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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, the delegation of Cuba, in the name of the Cuban people and Government, offers its hearty congratulations on your well-deserved election as President and wishes you every success in the performance of your duties. Cuba is bound to Lebanon by close ties of friendship—we are privileged to have a Lebanese colony living amongst us in our country—and we regard this election as being not merely a testimonial to your personal qualities but also a fitting tribute to the Lebanese people, which has always distinguished itself by its love of democracy, freedom and justice.
2. Never in the brief history of the United Nations has a General Assembly been faced with a longer list of serious and weighty problems than the session now under way. The Cuban delegation feels that to turn a blind eye to the situation would be both foolhardy and reckless.
3. In the third emergency special session of the Assembly in August of this year we tried to settle the problems which were and are still affecting the Middle East. We thought that the agreements we reached on that occasion would lead to conditions of relative peace in the world over an appreciable period of time. But what actually happened was that the meeting was no sooner over than, as if by the sinister design of minds cynical of the rules of international law and of the human race itself, there were outbreaks of aggression in other parts of the globe, especially in the Far East, which brought this dangerous situation forcibly to our attention. For public opinion is puzzled as to whether the rulers of the aggressor Powers, heedless of what their own people may think, have decided to embark on the conquest of the free world, on the mistaken assumption that this is the most favourable time for the attempt. We must face this threat with a calm but unswerving determination to resist all acts of ag-

gression by every means at our disposal and with the firm resolve to maintain at all costs our territorial integrity and political independence. The Cuban delegation feels that this is the only way to make aggressors realize that they are not dealing with nations unable to defend themselves or governments ready to surrender in the face of threats.

4. The delegation of Cuba wishes to state also that it has been disturbed to see that while words like peace and coexistence are being bandied about in this General Assembly, the actions of those who use them are in evident contradiction to what they have to propose. Representatives may be interested to note that the worst threats, ranging from destruction by atom and hydrogen bombs to mass invasion, are being uttered daily by the rulers of the aggressor Powers.

5. As the logical sequel to this situation, the United Nations has now no choice but to take action. We have said here on a number of occasions, and we reiterate today, that it is essential for the United Nations to make it absolutely clear that the present system cannot go on—with the great majority of the Member States honouring the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council while a few States treat with utter contempt any resolutions which thwart their plans in any way. So long as this Assembly continues to be used merely to assert rights without thought of obligations, and so long as the demand continues to be made, invariably in vehement language, that the genuinely peace-loving Powers should respect the General Assembly's decisions while the champions of war and aggression go scot free, the United Nations will remain an ineffectual body and our peoples will be disillusioned.

6. There are, of course, rules of international law that in the course of time have won the respect of States and have made it possible for nations and people to live together in peace. Attempts are now being made to change these rules by unilateral action. Every day we hear of the rules being altered to suit the national purposes of this or that State, the result being legal chaos and ultimately the destruction of international law. Until we face up to these vital problems we shall achieve nothing of value. What is the use of adopting resolutions if we know beforehand that they are not going to be implemented? Recently, to the utter amazement of people everywhere, the height of absurdity was reached when it was actually argued that if a State affected by a resolution, however just this might be, refused to carry out its terms, the issue that prompted the resolution should not again be put on the agenda. To countenance this would be to give the systematic violator of United Nations decisions a free hand—which would hardly be compatible with either the spirit or the letter of the Charter.

7. As I say, proposal after proposal has been put forward on the subject of disarmament, peaceful co-

existence, the prohibition of nuclear tests and so forth. These proposals look excellent on paper and are bound to impress gullible people. But how can we talk about disarmament when we all know perfectly well that the aggressor Powers will not pay the slightest attention to any of the agreements they are proposing, any more than they have paid attention to any of our resolutions?

8. It is no secret that the free world has been able to remain free only because it has managed to build up sufficient strength to make the aggressor Powers think twice. Without this strength, aggression would already have been committed with impunity, as happened where the peoples and nations concerned were unable to defend themselves, and so were reduced to the state of total enslavement they are in today.

9. The Cuban delegation believes and solemnly warns the Western Powers, whose main concern it is, that unilateral disarmament or a ban on nuclear weapons which does not include a general inspection plan with complete and watertight safeguards would be a grave mistake which would sooner or later spell the end of the free world. To think otherwise is to ignore the lessons of recent history at our peril—of that there can be no doubt.

10. Let me say once again—the only answer to the all-out propaganda poured out by the aggressor Powers through every possible medium, is an equally vigorous propaganda campaign to show people everywhere what the situation confronting the free world really is to lay bare the imperialist intentions of the aggressors. The Governments of the Western Powers will be making a mistake—a mistake of the utmost gravity—if they fail to do what for economic reasons they alone can do, namely launch their own all-out propaganda campaign of truth to combat the campaign of lies. There are many nations ignorant of the facts; there are millions of guileless persons who, once the truth has been put before them, backed up with indisputable facts, will see the light and come to realize the grave danger threatening their freedom and the independence of their homelands. This is a task which has been neglected, and there is not a moment to lose; if Governments are unable to tackle it they must leave it to private initiative to find ways and means.

11. As is generally known, on 3 November of this year—in little more than a month, that is—general elections will be held in Cuba to fill the offices of President and Vice-President of the Republic, senators, representatives in the lower house, governors of the six provinces, and mayors and municipal councillors throughout the country. On 24 February 1959 the President of the Republic now in office, Major-General Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, will hand over his office to the President who is elected by the people, whether he is a candidate put forward by the Opposition or one who has the support of the present government political groups.

12. As has been its habit at past Assemblies, my delegation would like to describe briefly the achievements of the Cuban Government during the past year.

13. During 1957 Cuba attained the highest peak of economic expansion in its whole history. The national income rose to \$2,311 million with a further \$358 million in net fixed capital formation; foreign trade amounted to \$1,576 million; domestic sales turnover

exceeded \$2,778 million and the total value of cheques cashed by the banks amounted to \$12,500 million. This great volume of economic activity meant full employment for more than 2 million workers, and unemployment dropped to levels lower in proportion to the population than at any time in the country's history. In 1957 bank transfers amounted to \$6,745 million, an increase of \$2,045 million over 1952. Bank deposits amounted to \$12,486 million and wages paid to workers and employees rose from \$5,924 million for the period 1945-1951 to \$7,792 million between 1952 and 1957, an increase of nearly \$2 million.

14. As those who study such matters will well remember from the reference made by my delegation in a statement to the General Assembly some years ago, there was an incipient economic crisis in Cuba between 1952 and 1953 as a result of over-production of sugar. More than 7 million tons of sugar were produced in a single year, and there were not sufficient market outlets. The President of the Cuban National Bank, Mr. Joaquín Martínez Sáenz, with the help of his expert advisers and the country's other banks, worked out a financing scheme in conjunction with a government plan under which 1,750,000 tons of sugar was to be withdrawn from the market and distributed over five years, the cost of financing the operation—\$120 million—being paid off over the same period. This brilliant scheme, put into effect in a democratic manner in consultation with the parties concerned and with the co-operation of owner-farmers, tenant farmers and workers, saved the situation.

15. Our key industry is today more vigorous and prosperous than ever before and the next Government will take over an industry more stable and more powerful than it has ever been, without either debts of any kind or sugar surpluses likely to have repercussions on the world market.

16. It has always been the ambition of the Cuban people to free themselves from dependence on a single product for their economic development. Like all under-developed countries we are confronted by difficulties mainly because we have a population of only 6 million, and because of tariff barriers set up against many of our exports. Despite this, thanks to the Government's policy and to the decisive action of the Cuban National Bank, its subordinate organs and the commercial banks, we have in a single year gone far towards the development of our industries and our public works generally. In addition, a large number of hotels and motels, with a total of 2,500 double rooms, have been built and put into use for the tourist industry.

17. I might add that the Cuban merchant marine is no longer a matter of mere theory; Cuba already has ships under its own flag, and more are being brought under its flag. The dry dock in the Bay of Havana, the National Fisheries Institute, the fishery stations, the docks to be installed at Mariel, Province of Pinar del Río, the industrial towns that are being built, the project for the use of atomic energy for peaceful economic purposes which does not mean however that we are dropping our efforts to develop our water resources for the supply of towns and irrigated areas, the use of sugar-cane pulp, formerly used only as a fuel, as the basis for large industries producing newsprint and other commercial grades of paper at factories set up in various parts of the island, the establishment

of a national basic metallurgy industry, the West Indies Steel Works, and other plants for the processing of copper, manganese and gold—all these undertakings, together with others in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, manufacturing, social services and so forth, show clearly that, thanks to the intellectual and physical efforts of its estimable people and their Government, Cuba's development is progressing by leaps and bounds.

