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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): Mr. President, I should like, personally and on behalf of my delegation, to offer my warmest and heartiest congratulations upon your unanimous election to the high office and great responsibilities of President of the General Assembly.

2. I think there can be no doubt that certain favourable and extremely significant changes have taken place in the international situation during the past year. This is particularly true to the most important sector of practical politics, namely, the relations between East and West. The start of political negotiations between the great Powers is the most striking feature of the present international situation as compared with the past. It implies the recognition by both parties of the virtues of the method of mutual concessions and, let us hope, their application of it. The positive effect of this new departure has already been felt in a certain improvement in the atmosphere, in better mutual understanding and in the easing of certain tense situations. If this trend could be stabilized and transformed into a long-term policy, which would lead to whole series of political negotiations, including negotiations among top-level representatives of a larger number of countries, present events might prove a turning point in international relations. The visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Khrushchev, to the United States is an extremely important step in this direction. May I quote here what President Tito said in this connexion a few days ago:^{1/}

"We hope that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, as representatives of the two greatest Powers in the world, will keep their responsibilities towards the world constantly in mind during their conversations, for it will to a large extent depend on them whether there

is a relaxation of tension and whether mankind may look forward with greater confidence to the future."

3. Such a prospect calls for fresh and better efforts from us all. The changes which have occurred stem from the general conviction that if the cold war were to continue, it would ultimately lead us to an explosion, which is in fact becoming increasingly imminent. Moreover, this realization has brought about a gradual abandonment of the hitherto prevailing tendency to base the solution of political problems on military criteria. The experience of the last few years has amply shown that no international problem can be solved by this practice; on the contrary, it can only lead, as the facts have demonstrated, to an increasingly dangerous deterioration in the international situation.

4. Military reasoning is directed towards one end only: to obtain an advantage over the other side at any price. What is the outcome of such an essentially military approach to political problems? Instead of the complete security which the method is designed to achieve, it results in total insecurity and anxiety, and less and less possibility of controlling and guiding the natural course of events.

5. The inevitable consequence of such an approach is a policy based upon and therefore backed by force, both as regards the relations between the great Powers and their relations with other countries. Such a trend or policy inevitably involves a struggle for spheres of influence, constant attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries, the imposition of unequal status upon weaker countries; it is in a word the negation of everything set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, as we all know, enormous sums are spent on the production and development of ever more devastating weapons of mass destruction, in fact on preparations for war.

6. In circumstances in which military force plays a key part in international politics and the difference between offensive and defensive weapons is becoming less and less, no ideology can, in itself, constitute a guarantee against the outbreak of war. On the contrary, in such circumstances ideological arguments are often put to a perverted use as instruments of day to day politics in order to justify actions which conflict with universally accepted international principles.

7. Some people affect to believe that a balance of armaments between the great Powers or the existing Power-blocs is the surest safeguard against the outbreak of war. We cannot share that opinion if it presupposes a continuation of the armaments race. Even if the assertion was valid in the present situation, there is the question of ensuring that this balance will be constantly maintained in such general conditions. It is obvious that it can only be maintained on the basis of an agreed plan, that is, if it is based on gradual and agreed international disarmament. It might be objected

^{1/}President Tito's speech was reported on in the New York Times of 21 September 1959.

that this implies the acceptance of a certain risk in the meantime. It is worth taking such a risk; first, because it will tend to strengthen peace, which already implies a measure of understanding and also an agreement on limiting the risk; and second, because such a risk is certainly incomparably less than the risk of continuing a headlong arms race.

8. It would appear that one factor to which we have drawn attention on many other occasions is still not perfectly understood by people who continue to think in terms of the cold war. In point of fact, it is useless to look for any improvement in the present state of international relations without any change in attitudes or positions, or even in the criteria by reference to which the necessary changes are assessed. With a prospect of peace, criteria of judgement would naturally be different and more objective than they could be in an atmosphere of complete distrust and war.

9. In the face of these new positive developments and scope of action in international relations, there are also some people who claim that the role of the United Nations will be diminished by the fact that negotiations are beginning to take place between the great Powers. We do not share this point of view either, even when it does not reflect the hostility of those who cannot or will not understand that the abandonment of the cold war has become an urgent necessity and that agreement between the great Powers is an essential and integral part of this important process. We believe that the role of the United Nations in the world neither will nor can be diminished if the situation changes for the better. In the last analysis the state of international relations always has its effect upon the United Nations. Our Organization has been prevented from making its full contribution precisely because its action on behalf of peace has often been hampered or limited by the relations and the differences of opinion between the great Powers. The more the actions of the great Powers are in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, the more they will contribute to the consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international co-operation, and the more that will facilitate constructive and concerted action by the Members of the United Nations. This assumes that the United Nations will be ready to accept increased responsibility, which I am sure is the case.

10. Awareness of the dangers which a catastrophe such as war would involve, the practical effect of the growing interdependence of peoples and States, the progress of the modern world towards unity and the inevitable trend towards the emancipation of peoples from the various forms of dependence or subjection—all these are factors which impel us to make the maximum use of the increased possibilities within our grasp and to support, in all spheres of activity, the present favourable development in international relations. The trend towards liquidating the cold war by means of negotiations constitutes, in our view, an excellent point of departure.

11. We have already seen that almost everyone now recognizes this necessity. Our Government has upheld this view for many years, and has made every effort to draw the appropriate practical conclusions. It has been guided by this principle in its stand on the various problems and proposals that have arisen within and without the United Nations. Such efforts have sometimes been criticized and condemned by those who, particularly in tense situations, believe that everyone

should take a stand in favour of one or other of the two blocs. The recent improvement is also largely attributable to the persistent efforts of many countries which do not belong to any military alliances and with which my Government has collaborated very closely, because their point of view resembles its own. We see now that, to an increasing extent, representatives of the great Powers are using similar arguments, in favour of peace as the essential and sole solution.

12. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations has still not been settled in a positive manner, because of the obstinate opposition, in particular, of the United States, and that it has proved impossible even to attempt a settlement. However, this year once more, a comparatively long debate has taken place on this question. I think it has re-emphasized the arbitrary, unjust, and undeniably harmful nature of this negative attitude. If the present dispute on the frontier between China and India is invoked as a fresh argument in favour of this negative attitude, my answer is that Yugoslavia has always considered that such disputes should be settled peacefully by joint agreement. However, even if there have been acts committed on the Chinese side which are not in conformity with this procedure—the only one which is constructive—it merely reinforces our conviction that, apart from the question of principle, the full participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations would help to avoid and to settle disputes of this kind and to prevent other similar disputes from arising.

13. I should like now to touch briefly upon a number of questions to which my Government attaches special importance.

14. First, disarmament. Clearly, this question is of vital importance from the point of view of peace. Its complexity is attributable to the cold war, the present distribution of forces of the various military alliances, the special positions of different countries, conflict of interests, mutual mistrust and the understandable anxiety of the various Powers to preserve their national security in view of present conditions, and other similar factors. The technical aspects, which have been the chief topics of discussion so far, are of course an essential element in the problem, but in our view, the chief difficulties do not lie in this direction. We believe that it would be comparatively easy to solve the technical problems if political conditions were favourable. We cannot be convinced that the complexity of the problems and the different philosophies of the parties concerned constitute an insurmountable barrier to agreement.

15. We recall that, only a few years ago, it looked as though there was very little chance of bringing about the practical cessation of nuclear tests and still less of making any progress towards an agreement through negotiations. Nevertheless, it so happened that the general interest won the day, and that the nuclear powers themselves found, when they came to analyse their own interests more closely, that it was also to their advantage.

16. The present situation can only be interpreted as an improvement in conditions which ought to enable an agreement to be worked out in the decisive field of general disarmament in which, so far—save in the case of the nuclear tests already referred to—no pro-

gress has been made despite all efforts, chiefly because of the failure of the great Powers to come to terms.

17. At a time when the realization of a complex general agreement could obviously not have been expected, my Government, as is known, adhered to the principle of initial and partial agreements. I believe that it was right. This has been confirmed by events and also by the holding of relatively fruitful negotiations on the cessation of nuclear tests, though those negotiations have not yet been concluded.

18. In the meantime, while awaiting the continuation of the proceedings which apparently are already following a satisfactory course, we shall of course support all endeavours to reach a general agreement. Thus we welcome and shall support the radical proposal [799th meeting] on disarmament submitted to us here in the name of the Government of the Soviet Union by Mr. Khrushchev, its Head. This proposal is exceptionally radical in nature. Yet we should not allow that fact to disconcert or surprise us, since the situation in which we find ourselves and the dangers inherent in it are equally exceptional. We realize that the proposal might appear unrealistic unless there were to be a substantial improvement over the whole field of international relations. The conclusion to be drawn is that, instead of delaying disarmament on account of the situation in other fields, we should on the contrary endeavour immediately to improve relations in all those other fields so as to enable a radical solution of the disarmament problem to be reached in the near future. In any event, negotiations are in themselves the surest way to assess the realism of the proposal. Moreover, if to be realistic means to continue in the course which has systematically led the world into constantly increasing international tension, I think it would be worth while at least to give idealism a trial, on the understanding that during subsequent discussions, we can confine ourselves to what is practicable.

19. While maintaining this view, we attach due importance to the proposal [798th meeting] submitted to us by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, which in our opinion is designed for the same purpose. In any case we consider that it is our duty to do our utmost to find the common features of all these proposals, in order that the process of disarmament should begin without further delay and should, if possible, rapidly be brought to a successful conclusion. We will deal with the substance of these proposals in detail when they are debated in Committee, but I should like to make a few observations of principle here and now.

20. We know that the question of so-called priorities has been the principal obstacle to the success of the negotiations so far held with regard to disarmament. I have in mind the following questions: Does the question of nuclear tests come within the field of disarmament? Can it or can it not be dealt with separately, before the other questions? Which comes first—control or disarmament, nuclear disarmament or disarmament in conventional weapons, intercontinental missiles or bases?

21. It is clear from the facts that the question of test explosions could be settled without delay and apart from the other problems. Furthermore, when the tests are suspended, the status quo is maintained, so to speak, automatically, without the existence of a

control organ, and without any doubts being felt on either side concerning the mutual implementation of the undertaking not to carry out such tests entered into separately by both parties. I am merely stating a fact. I do not deduce from it that control is unnecessary. In our view, with the introduction of a healthier international atmosphere, less importance should be attached to so-called priorities than in the past.

22. We have often had the impression that the rigid insistence on certain priorities revealed, on the one hand, a feeling of doubt regarding the possibility of reaching any agreement and on the other, because of the existing circumstances and from a fear of prejudicing their own interests on the part of the parties concerned, a lack of any wish for or even a desire to prevent an agreement.

