was vigorously pursued by the

opposing blocs on the continents of Asia and Africa, with varying degrees of success. The Asian-African countries, which had theretofore been spared full involvement in the cold war, were slowly but surely being dragged into the maelstrom of the arms race. Today, no one can doubt that the cold war has not only spilled over into Asia and Africa, but actually is centred on those continents, with the most ominous consequences for the world.

54. From the very beginning, and especially at the Bandung Conference, we have warned against this development. We have said all along that the formation of military pacts and alliances was not the way to reduce international tensions and differences. But our words were not heeded. As recently as the twelfth session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia told this body that, with Asian involvement in the cold war, "we must give up all notions of complacency that nowadays local wars or even local tensions can be isolated or arrested before they explode into a world conflagration" [700th meeting, para. 161]. Recent events have only too clearly confirmed the truth of this assessment.

55. Indeed, the need to review the wisdom of continuing to pursue a cold-war policy based on military arms can no longer be for anyone an academic question. Since the inception of the cold war, there has been an almost complete absence of new thinking and ideas in the direction of redeeming the lost hope of the early post-war period and implementing new policies that could secure, or at least make possible in the future, closer co-operation among the leading Powers. The great Powers have become prisoners of their own military way of thinking. And as if the failure to evolve new political conceptions in over a decade is not bad enough, what is even more dangerous and inexcusable is to have this failure result in the transference of policies from Europe to Asia and Africa, where they are patently unworkable. The consequence of this, as we must all appreciate by now, is turmoil and conflict that bring us to the brink of war. We have had, in a relatively short time, two emergency special sessions of the General Assembly to deal with crises in the Middle East. And even this regular session, overshadowed by the crises in different corners of Asia and Africa, may well be described as meeting in an emergency situation.

56. At the third emergency special session of the General Assembly there was a general recognition of the force of nationalism in the Arab world, in particular, and in Asia and Africa in general. But what we still would like to see is this appreciation reflected in a new approach by the West towards Asian-African nationalism. Such a new approach would necessitate a clean break from the habitual tendency to confuse nationalism with communism. This confusion leads to a policy which, in the name of containing communism, actually contains or seeks to contain resurgent nationalism. A glaring example of this policy was shown by the events in Iraq, where the West sought to strengthen itself against communism. But it was the force of nationalism, not communism, which found self-expression in Iraq. It is, moreover, rather ironic and sad that the West has actually brought nationalism and communism perhaps closer together than ever before on the question of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the Middle East.

57. I say with all earnestness that if the West, for its own security and well-being, wants to reach an understanding with Asian-African nationalism, it must first rid itself of the practice of thinking purely in cold-war terms of anti-communism and pro-communism. It must desist from using a so-called communist menace to maintain the status quo against the rising tide of nationalism and progress. This is the initial step. The next and equally important step is to assess properly what in the eyes of Asia and Africa constitutes positive dynamic nationalism.

58. Certainly on the most critical issue facing the world today—the crisis of Quemoy and Matsu—the element of nationalism divides Asia and the West. The latter cannot properly appraise the situation in the Far East so long as it remains insensible to the components of Asian nationalism. While the Western Press still refers to the authorities in Taiwan as the "Nationalist", as far as we are concerned they have long ago forfeited any claim to nationalism in favour of securing foreign protection. It is not the authorities in Taiwan but the Government of the Chinese People's Republic which—especially in regard to Quemoy and Matsu—is acting on the same principle of nationalism to which we adhere. We do not ascribe to their political ideology, nor do we stand in judgement on it. But we do ascribe to and are sympathetic towards the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people to develop their own national identity and unity.

59. Indeed, if anything has created the present perilous situation, it is the refusal of some countries to realize that a national revolution has taken place in China, and that it is no less a legitimate national revolution irrespective of whether we happen to like or to dislike the particular ideology practised by new China.

60. The islands of Quemoy and Matsu are obviously for the Government of the People's Republic of China a matter involving its national security and integrity. No self-respecting government can allow its ports to be blockaded, its shipping interfered with, and its coastal islands transformed into arsenals for purposes of provocation and even invasion. As the representative of Burma has pointed out [756th meeting], while we may regret the use of force by the People's Republic of China, we must also not forget that there are two sides to this grave dispute. An even stronger statement was made by the Foreign Minister of Canada, who said: "If one is to condemn the use of force, one must also condemn provocations to the use of force." [759th meeting, para. 109.] We fully subscribe to this proposition.

