

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

FOURTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



**807th
PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 24 September 1959,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AKO-ADJEI (Ghana): On behalf of the delegation of Ghana, I bring to the Members of the Assembly cordial greetings from the Government and people of Ghana.
2. The delegation of Ghana would also like to associate itself with other delegations in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fourteenth session. We hope that, under your wise guidance, the deliberations of this Assembly will be conducted in a spirit of good will, mutual confidence and understanding.
3. We hope also that the deliberations of this Assembly will be successful and useful in our collective effort to find solutions to the compelling problems of our time and will contribute to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the international community.
4. The times in which we live constitute, perhaps, one of the most momentous and challenging periods in human history. Today, perhaps more than ever before, the nations of the world are confronted with many complex problems which threaten the very existence of mankind and the continuance of life on the planet on which we live. On the other hand, the situation offers to us the finest opportunity to demonstrate the supremacy of the spirit and the higher nature of man over his lower self and base feelings or desires. This, in our view, is the greatest challenge facing modern civilization.
5. If we are to measure up to this supreme test of the human spirit, and if we are to have that breadth of vision and magnanimity of outlook required for solving the complex problems of our times, then the situation demands of all the leaders and statesmen of the various nations of the world a complete change in traditional attitudes and a reorganization of thinking habits.
6. The Government and people of Ghana believe that, however great the differences which now exist between nations and peoples may be, it is still possible for all of us to work together for the common good, provided

that we are all willing to accommodate the views, the culture and ways of life of all the peoples, within reasonable and tolerable limits.

7. In the peculiar circumstances of the modern world, it is impossible for any nation or group of people to exist in isolation. It is in the interest of all that the peoples of the world should learn how to live together, to work together, and to develop their resources together for the mutual benefit of all.

8. The United Nations is an effective and useful instrument for promoting peace and mutual understanding between nations. We can all help to make it an even more effective instrument in the promotion of peace than it has been during the past fourteen years of its existence.

9. The Government of Ghana will continue to cooperate with the United Nations, and undertakes to associate itself actively with any efforts of this world Organization to maintain peace and security among the nations.

10. For this reason, the Government and people of Ghana are happy that it will be convenient for the Secretary-General to visit Africa towards the end of this year and in the early part of next year. We assure the Secretary-General that he will receive a warm welcome from the people in the several African countries he intends to visit, and we are confident that he will find his visit to Ghana an enjoyable and useful experience.

11. Today, Africa is the only one among the continents which is not yet free and the majority of whose indigenous inhabitants are still under colonial domination and foreign rule. During the past ten years, there has been a great national reawakening and a growth of political consciousness throughout Africa.

12. The development of nationalist movements in recent times in Africa is a clear and unmistakable demonstration of the intense desire of the African peoples to free themselves from foreign rule and become the masters of their own destiny. As a result of this reawakening, new nation States have been created in Africa and are now making their contribution in the family of nations. My own country, Ghana, is one of the new States which have recently emerged in Africa. The Republic of Guinea is another.

13. It is against this background that we look forward with pleasure to the opportunity of welcoming the new States of the Cameroons, Togoland, Nigeria and Somalia, which will join the community of nations next year and begin their respective careers in modern international life. We also hope that it will not be long before firm dates are fixed for the independence of other countries in Africa which are still under foreign rule and colonial domination. We believe that the time has come for the United Kingdom, as an Administering Authority, to take steps to fix a firm date for the independence of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika in

consultation with the leaders of opinion in that Territory and in consultation with the United Nations. Since the United Nations has ultimate responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the people of Tanganyika, I think that there should be no difficulty in fixing a firm date for the independence of Tanganyika.

14. Recent developments in the Central African Federation, and especially in Nyasaland, have shocked the conscience of people all over the world. A Royal Commission appointed by the United Kingdom Government has reported ^{1/} in clear and unequivocal terms that Nyasaland is a police state under British colonial rule. A resolution on the question of Nyasaland was adopted at the Special session of the Conference of Independent African States held at Monrovia in August 1959, and the Ghana delegation again calls upon the United Kingdom Government to lift the state of emergency in Nyasaland, to release Dr. Hastings Banda and the more than 600 Africans who were unlawfully detained, and also to lift the ban on the Nyasaland African Congress, so that the Congress and its members can participate in the normal political life of their country.