18. Our agenda includes an item proposed by the Secretary-General, in accordance with the agreement reached at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Geneva earlier this year, namely, the question of convening a second conference to solve those problems which still persist because no effective agreement was reached at the first Conference. This is a most important subject, and one on which we feel impelled to set forth our views so that they may be examined and studied by other delegations to this General Assembly.

19. First, we must point out that it was the Cuban delegation which proposed at Geneva¹ that a second conference should be convened. The original Cuban proposal was that the desirability of calling a second conference should be considered and decided at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. As the result of an amendment it was agreed that the problem should be taken up at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.

20. We are not categorically opposed to a further conference on the law of the sea; on the contrary, we believe that it would be very useful—indeed, that it is essential. However, it seems to us that there might be disadvantages in holding a second conference only a few months after the failure of the first conference without any guarantee that this time the desired success will be obtained. It might be more prudent to wait long enough to allow the Governments concerned to make a careful study of present problems and to achieve a spirit of mutual understanding such as to offer some possibility that the second conference will not end as the first did, namely, without achieving any satisfactory agreement backed by the majority prescribed under our rules of procedure. We shall not, I repeat, oppose whatever decision this Assembly may come to; but we offer this warning because we feel it our duty to do so. International conferences which end in failure make a painful impression on public opinion.

21. The Cuban delegation has noted that the tendency for international expenditure to increase continues. The initial United Nations budget estimates for 1959 amount to \$59,006,170; I call them the initial estimates because during the present session the Assembly will be asked to approve supplementary appropriations of more than \$1 million, which will undoubtedly increase the total budget to more than \$60 million. A general comparison with the budget approved for 1958 shows that for 1959 there will be an increase of approximately \$3 million.

22. In addition to the regular budget estimates, Member States will have to meet the costs of the United Nations Emergency Force and the costs for the

United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon, amounting together to not less than \$25 million or \$30 million. In addition, it is estimated that expenditure for nine specialized agencies, including the International Atomic Energy Agency, will amount to some \$60 million, bringing the sum total of international expenditure to \$150 million.

23. If we add to this the figure for voluntary extra-budgetary contributions (for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the United Nations Refugee Fund, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the United Nations Children's Fund) and the contributions required for the establishment next year of the Special Fund, together with other costs of a regional nature—in the case of the Latin American countries, the costs of operation of the Organization of American States—we must inevitably be forced to the conclusion that international expenditure is becoming too heavy to be borne, especially for small States which because of their unstable and under-developed economies lack any ample source of income. To ask countries in such a situation to make any financial effort additional to that they are already making would be to place them in an extremely difficult position, despite their ardent spirit of international co-operation.

24. We fully understand that the main causes of these increased costs are world inflationary trends and statutory obligations which the Secretary-General is bound to carry out although he is not responsible for them. We also recognize that the financial effort made has not been wholly without effect, since thus far the United Nations has succeeded—although with some difficulty, owing to the group of Member States which refuse to respect the decisions of the majority—in carrying out its fundamental aims of maintaining international peace and advancing the progress and social and economic development of all peoples.

25. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that the time has come to review our activities and programmes with a view to keeping the estimates below a more or less stable maximum figure.

26. The United Nations is doing a great deal in the sphere of economic development. In addition to the appropriations for this purpose under the regular budget, we have the voluntary Special Account of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. If the Special Fund is established next year, increased voluntary contributions will be needed to enable it to start working.

27. In addition to the rise in expenditure on the social and economic development of the under-developed countries, there has also been a rise in recent years in expenditure for the maintenance of international peace, to such an extent that it has proved necessary to raise special funds—in this case not by voluntary contributions. I refer to the United Nations Emergency Force, which has to be maintained by contributions from Member States based on their percentage contributions to the United Nations budget. It is not two years since the Force came into being, and there does not yet appear to be any immediate prospect of dissolving it; on the contrary, there have been discussions of and proposals for establishing it on a permanent basis.

28. If that is to be the case, some thought will have to be given to ways and means of meeting the costs. The

¹/ See Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. II, Annexes, document A/CONF.13/L.25.

Cuban delegation would like to suggest that, just as the Special Account has been established on a voluntary basis for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, we should also set up an emergency fund for the maintenance of peace, financed by voluntary contributions, so that the Secretary-General can deal with emergency situations when they lead to expenditures exceeding the budget appropriations for such purposes. It seems to us neither fair nor just that all Member States should have to contribute—as in the case of the Emergency Force—according to the percentage they contribute to the regular costs of the Organization. Undoubtedly, the maintenance of peace is of equal concern to all; but it is no less obvious that there are small traditionally peace-loving States which do not provoke disputes or conflicts and which do not intervene in any way in disputes occurring in other areas of the world. Thus it seems unjust to such States that they should be asked to make contributions as large as if they bore an equal share of responsibility for these problems.

29. In this connexion, we would draw attention to the memorandum presented by the twenty Latin-American delegations when this matter was raised for the first time two years ago. If it is decided to establish a special or emergency fund for the maintenance of international peace, the permanent members of the Security Council should make the largest initial contributions. This might perhaps render unnecessary the sharp increase from \$22 million to \$30 million in the United Nations Working Capital Fund. Should such an emergency fund for the maintenance of peace be established, the same procedure could be adopted as is followed in securing funds for the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

30. Our agenda contains an item proposed by the Government of Australia [A/3875 and Add.1] and supported by the Government of Uruguay [A/3875/Add.2]. While this item continues to appear on the agenda—and it will do so until the problem is resolved in a final and equitable manner—it will provide ample evidence of the fact that one of the major Powers ignores all the resolutions of the General Assembly. I refer to the question of Hungary.

31. As you are aware, a number of resolutions concerning the tragic case of Hungary have been adopted by the General Assembly. All of them call for the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the Soviet Union from Hungary, in order that the noble people of that country may freely decide their own future. These resolutions are: 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956; 1005 (ES-II), 1006 (ES-II) and 1007 (ES-II), all of 9 November 1956; 1127 (XI) and 1128 (XI) of 21 November 1956; 1130 (XI) of 4 December 1956; 1131 (XI) of 12 December 1956 and 1132 (XI) of 10 January 1957.

32. We now have presented to us for our consideration and study the special report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3849] which proves once again that the situation in that unfortunate country remains the same as that which gave rise to the earlier resolutions, resolutions which went unheeded. Of particular interest in this connexion, of course, is the attitude taken by some self-styled neutral statesmen who, although they have always insisted very firmly for compliance by the Western Powers with all General Assembly resolutions, have not adopted the same attitude by asking the Soviet

Union to comply with the resolutions to which I have referred, which were approved by an overwhelming majority of Member States. They appear to apply the strange philosophy of requiring compliance of those who already know that they must heed the instructions of this Organization, while adopting an excessively indulgent attitude towards those who openly defy and scoff at our decisions. This they do, to the amazement of the world, on the pretext that it will contribute towards international peace and peaceful coexistence.

33. Last Monday, in this general debate, the representative of the Hungarian régime made assertions that would surprise even the primary school students in any country of the Americas. The Kadar representative asked: "What kind of justice was reflected in the Spanish-American War in 1898 when Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were turned into United States colonies?" [763rd meeting, para. 86]. I shall take pains to answer that question briefly with some facts.

34. Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico had been Spanish colonies for centuries; after the Spanish-American War Cuba and the Philippines became free, independent and sovereign States and Members of the United Nations, long before Hungary was admitted. Puerto Rico is a freely associated state of the United States by the will of the great majority of its citizens, expressed in a referendum, the legality and honesty of which are above question. This, then, was the action of the State which emerged victorious in the War of 1898.

35. Now in the middle of the twentieth century the Soviet Union, contrary to all principles of law and justice, invades Hungary with its troops and causes the death of thousands of Hungarian men, women and children fighting for their freedom; and the so-called representative of Hungary comes to this Assembly to present the Dantean spectacle of applauding the mass execution of his own countrymen. May world public opinion judge the conduct of each of the two great Powers to which I have referred.