23. For example, let us take the question of control. Every rational individual understands clearly, as we have already stated on various occasions, that the problem is not that of disarmament as a consequence of control, but of control as a consequence of disarmament. Hence, to insist upon giving absolute priority to control can only mean one thing: the prevention of the realization of an agreement. Nevertheless, we are aware—and we do not think anyone can deny it—that appropriate forms of control can and should be established simultaneously with the process of gradual disarmament. This is no vague or indefinite formula. We are firmly convinced of the possibility of and the need for a reasonable and specific agreement in that field. We think, too, that agreement has already been reached at Geneva on the question of control and inspection of nuclear tests and that the differences of opinion which remain are not insurmountable. Bearing in mind certain ideas contained in the plans which have already been submitted to us, and considering that there has already been a genuine reconciliation of views on many points, we urge only that the problems which previously appeared insoluble should be reconsidered in the light of the present favourable prospects.

24. Although we do not know whether all the parties concerned are really prepared to accept a general disarmament plan, and hence when such a plan can be put into effect, it seems to us, as in the case of nuclear tests, that there are other problems also on which agreement might be sought and obtained without delay. I am thinking now of an agreed reduction in military budgets and the allocation of all or a percentage to be determined of the resources so obtained for assistance to underdeveloped countries, to be organized on an international basis. I can see no convincing argument against such a plan. Its general advantages are obvious; it would involve no danger to any country. It would be relatively simple to carry out.

25. The second question which, in our view, could be solved in the immediate future is that of the establishment of what might be described as a "disengagement area" of limited armaments in central Europe; indeed, responsible political circles and large sections of public opinion in Eastern and Western Europe have already declared their support for such a solution. The arguments which have been adduced against the idea have not convinced us, since they are based on reasoning of a strictly military nature. This solution would provide a means of solving part of the world disarmament question in certain well-defined areas

and would open the way to a political solution which would go far towards improving international relations. The disengagement area would not relate only to disarmament; it would also form part of efforts to achieve in Europe, today torn in two and in conflict over the question of divided Germany, a wide basis of co-operation between the peoples on both sides of the line which now separates them.

26. We have already expressed our opinion in the Disarmament Commission (65th meeting) regarding the functions and membership of the Ten-Power Committee. Obviously, there can be no question of excluding the United Nations from the consideration of the disarmament problem, and we do not think anyone would wish to do so. In view of the questions involved and of the situation in which we are at present, we think it would be wise to avoid any artificial antagonism between the Ten-Power Committee and the Disarmament Commission. Since the great Powers have reached agreement regarding the renewal of negotiations, and since the problem cannot be solved without their agreement, we shall naturally do our utmost to exercise, together with all other countries, a positive influence and assist the Committee in its work.

27. In other words, we agree to the Ten-Power Committee's being composed of an equal number of representatives of each bloc because we regard that as a practical measure and not one of discrimination against other Members of the United Nations, because the Committee is a temporary body set up for a specific purpose and because the results of its work, which we shall follow with sustained attention, will contribute not to the perpetuation of the present division into Power-blocs but to its gradual abolition.

28. As has been stated, many of the political or economic, long or short-term problems which are awaiting solution are interdependent and interconnected to such an extent that it is now scarcely possible to classify them in this way. These problems reached their present acute stage largely as a result of the cold war, but they have all deeper roots in the world situation and in particular in the profound imbalance and instability of the world economy. We feel that today there can be no question of achieving a lasting policy of peace unless a rational and effective solution can be found to that fundamental question.

29. Although the scope and nature of the question have been largely obscured by ideas and practices arising out of the cold war, I believe that it is almost universally recognized that one of the causes and principal sources of this instability is the backward economic state of a large part of the world. It is becoming more and more widely realized that a satisfactory solution to that problem would be as much in the interests of the highly developed contributing countries as in that of the beneficiary countries. Yet although we agree on that point, it is obvious that we have not yet succeeded in drawing the necessary practical conclusions. In any event, there is a wide gap between the recognition of the importance of the problem of the under-developed countries and the practical steps so far taken to solve it, whether by providing the necessary means or by finding the most appropriate forms of assistance.

30. There is, I think, no need for me to quote figures which are familiar to everyone and which reveal the appallingly low economic level of these countries com-

pared with that of the highly-developed industrial countries, and the manifest inadequacy of the aid they have so far received through bilateral or multilateral programmes. There are, however, two or three salient features to which I should like to invite your attention. Thus, it is a known fact that more than 1,000 million human beings in under-developed countries have an annual income of less than \$120, and that the annual increase in the national income in many of these countries scarcely keeps pace with the rate of population increase. Furthermore, the capital and economic aid flowing into under-developed countries totals about \$3,000 million a year, a figure which would have to be at least trebled in order to narrow the existing gap.

31. In present circumstances, under-developed countries are obviously not in a position to finance an adequate rate of economic growth from their own resources. Up to now, most of the aid given to under-developed countries has been provided under bilateral, regional and multilateral programmes. It has frequently been made subject to various conditions which have nothing to do with economics and those who bestowed it pursued certain special objectives, a state of affairs that has further reduced the effectiveness of such aid in relation to the real needs of the countries concerned.

32. At this point I think it worth recalling the following explicit statement by so great an expert on the question as Mr. Paul Hoffman, the Managing Director of the Special Fund.

"...the industrialized countries have to a large extent failed to undertake economic development in the less developed countries as something good, desirable and rewarding in itself; too often they have extended economic aid to 'win friends and influence people' and as an instrument in the cold war".^{2/}

33. For all these reasons, and without wishing to deny the fact that all these programmes will continue to make a useful contribution, it is our view that, where aid is concerned, increasing emphasis should be placed on the United Nations. We have always held that the United Nations should have at its disposal a powerful executive body through which it could exercise a practical influence on the solution of all these problems. That is why we have pressed so strongly, and still do so, for SUNFED to be set up as soon as possible.

34. I have laid so much stress on the urgency and importance of this problem because we realize that progress towards a solution can be achieved only with the full co-operation of the great Powers. Their consent, as regards both the means and the form of assistance, is essential and cannot, of course, be obtained through a majority vote. In the present favourable international situation, such consent may perhaps be more readily forthcoming.

35. In that part of my statement in which I dealt with certain disarmament problems, I already referred to the idea—which, in our view, is entirely realistic—that, without waiting for the conclusion of a general agreement, a suitable proportion of existing military budgets should be devoted to providing aid for the under-developed countries. In this connexion, I think it should be borne in mind that, in the majority of

^{2/}Paul G. Hoffman, *Operation Breakthrough*, p. 34. (Reprinted from *Foreign Affairs*, October 1959).

under-developed countries, per caput income is only one-quarter of the per caput expenditure for military purposes alone in certain industrialized countries. Of course, the question of aid to under-developed countries is not one which can be put down as yet another item on the agenda and solved immediately, finally and completely by the General Assembly. It is obviously a complex, long-term problem, for the permanent solution of which constant study and research is required.

36. It might perhaps be advisable to consider the possibility of setting up for this purpose a suitable, permanent special organ of the United Nations, the sole function of which would be to deal with this vast and complicated problem.

37. In considering all these problems, my Government also takes into account the experience gained—different though the circumstances were—in the economic and political development of our country. In our endeavours to extricate it from the backwardness in which we found it, we realized that the development of democratic institutions and systems of administration was closely linked to material progress. The simultaneous development of self-administration in social matters and of a system in which the actual producers control the means of production and exercise a decisive influence on distribution was, however, a most important factor in mobilizing the domestic resources of my country and in firing the enthusiasm of the workers.

38. Furthermore, our firm support for the principle of peaceful coexistence provides the most suitable climate in which to speed up the advancement of those countries which do not aspire to dominate other countries and which are faced with the problems of their own development. For that reason, we have endeavoured to promote the greatest possible co-operation, both in economic and in other matters, between ourselves and the various States in the world, regardless of their social or political systems.

39. We ourselves have received some international aid, but it should be noted that it formed only a very small proportion of our national income and no political strings were attached to it. But we had to grapple alone with the difficult problem of how to turn our own resources to account, a task which called for immense efforts. For years, our investments, including military expenditure and investments for social and cultural purposes, amounted to some 50 per cent of our national income. In the early stages, development had to be strictly controlled; later, the controls were relaxed. The results of these efforts are already apparent. In recent years, Yugoslavia has been able to achieve an annual increase of 12 per cent in production and of 8 per cent in personal consumption. Thus, today, it is to be found among the countries with the highest rate of development.

40. The fact that we are now able to give some measure of economic aid to other countries is evidence of the extent to which conditions in Yugoslavia have improved during the last fifteen years.

41. We realize that other countries, in which conditions at the outset are much less favourable than ours were, will be faced with graver difficulties than those which we encountered in the past. That, I think, provides further support for the view we have expressed here, namely, that it is urgently necessary to grant

economic aid, in an organized and effective manner, to the countries which need it.

42. Another facet of this same problem of the uneven economic advancement of under-developed countries is the colonial question. It is, however, fundamentally the same problem; the only difference is that it involves people who have not yet achieved freedom and independence.

43. With the entry of an increasing number of Non-Self-Governing Territories into the family of independent nations, the process whereby the system of trusteeship is being eliminated is gathering momentum. The international significance of the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories will become greater as more and more countries in Africa, the last continent in which relationships of the colonial type are still widespread, become independent States. The progress of these countries towards independence and towards other methods of exercising their right to self-determination will confront the international community with a growing number of questions which, in one way or another, will come within the sphere of responsibility of the General Assembly and of its various organs. It is to be hoped that the comparatively speedy and peaceful advance of Nigeria towards independence together with the precedents set by Ghana and Guinea, will have a favourable effect on the Administering Powers themselves and will induce them to come forward with bolder and more realistic solutions to the question of the future of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Nevertheless, there is still some resistance to this inexorable process of the total liquidation of colonialism, and such resistance is a constant source of tension in the world. Here, therefore, we are faced with an urgent task; we must do everything in our power to facilitate the advance of colonial peoples towards independence and to help them solve the problems which will confront them even after they have achieved their independence, problems which affect not only those peoples but the whole of mankind. The proper and early solution of the colonial question is indeed part and parcel of the problem of maintaining and strengthening peace throughout the world.

44. In this connexion, the problem of Algeria, which is to be discussed at the current session, is of particular importance. We are in the presence of a legitimate armed struggle by the Algerian people for their independence and their right to self-determination. The mere fact that the war has lasted so long proves this and also demonstrates the illegal nature of the so-called policy of pacification. Moreover, this state of affairs has unfortunate and dangerous repercussions on international relations, even beyond the bounds of North Africa. The attitude of my country towards this problem is well known and is based on clear-cut principles which we shall continue to uphold.