15. The Hola Camp incident in Kenya, where eleven African prisoners were beaten to death in cold blood, is also fresh in our minds. And all these things happened under British colonial rule.

16. We are also observing with close interest and increasing apprehension the deplorable situation in Angola, under Portuguese rule, and in other African countries which are at present under domination by colonial Powers. The delegation of Ghana will support any effort by this Assembly intended to secure the submission of information to the United Nations by Portugal on its colonial territories.

17. My delegation would like to say that, while we all join together in the Assembly to condemn aggression wherever it may exist in any part of the world, we should also like the Assembly to take notice of the fact that the peoples of Africa have been victims of aggression by the colonial Powers for many years, and in fact are still victims of colonial aggression, and that the majority of Africans today are still labouring under foreign rule against their will.

18. In the words of our Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, we regard the independence of Ghana as meaningless unless we are able to use our freedom to help other African people to be free and independent, to liberate the entire continent of Africa from foreign domination, and ultimately to establish the Community of African States. In pursuance of this policy, we shall continue our efforts to encourage all the nationalist movements in Africa, which are struggling to gain independence from foreign rule and achieve the unity of the African peoples.

19. Another cardinal aim of our foreign policy is to continue to cultivate friendship with all nations and peoples, wherever possible, and good neighbourly relations with our sister African States, and to contribute to the promotion of peace and security among the nations of the world.

20. To achieve this end, the Government and people of Ghana are determined not to get themselves entangled in the ideological conflict and the cold war,

which have now divided the world into Eastern and Western Power blocs. This does not mean that the Government and people of Ghana intend to be silent spectators in a boxing contest, or in matters which affect our country's vital interests and the destiny of the African peoples. Our policy is not passive or neutralist. On the other hand, our policy is a positive policy, because we believe in what Dr. Kwame Nkrumah calls "positive action".

21. Africa is the question mark among the continents. And what is happening in Africa today is, in our view, perhaps the greatest challenge which modern civilization will yet have to face.

22. I shall now deal with the war in Algeria. The question of independence and self-determination for Algeria is, of course, one of the most compelling problems facing the United Nations today. It is a problem that threatens international peace and security.

23. For nearly five years a relentless war has been raging in Algeria. The important point to remember is that the Algerian war is the only shooting war in the world today, the recent incidents in the Far East notwithstanding. The war in Algeria is not a "phoney" war. It is not a cold war. The war in Algeria is a hot war, a war of fire and steel.

24. The Algerian nationalists are fighting for nothing less than the same democratic freedom and justice which we all acclaim to be the inalienable right of all human beings. Why is Algeria not yet free and independent? This is the grave question which we all have to answer.

25. Algeria is part of Africa. The Algerian question is, therefore, essentially an African question, and it must be put within the context of the struggle of the African peoples to free themselves from foreign domination. Algeria is not part of Europe, and therefore cannot be part of France. We refuse to accept the juristic theory that any part of the African continent can be, or is, part of Europe.

26. Last week General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, made a statement in which he put forward his plan to end the war in Algeria and also to solve the problem of Algerian independence. One remarkable and significant feature of General de Gaulle's statement was, in the view of my delegation, his failure to face in a courageous manner the political realities of the present Algerian situation. General de Gaulle seems to think that the war in Algeria could come to an end, and the Algerian problem could be solved, without the co-operation of the Algerian nationalist leaders, namely, the leaders of the National Liberation Front, who now form the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria.

27. The Nationalist Army, which has engaged the French Army in the field so courageously for nearly five years, is an army under the control of the nationalist leaders of Algeria. If there is to be a cease-fire and peace in Algeria, then, in our view, the leaders of France must negotiate with the leaders of the National Liberation Front in Algeria. This is a fact—a political reality—which the Government of France cannot conveniently ignore.