36. We believe it is our duty to state once again the views of the Cuban delegation. So long as no final solution has been found for the problem of the unification of Germany, kept divided by force against all principles of justice; so long as the unification of Korea, called for by many resolutions of the General Assembly which also have gone unheeded, has not been achieved; so long as we do not go thoroughly into the situation in the countries of Eastern Europe, which are suffering occupation contrary to all the rules of international law, the peoples of the world will doubt the effectiveness of the United Nations no matter how eloquently we may speak in this General Assembly. This is a painful truth which we cannot ignore and must not conceal from ourselves; to do so would only greatly discourage the peoples concerned, who would rightly believe that we are abandoning them to their fate.

37. The Cuban delegation hopes, in spite of all I have said, that common sense and justice will prevail in our deliberations. What is essential is that each one of us should do his duty for the United Nations and for mankind, which is watching us.

38. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like first of all to

congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

39. An objective survey of the development of international relations during the past few months shows that considerable efforts have been made and that some worth-while results have been obtained. In particular, these positive results include the outcome of the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, the progress towards suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests, and the agreement on further negotiations in Geneva on this subject. This shows that in spite of all the difficulties, and in spite of the unhappy impression left by the many problems still awaiting a solution, some gradual progress can be achieved.

40. It is clear, however, that the progress achieved so far, and the combined efforts of the United Nations to stabilize peace, are in danger of being nullified by the crises which arise periodically in different parts of the world, and which have been particularly frequent during the past few months. It was hoped, after the satisfactory outcome of the third emergency special session, that tensions would relax further. But as soon as the immediate dangers of that crisis had been averted, and even before the recommendations of that session could be put into effect, the antagonisms that have long been smouldering in the Far East, and which are important elements in the general international situation, flared up anew.

41. Such crises inflame international relations and endanger peace. They tend to nullify the good effects of any progress which is achieved, and make it more difficult to solve problems that are ripe for solution. How, for example, can we expect to make any real progress towards a sorely needed disarmament agreement, when we are continually being faced with situations which bring us to the verge of war, particularly when each of the opposing parties warns the other that it has force at its disposal and is prepared to use it? As a result of this situation, we are witnessing a marshalling and sanctioning of the most deadly weapons of mass destruction, in fact of all that the international community is exerting such efforts to outlaw.

42. It must be borne in mind that the so-called global balance of power does not provide and cannot in itself provide any real safeguard against the outbreak of war. On the contrary, it is obvious that a continuation of what is in fact a policy based on force can only increase the danger that events will take a course that will become impossible to control. Therefore joint efforts to prevent or overcome these crises—in other words the struggle for peace—must include deliberate action to discourage and reject any policy based on the use of force.

43. We cannot forever rest content with averting war at the last moment; we should also be making painstaking and unceasing efforts to eliminate the factors in the present international situation which give rise to the critical situations that beset us. This means that we must redouble our efforts to resolve the long-term problems facing the United Nations.

44. Opinions vary as to the causes of present events in the Far East, and consequently as to the best means of dealing with them. This dispute is particularly serious because it is in fact a direct clash be-

tween two great Powers, one of which is being, so to speak, forcibly excluded from the United Nations. Moreover, in view of the present state of international relations, particularly between the blocs, this dispute raises the extremely delicate question of a change in the demarcation line between the forces of the two sides. However, now that the question has been raised, I believe that no objective analysis can ignore the basic fact that Taiwan and the islands in the Taiwan Strait are an integral part of Chinese territory. We consider, as we stated earlier at the beginning of this session [754th meeting], that the seriousness of the situation in this area is greatly increased by the fact that the People's Republic of China has been prevented from taking its rightful place in the United Nations. Nor can it be denied that, as a result of the course taken by events, this question has now become one of international interest affecting world peace, and is consequently a matter of immediate concern to the world community. Since this is so and since we are convinced that a solution must be found by peaceful means that will safeguard both peace and the legitimate rights I have mentioned, clearly it is in the general interest that a just solution should be obtained through negotiation, and the first step will have to be a satisfactory settlement of the question of the Chinese offshore islands.

45. A few weeks ago the third emergency special session of the General Assembly was concerned with the acute crisis in the Middle East. That session, which concluded with the unanimous adoption of a resolution submitted by the delegations of the Arab States [resolution 1237 (ES-III)], provides us with a heartening example which should encourage us to deal with other international problems in the same constructive manner. The session was followed by fruitful diplomatic activity, not for the first time, on the part of the Secretary-General. It is now essential that the peoples of the Middle East should be allowed to work out their own destinies freely and in peace, with such help from the United Nations as they consider necessary. To that end, the first indispensable step is to put into effect without delay the General Assembly's unanimous recommendation on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

46. The report submitted two days ago by the Secretary-General [A/3934/Rev.1], in accordance with the resolution adopted at the third emergency special session of the General Assembly, together with the letters by the Governments of the United States [A/3942] and the United Kingdom [A/3937], are therefore of special interest. We believe that the arrangements arrived at by the Secretary-General and the Middle East Governments concerned establish the conditions which, under the terms of the resolution, were to facilitate an early withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Lebanon and Jordan. In our view it follows that the Governments whose troops are in those two countries cannot make the withdrawal of their troops dependent on conditions which they themselves would lay down. We therefore hope that in accordance with the arrangements set forth in the Secretary-General's report and the statements contained in the letters of the two Governments, a complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Lebanon and Jordan will be carried out as soon as possible.

47. Experience shows more and more that peace and international co-operation depend essentially on the ability of the nations of the world, first, to adapt themselves to the new political and social trends that are emerging, some quietly, some violently, in different parts of the world, and secondly, to recognize the legitimacy of the processes which are taking place. The underlying cause of these trends is the gradual struggle of an increasing number of peoples that are resolved to free themselves from the condition of political and economic dependence to which they had been condemned in the past, and to become fully equal partners in the community of nations.

48. The United Nations has recently made an important contribution in this connexion. As the Secretary-General said in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/3844/Add.1], several million people in Africa and in the Pacific area are looking forward to early emergence from trusteeship. That should make us oppose all the more strongly the persistent efforts, both deplorable and futile, to halt these developments by force, which are still being made in Algeria, Cyprus and elsewhere, and make us press for agreed solutions based on the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

49. During all this time there has been no abatement of the arms race, with all the dire consequences that it entails, especially in view of the present state of international tension. The remarkable advances in science and technology that have made it possible to harness hitherto undreamt of sources of energy, and have brought outer space and the depths of the ocean within the reach of mankind, are still mainly viewed as the source of new and more fearful means of destruction. Meanwhile the distinction between defensive and offensive weapons is becoming increasingly blurred, even at the technical level.

50. It is true that some progress has been made during the year in dealing with certain aspects or elements of the complex problem of disarmament. This could, and indeed should, open the way for further progress. In this connexion we are thinking more especially of the results obtained with regard to the stopping of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests. Those results were made possible in the first place by the highly important unilateral decision of the Soviet Union to discontinue test explosions, and also by the agreements reached at the Geneva Conference of Experts^{2/} and the announcements by the Governments of the United States [A/3895] and the United Kingdom [A/3896 and Corr.1] that they too were prepared to suspend nuclear tests for a certain period and on certain conditions, not all of which we consider fully justified. We welcome this progress, and are convinced that there should be no further obstacle to an immediate, general and lasting cessation of nuclear tests. We therefore have the right to hope that the conference of representatives of the Powers which have been conducting nuclear tests will arrive at an early agreement, and that those Powers will carry out the terms of that agreement as soon as possible. Mention should also be made of the agreement con-

cerning a technical conference on the question of safeguards against surprise attacks. The Yugoslav delegation, like many others, is of the opinion that the conference on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests and the new technical conference should both be linked as closely as possible with the United Nations. We hope that the General Assembly will make the necessary recommendations to that effect.

51. It must be noted with regret that during these past twelve months United Nations activity in connexion with disarmament proper has come to a halt. Such a situation cannot be considered normal from the standpoint either of disarmament or of the role or responsibilities assigned to the United Nations by the Charter. We can hardly expect to make further and more substantial progress on disarmament unless we apply different criteria and a broader framework than those determined by the rigid requirements and interests of military alliances. In other words, the approach to the problem must guarantee fuller expression of the general interest of the international community in safeguarding and strengthening peace. Accordingly, the problem should be considered primarily within the framework of the United Nations. No one denies the special responsibility borne by the great Powers—or by the alliances of which they are the leaders—in connexion with disarmament, particularly since disagreements between those Powers are the principle cause of the regrettable situation in which we find ourselves in this regard. However, if those Powers are really ready to negotiate and to conclude an agreement, the holding of such negotiations within the framework of the United Nations, where the other countries will be able to show their interest and participate, cannot fail to contribute towards its conclusion.