45. Last year, most of the delegations in the First Committee adopted the same point of view. In the meantime, unfortunately, there has been no improvement in the position. The war still goes on. We continue to be of the opinion that the only proper way to settle the matter is for negotiations to take place between the two belligerent parties on a footing of equality. The recent statement by the President of the French Republic, recognizing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, besides being an undoubted step forward in itself, indicates a readi-

ness to adopt a more realistic and constructive approach to the prerequisites for a just and agreed solution. The abandonment of the policy of pacification by force which is clearly incompatible with the recognition of the right to self-determination is also, however, required.

46. I come now to the conclusion of my statement. The course so far followed by the general debate makes it clear that the outlook for the development of international relations has improved. At the same time, however, it has revealed the great complexity of the international situation and has drawn attention to certain burning problems of the present day for which no solution has yet been found. The general debate on the questions included in the Assembly's agenda and the adoption of recommendations framed in the clearest possible terms will bring the solution of those problems closer and will help to strengthen the position and authority of the United Nations in safeguarding the peace of the world and in developing friendly co-operation between its peoples. As in the past, in accordance with the policy which I have just outlined, the Yugoslav delegation will do its utmost to contribute to the success of this session.

47. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation on your unanimous election as President. We all feel that the fact that the General Assembly was able to agree on its choice of President is a happy augury for the success of our proceedings. We are conscious that the unanimity was made possible by the respect which your personality has inspired in the whole Assembly, and we trust that under your dignified and courteous presidency the fourteenth session will indeed make the necessary progress to deserve the title that you have indicated, that of the "Assembly of Peace".

48. Since our last session a number of conferences and contacts have taken place between the leaders of the two great-Power groups. The Irish delegation heartily welcomes these meetings, and prays that God may guide all who take part in them and inspire them with wisdom, fortitude and perseverance. We believe that these leaders, so heavily burdened by the grave and intricate problems bequeathed to them, and by the tremendous responsibility which rests upon them to save the world from destruction, will have the understanding and support of all peoples for the success of their labours.

49. We trust that a continuation and expansion of discussions among these leaders will eventually result not only in a clear definition of what is required to keep the peace in the short run, but also of the major steps which must be taken on the road to stable peace. Now that they have been established, the chief danger is that, if these contacts should break down without agreement having been reached, the tension in the world might well be greater than if they had never begun.

50. On the leaders of the nuclear Powers lies the primary responsibility of reaching preliminary agreements on which the decisions of the United Nations may be based. But the ultimate responsibility must rest here with the United Nations.

51. In the search for solutions of immediate problems we must keep ever clearly before our minds that peace, if it is to be stable and lasting, cannot be

secured unless it is based on justice to all nations great and small, and unless the application of the principles of the Charter can be secured by effective guarantees.

52. We realize, much as we would wish it otherwise, that effectively controlled world disarmament and the universal rule of law cannot be attained in a single spectacular bound. But we can start moving towards these desirable ends with assurance of success—even if it takes many decades to attain them—if all Members of the United Nations sincerely recognize and agree upon them as our ultimate objectives, and if each is determined to work for them as if the fate of mankind depended upon its sole will. As a first step and as an earnest of our good faith, Member nations ought, we suggest, to be prepared to co-operate in securing the firm application of Charter principles in certain restricted areas, particularly in the areas where the interests of the two great-Power groups are entangled and where there is the greatest danger of stumbling into war.

53. What we have in mind is a system whereby a group of nations in a defined area would be invited to give guarantees of their intention to abide by their Charter obligations to uphold the rule of law in their international relations, in return for corresponding guarantees by the other Member nations in relation to the area in question.

54. The non-nuclear nations in such an area would undertake, firstly not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons or other weapons of blitzkrieg or mass destruction, and secondly to subject themselves to United Nations inspection to ensure that they are keeping to that agreement. In return the nuclear Powers, and all the other Members of the United Nations, would bind themselves in advance, by specific engagements, to defend the members of the area from attack, by means of a standing United Nations force.

55. The terms of the Charter, of course, provide in theory for action by the Security Council in all such cases in every part of the world. In view, however, of the unhappy history of deadlock in the Security Council, it would be necessary to provide an additional, firmer, guarantee for the nations in a defined area who would be invited to limit their own means of defence. There is little need to emphasize that such a beginning could not be hoped for without the clearest understanding between the nuclear Powers and without convincing proof of their determination to co-operate with the United Nations in enforcing the principles of the Charter in the area concerned. Such a guarantee might take the form of a resolution of the General Assembly providing for a standing United Nations force to ensure the security of these countries, and providing for an advance payment of their quotas by all Members for the establishment and maintenance of the force.

56. Nuclear war arising out of tensions and violence in vital areas can by no means be excluded until the rule of law is universally in effective operation; and even with the best of good will this may take many decades. The nuclear Powers should therefore, we suggest, begin to work towards that objective by encouraging groups of nations to accept the rule of law, area by area, throughout the world. They should also be prepared to support a permanent United Nations force designed to protect one such area for a begin-

ning. In this way they would give the world concrete evidence of their determination to uphold their Charter pledges, and of their determination to build a world order based on justice and law, co-operatively defended by a common force.

57. A United Nations force guaranteeing the security of an area of law would greatly increase the moral authority of the United Nations. It would also free resources for other uses by reducing tension, fostering international *esprit de corps*, and reducing the necessity to maintain large national armies. The resources of men and material thus freed from military use would be available for domestic improvements and for the investments necessary to eliminate the appalling poverty in many countries. Even if there was no net saving, a common United Nations force in an area of law which had previously been an area of contention would, we submit, give the nations of the world more effective security against war than if all were to increase their expenditure on their individual defence forces, particularly if nuclear weapons continued to spread.

58. Security, we submit, cannot be achieved separately in the nuclear age, even with unlimited diversion of national resources to military uses and even if all nations were grouped in two or more cohesive power blocs. It can only be achieved gradually through a common effort. Such an effort ought, in our view, to begin in limited areas. A collective effort in such areas would be a far more effective safeguard for the security of individual members than military competition can be, and would involve far less consumption of national resources.

59. The principle of collective effort, rather than hostile competition, is one that could usefully be applied to all areas of tension, including areas which have recently been, or still are, under some form of colonial rule. But collective effort implies equality of status. A people which has been under colonial rule can co-operate with its former rulers and with other countries on a footing of equality. That has happily been demonstrated in many areas. If, however, the colonial Power attempts to prolong its rule without the consent of the governed, then the conditions for collective effort do not exist, and what ensues is a bitter and sterile struggle, wasting the human and material resources of ruler and ruled alike. There, as elsewhere, what is needed—and what we hope is coming—is a burst of imaginative energy to shatter this vicious circle, and release for creative purposes the powers which mankind is now abusing for purposes of self-destruction. If this is achieved, as it can be by wise and daring leadership and increasing enlightenment of public opinion, then territories which are at present scenes of tragic strife can become fields for development through common effort under a law whose strength is in its acceptance by free men.

60. As the Assembly is aware, agenda item 67 [Prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons] has been inscribed at the request of my delegation. I hope to have an opportunity of setting out our views in detail on this question when it comes before the First Committee, and at this stage I shall only touch on the aspects which have a specific bearing on the suggested areas of law.

61. Briefly what we would hope for is an agreement between the nuclear Powers not to give the weapons

to non-nuclear Powers, and an agreement between the non-nuclear Powers not to make or accept nuclear weapons.

62. These suggestions fall far short of immediate and total nuclear disarmament, for our delegation regrets to say that it must accept as inherently probable that the nuclear Powers will continue to keep nuclear weapons until the United Nations has built up a system of international law and law enforcement which will guarantee these Powers to their satisfaction that such weapons are no longer necessary for their defence. The area-by-area approach takes account of the probability that nuclear weapons will be retained by the nuclear Powers until we perfect the art of living in peace, until in the ordering of our mutual relations we have effectively excluded all force, except force exercised in common by the United Nations in accordance with law.

63. The approach suggested is, we submit, in accordance with common sense. For common sense rejects the fatalistic argument that, because we cannot at once by force or persuasion secure total disarmament and the universal application of the rule of law, we should make no attempt to apply the law as and where we can, and no attempt to prevent nuclear weapons becoming the normal equipment of an ever-increasing number of armies and more easily obtainable by revolutionary groups.

64. Apart from the obvious threat that long before they became universal the world would have been destroyed, we believe that the wisdom of the nations represented here will induce them to agree to the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons upon the basis of a reasonably practicable system of inspection and control.

65. We hope that eventually the present nuclear Powers themselves will agree to abolish testing, to cut off production, to accept effective inspection of their reactors and territories, and to start using nuclear stockpiles for peaceful purposes. We do not intend these proposals as in any way a substitute for general disarmament subject to effective inspection and control. That remains our goal. But, in view of the history of disarmament negotiations since 1919, it is hardly realistic to expect an early agreement on the abolition of nuclear weapons. There is danger, therefore—very grave danger—that, while proposals for general disarmament are being discussed, the problem may become far more difficult as smaller States compete among themselves to acquire these weapons. The main danger is that, failing regulation by specific international agreement, a sort of atomic *sauve-qui-peut* may go up in which States, despairing of safety through collective action, will seek safety for themselves by getting their own nuclear weapons as quickly as they can. Among States as among individuals, panic has its own logic leading to the same terrible results.

66. It is for that reason, in order to substitute peaceful and orderly co-operation for ruinous nuclear competition, that my delegation suggests that, simultaneously with an undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to transfer these weapons, the non-nuclear Powers should agree not to manufacture or receive nuclear weapons. If they so agree, they should open their territories to detailed United Nations inspection to ensure that they are abiding by their pledges. In the

case of those who also belonged to an area of law such as we have envisaged, they would also accept inspection in regard to other forbidden materials and equipment.

67. It may be argued that the proposed system of inspection and control is not sufficient to guard against the secret giving of nuclear weapons to the allies of nuclear Powers. As far as we know, no perfect system of detection covering this risk is yet available. We would point out, however, that there is a much greater risk of secret transfer in the present situation, in which there is no international control or inspection at all. The best guarantee against the risk of secret giving is the enlightened self-interest which the nuclear Powers would have in the maintenance of such an agreement. If no such agreement is made they may well be forced, by mutual fear and the pressure of their allies, to distribute these weapons, and so increase geometrically the danger of nuclear war.