61. For the moment, I do not want to delve any further than this into the convulsive situation in the Far East. We still have hopes of avoiding impending disaster through negotiations, although these hopes were rather dimmed by the recent vote in this Assembly [resolution 1239 (XIII)] not to consider the question of Chinese representation at this thirteenth session. If a more realistic and enlightened attitude had prevailed, we may have had the opportunity to negotiate here a peaceful settlement of this serious crisis. With the Government of the People's Republic of China seated among us, it might have been possible to duplicate the atmosphere prevailing at the Bandung Conference. But even if we would have had to endure from all sides some rather heated exchanges, this would surely have

been a small price to pay in exchange for survival and peace in the world.

62. So far, I have tried to point out the confusion that exists in the West on the question of nationalism and communism, with the resulting explosive repercussions in the Middle East and the Far East. In my own country, too, this inability to distinguish between these two quite different forces threatens to embroil the world in conflict. And while this magic link between nationalism and communism is being unscrupulously or unwittingly forged by some to attain particular ends, the so-called free world is being eroded by self-deception.

63. To us, a free world cannot mean a community of nations in which one of its prominent members is fighting a war in Algeria to deny freedom to the people of that unhappy, long-suffering country. When we think of a free world, it is a world of live and let live, a world in which no nation will be denied its freedom and independence. It is also a world in which there would be no war in Algeria, no colonial domination in West Irian, no bloodshed in Cyprus, no bombings in Oman and Yemen. In short, a world where free nations live together in peaceful co existence.

64. In this connexion, I take pride in announcing from this rostrum that my Government, on 27 September 1958, extended recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government proclaimed in Cairo. It is my Government's conviction that the United Nations Charter and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference provide ample room for Algeria and France to change their past colonial relations into cordial relations between two independent countries.

65. In all these questions that rend the community of nations, we observe the urgent need for a reappraisal and re-examination of policies vis-à-vis Asia and Africa before it is too late. We do not say this sanctimoniously or with any feelings of satisfaction. On the contrary, we make this appeal humbly and with a great deal of regret.

66. We do not and cannot claim to have the answer for this dilemma. We can only suggest once again that the approach to Asia and Africa should be one of encouraging and allowing these nations to develop independent policies, divorced from the tumult of the cold war. This is not a new idea nor one that we claim as our very own. My delegation was indeed pleased to hear a representative from Western Europe, the Foreign Minister of Ireland, so clearly enunciate [751st meeting] a solution to current international tensions in terms which we have advocated for so long. In short, Mr. Alken proposed—hand-in-hand with promoting great-Power co-operation along political, economic and cultural lines—that the great Powers create ever-widening areas in which the contest for the adherence of the smaller States will be brought to an end, while the smaller States, in turn, co-operate by declaring neutrality which the great Powers and the United Nations should guarantee. We think that this idea should receive immediate and serious attention, not only because we have long subscribed to it, not only because a highly respected Western representative has found considerable merit in it, but also because recent events in Indonesia have borne out the correctness and the advantages for world peace of carrying out an active, independent foreign policy.

67. My country is perhaps the only one in Asia and Africa which has undergone serious difficulties in recent times without causing world-wide repercussions. It is true that there was some outside interference and a threat of cold-war involvement. But, on the basis of our active, independent foreign policy, we successfully averted that threat. At the same time, we overcame by our own efforts the challenge to our national security and unity. For a world seeking peace and stability, this should be an example worthy of attention. It offers, in our opinion, concrete evidence that political situations and tensions need not reach a stage where they threaten to ignite world-wide conflagrations.

68. Another hopeful sign in these troubled times is the fact that, albeit cautiously, steps are being taken in the field of disarmament to isolate certain problems from political controversies and to treat them purely from a scientific angle. We trust that the encouraging results at Geneva this summer of the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests will bear further fruit at the Geneva talks scheduled for the end of October of this year. We also would like to see—as already suggested by the Secretary-General—a further extension of this objective, non-political approach to other problems relating to disarmament and international security. Some aspects of the question of the peaceful use of outer space might possibly be dealt with in this manner.