28. In this regard, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, is fond of saying that no good statesman can afford to close his eyes to political

^{1/} Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry, Cmd. 814.

realities and then believe that problems can be solved by his refusal to accept the realities as hard facts to reckon with.

29. We believe that if the war in Algeria is to be brought to an end, and a peaceful settlement is to be effected in Algeria, then General de Gaulle and the nationalist leaders of Algeria should come together and negotiate for a cease-fire and for peace in Algeria.

30. At the Special Session of the Conference of Independent African States, held at Monrovia in August 1959, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Conference of Independent African States ...

"Bearing in mind the resolution passed on Algeria at the Accra Conference in April 1958, as well as the Joint Communique issued at Sanniquellie on July 19, 1959,

"Considering that it is through negotiation between the two parties concerned that a just, peaceful and democratic solution can be found in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations,

"Taking note of the willingness of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to enter into negotiation with the Government of France,

"1. Urges France:

"(a) To recognise the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence;

"(b) To put an end to the hostilities and to withdraw all her troops from Algeria;

"(c) To enter into negotiation with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic;

"2. Appeals to the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with a view to urging France to desist from using in Algeria arms supplied by that organization for defensive purposes;

"3. Requests all the friends and allies of France, and all peace-loving nations and peoples, to use their influence with the Government of France with a view to bringing to an end the bloodshed in Algeria and enabling the Algerian people to achieve their legitimate aspirations towards independence and liberty..."

The Government of Ghana stands by that resolution and is prepared to co-operate in any constructive effort which will help to bring the parties in Algeria together and ensure a peaceful solution of the problem of Algerian independence along the lines indicated in the Monrovia resolution.

31. However, I wish to make it quite clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the Government of Ghana will not associate itself with any plan for the solution of any problem in any African country if such a plan is intended ultimately to divide that African country into two parts, and thus create in Africa a problem such as the problem now facing us in Germany, in Korea and in Viet-Nam. The Government of Ghana stands for the unity of Africa and also for the unity of individual African States.

32. Against this background, perhaps General de Gaulle may be well advised to revise his thinking, as set forth in his latest plan, on the question of inde-

pendence for Algeria. However, I wish to make it quite clear that at this stage I am dealing with General de Gaulle's plan for Algeria purely on the basis of principles. My delegation reserves the right to make a more detailed and considered comment on this plan at a later stage.

33. I come now to the question of South West Africa. On this subject the recent Conference in Monrovia, to which I have previously referred, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Conference of Independent African States,

"Deeply concerned by the situation in the territory of South West Africa,

"1. Urges the Government of the Union of South Africa to implement the resolutions of the United Nations concerning the territory of South West Africa;

"2. Maintains that this territory is in fact a Trust Territory of the United Nations, and as such the United Nations cannot relinquish its legal and moral responsibilities to the indigenous inhabitants, who are entitled to the same treatment given to other Trust Territories;

"3. Appeals to the United Nations to fix a date for the independence of the territory of South West Africa."

The Government of Ghana stands by this resolution, and my delegation would wish to urge that the United Nations should explore all possibilities for a just solution of the question of South West Africa.

34. In adopting this view, I wish to emphasize that the Government of Ghana does not deny or in any way underestimate the need or feasibility of juridical action in the International Court of Justice. We believe, however, that given good will, co-operation and understanding on all sides, perhaps the necessity for any such juridical proceedings may not even arise.

35. Next, I should like to turn to the Cameroons under French administration. We are happy that on 1 January 1960 the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration will become an independent State.

36. As we have previously indicated, it is our view that free and democratic elections should be held in the Cameroons before independence. We believe that such elections would help to establish peace and security in the new African State and would ensure to the new Government a large fund of goodwill, both national and international. This is essential, because it will enable the Government to proceed with confidence and courage with the programme of progressive national reform and reconstruction which usually confronts a new State immediately after attaining independence.