68. The risk of nuclear war will, of course, remain so long as nuclear weapons exist, but it seems to us that nothing we can do will eliminate it entirely, until we change the political conditions which caused the nuclear stockpiles to be built up. What we can do, however, if we concentrate upon it, is to reduce the risks which the spread of these weapons involves for this generation, and not to hand on to our children a problem even more difficult to solve than that with which we are now confronted. Our main effort, therefore, we suggest, should be to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and to interpose insulating areas of law between the existing stockpiles. If we succeed in this most difficult task, their ultimate dismantlement for peaceful uses, warhead by warhead, will become practical politics in a world that will have gradually become accustomed to abide by the rule of international law and learned to trust in the machinery for its determination and enforcement.

69. Therefore, we join with those who have appealed to the leaders of the great Powers to look not only at the immediate problems which are causing great tension in many critical zones, but also at the major steps in the years and decades ahead which must be taken if our will to live in peace is to dominate our ever-growing power to destroy. We urge them not to be content with stop-gap solutions, but to seek broad comprehensive settlements in areas where their interests are dangerously interlocked. Each such area should be sufficiently large to afford room for give-and-take agreements and for positive and significant progress to be made in the rule of law and the enforcement of law.

70. Perhaps we may take Berlin as an example of the approach we suggest. The problem of Berlin and the reunification of Germany is not only a heartbreak for the German people but a cause of great distress to their friends and to all who abhor the division of historic nations. If a just and lasting peace is to be made in Europe, the problem of German reunification must be settled in accordance with the will of the majority of the German people and with the right of nations to unity and independence.

71. There is, as far as we can see, no peaceful and permanent solution for Berlin except as the capital of a united Germany. We wonder whether there can be any peaceful solution for the reunification of Germany unless its people can make of a reunited Germany a mainstay of peace and a barrier to war, under some

system of international guarantee. Nor can we see, even in the distant future, any peaceful solution acceptable to both great power groups for the problem of European security, unless a reunited Germany together with Poland and other European countries agrees to become an area of law, free from foreign troops, free from weapons of blitzkrieg and mass destruction, and subject to United Nations inspection and guarantee. And if this heart-land of Europe were to become an area of law it would be a much needed prototype for similar areas elsewhere, particularly for areas of great tension. In these areas the nuclear Powers, in co-operation with the nations concerned, would make the principles of the Charter a reality on the Central European model suggested, as part of a combined effort to establish the rule of law progressively area by area throughout the world.

72. The present conjuncture in the relations between the great Powers is clearly one of reappraisal. How fundamental that reappraisal will be, and how far-reaching its effects, those of us here who represent smaller countries have no means of knowing. We do know, however, that our own destinies are likely to be affected by the decisions reached. When great Powers agree, as when they fail to agree, all our peoples will undoubtedly be touched by the consequences for good or ill. That implies, we submit, that we may properly raise in this Assembly questions that trouble us about policies at present being pursued by the major Powers, and express our opinions as to the character of the settlement which we would hope to see emerging from agreement between the great Powers. Indeed, it has often been emphasized that one of the valuable functions of this Assembly, and in particular of this General Debate, is to afford a setting and an occasion for the discussion of such questions.

73. There is a series of questions regarding the present situation in Central Europe which, we submit, needs fresh consideration. These questions concern the relevance to modern conditions of the policy of maintaining troops in forward positions in the heart of Europe.

74. What were the military, political or economic reasons which each Power had for keeping and reinforcing these troops in their present positions since 1945? Granted that these reasons were valid in 1945-1949, are they valid in 1959, in view of the great political and economic changes that have occurred in Europe and in the Far East, and in view of the capacity of the forward ground troops of both sides, with 1959 equipment, to destroy everything in front of them within 1,500 miles?

75. As far as we can see, keeping these nuclear-armed troops forward in dangerous proximity, and keeping Berlin and Germany divided, serves no basic interest of either group of Powers or of the Central European countries. Indeed we believe that not only the national and personal rights and the lives and property of the peoples concerned, but also the security of the great Powers, the peace of Europe and the peace of the world, would all be better and more effectively served if these troops were drawn back until they were 1,000 miles or more apart, and if the area comprising all these countries became an area of law, without foreign troops, and with a restriction on armaments. Within such an area, Berlin would take its rightful place as the capital of an all-German federation.

76. These questions imply a fundamental revision of the policies pursued by the major Powers in the last

ten years. But do not the changes that have taken place in the world over the past ten years clearly indicate the ineluctable necessity for such a revision, in the interests of all Members of the United Nations? How long can human beings stand the tension and the burden of the ever-mounting accumulation of destructive power without somebody somewhere making a mistake? Can we safely assume that the leaders and governments who may come into power, both in the present nuclear States and in those which may become nuclear during the next ten or twenty years, will all be wiser and more forbearing than those leaders who precipitated their countries into war in recent times? Is there not a danger that, within both great-Power systems, traditional military conservatism and professional infatuation with perfecting means of destruction may not be holding back changes which are overdue? Adaptation to change in environment is known to be the law of survival—and survival, after all, is basically what we are discussing here.

77. In suggesting the gradual application of the rule of law and the restriction of nuclear weapons, we are not proposing that either of the two power groups should trust the other blindly. The element of distrust is a grim reality which must be faced. What we do suggest is that both power groups should take certain steps which, it seems to us, are clearly in the interest of both, where an earnest of good faith must be paid by each at each step, where the risks involved through a breach of faith are limited and where a breach of faith would be quickly discerned and where the risks are as nothing compared to the supreme risk we are now running: that is, the risk of drifting into a nuclear war which neither group, we believe, wants, and in which both groups and a large part of the world would be utterly destroyed.

78. The cosmic energy which man has released from the atom has its own cold and inescapable logic: either we evolve the machinery to control it or it will eventually overwhelm us; either we harness it for the common good or it will destroy us in the end. The heavy responsibility of giving the generous and vigorous lead necessary to control it rests squarely on the leaders of the nuclear Powers. We appeal to them to act as wise and brave captains, whose call to action turns confusion into purposeful advance and threatening defeat into victory.

79. If this generation is defeated, if it fails to use its boundless power and wealth for the good of mankind, its defeat will be truly ignominious. Wars for conquest and for colonies made sense of a kind when there was less than enough for all, and the survivors enjoyed the fruits of victory. They make less than sense in the age of nuclear weapons, when the survivors would envy the dead and when all we need to provide abundance for mankind is the will to co-operate generously in the peaceful development and distribution of our fabulous resources.

80. The wars and shadows of wars, the revolutions and civil strife, the fears and confusions which surround us are all signs of our need for positive and inspiring leadership. Sooner or later these tensions can only have one end if the nuclear Powers should fail to reach agreement on a positive and progressive programme for the implementation of the Charter. Now that these Powers are in contact, we appeal to them to give the United Nations that courageous and generous lead which will dispel our confusion, spur us to action and carry us to victory.

81. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): The delegation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has the honour to present to this General Assembly its views on certain important problems of the world, some of which are of direct concern to my country as a part of the Arab homeland and some of concern to all of us as members of the family of nations.

82. Before doing so, Mr. President, my delegation wishes to extend to you its sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the fourteenth General Assembly by a unanimous vote. Your brilliant career at the United Nations and valuable contributions to its achievements are widely known. We hope that this session will be marked, under your leadership, with real success.

83. The fourteen years following the establishment of this great Organization have provided the family of nations with the most effective forum for their meetings, consultations and discussions. Thus in this Assembly the idea of coming together developed side by side with the ever-growing understanding of the purposes of the United Nations Charter. The tasks of the United Nations are great, but the greatest is its task to lay the foundations of an everlasting peace for the succeeding generations and the days to come, and thus record in the annals of history the real meaning of human progress.

84. If civilization is truly to advance in our present age, it should not only manifest itself in remarkable inventions and conquests, but should capture the soul and mind of man. Present-day achievements cannot hope to surpass the old legacy if material standards supersede spiritual values, if considerations of profit and gain overshadow humanitarian principles, and if force and the threat of force continue to challenge the power of right and justice.

85. We, the so-called weak Powers or smaller nations, live in this world equipped with such thoughts, an equipment which provides us with adequate force and sufficient power. We have the firm conviction that good conquers evil, love dispels hate, and hope defeats despair. We come to the United Nations as groups and teams working together to extinguish the flame of hatred in the hearts of men and to establish brotherhood and peace among all. Inasmuch as it meets with our natural and genuine aims, we believe that international peace is the best security for small nations to enjoy a quiet and prosperous life.

86. Recent developments in the field of international understanding between the big Powers have been heartening to all peace-loving nations. My country welcomed these events no less than did any other. Apart from their world-wide impact, these events will no doubt have a favourable reaction in the Middle East, the region to which my country belongs, and to a certain extent they help to alleviate the tension which is partly due to the East-West conflict.

87. It was indeed gratifying to us to know of the meetings of the Four Power Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva in an attempt to come to an understanding on several issues. Although the discussion there seems to have faltered and revealed differences of view, the promising feature was that the parties attempted to find ways and means of relaxing tension in their relations.

88. On the subject of disarmament, which was the main topic of discussion among the big Powers, the

Jordanian delegation feels that the establishment of a Ten-Power Committee was a practical and constructive step toward drawing up a disarmament plan. Lacking the full representation of all Member States, which have much to say about this vital issue, the committee established a link with the Disarmament Commission in such a way as to make up for what it lacked and to recognize the ultimate responsibility of the United Nations in this important matter.

89. Although no concrete conclusions have yet been achieved on the subject of disarmament, the impressive development along this line is that this issue is moving ahead in all directions to find a definite, practical and effective method for serving this purpose. Various proposals have been put before this Assembly for consideration. In the discussion of these proposals, one has to judge them on their practicality and feasibility.

90. Talks about the suspension and cessation of nuclear tests are of equal importance to all nations and all men. No one would like to see himself and his race destroyed by his own invention; no one can accept the thought of humanity being driven toward mass destruction. We earnestly hope that the nations possessing nuclear weapons will finally agree to put an end to this evil device and turn it to peaceful uses for the betterment of life.

91. In this connexion, a setback for our hopes and a challenge to the joint efforts in the direction of banning nuclear tests is to be found in the intentions of the French Government to explode an atomic bomb in the African Sahara, thus exposing the inhabited areas in that region to thermonuclear fallout and its fatal dangers. It becomes the imperative task of the United Nations to see to it that nuclear tests are not carried out.

92. Needless to say, the responsibilities of the United Nations are considerably and systematically increasing. In view of such additional tasks and in order to relieve the General Assembly, it becomes essential to settle the pending problems at the United Nations. There are problems that have been solved by the World Organization, and problems that still await solution.

93. My country was happy to know of the settlement of the Cyprus question. The wisdom, sincerity and determination shown by both the Greek and the Turkish Governments, and the co-operation of the United Kingdom Government, brought about a solution satisfactory to the gallant people of Cyprus and gratifying to all those who are linked with the Turks and the Greeks by strong bonds of friendship.