69. Certainly intensified and concerted efforts must be made to halt the race towards mutual annihilation. After these many years, the question of disarmament not only still remains as the foremost item on our agenda, but at each session the world appears weighted down with more costly and complex military hardware, offering dire prospects for future survival. It is, however, not only a question of the terrible risk we run in piling up these military arsenals, which may be triggered off—even by accident—in a chain reaction ending in disaster. But should we avoid this, the enormous cost of modern military weapons and installations still condemns the greater part of the world's population to live at the lowest possible level of existence, increasing the danger to peace caused by mass poverty and want. The armaments race means for us of the less developed countries nothing less than a situation in which we are denied funds necessary for promoting the welfare of our people so that those funds may be used instead for building instruments of mass destruction. And to make it even worse, this situation is contributing at the same time to the ever widening gap between the so-called "have" and "have-not" countries.

70. It is, therefore, with gratification that we note on our agenda the item proposed by the Soviet Union [A/3925], entitled "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"—an idea long advocated by Indonesia and other Asian-African countries. If the great Powers, as a result of the efforts of this Assembly, can reach an agreement on this matter, we will have made a sub-

stantial advance in our endeavours to ameliorate the desperate need for raising the living standards in the less developed countries.

71. But allow us to make the suggestion that, in using such savings to assist less developed countries, the great Powers concerned refrain from doing so in a way which has too much the appearance of a competition to achieve cold-war ends. Instead, we would humbly suggest that the assistance be channelled through the United Nations, thereby divorcing it from the cold-war atmosphere.

72. As to the record of United Nations activities in the past year with respect to the important question of promoting the economic development of the less developed countries, we view with satisfaction the establishment of the Special Fund. Although still regretting the indefinite postponement of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), my delegation fervently hopes that the Special Fund will make possible a significant expansion in the technical assistance and development programmes of the United Nations in the less developed countries.

73. Another welcome step is the reorganization of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, thus enabling this body to make more concrete contributions to the solution of international commodity problems. The urgency of achieving greater stability in the commodity markets is now generally recognized as the outstanding prerequisite for ensuring economic growth in the less developed countries. How acute this problem is for a country such as Indonesia, which is still largely dependent upon a relatively few primary commodities, already becomes apparent from one example, namely, the severe fluctuations in the price of rubber. This commodity accounts for about 46 per cent of Indonesia's exports. The price went down by 15 per cent in the first quarter of 1958 as compared with the price a year earlier. What this means for my country in loss of foreign exchange earnings often exceeds by far the economic assistance from international and bilateral sources.

74. We are aware, of course, that the continuous fall in the price of rubber and other raw materials reflects to a great extent the recession which, though it may be showing signs of recovery in the industrial countries, will probably be felt for some time still in the less developed countries. However, it is also true that the short-term fluctuations in a time of economic prosperity, though less severe than during a recession, create profound repercussions in the raw material producing countries. It thus behooves the industrial countries to shape their national economic policies in accordance with their international responsibilities and the United Nations efforts to promote balanced economic growth in the world.

75. After all, it should be our common aim as regards the economic development of the less developed countries to make these countries economically less dependent. This will be impossible, of course, so long as economic assistance is undermined by instability in the commodity markets, with the consequence that the less developed countries of the world remain as economically dependent as before. The situation is obviously made worse when action is taken resulting in a certain commodity overflowing the market. In the

case of tin, this economic phenomenon is currently creating grave economic difficulties in tin-producing countries, including my own.

76. In this connexion, may I call the attention of this Assembly to the fact that only a few months ago the International Tin Council reduced the export quota of all its members by about 20 per cent. Assuming that tin prices remain on the same level, this reduction of the export quota would mean a decrease in the same proportion in the foreign exchange earning of the producing countries from their export of tin.

77. In the meantime, the Soviet Union has offered abnormally great quantities of tin to the European market. In the first nine months of this year, the Soviet Union has sold approximately 18,000 long tons of tin to the London market. This about equals the total annual export quota allotted to countries like Bolivia and Indonesia. As a consequence of such abnormal competition, the price of tin dropped by no less than 12 per cent a few weeks ago. This means another loss of foreign exchange for the producing countries.