37. The elections will also provide the United Nations with an opportunity of establishing a clear principle and procedure for the attainment of independence by Trust Territories for which the United Nations has ultimate responsibility.

38. On this matter the recent Conference in Monrovia unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Conference of Independent African States

"1. Welcomes the independence of the Cameroons which will become effective on the 1st January 1960.

"2. Considers that free elections under United Nations supervision before independence is the most effective and democratic means of solving the present crisis, in strict conformity with the objectives of the International Trusteeship System.

"3. Deplores the present situation in the Territory and calls upon the Government, and the opposition in and out of the Territory, to come together in the interest of their country and to find a just solution to their differences so that the Independent Cameroons will be able to take its rightful place among the Independent African States and the nations of the world.

"4. Offers its good offices to search for appropriate means for bringing about this objective.

"5. Failing that, appeals to the conscience of the the world and the Members of the United Nations to support all efforts to bring the matter before the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

39. However, the time available is very short. We hope, therefore, that the Prime Minister of the Cameroons and his Government may consider it essential and find it convenient, in the best interest of the new State and the welfare of all its people, to adopt measures in the very near future consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the wishes of all sections of the people of the Cameroons.

40. We also hope that, as an act of statesmanship and magnanimity, the Prime Minister may declare a general amnesty so as to allow all the men and women who were exiled from the country during the period of foreign rule to return to their national home and to take part in the normal political life of the new State.

41. We sincerely trust that the various parties concerned in the Cameroons will realize the spirit of the attitude we have adopted in this matter, and will agree to work together in the best interest of their own country and for the cause of peace, prosperity and unity of the African peoples.

42. I now turn to the question of nuclear tests in the Sahara. It was in pursuance of the policy of positive neutralism that the Government of Ghana took the initiative of expressing our strong protest against the proposed testing of nuclear weapons by France in the Sahara Desert.

43. In a note verbale dated 2 June 1959, the Government of Ghana appealed to the Government of France to abandon the proposed testing of nuclear weapons in the Sahara Desert, in the following terms:

"The Government of Ghana is very deeply alarmed over the French Government's proposed explosion of atomic bombs over the Sahara. As an African State bordering on the Sahara region, and conscious of our responsibilities not only towards our own citizens but also towards the inhabitants of the African Continent, the Government and people of Ghana appeal to President de Gaulle, as head of the great Franco-African Community, to abandon the carrying out of such tests in the Sahara.

"We base our appeal upon the warning of scientists that such tests as we understand the French Government have in mind to make over the Sahara, will bring dangerous and disastrous consequences to the lives of the inhabitants of the African Continent, and

particularly the inhabitants of the whole of the western region of Africa, including the inhabitants of the territories which now form part of the Franco-African Community.

"The Government and people of Ghana are confident that the Government and people of France will appreciate the horrors and terrible effects which nuclear explosion in the Sahara Desert will engender, and that the Government of France will therefore take heed of this appeal by the Government of Ghana and will refrain from any action which will bring misery and destruction to the African people.

"Motivated as we are by the spirit of humanity, which we believe the Government and people of the French Republic share with us, we feel it our duty to speak not only for the people of Ghana, but also for all the African peoples throughout the Continent of Africa. In doing so, we believe that we reflect the sentiments of all peace-loving people throughout the world, and that this appeal which we make to the Government of France is in conformity with the efforts which statesmen are at present actively making to find a lasting solution to the dangers involved in the accumulation of atomic weapons and the testing of such weapons which, if not arrested, will ultimately annihilate civilization and the whole of mankind.

"In support of our appeal, the Government of Ghana invites the attention of the Government of the Republic of France to the resolution adopted at the Conference of Independent African States held in Accra in April 1958, which called upon the great Powers to discontinue the production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to suspend all such tests, not only in the interest of world peace, but also as a symbol of their avowed devotion to the rights of man. The Conference viewed with great alarm and strongly condemned all atomic tests in any part of the world and, in particular, the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara.