94. The problem of West Irian, although not included on our agenda this year, will always be of deep concern to the Jordanian Government because of the merits of the question, the justice of the cause and my country's cordial relations with the Indonesian Republic.

95. Many other important matters have been dealt with satisfactorily through the efforts of the United Nations. Yet major international questions are still pending and call for speedy action.

96. In the Arab world, which stretches from the Iranian borders to the Atlantic Coast, there lie the most serious political problems of the present time. In Algeria, a war is taking place between two powers—the national power of Algeria, represented by the Algerian Provisional Government, and the French imperialistic power. This war has been led by the National Liberation

Front to seek fulfilment of definite and legitimate aims for the people of Algeria—namely, freedom, independence and sovereignty. The fighting has been going on vigorously for almost five years, and on a wide scale. There can be no better expression of a nation's will to attain its aspirations than its willingness to pay the price of those aspirations in terms of blood and tears. Procession after procession of martyrs has traveled the road of national struggle in Algeria against French colonialism and tyranny. There can be no better proof of the strength of the Algerian patriotic cause, and of its deep roots in Algeria, than the fact that the national revolution continues with the passage of time to gain more prestige and greater international weight, to such a point that it has now become universally recognized. France itself has been the last to recognize the international weight of the great Algerian problem.

97. When my delegation deals with the problem of Algeria, it deals not only with an Arab national problem inflicted on the Arabs in their homeland or with an anti-colonial issue, but with a problem whose magnitude places it far beyond these limitations. It is the problem of freedom in general, of liberty in its wider sense, of courage, of honour and of human dignity.

98. If we as Members of the United Nations, subscribing to its great Charter, are not to defend these values and live up to our humanitarian responsibilities, then what is it that we cherish and what is it that we live up to? The Arab blood which is being shed in Algeria and the sufferings which are taking place there at the hands of the French are the sacrifices of the true sons of Algeria for all mankind at the altar of liberty.

99. It would be a grave injustice to the Algerian problem and its real significance to reduce it to an ordinary political question which is subject to views and counter-views and to different possibilities and considerations. I cannot imagine that there is any power on earth that would dare to deny the right of nations to freedom and independence or dare to advocate the supremacy of one nation over another nation. If such a power exists, then it has no place in this Assembly.

100. Engaged in a sacred war against the French colonial forces, the Algerian nationalists would rather reach their goals of independence and peace in the shortest way, in the earliest time, and with the minimum of sacrifice. No other party could be more keen on restoring peace in Algeria than the Algerian people themselves who are dedicated to the prosperity and glory of their homeland. Therefore, the responsibility of lengthening the term of bloodshed in Algeria rests solely and entirely with France itself, which has obstinately determined to suppress the national uprising in Algeria by the force of arms.

101. Instead of honouring the heroism of the Algerian struggle for freedom, instead of acceding to the demand of justice and instead of heeding the call of right, France chooses to intensify its so-called programme of pacification.

102. In order to facilitate the purpose of ending the war in Algeria, a solution must be real and democratic. This will require, on the one hand, clarity in the substance of such a solution and, on the other, negotiations with the recognized leaders of the national movement of Algeria.

103. A constructive step in this direction is bound to open the way for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two parties concerned. It is not the inten-

tion of the Jordanian delegation to dwell now on the French atrocities in Algeria and the duties of the United Nations in this regard. We will come to that in future discussions.

104. A great international problem in the Arab world is that of Palestine. It is most regrettable that the Palestine question in its present phase was the creation of this very Organization. While the Palestine tragedy continues to live, the United Nations continues to fail in settling the question. The story, in brief, is one of an invader who enjoys the life of usurpation, and a victim who suffers the bitterness of deprivation.

105. The aspects of the problem are so interconnected that no one issue can be dealt with independently or separately. The territorial aspect, the refugee problem, the problem of refugee property in the Israeli-held part of Palestine, the general political conduct of Israel in the Arab environment, and the Israeli threat to the Arabs are all branches of the same trunk. The wrong that had been done to the Arabs produced such multiple complications as to make it impossible for them to withdraw to a line at which they could surrender to what might ever be considered as an accomplished fact.

106. Eleven years have passed since the fall of that dear part of Arab Palestine into the hands of the Zionist invaders. What has the United Nations accomplished in the way of redress for the Palestine refugees? What new hopes has the United Nations given to the dispersed people of Palestine? What action has the United Nations taken against the challenge and defiance of Israel? Eleven years have passed and the yearning of those refugees to go back to their homeland has never diminished. They see it across the Armistice Demarcation Line. They look at it from over the hills and villages which were separated from the plains and shores of Palestine. They feel the breeze that touches its green orchards. They recall their days and memories. It is a great strain for the refugee to stand by and see his property, his house, his farm, his village and his country usurped by strangers who flocked there from every corner of the world.

107. In appraising this emotional inner struggle, one would easily understand why the refugees sometimes think of marching peacefully to their homeland. The refugees' right to return can never be weakened no matter how old the problem might be nor how long the years of exile might seem. The bitterness of the catastrophe shall be handed from father to son and the desire of repatriation shall always be cherished until it becomes a reality.

108. The United Nations, which reaffirmed this right of repatriation in its successive resolutions, must see to the implementation of these resolutions. It is to safeguard the prestige and authority of this Organization that the defiance of Israel should come to an end.

109. A further serious difficulty introduced by Israel to the region in general and directed against the interests of Palestine Arab refugees in particular is the continuous flow of the Jewish immigrants into the Israeli-held territory. In addition to the hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants who were brought to Palestine by Israel since 1948, Israel plans to bring an additional one million immigrants to live in the territory which it now occupies. This policy has two sharp spearheads. First, it blocks the way and closes the door in the face of the return of the Arab refugees to their

homes, and secondly, it creates apprehensions amongst Arab people that Israel plans further territorial expansion in the area through increasing its population.

110. The continued overflow of Jewish immigration is a serious threat to Arab security and Arab existence. In view of the consequences of this Israeli policy, peace-loving nations are requested for the sake of peace and order, not to facilitate this Jewish movement from their countries. However, the item on our agenda pertaining to the Palestine question is item 27 [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East: (a) Report of the Director of the Agency; (b) Proposals for the continuation of United Nations assistance to Palestine refugees: document submitted by the Secretary-General]. The Jordanian Government has given the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization [A/4132] its full consideration. My delegation is in the process of submitting the views of my Government on this report in a fully detailed document.

111. Meanwhile, the Jordanian delegation deems it necessary at this stage to state that there are certain basic principles in the problem of the Arab refugees to which my Government strongly adheres. First, this problem cannot be isolated from the main Palestine question, being an inseparable part of the whole. Second, the problem is political in nature, not economic. Therefore, no economic approach to this political problem could be acceptable to us. Third, the right of the refugees to return to their homeland can in no way be challenged, and the refugees must be enabled to exercise this legitimate right. Fourth, the relief and services extended to the Palestine refugees shall continue to be the responsibility of the United Nations until it becomes possible for these refugees to enjoy their legitimate rights.

112. Our devotion to the cause of Palestine Arab refugees leads us to feel with the world refugee wherever he might be, and to try to extend to him a helping hand. A problem directly related to the Palestine issue and one of its ramifications is Israel's navigation in the Suez Canal. This matter has been given wide misleading propaganda by the Israelites. The Suez Canal falls within Arab soil and under the sovereignty of an Arab State. The United Arab Republic, like every other Arab country, is not only in a state of war with Israel, but also does not recognize the legality of Israel and Palestine, nor any right it might claim in the region.

113. Furthermore, Israel itself is still denying all the legitimate Arab rights in Palestine, its rights that were reaffirmed by the various United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestine question. How could it then claim any right at a time when it denies the rights of others?

114. The Jordanian delegation wishes to state on this occasion that the stand of the Jordanian Kingdom on this issue goes side by side with that of the United Arab Republic all the way. In taking a unified stand on the cases of Algeria, Palestine, the Suez Canal and other problems in the Arab region, the Arab States are prompted by their sincere desire to exterminate aggression and the forces of aggression from their homeland and to live in freedom, quiet and in peace. Led by their constructive national movement and by their ambitions to carry out their international responsibilities as a useful Power, they have come to realize that

their unity is essential for their progress. They have always felt the importance of safeguarding the League of Arab States. In fact, the strengthening of the brotherly relations among them was the central aim of the Charter of the Arab League.

115. On the other hand, unity among the Arab States will enable them to provide the world with a strong friend capable of carrying out its international obligations in the best effective manner. Stretching its arms in to Asia and Africa, the Arab world has the strongest ties with both continents. The Jordanian Kingdom is very happy and privileged to belong to that group of the nations of Asia and Africa, and to work with them at the United Nations and elsewhere in full co-operation and harmony. The growing increase in the number of independent States in Africa is a remarkable development for which we wholeheartedly rejoice. We eagerly look forward to seeing amongst us here in this General Assembly the rest of the African nations, some of whom presently are under trusteeship, and some others are striving for independence and sovereignty.

116. The growth and size of United Nations membership leads us to the consideration of the revision of the Charter in a way which would meet the requirements of this growth in size and change in conditions. Jordan is a young country which needs technical and financial assistance to develop further its resources. The aid which the United Nations extends to us is highly appreciated by my Government. However, there are still wide fields of development which need substantial contributions from the United Nations and its agencies. We are undertaking huge economic responsibilities in view of the exceptional circumstances which the country faces. It is our sincere hope that the United Nations and its agencies will take this particular situation into sympathetic consideration. The presence of the United Nations in Jordan is a matter of deep appreciation to my Government and my people, and the contributions of the Secretary-General toward stability and relaxation of tension in our region shall never be forgotten.

117. Jordan is also a small country but proud to be the cradle of the spiritual values and the protector of the Holy Shrine. We have proved to be loyal to the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter and worthy of defending the cause of peace in our land and our area.

118. Mr. MARTINEZ MONTERO (Uruguay) (translated from Spanish): May I take this opportunity to express publicly the satisfaction it has given my Government to see you elected, Mr. President, to the high office which you now occupy.

119. From the beginning of their common struggle for independence, Peru and Uruguay joined forces to attain the common ideal and later to establish friendly relations. In testimony of this immutable and lasting union, I recall with emotion the fine statue of General Garzon, the courageous Uruguayan leader who led his native troops in the campaigns to liberate Peru, which your people erected, as a gesture of gratitude, in one of the most beautiful parks of Montevideo. It bears witness to American solidarity, born in stormy times and un-failingly strengthened day by day.

120. I am proud to be the true representative of a little country which, small and weak as it is, through its respect for law and freedom and its sense of international coexistence, is adequately qualified to raise

its voice in this Assembly, rich in the present but even richer in the future.