78. Following the representation made by my Government to the Government of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent assurances given by the Soviet Government that it is prepared to reduce its exports of tin, tin prices have partially recovered. However, the tin market remains weak.

79. It is well to bear in mind that only the less developed countries are hit by the impact of the present situation in the tin market—the very countries to which the big Powers, including the Soviet Union, wish to extend economic aid. I therefore earnestly hope that the Soviet Government will reduce its export of tin to a sufficient extent so as to remove the present pressure on the tin market, to the satisfaction of the tin-producing countries, including my own.

80. The Indonesian delegation will make every effort at this session of the General Assembly to encourage maximum co-operation between the industrial countries and the less developed countries in the interest of exploiting to the fullest the vast potentialities in the world for promoting social and economic welfare.

81. Allow me to make some brief observations now regarding political events in Indonesia which have drawn the attention of the community of nations. We know that there exists some anxiety in the world about developments concerning democratic institutions in my country. There is much misunderstanding about our democracy with guidance, which has been wrongly translated in the West as "guided democracy". I can assure this Assembly that our guidance is not being imposed; there is no dictatorship in Indonesia. This guidance comes from a National Council in the form of advice to our Cabinet, which is responsible to a freely elected Parliament. Democracy is still at work, and will continue to work, in Indonesia.

82. The latest developments in Asia and Africa, however, prove that the application of democracy in those continents along the Western pattern cannot be taken for granted. I can only emphasize that what Indonesia is doing now constitutes a bold endeavour to save democracy by adapting it to Indonesian usages and abilities. It should indeed be no more suspect than similar efforts made by other countries of Asia

and Africa, and even by a major Western country, France, where democracy has a great tradition but where its present form of parliamentary democracy apparently has reached a dead end.

83. As to Indonesia's most important international problem—the continuing dispute over West Irian—I wish only to say two things. In the first place, I want to stress that the right to self-determination is still being misused by the Netherlands in order to continue its illegal colonial domination over West Irian. Secondly, I want to say that we are carrying out vigorously and efficiently the policy that was announced last year by our Foreign Minister from this very rostrum [700th meeting]: being denied the opportunity to negotiate our differences with the Dutch, we are compelled to take other measures short of war.

84. Finally, I am duty-bound to make some comments in answer to the accusations of the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, who complained about certain actions taken by my Government. He has described [760th meeting] certain measures recently taken by my Government and has dealt with them entirely out of the context of the dispute over West Irian. But the present relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands must be viewed against the background of this unresolved political dispute in order to be understood. Moreover, we have made it clear, in a note dated 13 January 1958, circulated by our Permanent Mission to the United Nations, that the measures taken by the Indonesian Government are designed to place the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands on a new footing of equality and justice.

85. Without wishing to indulge in repetition, certain remarks made by the representative of the Netherlands merit further comment. He stated that "During the past year nearly 40,000 Netherlanders have been obliged to leave their houses and homes in Indonesia" [760th meeting, para. 38]. Actually, the following is the case. The Government of Indonesia, in the exercise of its general administrative powers, has taken measures affecting unemployed Netherlands subjects. Under these measures, the Government has made available appropriate facilities for returning to their home country about 9,000 unemployed Netherlands subjects. These people lived on financial support given by the Netherlands Diplomatic Mission and by other charitable institutions. It is only logical that these persons be repatriated to the country of which they are citizens. What is to be regretted, however, is that my Government's exercise of its rights in the field of unemployment has been taken up and misused by the Netherlands Government and Press to persuade all Netherlands citizens in Indonesia to leave the country. Indeed, the Netherlands Government urged the immediate mass evacuation of Dutch nationals, although there was no urgency for such a step. This action of the Netherlands Government, resulting in a sudden mass evacuation, can only be interpreted as being aimed at disrupting and crippling the economic, technical and administrative services of my country. In the light of Dutch subversive activities committed against the Indonesian Government, which have been exposed in a well documented official paper, this can be the only correct interpretation. It is certainly not becoming for a Foreign Minister to blame the Republic of Indonesia for the consequences of his own Government's policies and actions.