52. Technical studies and preliminary work by conferences of experts have an important role to play in connexion with the solution of the disarmament problem. We are convinced, however, that the problem of disarmament is by force of circumstance essentially a political one and that efforts to solve it must therefore be made on that level.

53. We are of the opinion that a United Nations disarmament body should be established as soon as possible for that purpose. In our view, it should be a political body capable of doing effective work, with a balanced membership acceptable to all. This purpose should, it seems to us, be the easier to achieve in that the disarmament question, as several of those who preceded me on this rostrum have pointed out, is not one which can be decided by majority vote.

54. The Yugoslav Government, it will be recalled, has declared itself in favour of the idea of concluding initial partial agreements which are not dependent upon each other, because it feels that this is the most practical and effective approach. This is the method of approaching the disarmament problem which we advocated in the draft resolution^{3/} that we submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in 1956, in the memorandum^{4/} addressed by the

^{2/} Conference of Experts to Study the Possibility of Detecting Violations of a Possible Agreement on the Suspension of Nuclear Tests, held from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

^{3/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January to December 1956, document DC/92.

^{4/} Ibid., Supplement for January to December 1957, document DC/112, Annex 4.

Yugoslav Government to the Sub-Committee in 1957 proposing inter alia the unilateral discontinuance of nuclear tests, and in the draft resolution^{5/} that we submitted to the General Assembly at its twelfth session.

55. In this connexion we believe it might be useful for this Assembly to make recommendations to the United Nations disarmament body concerning those aspects of the disarmament problem on which there is the greatest likelihood of reaching one or more initial agreements.

56. The Yugoslav delegation will continue to favour the reduction of military budgets, which would alleviate the burden of armaments and make it possible to give more effective economic aid to under-developed countries. It has also been and will continue to be a consistent advocate of measures to prevent the use of cosmic space for other than peaceful and scientific purposes. At the appropriate time, we shall comment more fully on this and other matters in the First Committee.

57. Economic needs have a profound effect upon the course of international relations. The uneven development of the world economy is reflected in a large number of political and social situations. One problem which is being widely discussed today, that of relations between economically developed and under-developed countries, is becoming increasingly urgent. Inevitably, its international repercussions are considerable. It is therefore impossible to dissociate efforts to improve international political relations from endeavours to develop economic relations, and vice versa.

58. The action taken and the new proposals made in various quarters in this connexion reflect the growing economic interdependence of the countries of the world and should contribute to the expansion of international co-operation in the economic field. The more those proposals are in harmony with the Charter and are integrated into the general framework of the activities of the United Nations, the broader will be their support.

59. Bilateral co-operation continues to predominate in international relations. In our era, and particularly since the end of the Second World War, we have witnessed the relatively rapid development of multi-lateral co-operation, especially regional co-operation. A new form of international economic co-operation, and one which is likewise a post-war development, is co-operation within the framework of the United Nations. It is vitally important to encourage this latter form of co-operation because the existing pattern and forms of international economic relations no longer meet the requirements of the world in which we live with all its contradictions, changes and advances. The contemporary world demands broader, more universal and more generally acceptable forms of co-operation.

60. We have no doubt that the form of co-operation which we have just mentioned will continue to develop. The past ten years are particularly significant in this respect. The rate at which this development will take place is, of course, important. Yugoslavia has

always favoured co-operation of this kind, without, however, minimizing the importance of bilateral relations and, wherever possible, regional relations. We do not think that these forms of co-operation are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, we are convinced that they complement each other.

61. In accordance with this policy we have from the outset supported the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). We also hope that the United Nations will bring that institution into being in the near future. We feel that the establishment this year of the Special Fund confirms the need for SUNFED; that is why we are in favour of establishment of the Special Fund as a step in that direction.

62. My delegation shares the view expressed by many other delegations that stabilization of the primary commodity market is also of the greatest importance for the development of the under-developed countries. We therefore welcome the re-establishment of the Commission on International Commodity Trade, which includes this among its principal tasks.

63. In our view, the main conclusion to be drawn from all that we have said thus far is that the principal requirement, in the present stage of international relations, is to maintain and extend the use of the method of negotiation and agreed solutions. Faithful to this principle, my Government actively supports all forms of negotiation leading to the stabilization of peace and the establishment of peaceful relations among nations. We are profoundly convinced that the United Nations is particularly fitted to reconcile differing points of view and bring about agreements. This fact has been amply demonstrated by experience.

64. Any initiative along these lines should, in our opinion, be assessed in terms of the underlying realism and desire to reach agreement. The principal element of any policy directed towards the attainment of agreed solutions should be an attempt to reconcile differing points of view in accordance with the requirements for the development and social progress of mankind and on the basis of equality and non-interference. My Government has always sought to establish, within the United Nations and in its bilateral relations, close and mutually advantageous co-operation with all countries, particularly its neighbours, regardless of their social system or form of government. I think I may say, in this connexion, that we have obtained noteworthy results with all those who have displayed the same spirit.

65. It is true that the policy of active coexistence, precisely because it is the opposite of those trends in international relations which tend to widen the gulf between nations and blocs, frequently meets with incomprehension or a negative reaction on the part of those who support such trends. This is the primary cause of the difficulties which my country encounters in its relations with certain other countries. This does not mean, of course, that the policy of coexistence is mistaken. On the contrary, it emphasizes the need to redouble our efforts to make this policy prevail in international relations.

66. The views which I have endeavoured to set forth embody the essence of the policy of peaceful and active coexistence as we understand it. That policy does not reflect exclusively the requirements of a

^{5/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 24, document A/C.1/L.180.

particular trend of social development or the particular interests of certain countries. Rather it represents an objective requirement of our age. The world is clearly becoming more and more aware of this requirement and I believe that that has been fully confirmed by many statements made in the general debate. The views expressed by the representatives of many countries show that the policy of coexistence is the only possible policy today and that the all too frequent crises and upheavals which occur in international relations are actually caused by lack of understanding, ignorance and failure to apply the postulates of coexistence, which are likewise the postulates of the Charter. The representatives of a number of countries, particularly the smaller countries, both "committed" and "uncommitted", have shown themselves to be largely in agreement on this point and have clearly expressed their views in this regard. The growing importance of these ideas and of the forces expressing them is, we are convinced, the most important development in international relations today.

67. May I say in conclusion that the Yugoslav delegation, fully aware of the importance of this session of the General Assembly for the cause of peace and international co-operation, will strive to contribute actively to the success of its work.

68. Mr. TAMAYO (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, permit me to add my delegation's congratulations to the many which you have received in connexion with your election.

69. Speaking as I do on behalf of a weak country, I realize the limitations which this imposes, even though contemporary history shows that words are acquiring an influence that does not depend on the possession of huge stocks of fearful weapons. The weaker countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America—and even the European countries which are trying to consolidate themselves in the no man's land between East and West—have nothing to pit against the great masses and accumulations of power but their sense of human dignity, their sympathy for the simple, basic aspirations of man and their observance of the rules of law. It is the existence of these values which makes it impossible to classify nations solely by reference to the size of their population or the volume of their trade. On what can the weaker nations rely for their defence but on the intangible weapons provided by international law, on the responsibility which power imposes on the great nations and on solidarity and understanding among themselves?

70. However, the problem of establishing a system of international law is affected not only by the growing disparity between the great and small countries, which has been widening the political and cultural gap between them, but also by the trend of relationships and associations among the weaker countries. Those who hope or expect to see the power relationships among the great nations transformed into a true system of international law—one with its own organs and with rules which are inviolable and not subject to the overriding influence of the strongest—do not base their hopes on the possibility of the great Powers developing not only the material basis of power but the corresponding moral and political capacity to wield that power for the benefit of mankind. They base their hopes rather on the fact that only the rational limita-

tion of power—the increasing exercise of self-control—can guarantee the survival of the great Powers. The era of the Pax Romana and that of empires based on absolute rule by a single great Power have passed into history. We are living in an age in which the great Powers cannot increase their strength by means of war and can gain peace only by accepting their vast responsibility and effectively limiting their own sovereignty. The view which my country expressed in 1944, as the Second World War neared its end, is more than ever applicable today: "Power exacts its price. Power exacts its penalty."