121. It may be asked why the fact that we are a weak and a small country gives us the right to speak. It is because, in my opinion, strength and material power can and will make themselves heard anywhere. Those who are weak and small can only make themselves heard where silence and attention are the outcome of respect for law and devotion to principles. Blessed, therefore, be this hall, in which all the peoples of the world assemble and in which the weak can debate on equal terms with the strong and seek a solution to their problems along the path of justice and law.

122. Among the things that entitle us to be represented in this Assembly I have mentioned our love of freedom, our respect for law and our sense of international coexistence. Those values are the very fabric of our existence; they are the goals we are constantly pursuing. They are the product of our earliest history, of the legal memories, the municipal, legal and practical freedoms we inherited from Spain. From the earliest days of our country they were a clear and permanent feature and they found expression in the remarkable personality of our greatest national hero, José Artigas, who in the last century paved the way for the solidarity and coexistence of nations when he became the champion of self-government for all countries and fought to unite the peoples of the old viceroyship of the Rio de la Plata under federal rule. In that struggle he received the title of "Protector of Free Peoples"—an incomparable prize. In that single title we find the two cardinal features of our idea of international solidarity: union in freedom, and freedom within the united community.

123. The many events attesting to our respect for law would form a long list, but it would be out of place to recount them here. I should merely like to mention a recent event which took place only a few months ago: the change of government in Uruguay. As a result of free and democratic elections, a political party which had been in power in Uruguay for nine decades handed over the reins of government to the opposition, thus bowing to the popular verdict, without the slightest disorder or clashes. This fact certainly does honour to the people of Uruguay and to the parties which lead it.

124. Indeed, all the citizens of the country which I have the honour to represent respect the same basic principles and the same fundamental values. That is the significance that Uruguayan representation can have in this assembly of nations.

125. We consider that our mission in this Assembly is clearly determined by the special character of our people and by the circumstances which I have described. It is a mission of peace, of harmony, of reason and of love. It cannot be otherwise. We have no problems which pit us against other nations in bitter obstinacy. That very fact enables us to collaborate in the objectives of this great Assembly with the serenity of a people at peace with the world. In the rivalries, sometimes tremendous, which shatter what should be the basic unity of the human race, we are in a position to help so far as possible to soothe ruffled feelings and to facilitate solutions, thus contributing within the limits of our ability and goodwill to the cause of world peace. We shall not abate our efforts to that end. Our country is not trying to blaze a trail or to direct

world policy. If it were, we should be losing our sense of proportion and balance. It can, however, make a useful and important contribution if we understand and practise those virtues. I should like to emphasize that this position I have outlined is not a profession of faith in the sense of an irresponsible position of neutrality, which would be against nature if we adopted it in respect of all potential conflicts. Our spiritual position is clear: we are prepared to defend, within the limits of our ability, the fundamental values of the civilization to which we belong whenever they are threatened by reactionary forces. Peace among nations is a very important value to preserve, but it should not be preserved at the price of all the other moral and spiritual values which make up our civilization. "Peace", as a great statesman of this country has said, "is a coin with two faces. One is a renunciation of force; the other is the granting of justice. Peace and justice are inseparable". Uruguay will accordingly promote and support with all its moral and spiritual strength those solutions which tend to bring about peace based on justice and respect for those fundamental values and rights.

126. The Uruguayan delegation has come to this fourteenth session of the General Assembly in a spirit of calm and moderate optimism. When, at San Francisco, it voted for the establishment of this world body, it was confident that events would show the wisdom of that initiative. When the Second World War ended, the world was in a state of chaos and anxiety; sources of incalculable wealth had been destroyed; vast masses of people were in despair and youth had been demoralized. The failure of the League of Nations, which had been established following the First World War, did not shake our conviction of the necessity and value of some form of juridical international organization. Although we do not subscribe to the myth of unlimited progress or regard material and scientific advances as more important than human destiny, we firmly believe that in cultural circles there is a gradual evolution which is leading towards the universalization of culture, the interdependence of nations and the grouping together of human beings. The isolation of man within the community and the isolation of nations living side by side in the world in an atmosphere of hostility is virtually the law of the jungle and is maintained basically by constant shifts in the balance of power, a process which leads to war and various other manifestations of hatred. The path of progress must therefore be that which gradually leads out of chaos, from *de facto* coexistence based on power relations to coherent organization based on law.

127. If we adopt a realistic and sensible approach, the balance is satisfactory. The United Nations has gradually been winning the confidence of the peoples of the world. It has been successful in restoring peace, in putting an end to localized conflicts which could have spread dangerously; it has important accomplishments to its credit in the field of technical and economic assistance—a less spectacular aspect of its constructive work but of no less importance than the political aspect. These achievements are, in our view, full and sufficient justification for its existence. Restless and impatient spirits may feel that they are not enough, that the United Nations is ineffective because it is unable to settle all international disputes or because it has no power to compel States, particularly strong States, to respect and comply with the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Assem-

bly. In our view, that way of looking at the matter is not altogether correct.

128. It may be accurate in terms of human life. Human life is short and its brevity gives wings to man's impatience. As individuals, we measure time in minutes, hours and days. Yet we must agree that in the slow succession of generations phenomena, in terms of communities and species, follow another rhythm. Progress, development, changes, if you will, are sometimes imperceptible when measured in terms of the individual's concept of time. History is like a coral reef, whose growth and change is not perceptible to the small creature which builds it. To all appearances, we are moving today at a much faster rate than the meteoric advances in scientific knowledge which have brought peoples closer together by abolishing distance. Nevertheless our progress is still relative. The rapid succession of events is primarily an external manifestation, but the spiritual changes in man, in his psychology, in his moral fabric are not taking place at a much more rapid rate than in the past. That is why we consider that what the United Nations has achieved represents substantial progress and we hope it will be maintained and strengthened.

129. This new Assembly will certainly have to tackle some troublesome issues. For example, those related—in its many and complex manifestations—with the ever-present threat of an apocalyptic war and those, no less varied and multiform, relating to human welfare as it is affected by the economic imbalance of nations.

130. With regard to the prospect of another war, the use of gigantic weapons of destruction which the scientific genius of man is inventing daily, in a headlong race, fills us with alarm and anxiety. We see with regret that the moral conscience of mankind is not developing at the same rate as his intellectual capacities.

131. On this aspect of world peace, Uruguay will bend its will and its efforts to the consolidation of peace and will support all proposals for material disarmament and an end to the cold war, contingent of course upon effective progress in achieving collective security and the protection of Western civilization, to which our future is bound. It will also support any measures that represent an advance in respect of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes which will enable all peoples to free themselves of the poverty which wrecks the prospects of peaceful and happy coexistence, for such coexistence depends on an equal opportunity for all peoples to enjoy a minimum degree of well-being.

132. We are confident that the glimmers of hope which are appearing on the troubled horizon of today will shed a lasting light on the future of the world. For perhaps the first time in history, fear is working in a positive direction, that is, in favour of peace. The prospect of a war in which there will be no victors may discourage those nations that have nurtured designs for aggression on a world-wide scale and they may be led, not out of goodness but as a result of cold calculation, to suppress their impulses to do evil.

133. Another important group of problems which we shall have to face and which are more directly connected with the individual and his sufferings are those that relate to human rights, to the protection of all those human beings who for one reason or another are

victims of political and social events occurring in the area in which it is their fate to live.

134. These tremendous problems can be approached in two ways: theoretically, by the preparation and study of a covenant of human rights; and practically, by the adoption of measures to help those who are in a particularly arduous situation. Perhaps it would be better to speak of the long-term and the immediate approach, for the covenant will tend to prevent and correct that which the measures will remedy.

135. With respect to the first, and in accordance with the stand it took at two recent conferences in Santiago—the fifth Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the fourth Inter-American Council of Jurists—Uruguay will support the preparation of the covenant—at present being drawn up by the United Nations—which will ensure the protection of human rights wherever they may be violated: an effective protection, by legal means and with the necessary guarantees, for the activities of individuals and private organizations. In that sense, Uruguay is only seeking to extend to the international field the provisions and attitudes that it considers vital for the defence of values which are constantly observed in Uruguay.

136. With respect to the second approach, Uruguay will co-operate enthusiastically, within its limited means, in the solution of one of the most difficult problems of our time: the refugee problem. The fact that millions of men have been displaced from their homes and are living in sub-human conditions, without employment and without hope, is one of the stigmas on the world of today, being the result of its political and social convulsions and maladjustments. The World Refugee Year, which began in June 1959, is a fine expression of human solidarity and we hope that it will make an effective contribution to the solution of this problem.

137. With regard to the sharp conflicts which exist in some parts of the world and which are likely to spread, owing to their potential ramifications, Uruguay reiterates its unshakable faith and confidence in the principle it has always professed: that of peaceful solutions, through arbitration, mutual understanding and the intervention of appropriate jurisdictional bodies freely agreed upon.

138. What we urge is that no people's rights or destinies should be forgotten. Through the ages peoples evolve, creating their own collective conscience and with a legitimate right to self-determination. If this destiny can be fulfilled by means of understandings, so much the better. Hence Uruguay, true to its traditions and faithful to its spirit, is not showing partiality or lacking in generosity when it takes a stand in those conflicts which sunder peoples who for various reasons merit its respect and friendship. Even when a superficial examination appears to indicate that one of the parties has more right on his side, we prefer to exercise our modest influence to bring about an understanding by peaceful and legal means that allow of a serious and thorough examination of the case of both parties and of the basic causes of the dispute. We cannot support a priori judgements, but once judgement has been given, let us be firm and decisive in demanding that it should be faithfully carried out.

139. It is for this reason that we view with sympathy the constituent efforts of new nations. Those of us who have suffered and struggled for the achievement of

our own individuality cannot betray our past. But that past has taught us a painful lesson: the difficulties that beset a new nation that lacks any constructive means of safeguarding its own existence.

140. Times have changed, and the possibility of giving technical, economic and moral assistance is one of the most constructive aims of the United Nations. This is a fact which should be borne in mind, for it entails a great responsibility for those who lead the world.

141. In present world conditions, the struggle against economic and social under-development cannot be carried on successfully by the mere good will of each nation although we realize that every nation is called upon to make a constructive effort.

142. Historical and geographical factors of various kinds have exercised their influence in the creation of States with very different opportunities for well-being and progress. Some are favoured by nature with a wealth of natural resources or with conditions which make human efforts highly profitable. There are others which have neither the resources nor the favourable conditions. Others, again, possess resources but lack the material or human means to develop them. Then there are some countries which, as was once said of some territory, are like a beggar seated on a golden throne but dying of starvation and poverty.