86. Another point which has been raised and to which I feel obliged to refer is the question of the so-called seizure and taking over of the business enterprises and property of Netherlanders. Again, this point has already been fully explained to Members of the United Nations in our afore-mentioned note. But to reiterate briefly, the measures taken in respect of those business enterprises, and so forth, are regulated according to laws adopted during the period of Netherlands colonial rule. The application of these laws, which are still in force in my country, is fully justified in view of the privileged economic position of the Netherlands in Indonesia, representing old vested colonial interests. Moreover, these measures were, in some instances, necessitated by economic sabotage by certain Dutch enterprises, which were about to remove their assets abroad and which were vital to our economy.

87. An illustrative example is that Dutch ships, serving inter-insular shipping in Indonesia under contract with the Indonesian Government, were ordered by their home office to leave Indonesian waters; this, in effect, would have meant disruption of our entire inter-insular transportation system.

88. Certainly the less developed countries, many of them former colonies, will regard with understanding and sympathy this step taken by Indonesia towards normalizing relations between a former colonizer and a former colony.

89. In its relations with other countries, Indonesia has always honoured its commitments, as is known to members of this Assembly who have relations with us. It may be recalled that at the time of transfer of sovereignty, we were burdened with huge debts incurred by the Netherlands, a considerable part of which it had incurred in waging war against the Republic of Indonesia. These included debts to Canada, Australia and the United States. We have settled our obligation to Canada, while those to Australia and the United States are being paid off. As regards the non-recognition of debts to the Netherlands, the then Indonesian representative to the United Nations, in a note to the United Nations of 23 October 1956, already fully explained Indonesia's position and its justification, repudiating the Dutch arguments. It is therefore not necessary for me to repeat them here.

90. My delegation appreciates fully the vitality of the Netherlands to overcome the harm and loss of profit caused by Indonesia, as stated by the representative of the Netherlands. However, Mr. Luns would have been more truthful if he had disclosed that such vitality has been made possible by more than 300 years of colonization and exploitation, resulting in tremendous wealth for the Netherlands and impoverishment for the Indonesian people. As regards Dutch investments in Indonesia, which according to the representative of the Netherlands amount to \$1,250 million, it must be noted that these assets have never been brought to Indonesia from the Netherlands. In their origin, they are Indonesian capital. But my Government has not seized these assets without payment, as contended by the Netherlands Foreign Minister. We have always respected them, and we will continue to respect them if—and I repeat this—if the Dutch Government will learn to respect Indonesian interests as well.

91. The explanation I have just given entirely nullifies the argument of the representative of the Nether-

lands that measures taken by my Government undermine the peace and security of the area. Indeed, such an accusation, coming from a Minister for Foreign Affairs—who in his own words has for the seventh time tried to take stock of the world around us—can only be regarded as out of place.

92. What in fact undermines peace and security in this area of the world is the intransigent attitude of the Netherlands Government in trying to perpetuate its colonial domination over West Irian, an integral part of the territory of Indonesia. This illegal action of the Netherlands can certainly not be regarded as an action aimed at maintaining peace and security, for which Mr. Luns professed to have so much concern. Indeed, the latest step taken by the Netherlands Government to increase its military strength in West Irian can only be considered as a step towards increasing tension in that sensitive part of the globe.

93. It was of particular interest to us to hear the Netherlands Foreign Minister quote the words of the Secretary of State of the United States: "...when one régime attempts by force to take additional territory which has long been under the authority of another Government...that is a use of force that endangers world peace" [749th meeting, para. 28]. It seems indeed strange to hear that quotation from a representative of a country which in fact has by military force obstructed the rightful execution of authority over West Irian by the Indonesian Government.

94. From what I have said, it must be clear to all that the crux of the problem is the still outstanding dispute over West Irian, and that the allegations made against my Government by the representative of the Netherlands can therefore only be appraised in the light of that unsolved colonial issue. That we are today being confronted again with the West Irian problem in this general debate is conclusive proof that this issue cannot be ignored, notwithstanding the fact that the Indonesian Government has not brought it up as an item for inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. We accordingly beg your continued attention to this cause of friction between Indonesia and the Netherlands, which remains explosive in character.

95. I apologize for having taken so much of your time in dealing with the arguments adduced by the representative of the Netherlands, but I trust that you will understand that I was duty-bound to make these comments since my country has been so wrongly attacked and its actions so grossly misrepresented.