71. We have arrived at a stage in human history at which the security of the weaker countries depends on the insecurity engendered by the great nations' armaments; on their own capacity to unite in defence of right, and on a rapid rise in the living standards and level of knowledge of their backward peoples. The accumulation of atomic power no longer affords any nation a sense of security: for the weak, the wide distribution of nuclear weapons provides the best and perhaps the only defence against them. For what is at stake for the great Powers is no longer merely a vast number of human beings or the fate of subjugated countries, but their own fate and their own existence. Realization of this simple and quite irrefutable fact is resulting if not in a new conception of international security, then at least in a policy of security and an inescapable trend towards the increasingly responsible use of power.

72. This trend in the international policy of the great Powers at the present stage in history is serving to further and reinforce the efforts of the weaker countries or, to be more accurate, of the weak, underdeveloped areas of the world. The weaker countries justly maintain that a better life can be achieved only as the result of a policy of assistance directed by the great Powers—a policy which would cover financial and technical aid and would ensure stable export markets and an equitable relationship between purchase and sales prices. While the great Powers' programme of assistance to the underdeveloped countries—which is a logical result of the unequal distribution of power and economic resources in the world—is capable of being expanded and improved so as to achieve a better balance between the interests of the donor and those of the recipient nations, this approach will prove inadequate and somewhat ill-timed, unless the weaker countries themselves, as a basic prerequisite for any international efforts to promote higher levels of living, tackle the urgent task of their own integration and the problem of their mutual relations. While the more highly industrialized nations of Europe are joining forces in a common market and pooling their capital resources and experience in order to establish an iron and steel community, the countries of Latin America believe that they can cling to the luxury of some competition with one another and yet succeed in setting up a common market, a regional fund to finance industrialization, or a regional association of food and raw-materials producers.

73. Although there has been some improvement in the system of inter-American law, the countries of Latin America, living side by side, are hedged about by customs barriers and other institutions which isolate them from one another; in other words, while the machinery of diplomatic solidarity is being strength-

ened and the political need for Latin-American unity is becoming clearer than ever, the economies of these neighbouring countries are moving further apart and competition among them is becoming more intense.

74. This means that the development of policy is lagging far behind that of ideas and that our practice belies our theoretical assertion regarding our common destiny. We shall not be able to achieve this common destiny so long as our markets are watertight compartments, our frontiers are barriers which obstruct the free flow of persons, capital and goods, and each country buries itself in its own domestic problems as though in a sealed vault. I must say in all candour that the Latin-American countries have made little or no progress in this task of transforming insular provincialism into integrated regionalism, that is, into a type of association which is designed to co-ordinate their financial and material resources and expand the volume of their economic activity. This regionalism should aim not at excluding certain nations or making them subordinate to others, but at providing a practical basis for a new sense of solidarity and at paving the way for the new kind of Latin-American community, which has been our ideal ever since the stormy era of our wars of independence.

75. It was at that juncture in history that we achieved a perfect fusion of idea and reality—the idea of solidarity and the reality of the association of the Indo-Hispanic peoples of America in a common destiny. For more than a century, Latin-America has been expounding the doctrine of integrated regionalism and continental nationalism. It is therefore surprising that the forces of isolation have prevailed over the need for interpretation, a static, regressive policy over a dynamic policy of joining together to work and make common cause against the world's problems. If the peoples of this hemisphere had achieved the maturity required to make Latin-American nationalism an economic and political reality, their foreign economies would not be so conspicuously vulnerable and so completely dependent on foreign financial and commodity markets, nor would their industries be on so small and limited a scale.

76. But although this idea of Latin-American solidarity was the first of its kind in modern history, the Latin-American countries are now lagging behind the backward countries of Asia and Africa: African and Arab nationalism has taken the lead in pointing out avenues for action; it is seeking to resolve by joint effort the problems which the small countries can no longer resolve individually and separately. The prerequisite for effective co-operation between the weaker countries and the great Powers—for genuine co-operation rather than an unstable relationship based on dependence—is that the weaker countries should unite together and merge their economies and their national frontiers.

77. It is this thesis—which has so long a history and yet has been so little applied in practice—that my country wishes to put forward here in the United Nations. My country, which is one of the poorest in Latin America and is land-locked, has had the courage to carry through far-reaching revolutionary changes in order to complete the work begun in the wars of independence and to make the organs of Government fully democratic. Bolivia believes that the problem of its tin, its tungsten, its basic minerals and its oil must be

attacked not only on a national basis but also in conformity with its sense of geographical solidarity and of involvement in the destiny of the Latin-American countries. American geographical solidarity must be based on the principle that all the peoples which share in our common destiny have common spiritual frontiers.

78. At the present time, my country is faced by Soviet economic aggression, which aims at the gradual destruction of the world tin market. The fearful prospect of armed aggression with modern weapons of war tends to overshadow the fact that economic aggression also breaches the innermost defences of the country attacked and spreads ruin and intolerable misery in its midst. The Soviet Union's aim in dumping huge quantities of tin on the world markets can only have been to demoralize the peoples which live by the export of that mineral and to capitalize on the resulting discontent and social unrest.

79. My country has effected far-reaching political, economic and social changes. The people is free, and the country is sovereign. No form of oligarchy exists. If the Soviet Union's conduct was consistent with its own propaganda, it would respect this country which has made such efforts to emancipate its people and regain its dignity. The reason for the present Soviet attitude is that our revolution was accomplished without foreign tutelage and without invoking any doctrine alien to the Christian tradition of its supporters. The fact is that my people is today the victim of an economic war unleashed by distant enemies which have selected Bolivia as the latest target of their many-sided worldwide offensive. I appeal to the free countries to ponder this grave situation which has arisen.

80. I wish to point out that Bolivia has carried out a revolution designed not only to guarantee its people the right of self-government, but also to co-ordinate its economy with the economies of the entire region and to give new meaning to its nationalist policy. Bolivia's revolutionary nationalism is expressed and confirmed in the conventions on economic and highway co-ordination which it has signed with all its neighbours. Under these conventions, Bolivia's oil, minerals and coffee are to contribute towards improving conditions in those of its sister nations which lack these vital elements for their development. This is only an isolated effort, however; Bolivia wishes to see it transformed into a common aspiration and translated forthwith into a policy of gradual integration.

81. A Latin-American common market—which is certainly the economic prerequisite for the systematic industrialization of the region—must be a target for today, not tomorrow. The same applies to the establishment of a regional investment fund to promote the creation of a Latin-American capital market and channel more funds into agricultural, industrial and service enterprises, and also to the formation of regional co-operatives and associations of metal, fibre, coffee and oil producers. By establishing a proper relationship between the price of exports and imports, integration along these lines will do more to promote market stability and fair prices than constant complaints and pleas at regional and international conferences. What is needed is for the weaker countries to begin practising solidarity at home instead of placing all their reliance on the adoption of a policy of co-operation and assistance by the great Powers.

82. It is also time that the Latin-American countries, by employing multilateral clearing arrangements, adopted a system of trade suited to their shortage of foreign exchange in gold and dollars. We have reached a point where bilateral clearing arrangements, such as those in force between Bolivia and Chile, Bolivia and Argentina, and Bolivia and Brazil, are too narrow and restricted. Hence the vital necessity of converting these bilateral arrangements into a broad, multilateral system, which will provide for the transfer of credit and debit balances and will greatly extend the ability of countries to purchase and pay for Latin-American goods. The staple products of the Latin-American economy must be used to build up and increase purchasing power within the Latin-American area.

83. The methods by which this purchasing power would be increased are very simple: application of the doctrine of solidarity which has been propounded since the Liberation of 1810, substitution of the principles of co-operation among nations for those of competition, and adoption of procedures for economic integration. What is required of us at this time is not a new regional or international philosophy but a new mode of behaviour; that is the purpose of the appeal voiced by my nation, which though small feels itself inspired and moved by a higher cause—that of Latin-American nationalism. It is our duty to learn the lesson taught by the nationalist movements which—regardless of what their political content may be—are uniting the Indians, the Indonesians, the Arabs and the Africans. I hope that this appeal may serve to focus world attention on Bolivia's problem with regard to tin and basic exports and on the gross inadequacy of the international loans and investments available to the backward countries at a time when the Soviet Union is conducting an offensive designed to undermine the world tin market.