"The Government and people of Ghana are confident that a decision by the Government of France to refrain from making nuclear tests in the Sahara will be eloquent testimony of the desire of the French people to make a positive contribution towards eliminating the dangers inherent in the present competition in nuclear bomb production between the great Powers. Such a decision to refrain from any action that threatens the lives and the future of the African peoples will serve to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the African Territories and the people of the French Republic.

"In making this appeal, the Government of Ghana is confident of the full support of the Independent States of Africa. The Government of Ghana is also confident that all leaders of opinion in the African territories which at present form part of the Franco-African Community, will share the apprehensions which the Government and people of Ghana have regarding the decision of the Government of France to carry out atomic tests in the Sahara Desert."

44. I wish to make the position of the Government of Ghana quite clear in this matter. In the first place, we maintain that the nuclear Powers, namely, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, or any other Power, should stop manufacturing nuclear weapons, and should not even test those they have al-

ready manufactured, but should rather destroy such weapons. Secondly, we maintain that no State, including France, should test nuclear weapons anywhere on the African continent, because we, the Africans, want peace in Africa and in the world. And thirdly, we appeal to France not to conduct any nuclear tests in the Sahara Desert, because such tests will endanger the lives of all human beings in the Sahara region and in Africa generally, including the lives of all French people and other Europeans or non-Africans who now live in Africa.

45. We believe that this is a view with which no peace-loving people will have any good reason to quarrel. We hope, therefore, that, in the name of humanity, the Government and peace-loving people of France will listen to our appeal, and abandon their intention to conduct nuclear tests in the Sahara Desert.

46. On the general question of disarmament, we believe that fear and suspicion are the real bases of conflict and misunderstanding among the nations of the world today, and especially between the United States and the Soviet Union. To eliminate this basic fear and suspicion, it is necessary that the nations of the world make every effort to disarm themselves through the process of negotiation and mutual agreement.

47. We believe that, apart from the normal requirements for internal security, there is no need for the accumulation of large stocks of armaments, nor for the maintenance of large defence forces by any State.

48. Within the framework of this reasoning, we hope that this Assembly will examine in a serious, constructive and courageous manner the several proposals which have been put forward as possible solutions to the gloomy and depressing question of disarmament.

49. The Government and people of Ghana believe that, in spite of the complexity of the problems which confront us in modern international life and the high tensions which exist in different parts of the world today, there is still hope for the survival of mankind in the cosmic scheme of things.

50. We believe that man is not the enemy of his fellow men. On the other hand, man is the complement of his fellow man. The real enemies of mankind are ignorance, disease, poverty and squalor, which now exist in modern society. If we are to have peace, security and stability in the international community, then we must all grow into full realization of this fact.

51. We should all agree among ourselves to fight against these real enemies of mankind, to eliminate them from our national as well as international life, and to establish a new system of human relations, a new society and a new conception of human good, based on freedom, justice and truth.

52. This, in our view, is the greatest challenge of our times.

53. Mr. GREEN (Canada): In opening my remarks today, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you upon attainment of your present high position and to assure you that Canadians have the utmost confidence in your judgement. Down through the years, representatives of our nation have admired your devotion to the aims and ideals of the United Nations, and we consider ourselves fortunate to have a presiding officer of your experience and achievements. Your record is another

example of the splendid contribution which leaders from the Latin American countries have made—and are making—to the success of this world Organization.

54. In this general debate, I do not intend to discuss all of the important problems in which Canada is interested. Instead, I shall deal only with those on which my Government believes the Canadian position should be made known at once. These problems number seven and are as follows: disarmament, outer space, radiation, aid to less developed nations, world refugees, the United Nations Emergency Force and the situation in Laos.

55. One problem that is of universal concern is disarmament, a problem the military, political and psychological complexities of which have so far defied solution. Yet we must find a solution. The risk of war arising from crises continues to grow. Technological advances have increased immeasurably the destructive power of new weapons and have shortened to minutes the period of warning of an attack. Nuclear warfare means annihilation. Now, as never before, it is imperative that all States agree on measures to place these new weapons under effective control and progressively to outlaw them, and at the same time to limit and control conventional arms.