96. Mr. TOBAR ZALDUMBIDE (Ecuador) (translated from Spanish): It is a great honour to be allowed to address you on behalf of the people and Government of Ecuador.

97. By national inclination as well as by tradition, Ecuador has always been a zealous advocate of all the resources and instruments provided by international law for the maintenance of peace and security, and during the twelve years since the United Nations came into being, we have given firm and genuine support to the pursuit of the lofty purposes of the Organization. Ecuador has acted in this way with enthusiasm and with faith and proposes to continue doing so, in the conviction that in this community of nations, sustained by the high principles of the Charter, lies the possibility of maintaining and consolidating that peace which is sought by all men of goodwill.

98. Much criticism has been levelled at the United Nations, time and time again, by different sectors of world opinion, and in most instances, the motive has been a logical and justifiable desire for effective action. However, although admittedly we have at times been disappointed we must nevertheless recognize that hopeful prospects have frequently opened before us. By their very nature, human achievements can never be perfect, and this is particularly true in the case of a world organization like the United Nations, which daily has to face tremendous difficulties, conflicting interests, excessive ambitions, and the countless problems which all humanity fervently desires to see solved.

99. We believe, nevertheless, that much has been achieved and we must recognize that this new multi-lateral diplomacy has produced results which give promise of a better world to come. The least we can do is to direct our hopes, and of course our efforts, towards that future.

100. The seriousness of the problems with which the General Assembly is confronted make the current session one of particular importance. The political, psychological, technological and economic forces of present-day life have complicated international relations.

101. Technical progress has enriched the inheritance of humanity which is now toying with the mysteries of the atom and penetrating the unknown world of cosmic space. Tempting possibilities have been revealed of both the atom and outer space being put to use for and by mankind. This is the positive outlook, and it is highly impressive. But the international prospect is sombre and dangerous if peace does not become the common goal.

102. On the positive side, we are encouraged by the efforts in international co-operation being made through the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the object of giving all peoples an opportunity to make use of scientific progress to improve their economy, their living conditions and their culture. In the same way, the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held recently at Geneva, in an exemplary atmosphere of mutual understanding, is a source of gratification.

103. It is equally gratifying to see that both the United States and the Soviet Union have taken the initiative of bringing before this Assembly the question of international co-operation in the study of outer space. It is to be hoped that, through establishment of the *ad hoc* committee suggested by the Secretary of State of the United States [749th meeting], this will lead to the establishment of rules of international law for cosmic space and that discussion of this subject may be kept free of political overtones. In this way constructive progress can be achieved and incalculable difficulties avoided in the future.

104. In the matter of real achievements, we have noted with satisfaction the success of the Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, which was held in Geneva last summer. The eight participating States reached unanimous conclusions which demonstrate how, on a strictly technical level, results have been achieved which will contribute to relieve international political tension.

This promises well for the forthcoming negotiations on this important subject.

105. An agreement such as is envisaged would not only constitute a major step forward in the solution of the great problem of disarmament but would also signify real fulfilment of an imperative demand which humanity makes of the great Powers, not in defence of political interests, or in the name of collective security, or even to save lives, but to safeguard the human stock of future generations, which is perhaps more important than life itself. The report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/3838] reveals frightful facts which give food for serious thought. Experts of both the West and the Communist world have shown the genetic degeneration and the appalling somatic effects which even a tiny amount of radiation may cause. The gravity of this problem makes an immediate agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests essential.

106. In the name of the people of Ecuador, I appeal to the great Powers to act in the same spirit of co-operation as prevailed at the recent Conference of Experts, and to reduce the present tensions and overcome their political difficulties. We believe it is urgently necessary to give mankind the reassurance that the awful dangers inherent in the uncontrolled use of atomic energy, which would nullify the great benefits scientific progress has to offer, are at an end.

107. If we find it highly ironical to compare the tremendous technical advances of our age with the incalculable risks they bring with them, it is no less ironical to compare mankind's sincere desire for peace and the prevailing international tension which is perhaps without precedent in post-war history. In this connexion, we would invite you to reflect upon the fact that in an atomic war no one would emerge the victor, and that therefore if only for pragmatic reason, and no other, it is essential for States to reaffirm their determination to renounce once and for all the use of force as a means of solving international conflicts.