84. Bolivia has had the same experience as those Latin-American nations which cannot hope to obtain in the foreign market the capital required for their industrialization and development... not even an institution as sound as the Bolivian State Petroleum Organization, with its numerous oil concessions and plentiful fixed capital, has been able to obtain the dollars it needs in order to carry out large-scale extracting and refining operations and transform its output into a motive force for Bolivian agricultural, industrial and mining development. The institutions for the financing of economic development in the underdeveloped countries, which are attempting to combine investments by foreign Governments with those from private sources, are quite inadequate to the needs and aspirations of those countries and are doing little towards ensuring that the rate of productivity increase keeps pace with the rate of natural population increase. However, it would be more constructive to help establish new institutions to promote investment, economic protection, integration and genuine co-operation rather than attempt to reorganize existing international agencies, since the latter already have a well-defined structure, policy and method of operation.

85. I am convinced that this is not only the best contribution that Latin America can make to its own overall development, but also the best contribution it can make to the cause of achieving international co-operation and a just peace in the world. I say this because what I have proposed will promote not only

industrial development but also social and political progress, by removing the limitations caused by a purely local and parochial outlook.

86. The practical force of international law depends not only on relations among the great Powers but also on the extent to which the weak, backward countries of the world unite to form new economic and political groupings on a regional basis. Responsibility for world peace rests not only with the strong but also with the weak countries, to the extent that the latter cease to form ineffective groups of countries with no philosophy of their own and transform themselves into integrated associations playing an active part in the settlement of international issues. That is why Latin-American integration is not only an internal problem of the Latin-American countries which are seeking a more suitable mode of national expression, but is also closely bound up with the need for a better system of peaceful international relations governed by law. To the extent that such new associations are developed and forged, an improvement in relations among the great Powers will be possible—since their vast burden of responsibility and their heavy reliance on their respective arms resources will have been reduced—and the world will be able to approach a new and realistic concept of a "world state based on law".

87. It is the opinion of Bolivia and of its revolutionary people and State—an opinion based on the tenets of the Bolivian revolution—that progress in this direction is the responsibility and the mission of the Latin-American nations and the weaker nations of Asia and Africa. It is their mission not only as Latin Americans, Arabs, Indonesians or Africans but also as members of the human race who share its common destiny and are militant in the cause of its indivisible unity.

88. Mr. PORRAS BARRENECHEA (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I consider it a great honour and responsibility to speak from this world rostrum of the United Nations in the annual debate on the international situation and world order, a debate having as its purpose the building of peace and understanding among all nations. This duty would be simple enough if I confined myself to discoursing on Peru's mission of peace and civilization on the southern continent; on its accession, from the outset, to the agreements which initiated the juridical organization of Spanish America in the days of the emancipation; and on its unwavering contribution to the establishment and maintenance of the great moral and mediatory power of the United Nations. This duty is, on the other hand, an arduous and difficult one to discharge with all the sincerity that must govern our conduct if I have to take into account the confusion and contradiction of principles and interests, the changeable and unexpected situations which arise, the lassitude and perplexity of the masses in our time, a time described by a European humanist as a difficult era when no one can speak or be silent with impunity.

89. The anxiety of our age is certainly not without precedent. There have been other times of uncertainty and anguish, of deterioration in ethical and political standards, of danger to the forces of intelligence and freedom, of waves of political and moral violence, both within nations and between them. History shows that the forces of the spirit have ultimately overcome all threats of violence and intolerance arising from destructive self-interest and that, although truth and

freedom no triumph completely, it has always been possible, after irreconcilable struggles and hostilities, to maintain the fundamental balance of nations within the creative dialectic of humanism and civilization.

90. Like the gravest of the periods of historical upheaval, this is a time of continuing anxiety in which short periods of comparative respite are followed by others in which the cold war, indirect aggression or surprise attack loom dangerously over the trouble spots of the world. As in the times of the religious wars, the danger of internal and foreign inquisitions again arises, and the bitterness of language and argumentation weighted by dogma are a far cry from the prudence, discretion and courtesy which were achieved over the centuries as the flower of civilization. This time, however, the struggle on the brink of disaster jeopardizes the existence not only of the two powerful antagonists in this tragedy and of the great Powers in the front ranks on each side, but it also compromises the life and well-being of all mankind and indeed the future of civilization on this earth.

91. Direct discussion between the great Powers, whether it be on the tragic divisions of Eastern Europe or of the Far East, on disarmament or the discontinuance of nuclear tests, or on spheres of influence, is not bringing about a relaxation of world tension, as we have repeatedly discovered, because those Powers are incapable of agreeing even on an agenda for a conference. The reason is that every step they take, every word they speak involves a question of prestige. Their fear is that any concession, any flexible approach, may be interpreted as weakness by the propaganda of the opposing party. The prospect of a great-Power conference is being obstructed by the fear that such a conference may serve the propaganda purposes of the other side.

92. This is where the so-called small nations, whose vital interests are as much at stake as those of the powerful States, can play a role and serve usefully as intermediaries. They could consider possible methods and practices for relaxing tension even though that might have to be on a modest scale at the beginning. Of course, some of the problems dividing the world are difficult to settle, for the time being, and some are virtually insoluble. That is true with regard to the peoples deprived of their independence in Europe, the dramatic case of Hungary, the unification of Germany and those peoples who are seeking international recognition in the Far East. These situations will continue to be of concern to all free men. As, however, genuine and complete peace is for the time being unattainable, an attempt must be made to encompass the cold war by blunting some of the sharper edges and thus opening the way to gradual solutions at some later stage. In the event that the negotiations auspiciously opened at Warsaw should fail, the United Nations should assume its function under the Charter in respect of threats to the peace, since the Security Council has not been given jurisdiction in the matter and is prevented by the veto from taking action. In assuming jurisdiction, the General Assembly might recommend that the parties should refrain from any act of violence likely to aggravate the present dispute over Formosa. That would provide the opportunity for the small nations to plan and work out an agenda for a meeting of the great Powers, restricting it to ques-

tions likely to produce agreement, but with a view to a permanent solution. If that first endeavour should prove successful, however modest it might appear, a great deal would actually have been achieved in reducing the danger of war, in giving some hope to the world and in softening the rigidity of the respective positions.

93. Accordingly, the Peruvian delegation, in coming to this Assembly, has entertained the idea of proposing that the Assembly should appoint a committee composed of an equal number of members to that of the nations not directly involved in disputes, such as the Afro-Asian States, the neutral countries of Europe and the Latin-American Republics. While it is true that the last-named category is irrevocably part of Western civilization in ideals, spirit and culture, its members are eminently peace-loving and in establishing the regional American system have provided themselves with the most complete and effective juridical organization for the solution of international problems that exists anywhere in the world. This proposal is not in any way rigid or narrow and is open to all sorts of amendments. Our sole intention is to take the initiative in a useful undertaking based on the necessity stated by my country for the so-called small nations to assume an active and constructive role in world development on which, in the last analysis, their fate and their existence depend. That position was made manifest in America by the President of Peru when he asked that the Latin nations of both continents should be kept informed of Western policy, and by the President of Brazil in his reply to President Eisenhower in launching Operation Pan-America.

94. The functions of this committee, which would be determined by experts, would be basically to prepare the agenda for a possible great-Power meeting, to maintain contact among the great Powers and to serve as a repository for proposals aimed at reconciling the various positions or bringing about a temporary adjustment which would pave the way for a fair and lasting solution.

95. The disarmament question is without doubt the most urgent and important problem before the United Nations and the one which most seriously jeopardizes human progress and the cause of peace. Its solution is essential if there is to be any kind of legal order in the world, for legal order presupposes a regulation and limitation of power. We are living at a crucial time which may lead either to peace and prosperity or to war and universal destruction. Conditions favorable to an agreement may exist, although no definite solution is discernible. There is agreement between the USSR and the West on ceilings for conventional armaments, and the recent Conference of Experts at Geneva^{6/} showed that an inspection system to detect violations of a possible agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests, which would mean the beginning of some measure of control, is quite feasible.

96. The forthcoming conference of experts at Geneva on surprise attack has been welcomed by mankind, and the nuclear Powers are prepared to study a system for the control of cosmic space, the conquest of which would be directed to peaceful purposes. The Peruvian delegation took part in the work of the Sub-Committee

^{6/} See note 2.

of the Disarmament Commission and proposed a mediatory body to negotiate on the discontinuance of nuclear arms production and nuclear tests, but it considers that a prohibition not linked to a control organ would be a theoretical, empty and merely spectacular gesture which would appear to the world as nothing more than insincere propaganda. Consequently, the Peruvian delegation, consistent with its position on this question, believes that all measures having any prospect of success—reduction of conventional armaments, land and air inspection, co-operation in the conquest of space—are contingent upon the central problem of the discontinuance of nuclear production and of the stockpiling of nuclear weapons under effective international control. So long as the production of nuclear arms remains under the discretionary, absolute or uncontrollable power of a given State or person, the danger of war will continue to hover over mankind, and a small unforeseeable incident, an error of judgement, a mistake in calculation or even a canard may bring about disaster, even though the opposing parties may not want it to happen.