143. If the goal of this association of nations is to deliver peoples from despair and to intervene effectively in the dialectic contradictions of history in order to achieve good through man's rational and spiritual action, it cannot allow this state of affairs to continue. The living conditions, sometimes sub-human, prevailing in many areas of the globe are fertile soil for many aberrations, for every kind of despotism and despair. In an era when interdependence among nations is becoming increasingly strong and widespread, the sad consequences of such evils are not confined to the countries where they exist, for they inexorably spread to disturb the tranquil existence of those more fortunate countries which might have believed themselves immune from the fluctuations of history. Solidarity based on understanding becomes a rational imperative if world peace is to be consolidated on a firmer basis than that of a balance of armaments. The duty of the hour, the need of the moment, is to free men from the anguish of the wretched present and the uncertain future; to vanquish the despair which darkens the mind, hardens the spirit, blunts noble sentiments, destroys the impulse to love and converts man into an instrument or an agent of aggression and hatred.

144. It is necessary, indeed it is imperative, to begin this very day what the representative from Brazil so aptly called the "war against under-development, against the slavery to which two-thirds of mankind is subjected." [797th meeting, para. 4] Full technical and economic co-operation, dissemination of information, trade facilities, freedom of movement by keeping open to all the use of those international routes which are a common heritage of mankind—these are the elements of this, the only noble and exalting struggle. Whatever may be the nature of the conflict, in this or that area, free navigation of the seas and the inter-oceanic canals must be ensured as a fundamental principle of international law for all time and for all nations, including Israel. Our earnest hope for the

Near East, to which I have referred, is for a peace which, based on the rights of each individual, will promote understanding and harmony among the communities involved.

145. These hopes are not just theoretical; they are a real part of my Government's policy, as an effective contribution to the building of a better world.

146. As evidence of our readiness to co-operate so far as we can in the task of achieving universal well-being, I should like to mention two facts.

147. Firstly, at this very moment representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Peru are meeting in Montevideo at the invitation of the Uruguayan Government, in an effort to find legal and practical ways of increasing the possibilities for the production and distribution of goods, as an essential element in strengthening the regional economy, through the establishment of a free trade zone to further Latin American economic integration. This is an understanding favoured by the Governments in order that private enterprise may operate in conditions favourable to a better development that will contribute to the well-being of man.

148. Secondly, with the recent signing of a pact linking Paraguayan interests with those of our host country and of my own country, an effective step has been taken towards correcting that geographic misfortune suffered by all land-locked countries. In order to facilitate the communications of the interior of the American continent with the outside world, Uruguay, with its favourable geographical situation on the Rio de La Plata, has set up free zones in which, in absolute liberty, without paying any fees or being subject to any tax laws, the commerce of the world has a base for its transactions, concentrating on the production of wealth and its world-wide distribution through unprecedented exemptions granted by the Uruguayan Government as a contribution to better economic co-operation in the world.

149. Thus we give practical proof of our attachment to the most fundamental principles of the Charter, which we signed in the hope that this association of peoples would be able to find the shining road along which a happier mankind could make its journey, secure in spiritual peace and physical well-being.

150. Mr. UNDA MURILLO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, may I express to you my warmest and most cordial congratulations, and those of the Government which I represent, on the honour which has been done to you in electing you President of this Assembly. Your election is a recognition of your great and widely known personal qualities and your unfailing devotion to the cause of the United Nations. It is also a tribute to your country, a tribute which we heartily endorse in view of the unbroken ties of friendship between us and the close solidarity and understanding which, for historical and cultural reasons and in the light of our common ideals, should unite the countries of Latin America.

151. Guatemala is taking part in this, the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, imbued with faith in this world Organization and with the firm belief that all Member States are willing and able to lay the foundations of peace, liberty, justice and dignity in the strife-torn world in which we live.

152. The Government and people of Guatemala once more declare their sincere support for the purposes, principles and fundamental aims on which the United Nations is based and which were solemnly enshrined in the Charter signed at San Francisco. By its terms, "we the peoples of the United Nations" declare that we are "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"; we reaffirm our "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small"; we declare that we are resolved "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained", and we undertake "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

153. Fifteen years after that memorable Conference at San Francisco, these declarations and undertakings remain in full force and still provide guidance and hope in a troubled world, where the threat of another war, more cruel, more destructive and more diabolical than the last, still hangs over mankind. We see with sorrow, however, that human rights and the freedom, integrity and independence of peoples and nations are still being openly trampled upon; justice and respect for international obligations are not yet fully triumphant and freedom is severely curtailed by the hunger, ignorance and poverty which still afflict mankind.

154. Nevertheless, it is encouraging and a source of satisfaction to witness the great efforts which mankind has made during the past fifteen years, under the auspices of the United Nations, to carry out the difficult task of preserving peace and justice, of furthering respect for human rights and of protecting those rights, of promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples and of endeavouring to establish in every part of the globe living conditions that are consonant with the dignity of the human person.

155. We are confident that these efforts, with judicious support from the specialized agencies and the regional organizations, must succeed in putting an end, once and for all, to aggression, intervention in affairs of other States, totalitarianism, the domination of some nations by others, economic exploitation, poverty, hunger, malnutrition and ignorance, and that they will promote the progress and welfare of all nations.

156. We also believe that by contributing to the maintenance of international law and order, the United Nations can, through its moral influence, ensure that all nations live together in peace, thus making it ever more rare and more difficult for powerful nations to commit abuses and for the strong to exercise dictatorship, and giving effect to the principle that, in law, all nations are equal. We believe that respect for the principles of international law is an important factor in maintaining the peaceful co-existence of States. This is especially true with respect to freedom of navigation. The application of those principles may affect fundamental national interests; nevertheless, my delegation wishes to emphasize the importance of upholding the freedom of the seas and of international waterways as the expression of a principle which may benefit or affect all mankind.

157. The benefits brought by this world Organization are not, however, confined to the sphere of law, nor

do they affect States merely as political organizations: the principal and ultimate objective of the Organization is the peoples themselves; it is man as a human being, and the work of the United Nations is designed above all to ensure his happiness through his material and spiritual progress.

158. It is accordingly our belief that the best contribution the Member States can make to the world-wide work of the United Nations is to uphold it in its efforts, supporting and carrying out the constructive resolutions which it adopts and throwing their doors wide open so that the justice, freedom and social advancement for which the Organization stands may penetrate to the uttermost parts of their countries and reach every one of their citizens. Member States can also help the Organization by lending it their sincere and disinterested support and the widest possible measure of co-operation in its task of finding just and appropriate solutions for the numberless problems which stand in the way of peaceful co-existence, hamper economic development and restrict the rights, freedoms and progress of the peoples of the world.

159. These are our convictions and this is the spirit in which Guatemala is participating in the present session of the General Assembly, bearing no hostility and making no pretensions; it is ready to co-operate within its limited means in ensuring the success of the United Nations and in solving the problems which afflict mankind.

160. On this occasion Guatemala once more proclaims its attachment to the principles of the Charter, its determination to order its life democratically in justice and freedom, its uncompromising condemnation of aggression, of interference, and of the subjection of peoples and nations, its belief in the peaceful solution of international disputes and its unqualified respect for the international agreements to which it is a party and for the fundamental rights and freedoms of peoples and individuals. I have pleasure in stating that, as a consequence of this policy, Guatemala enjoys harmonious relations with all democratic countries and more especially with those of this hemisphere, in accordance with the principle of inter-American solidarity. I am also glad to say that a solution satisfactory to both countries has been found for the unhappy incident that occurred on 31 December 1958 between ourselves and Mexico, our sister country and our neighbour, whose people are linked to ours by traditional ties of friendship, culture and common interests.

161. The Pan-American movement has unquestionably acquired a new meaning. The nations of Iberian origin which make up this continent are convinced that the strength derived from their indestructible spiritual unity will help their peoples to achieve that progress and advancement without which democracy cannot exist. It is essential that the countries which are in a position to contribute to the economic development of Latin America should realize the far-reaching importance of this movement, which will be reflected in future sessions of the General Assembly as one of the most significant expressions of solidarity. We therefore feel that "Operation Pan-America", so aptly referred to by the distinguished representatives of Brazil and Argentina, [797th meeting] is of great importance in America's fight against the poverty and hunger which are so inimical to peace and real freedom. I have furthermore the pleasure of reporting

that, thanks to this policy and to the valuable assistance given by the United Nations through the Economic Commission for Latin America, the efforts to bring about the economic integration of Central America continue to make progress, to the benefit of the peoples of the five States concerned.

162. Guatemala also reiterates its belief that the freedom and independence of peoples and the reality and effectiveness of human rights depend largely on the extent to which States can achieve a fair and equitable economic system that will enable them to provide their people with an adequate and appropriate standard of living, since no true freedom or happiness is possible for States whose people lack the essential requirements for their material and spiritual development.

163. Guatemala maintains unchanged its traditional stand against all manifestations of colonialism, which it still holds should be banished from the face of the earth. In the present century, when the principles on which the United Nations is based have developed so far and won such general acceptance, any form of domination of one people by another is out of date and incompatible with the existence of human rights. There is no longer any room for the theory that there are superior and inferior peoples and that the world can be divided into masters and slaves. The world will not be deceived by the false argument that less-developed peoples need guidance and assistance from those who are more advanced, since the usual practice has been domination rather than guidance, and exploitation rather than assistance.

164. We believe that in the matter of colonialism the United Nations has made a valuable contribution. We are now witnessing the peaceful collapse of the colonial empires, and it gives us great satisfaction to see in this Assembly, playing a full and important role in our proceedings, representatives of many free and independent countries which less than fifteen years ago, when the United Nations was established, were suffering under the old colonial rule. We know that many of them had to make great sacrifices and to overcome incalculable difficulties in order to come to the United Nations and express their longing for liberty, and we have witnessed the wonderful process of the emergence of a number of nations and of the transformation of these former subjects of imperial rule into the citizens of a free country. It is inspiring to see that the number of these new independent countries continues to increase. We rejoice to hear that Maliland, Nigeria and the Cameroons will all become independent in a few months' time. Nevertheless there are millions of human beings who are still denied the right of self-government, the right to be masters of their own fate.

165. Guatemala itself has long suffered from the effects of colonialism in being deprived of its legitimate sovereignty over a large part of its territory called Belize and incorrectly described as British Honduras; this has had a detrimental effect on the development of the rich and important province of Petén, in the north of Guatemala. It is an anachronism that in the twentieth century attempts should be made to uphold the colonialist system, and it is incomprehensible that the United Kingdom, which has always stood for the principles of justice, liberty and equality among the free countries of the world and has been one of the bulwarks of democracy, can obstinately persist

in refusing to recognize the lawful rights of Guatemala over the territory of Belize. We hope that the United Kingdom will give us our due, that it will honour its word and its long tradition and will give us back Belize, which for the United Kingdom is just a scrap of territory but for us is vital.