56. I listened with much interest to the disarmament plans outlined last week by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd for the United Kingdom [798th meeting] and by Mr. Khrushchev for the Soviet Union [799th meeting). We shall, of course, want to study these plans carefully and shall reserve detailed comments on them for a later occasion. For the moment, let me say that I am entirely sympathetic with the general objective stated in Mr. Khrushchev's proposal—namely, a world without arms. We would all like to see general and complete disarmament. However, I am looking forward to more detailed proposals designed to this end, particularly with respect to control.

57. The central question of disarmament turns on the ability of States to find a basis of mutual confidence, and this is realistically reflected in Mr. Lloyd's proposals. That confidence must be such as to enable States to strike a balance between the obvious advantages of liquidating the burden of armaments and the political and military risks of reducing defence against aggression. This balance can be reached, I believe, only through supervised disarmament. There is, therefore, an inseparable relationship between disarming and control, and this must be reflected in any practical plan. The two must be negotiated in parallel and must be put into effect together. Without control, the mutual confidence required to disarm would be lacking, particularly in a time of great political and ideological conflict. Without disarmament, control, of course, would be irrelevant.

58. I was gratified to hear Mr. Khrushchev say that his Government "advocated ... strict international control over the fulfilment of a disarmament agreement, after such an agreement has been reached." [A/PV.799, para. 63]. He added, however: "We are in favour of genuine disarmament under control, but we are against control without disarmament" [*ibid.*, para. 64]. He went even further and suggested that the Western Powers had tried to obstruct genuine disarmament by advancing demands for controls more far-reaching than were necessary to ensure implementation and more far-reaching than they themselves were prepared

to meet. I cannot accept this suggestion. The record does not bear out the charge.

59. Canada's unique geographical position as a neighbour of both the United States and the Soviet Union gives Canadians a special interest in disarmament. We believe that this goal should be pursued with determination and with patience, using whatever forum is most appropriate, whether in the United Nations or outside. Last year at Geneva, for example, we participated in technical studies concerning the discontinuance of nuclear tests, and in discussions on the problem of surprise attack.

60. We have consistently asserted, as my Prime Minister did last week, our readiness to open Canadian territory to inspection, particularly in the Arctic area, under an equitable and reciprocal system. We continue to hold the opinion that such a system would do much for the restoration of international confidence.

61. With a view to taking a fresh look at some of the problems of disarmament, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union recently announced [DC/144] the establishment of a ten-Power Disarmament Committee—the creation of which has been noted by the United Nations Disarmament Commission [A/4209]. Consistent with our policy of using any forum appropriate for disarmament negotiations, Canada accepted an invitation to participate in this Committee. This body may not be linked with the United Nations to the extent that many countries would prefer, but I wish to emphasize that the Canadian Government has assumed this responsibility in the belief that it will facilitate direct negotiations among the great Powers. The activities of the ten-Power Disarmament Committee are intended not to replace but to supplement the responsibilities of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

62. With respect to the link between this Committee and the United Nations, it is our view that it would be in the interest of all concerned not only that the Committee report from time to time to the United Nations but also that the United Nations—probably through its Disarmament Commission—discuss the progress of the Committee's work; encourage its activities; and evolve further ideas in this general field. In this way those Members of the United Nations not participating in the ten-Power Committee would have an effective means of expressing their interest in its objectives. Clearly the medium-sized and smaller Powers must have an opportunity of being heard; for disarmament is of the deepest concern to all mankind. In Canada's work on the Committee we shall at all times keep these two facts very much in mind.

63. It is my understanding that this Disarmament Committee will begin work early in 1960 and I hope its negotiations will be extended in an orderly manner to a broad range of measures relating to nuclear and other modern weapons and also to conventional weapons and armed forces. We welcome the fact that the great Powers already are preparing proposals for the Committee, and I may say that Canadian studies are also in progress.