97. There can be no denying the importance of economic problems in the development of the morale of nations and in their international position. As the Foreign Minister of Brazil told the Assembly [749th meeting], under-development is the most real threat to collective security because it drives peoples and nations into a policy of despair. In Latin America, the danger of defection on the part of democratic régimes arises from disregard of their economic and social problems. In the non-industrialized areas of Latin America, there is an ever greater disparity between the urgent needs of a rapidly growing population and the inadequate development of the resources required to meet those needs. Latin America is anxious to raise its low level of living but will barely be able to maintain it unless sufficient centres of production and sources of employment are created to absorb its growing population, which is increasing at the highest rate in the world.

98. Peru, which as a nation is small in international politics but in area is larger than several European nations combined, is both a rich and a desolate country: arid and barren on the surface, with a scarcity of arable land, but possessing in the mineral resources of its subsoil the fabulous wealth which gave rise to the legend of El Dorado. Its topography, which shows the most unexpected variety, with deserts alternating with mountains and jungle, makes communications and social unity difficult. It is a country lacking in sufficient food where the rate of population increase is no less than 2.5 per cent per annum. As a Frenchman, Professor Baudin, said, weighing the civilizing work of the Peruvian Incas against the challenge of nature, "Everything had been foreseen in Peru except man". The most difficult problem is to feed the undernourished masses of the indigenous population, and an attempt is being made to keep them on their native land through irrigation systems and the mechanization of farming. After thousands of years of labour, Peru has succeeded in intensifying and extending the development of its natural resources, in building roads across its formidable mountainous regions, in bringing civilization to its Amazon valley and in undertaking projects of such magnitude as the iron and steel and the hydroelectric plant of the Santa. However, like other under-developed peoples, it needs the assistance

of international development banks and private investors. Private investments are favoured in Peru by its system of free enterprise and its encouragement and non-discriminatory treatment of foreign capital under conditions that are the most liberal in Latin America.

99. In addition to loans for financing development, however, Peru—like the other Latin-American countries—must have just treatment and free trade. The prices of raw materials must, as a matter of urgency, be stabilized in relation to the prices of manufactured products. The basic commodities produced in our countries are in fact our money; when the price of basic commodities declines, this means not only a drop in prices but also in the value of the money. Instability and violent fluctuations in commodity prices produce currency depreciation, and this in turn brings on unemployment, under-employment, a decline in the per caput income and bad social conditions. There can be no economic health nor any possibility of private investment or industrial expansion when the currency is depressed. The economic disequilibrium between the industrialized countries and the primary producers is aggravated by such restrictions on international trade as customs barriers, unilaterally-imposed quotas and domestic subsidizing which leads to the accumulation of enormous surpluses and to dumping as a form of economic aggression advocated by the protectionists in the industrialized countries.

100. This discriminatory policy has affected Peru in a special way as a result of the quotas established for lead and zinc. In contrast to the restrictive effects of such quotas on our trade, there is a growing tendency for great international industrial combines to exploit the living resources of the sea in the South Pacific. The recent establishment of quotas on imports of lead and zinc has been a serious blow to Peru, as these metals are the foundation of Peru's mining industry. The possibility of providing a livelihood for a great proportion of our working population, and of obtaining the means to purchase not only machinery and industrial goods but also essential articles of food, is largely dependent on the unrestricted sale of mineral products in foreign markets. The measure just referred to has had very adverse effects in Peru, leaving thousands of workers without employment and producing losses in foreign exchange. It is seriously damaging to the moral and material well-being of my country and undermines the confidence of the Latin-American peoples in international co-operation.

101. The protection of the living resources of the sea in the South Pacific is also of vital importance to Peru. The lack of rainfall on our coasts and the infertility of the soil are compensated for by the presence of sea birds which produce guano, a natural manure that has great potency as a fertilizer and is one of the pillars of the Peruvian economy. As a result of the ecological complex of the Peruvian coast, there is a tremendous growth of vegetable plankton harbouring the small fish on which the sea birds feed. The invasion of our coasts by powerful and insatiable fishing fleets with every sort of modern equipment is resulting in the extinction of the fish and consequently in the death of the sea birds and a reduction in the fertilizer found on our coasts. It is also reducing the supplies of shellfish, fish and sea birds eaten by the Peruvian coastal populations.

102. Therein lies the great importance of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea that was held earlier this year at Geneva by decision of the eleventh session of the General Assembly [resolution 1105 (XI)], the purpose of that Conference having been to examine new juridical rules which might eventually be incorporated in the international law of the sea, taking into account the geo-biological, economic, technical and human aspects of the problem. It should be pointed out that in this as in other matters relating to international law, the geographical and political patterns created for the Mediterranean civilization cannot be applied to the vast and varied American scene. The classical concept of mare nostrum in the civilization of Europe involves ideas which are out-dated and inapplicable to our circumstances, such as the three-mile limit for the old territorial sea. In the modern world, however, which is the world of Magellan and not the world of Ptolemy, with an Atlantic and a Pacific Ocean and distances as great as those separating Australia and Peru, that is to say thousands of miles, the breadth we claim is necessary to protect the biological and economic interests of Peru's coastal populations. Whatever the decision adopted on this point, the peculiar situation of Peru and the immemorial human rights of its coastal population must be taken into account.

103. Although the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea did not result in any general agreements, which are very difficult to achieve, it may be said to have made certain innovations in traditional concepts by endorsing the special right of the coastal State to take conservation measures against predators and to protect the living resources of the sea on which depend the food supplies and economic development of the people, without in any way affecting the principle of freedom of the high seas. The small number of States which have so far signed the conventions prepared at Geneva shows that these agreements have not found general acceptance, nor did any formula obtain a clear majority.

104. Peru is also deeply interested in the technical assistance work that is being carried on by the United Nations through the Technical Assistance Administration and by the Technical Assistance Board, which co-ordinates the efforts of the United Nations specialized agencies. To this work is now being added the Special Fund for financial assistance, which will soon be established [resolution 1219 (XII)], an idea initiated by the United States at the twelfth session and warmly supported by Peru. The Assembly is now about to give full effect to this project, which will do much to raise the level of living in the under-developed countries in the spirit of Article 55 of the Charter. The Government of Peru is greatly interested in this welcome endeavour and will co-operate to the full in establishing the bodies proposed by the Preparatory Committee so as to enable the United Nations to take effective action in this vast field.

105. International co-operation for purposes of economic development is based on the principles underlying the world Organization and on the idea of the mutual give and take of the economically advanced and economically under-developed countries. Thus, the assistance is not unilateral. We therefore hope that at this session the Assembly will establish the body that will give effect to the proposal just mentioned.

We are ready to do our part in contributing to the success of this body which will work to the advantage of all the countries which, like Peru, have ample but as yet under-developed natural resources and are at present facing heavy pressure as the result of a greatly increased rate of population growth. The Peruvian Government intends to submit to the Special Fund a request for assistance in developing its fisheries and in providing supervised fisheries credits for the purpose of helping small industrial operators, facilitating scientific research and making possible the purchase of technical equipment that will improve the output and utilization of all the living resources of the sea. In this way, international co-operation would render effective assistance to the fishing industry and would help to improve and vary the Peruvian people's diet through this source of food rich in protein and fats.

106. It almost goes without saying that another factor contributing to poor social conditions and under-development in Latin America is the armaments race, which unduly and increasingly inflates national budgets as each State seeks to outdo the other. Money that should be spent on improving the health and well-being of our people is used to buy war materials which, in view of the harmonious relations prevailing between Latin-American States, is quite unnecessary. Peru is prepared to sponsor a regional agreement which would check the armaments inflation and the resulting technical, economic and military tension.

107. The most profound and significant appeal in recent times to preserve the fundamental values of Americanism and maintain continental unity is to be found in the statement made by the President of Brazil, Mr. Kubitschek, in connexion with the so-called Operation Pan-America and the Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Washington in September. This inspired appeal has been referred to as an examination of the collective conscience of the continent and as a crucial battle against under-development. What it really amounts to is a statement that Latin America has come of age, that it is an adult partner in the community of nations.