166. As far as our brothers in Belize are concerned, Guatemala has no wish to impose on them a way of life foreign to their customs; our sole desire is to promote their economic and cultural development, to respect their traditions and to free them once and for all from any form of colonialism. Guatemala wishes to see Belize freed from any form of dominion and restored to the motherland, which for geographical and political reasons is best equipped to provide Belize with economic assistance and to raise the level of living of its people; unfortunately, little or nothing has been done in this field by the governing Power, for it is obvious that in all these years no steps have been taken to alleviate the wretched living conditions there. It is not right that this state of affairs should continue any longer.

167. Guatemala will strive to liberate Belize from this situation, which is both unjust and anachronistic, and to offer its people greater opportunities for development and progress. We accordingly hope that the countries represented here, especially those who owe their existence to anti-colonialism, will bring their moral influence to bear in finding a solution to this problem.

168. I should like to refer briefly to the position of the Guatemalan delegation with regard to some of the more important items that will be debated at this session of the Assembly, so that our view on these problems may be clearly established.

169. Firstly, we are glad that efforts have recently been made to find possible grounds for agreement among the great Powers in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of differences and to relax the tension that the cold war has maintained during the last few years, which has made it so difficult to find solutions for various grave and urgent problems.

170. In this connexion we note with satisfaction that the four great Powers, recognizing the responsibility that falls upon the United Nations in a question of such complexity, have agreed to seek a solution to the disarmament problem.

171. We cannot refrain from reiterating our concern over the instances of aggression and intervention, which not only constitute a danger to peace in the various areas of the world but have imposed divisions upon many peoples, sundering brother from brother for reasons quite unrelated to their feelings, work or interests.

172. We consider that the United Nations should find a way of bringing about the reunification of the divided peoples of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam; that would be a major step towards relaxing international tension and would satisfy the common aspirations by which each of those peoples is animated by reason of their common origin, language and customs.

173. In a spirit of international co-operation Guatemala has been a member of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and is at present a member of the Committee on South West Africa and the Commission on Permanent Sovereignty

over Natural Resources. I feel I must assure this distinguished Assembly that in carrying out these noble tasks our only concern has been, and will continue to be, to uphold the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter and the basic interests and social, economic and cultural advancement of peoples.

174. In conclusion, I wish to express on behalf of the Government and people of Guatemala the most fervent hopes for the success of this fourteenth session of the General Assembly, so that its work may result in peace, justice and liberty for all nations and for all the men, women and children who make up the great family of mankind.

175. Mr. ANDRADE (Bolivia) (translated from Spanish): I have great pleasure, Mr. President, in offering you my warmest congratulations on the well-earned tribute paid to you in your election to the Presidency of this great Assembly. This honour has an added significance for my country, which is linked to Peru by ancient ties of origin, tradition and brotherhood, since it is an implicit recognition of the values which we in Latin America uphold.

176. More than fourteen years ago I had the honour and the unusual good fortune to take part, as head of my country's delegation, in the San Francisco Conference which was convened to study the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and, using them as a basis, to draft the Charter of our Organization.

177. This the first occasion I have had since then to attend the General Assembly, although I had the honour to take part in the drafting of the Assembly's powers in political and security matters as Chairman of Committee 2 of Committee II of the San Francisco Conference of 1945 which drafted this part of the Charter.

178. In the years between, mankind has gained much in experience. Many of the dreams we cherished at that time have faded, while in other fields the outline of reality has become sharper. In 1959, perhaps, we can view with greater clarity and realism the prospects of attaining peace, security, good relations and mutual respect among all the peoples of the organized international community.

179. The theory behind the planning for peace was based on the ideal of complete understanding between the great Powers which have permanent seats in the Security Council and under the current system of voting enjoy the right of veto in matters concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security. But at the same time one cannot overlook the immense contribution made by the small countries which, in their eagerness to proceed with their development in an atmosphere of peace, have shown even greater zeal and enthusiasm in seeking ways to eliminate factors likely to undermine the peace and security they value so highly, and create instead a basis of justice and respect for the dignity of man.

180. In this Assembly some of us may well recall from time to time that the credit for the great victory for mankind which was achieved when the right of collective self-defence was established in Article 51 of the Charter belongs to the countries of Latin America that thronged to the San Francisco Conference, and to their passion for peace, justice and respect for the sovereignty and dignity of peoples throughout the world.

181. However, alliances of certain sectors and regional groups cannot by themselves maintain stability based on respect and fear, and so guarantee peace and security. There are other factors too, which may not be so sensational and coercive as armed aggression, but still go on undermining the foundations of peaceful coexistence. I refer particularly to the immense differences in levels of living in the modern world, which has grown so much smaller and, with the new perspective provided by more rapid communications, has at last come face to face with the tragic reality.

182. Fourteen years ago at San Francisco I made a statement to the effect that the foundations of universal peace would be laid as soon as there was equal remuneration in every part of the world for the same amount and type of work.

183. We cannot overlook this keen desire for equality, which is one of the mainsprings of human progress. At first, this desire was elemental and intuitive, a striving after a utopian equality to which all men were entitled by the mere fact of their birth. Modern society on the other hand takes into account moral, intellectual and physical qualities in its concept of equality: and that is undoubtedly why we still get the injustice of situation in which the remuneration, for a given unit of effort, is larger or smaller merely because the person concerned was born in a certain part of the world or is the product of a certain background.

184. In modern law mankind has succeeded, after many trials and tribulations, in advancing from a concept of individual privileges based on an uncompromising interpretation of the right of property and its uses and abuses to a social concept of this right. Thus, we have gone beyond mere charity and humanitarianism, and have now arrived at a concept of social security and the right to work which no one in modern society would dispute. This concept must now be extended and applied to the international community in the same way as to the relations between individuals. There is no doubt that mankind is moving progressively in this direction.

185. As society progresses, so a number of assumptions about human nature, once regarded as incontrovertible, are tending to be modified. The idea of the survival of the fittest—the law of the jungle and of the barbarian eras—is now being replaced by a principle of fellowship between the weak and the strong. In this form, the notion of human society approximates to the revolutionary ideas of Christianity and of the philosophers who have championed the superiority of spiritual over material values.

186. To turn to other fields, human society has also made some progress in methods of government by abolishing the political privileges attached to certain families or social classes. Although there are still great differences in political and economic systems, all States have one feature in common, namely that any person can rise to the highest position in the administration of his community, provided he is qualified to do so by his abilities and talents, regardless of birth.

187. All this is striking evidence that the world has entered a new era in which power is to be used not so that one man can hold sway over another, but to provide individuals, or communities which for one reason or another are under-developed or in distress, with opportunities of overcoming their difficulties.

188. Having made these general remarks, I would like to make some comments on the relations between developed countries and the so-called under-developed countries. There are a number of different points of view from which a country can be regarded as developed. Apart from geographical factors, one contributory element is undoubtedly a country's firm decision to apply in its national policies the positive outlook inherent in the application of science to technology and of technology to industrial development; at the same time many countries today regarded as under-developed may be under-developed only in this material sense, because their national outlook is such that they prefer to devote greater efforts to the development of spiritual forces as yet not fully tapped.

189. On the other hand, the inescapable fact that nations have been brought closer together through the development of communications has revealed wide differences in material standards which none of us can overlook, however great our preoccupations with other matters may be. Hence all peoples are now clamouring for the same rate of material progress as that achieved in the developed countries.

190. We must not forget that in the exercise of human power, be it of man over man or of nation over nation, material factors have always predominated and have acquired a stranglehold; and though some of them may be regarded as of ephemeral importance in the history of mankind, they are still powerful enough to make a deep impression on the minds of the great majority of people. All peoples are eager to overcome their material weaknesses and shortcomings.

191. We cannot forget that within a few years of the signing of the Charter, the world was threatened once more by the prospect of another world war. Small nations and undeveloped countries, which need an atmosphere of peace if they are to develop and exploit their natural resources, have felt the repercussions of this threat, with the inevitable armaments race and the instability of the status of labour.

192. The perplexity aroused by the conflict of interests between the great Powers and the clash of ideologies is such that the man in the street frequently feels thwarted in his efforts to achieve individual and collective economic emancipation. Thus many of the countries concerned are experiencing the consequences of the uneven development which occurs when there is an immense increase in consumer demand without a proportionate increase in productive capacity.

193. If we remember too that recent technological progress has tended not so much to make the machine the servant of man as to make man a slave to the machine, it is obvious that our civilization must undertake a fundamental reappraisal of its values and some readjustment in its methods.

194. The immediate effect, already experienced by societies which are economically weak, has been inflation. Efforts have been and are being made to combat inflation by methods out of keeping with the intellectual development of the peoples concerned. The latter are not always prepared to accept patience, austerity and thrift as an answer to perpetual poverty; these virtues are surely of value only to a society which has once enjoyed plenty and a high level of living, and has lost them, and may then resort to such methods to regain them.

195. In addressing the Assembly on behalf of my country, I might mention that Bolivia, like other countries, has shown immense interest in the exchange of visits between the Chiefs of State of the United States and of the Soviet Union.

196. In this connexion I would like to indicate a few objectives which, I think, sum up in part what the under-developed countries of the free world are aiming at and would like to see as the outcome of this exchange of visits: Maintenance of world peace, based on respect for the freedom and dignity of all peoples; genuine interchange between peoples, which would gradually eliminate existing cultural and ideological differences and bring the world closer to the ideal of a single human family; disinterested assistance by the developed countries in placing all the discoveries of modern science at the disposal of the backward peoples, so as to accelerate their progress and end the disparities caused by different levels of development; a serious and whole-hearted effort to fix a scale of rewards for human labour, wherever such labour is performed, and the establishment of a more fair and proper ratio in the matter of work done by producers of raw materials and work done in the manufacturing industries. This could lead to the establishment of standards for prices and rewards for labour, and to the removal of dis-

parities which cause so much upheaval in the world today; freedom of transit by land, inland water and sea transport; the right of access for all peoples to sources of scientific knowledge and artistic inspiration; abolition of privilege in regard to technical knowledge, as a means of establishing overwhelming power by a single State; respect for all the spiritual activities of man, and complete freedom of belief and worship.

197. This year there have been many spectacular achievements in the field of science. The great Powers have already taken the first step towards the possible mastery of outer space. If these efforts continue at a rate which now seems feasible, many of our ideas about security and sovereignty will have to be radically altered. Mankind with all its advances in applied science is now approaching the critical moment when it will have to decide its fate—whether to survive and attain greater heights, or to be the instrument of its own destruction. Never before has so much responsibility rested upon so few, and our work at this fourteenth session of the General Assembly must therefore be worthy of this momentous hour in the history of mankind.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