108. We must express our profound concern at the events in the Far East and, although our position on the substance of the problem has been made clear, we feel it appropriate to add our voice to those which have suggested another attempt to achieve conciliation. In doing so, we are following the policy outlined by Ecuador at the San Francisco Conference where today's President of the Republic of Ecuador, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and head of the delegation of Ecuador, spoke in the following terms:

"In the chapter on peaceful settlement of controversies it would seem indispensable that the San Francisco Conference impart all necessary strength to the method of conciliation, because of the flexibility of its application and its psychological efficacy, and trusting the Assembly with the task of approving a statute of regional or continental commissions which, while depending from the Assembly, might exercise conciliation with ample powers in all international divergences of a political character occurring within the respective region or continent."^{1/}

^{1/} United Nations Conference on International Organisation, Vol. I, Doc. 42 P/10.

Perhaps it is along these lines that we should look for the right approach to agreements which will reduce international tension.

109. We cannot of course, overlook the fact that the problem of collective security is broader than the problem of the mere relations between the great Powers. An essential element of any system of collective security is the means of preventing and settling minor conflicts and of rendering aggression impossible in any part of the world, irrespective of its origin and of the attitude of the great Powers towards any such conflict.

110. The United Nations has made a significant contribution to the cause of collective security by applying preventive measures in the case of those conflicts which do not permit of immediate solution. The work of the United Nations military observers in Kashmir, on the frontiers of Israel and in Lebanon has been unobtrusive but effective. It is perhaps little known to the general public, but it has nevertheless saved lives and averted greater evils.

111. A noteworthy trend is developing in the United Nations organs not only to consider the request of any Government that brings a situation or dispute, large or small, to their attention but also to take speedy preventive measures and to send commissions of inquiry to the trouble-spots.

112. I would remind you in particular of the speed with which the Security Council responded to Lebanon's appeal in June 1958^{2/} and the neat way in which the Secretary-General established a large group of military observers. These have, of course, been working under adverse conditions; but we hope that before long they will have re-established completely the authority of the international Organization in that part of the world.

113. A collective security system must of course have the moral authority deriving from a genuine desire on the part of States to help to make it work; but it must also have the means to enable it to take practical action when the circumstances of a dispute so require. We therefore await with keen interest the Secretary-General's report^{3/} on the future application on a less restricted scale of his valuable experience with the United Nations Emergency Force. Statements made in the course of this debate indicate the complexity and importance of the problem and the way in which it is brought up with the political climate of the time.

114. I should like also to make mention of the Organization's economic and social responsibilities. It is impossible to ignore the fact that people throughout the world have become aware that the rights which they enjoy in the political field should also extend into the economic and social fields. The growing interdependence of States has given rise to serious problems because of the fact that some economies are highly developed while others lack the means to utilize their natural resources to the full. Just as the tendency in democratic countries is to recognize the equality of the individuals in every aspect of life, so this tendency should be carried over into international affairs, and

^{2/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Thirteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1958, document S/4023.

^{3/} Subsequently distributed as document A/3943.

the political problems of the future can be solved only in the light of this economic principle.

115. We therefore believe that action to eliminate under-development and poverty is as urgent as action to avoid armed aggression. We are faced with an imperative and urgent duty to show the peoples of the world that the harassing material problems confronting them can be solved in an atmosphere of liberty, peace and economic and social justice. In this connexion I am particularly pleased to note the efforts that are being made on the American continent. These efforts were given a new and most encouraging fillip at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Washington on 23 and 24 September 1958.

116. It must be recognized that the international organizations have not been without their effectiveness in promoting the economic and social development of the under-developed countries. I shall refer to certain basic elements of this problem—technical assistance, common markets, financing, and equity in international trade relations.

117. The plans worked out within the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance have in certain cases made it possible for Governments to achieve results that they could not have achieved alone, while the work of the regional commissions has co-ordinated regional and world economic interests and the studies made by these commissions have opened the eyes of Governments to realities of which they were previously unaware. Technical assistance has also played an essential role in securing adequate financing for the programmes. It is desirable that it should continue to enjoy the support of Member States and earn their confidence by operating in a creative and flexible manner, establishing priorities in accordance with the needs of each State, avoiding entanglement in red tape and steering clear of any attempt to make the situation in any given country fit the needs of the international machinery.

118. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has taken laudable steps to set up one or more Latin American regional markets. The economic development of the countries of Latin America depends essentially on the modernization of agriculture and gradual industrialization. But the limitations implicit in twenty separate markets constitute a fundamental obstacle in both cases. The studies undertaken by ECLA are a valuable guide to Governments and we feel that the steps it has taken towards the integration of the economies of the Latin American countries are in the right direction, for without losing sight of the need to achieve a single market one day, ECLA recognizes that inevitably the process may be long, and the pace slow, and that precipitate integration might produce more upheavals than advantages in still shaky economies. The steps being taken maintain the necessary co-operation with similar efforts being made in other parts of the world.

119. In this connexion, I am pleased to be able to say that for the past twenty-five years Ecuador has been advocating the formation of a Latin American common market and that it supported the first regional effort in 1948 by signing, along with Venezuela, Colombia and Panama, an instrument known as the Quito Charter, which was designed to set up an economic and customs union binding the four countries on the basis of regional

preferences already accepted by various friendly European and American countries.

120. With regard to financing, some progress has been made through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We believe that in the light of this progress it would be in the interests of Member States to support the idea of an increase in the Bank's capital. The Bank has had a healthy influence on economic development and it could render even greater services in the future if its resources were increased sufficiently and if, in its relations with Governments, it remained faithful to its policy of constantly reviewing its activities so as to keep them in line with the constantly changing situation of each country.

121. Similarly, we believe that the capital of the International Monetary Fund should be increased. This organization has already been successful in staving off crises in several countries and has done much to maintain monetary stability. The Second Committee will once again be considering the establishment of the Special Fund. The Ecuadorian delegation will support this project and hopes that the current year will see this important project in operation.

122. In the broad field of international trade relations the establishment of an equitable adjustment of prices is of vital importance. In the primary producing countries, a decline in the price of primary commodities without a corresponding decline in the price of imported manufactured products, and the absence of stable prices may wreck all efforts at economic development.

123. In order to achieve this adjustment between the prices of raw and manufactured products Ecuador proposed at the very first session of the General Assembly that the problem should be studied by the United Nations with a view to finding a just and satisfactory solution. I seem to recall that then, just as at later sessions, there was almost universal agreement on this point.

124. It is essential and urgent that the United Nations should keep up its efforts with a view to some system which will lead to the desired results and thus help not only the under-developed countries but also the highly industrialized countries, which are bound to profit from a rise in the purchasing power of the under-developed countries.

125. Before leaving this rostrum I should like to draw attention to some of the ways in which the recent United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea⁴ has contributed to the progressive development of international law.

126. First, I should like to mention the recognition of the special right of coastal States to take measures to conserve the living resources of the sea adjacent to their territorial waters. This right has been proclaimed by various Governments, including my own, and at Geneva it was generally recognized by the international community. Although recognition was incorporated in an unrealistic system which is not calculated to establish a just relationship between States at different levels of economic and technical development, the progress made towards meeting the views of

⁴ This Conference was held in Geneva from 24 February to 27 April 1958.

coastal States was welcomed by countries like Ecuador, which see in the living resources of their seas an important source of wealth for their economic future.

127. A second important contribution made by the Conference was the recognition of the progress made in contemporary law with respect to the sovereignty of the State over the continental shelf.

128. Thirdly, there was the rapprochement of views on the breadth of the territorial sea and the dynamic approach to this thorny problem, as indicated by the fact that even the proposals put forward by States whose laws still maintain the three-mile principle recognized the exclusive right of the coastal State to the fishing within a twelve-mile zone.

129. Ecuador wishes to reaffirm its faith that the peace which this Organization is called upon to main-

tain and strengthen will one day become a universal and permanent reality, a constructive peace based on relations of law and justice among nations and among nations and among the individuals within nations. If this peace is to be a just peace, it must envisage the need for economic co-operation on a large scale to raise the level of living of the majority of mankind and enable them to live free from fear and poverty and to enjoy the advantages of freedom, respect for human rights and true democracy.

130. Finally, we hope that the medium and small Powers will co-operate more and more actively to solve the world's problems within this Organization; they can no longer continue to be mere spectators of events which could lead to great tragedies for mankind.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.