108. President Kubitschek called for a more dynamic participation by the peoples of Latin America in world problems and for an end to a period of automatic collaboration in which they played the part of a Greek chorus and were disregarded and ignored. This new voice in the Americas has also proclaimed the economic emancipation of millions of human beings in our continent who live at a sub-human level and has called for respect for our spiritual personality and our own way of life, that is to say, for our cultural values which, without any lessening of our support for universal values, should be preserved, just as political or economic freedom is preserved, against all direct or indirect aggression by other peoples or cultures.

109. Operation Pan-America was connected with the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers at Washington which, although brief, gave rise for the first time to a frank and sincere exchange of views between Latin America and the United States. Until recently, the leaders and the spokesmen of the people in Latin America had no direct contact with statesmen from the great Power to the North. We had no information other than circumstantial and brief press reports or popular rumour. We lived, in relation to major world

problems, like the men in Plato's cave with our backs to the light, seeing only on the back of the cave the fleeting shadows cast by outside events.

110. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers the curtain was drawn as we listened to the clear and explicit explanation of the world situation given by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. Notwithstanding the rather discouraging events that coincided with the meeting, there was general agreement, in principle, on the need for reorienting and giving greater impetus to economic co-operation and for taking the first steps in that direction.

111. The greatest and most effective progress was made in connexion with the new system for economic development, and a special committee of representatives was set up to lay the groundwork for the institution recommended at the first Inter-American Economic Conference of Buenos Aires.

112. Of particular importance is the commodities agreement which is based on the principle that the economic structure of most American republics is such that an urgent solution to these problems must be found through bilateral and multilateral negotiations. This view received the frank and unreserved support of the United States.

113. Great interest also attaches to the explicit statement that the United States will co-operate in the work of regional economic integration which is a prerequisite for the establishment of broad areas of production and consumption capable of subsequent expansion within the general framework of free and more intensive trade.

114. With regard to its administration, Operation Pan-America, which was based on Brazilian and Argentine proposals, is in the hands of the Organization of American States, a distinguished institution that will undoubtedly be able to make Operation Pan-America effective and will treat its decisions as matters of urgency. It is regrettable, however, that the resolutions adopted at the Conference of Foreign Ministers failed to mention other steps which might strengthen the human bonds between our peoples, make them aware of each other's intellectual and spiritual heritage, promote the dissemination of their scientific, economic and artistic achievements, and further Latin-American disarmament.

115. To strengthen democracy, every effort must be made to combat ignorance and poverty. This means that the cultural exchange and the technical assistance programmes should be as broad as possible so as to bring about a spiritual integration similar to the economic integration.

116. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers I had the honour to take a liberal stand—as I have always done—and to advocate equality for all, and respect for the human rights of our workers, whose wages should be equal to those of the workers in industrial countries so that throughout the world, every man may by his labour earn enough to meet his needs in relation to the cost of living. The regional needs and the regional peculiarities of peoples must also be respected and must not be subjected to rigid and uniform patterns. The basis of all international life is tolerance and the prohibition of any injustice or persecution of ideas, for democracy can only be defended with the democratic weapons of intelligence and reason.

117. If the United Nations is to attain its objective of peace, it must be redeemed from useless conventionalism, dilatory expedients, unfulfilled resolutions and anti-democratic vetos, and it must be set on a truly democratic course. Equal opportunities must be granted to all men and nations, and the human message which is at the basis of our Western civilization must be proclaimed so that this Organization may continue, despite passing perils and anxieties, to serve, through the fruitful interplay of ideas, as the conscience of the world.

118. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Netherlands has asked to be allowed to make a statement at this stage, and I call upon him now.

119. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): The representative of Indonesia has taken exception to the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands drew attention, in his address in this general debate [760th meeting], to some measures taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia against the Netherlands and against Netherlands subjects. Mr. Luns stated that these measures had rendered it impossible for our countrymen to continue to live and work in Indonesia. As Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo has termed this statement a "wrongful attack" and a "gross misrepresentation" of his country's actions, I consider it my duty to answer him.

120. In the first place I would point out that my Indonesian colleague has not denied that the measures mentioned by Mr. Luns have been taken by the Indonesian Government. He acknowledged that Indonesia has repudiated all debts and obligations owed to the Kingdom of the Netherlands; that it has seized and taken over businesses, enterprises—large and small—and property owned by Netherlanders in Indonesia; and that it has paid no compensation to the owners and is still unwilling to do so. It is therefore not the facts that are in dispute. What we do disagree on is the evaluation of the facts. In the Netherlands speech they were called "unlawful acts". The representative of Indonesia said that they were "designed to place the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands on a new footing of equality and justice" [762nd meeting, para. 84]. If these measures are expressions of equality and justice, then it is a very new kind of equality and justice indeed.

121. So far as I know, no lawyer has ever dared to argue that it is in accordance with the rule of equality and justice that a Government should take away from a minority group of foreign nationals, lawfully residing in its territory, everything they possess without paying or offering them any compensation whatsoever.

122. Mr. Sastroamidjojo objects to the statement that "during the past year nearly 40,000 Netherlanders have been obliged to leave their houses and homes in Indonesia" [760th meeting, para. 38]. It was only 9,000 unemployed, he says, who were told to get out of Indonesia; the rest went of their free will—and it was very naughty of them to leave because that "disrupted and crippled the economic, technical and administrative services of [his] country" [762nd meeting, para. 85]. So, in the view of the Indonesian representative, it is perfectly all right for the Indonesian Government to take away from a Dutchman living in Indonesia his house, his furniture, his office, his books, his stock and everything connected with his

business; but if that Dutchman, having been deprived of everything he possessed and every means of earning a livelihood, then leaves the country which has treated him in that way, that is reprehensible.

123. I am afraid that our conceptions of justice and decency are widely different from each other and, that being so, I shall not prolong this debate. As the facts are admitted, every Member of the United Nations can draw his own conclusions as to their meaning.

124. There is only one other point on which I would say a few words. Mr. Sastroamidjojo has stated that the crux of the problem is the still outstanding dispute over West Irian; and, indeed, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia said last year that if the United Nations would not endorse the Indonesian claim to Netherlands New Guinea, his country would "take other action which might harm the Netherlands interests". The measures taken by Indonesia, which the Netherlands delegation has brought to the notice of the Assembly, would—according to the Indonesian Prime Minister, Mr. Djuanda—have been taken in any case, whatever the results of the voting on the New Guinea question at the twelfth session of the General Assembly. Other Indonesian spokesmen have acknowledged that those measures were intended to force the Netherlands to surrender Netherlands New Guinea to Indonesia.

125. If Mr. Djuanda's version is correct, then the Netherlands New Guinea question is irrelevant in this context. If, on the other hand, my Indonesian colleague's statement is true, then Indonesia has committed these acts with the deliberate intent to force the Netherlands to agree to the surrender of territory in a dispute which Indonesia has refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and in which the General Assembly has repeatedly rejected the Indonesian arguments and proposals. It seems to me that the representative of Indonesia does not improve his case by invoking such defiance of the United Nations in justification of his country's behaviour.

126. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): I apologize for asking for this opportunity to answer the remarks just made by the representative of the Netherlands. I admit that it is impossible to continue discussing this question, but I believe that it is necessary for me to put forward

two points in order to make clear this conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesians, as well as what has been said by the representative of the Netherlands, with which, I believe, the General Assembly will not agree.

127. In the first place, Mr. Schürmann said that we had taken over Dutch enterprises. This action was designed to place the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands on a new footing of equality and justice. That is indeed what Mr. Sastroamidjojo said; but it is not all. He also said that these measures were based on laws adopted during the period of Netherlands colonial rule. Therefore, the measures were adopted according to the laws made by the Dutch for us.

128. According to Mr. Schürmann, Mr. Sastroamidjojo said that the Dutch went away from Indonesia of their own free will, that we did not urge them to go, that they left our country of their own free will. I should like to read what Mr. Sastroamidjojo said:

"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." [762nd meeting, para. 85.]

I think that this is not precisely what the representative of the Netherlands has just said.

129. The PRESIDENT: I think that the time has come for the General Assembly to consider the closure of the list of speakers in this general debate. Consequently, I propose to close the list of speakers this evening at six o'clock. I therefore urge those representatives who have not yet spoken and who have not yet inscribed their names on the list of speakers to make up their minds between now and six o'clock whether they desire to take part in the general debate. At six o'clock this evening the list of speakers will be closed. I hope very much that the general debate itself will terminate as early as possible next week.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.