64. One aspect of disarmament from which we can all draw some encouragement, is the fact that there now exist seventeen agreed articles of a draft treaty—on discontinuance of nuclear tests—which treaty is being negotiated by the United States, the United King-

dom and the Soviet Union. And here may I say the Canadian people are unanimous in their wish to see an end to nuclear testing. It is true that the principal difficulties have yet to be resolved; again they centre on the question of control.

65. Whatever the solution, it is of the utmost importance for the three nuclear Powers to reach agreement on this central question of the control system. Unless this problem can be solved in respect of the relatively narrow and specific question of nuclear tests, we can hardly expect early progress in other aspects of disarmament where verification and inspection of even greater complexity are likely to be required.

66. Another aspect of disarmament which should prove susceptible of early negotiation is disarmament in relation to outer space. Two years ago, my Prime Minister urged that the passage of time should not be allowed to bring to the problem of outer space the complications which failure to reach agreement on nuclear weapons has brought to that problem.

67. Today the pace of scientific and technological progress is staggering to the imagination. An event took place a few days ago which lends further urgency to the need for international consideration of the many problems which may arise as man continues his penetration of outer space. I refer to the tremendous feat of the Soviet Union in hurling a dead weight of considerable magnitude from the earth to the moon. This was a magnificent achievement which is deserving of the greatest praise.

68. It does, however, emphasize the urgent necessity of having the international community establish adequate regulation where none exists. In particular, early consideration must be given to establishing rules determining the limits of national sovereignty in space.

69. The Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which was set up at the thirteenth session [resolution 1348 (XIII)] has made a useful start in considering the scientific, technical and legal aspects of co-operation within the United Nations. Canada served on that Committee and provided the Chairman for the Technical Committee, whose work forms the basis for a large part of the report we shall be considering [A/4141]. Our great regret is that one of the two nations which have the greatest accomplishments in space technology did not participate in the preparation of this initial report. I do not think the report contains anything to which the Soviet Union should take exception.

70. We trust that further arrangements to pursue these matters will have the co-operation of the Soviet Union. Their continued non-participation cannot fail to limit the value of any proposals that may be considered. Canada will, of course, continue to co-operate to the fullest extent in any international consideration of these problems, whether this be at the inter-governmental level as in the United Nations, or in the highly important area of international co-operation among scientists.

71. I should like now to touch upon another question of vital importance: the hazards resulting from the addition of man-made radiation to that which already occurs in nature. The United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, in its report this year to the General Assembly [A/4119],

has outlined what appears to my delegation to be an admirable and useful programme for the next few years.

72. All mankind is concerned that knowledge of the biological and other effects of radiation, and of the present extent of the hazard, should be enlarged. We must also realize that even if the nations agree to stop testing nuclear weapons, the problem of radiation will not vanish. The large and growing use of radiation in medicine; the atomic era in industry with the possibility of accidents—for example in power stations soon to become a familiar sight in many lands; the risks connected with the disposal of radioactive waste; all these and similar perils which are unforeseeable now—will be with us henceforth. They will present complex problems demanding constant observation, study and precaution.

73. There is an urgent need to fill the substantial gaps which continue to exist in our knowledge of the phenomenon of radiation. In a matter which is of such concern to human life and future generations, all Member States have an equal interest in ensuring that research into the biological effects of radiation be based on the fullest and most reliable information. For this purpose, scientists must have at their disposal data on radiation from fall-out and other sources which would be as nearly as possible world-wide in its scope and collected by standardized methods.

74. All Member States can make a vital contribution towards this objective by co-operating to the fullest possible extent in the collection of data and in remitting it to a central agency for collation. The collated data would then be available to Governments, and to scientific and medical research institutions, for investigation of the biological effects and industrial hazards of radiation. The pooling, in turn, of the results of such research through the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation can make a further valuable contribution to the world's collective knowledge of this common problem.

75. We believe that mankind would derive relief from anxiety if the nations of the world were to acknowledge an obligation to do what they can to ensure that the world-wide physical measurement of the intensity and distribution of radiation is made as accurate and complete as possible.

76. At this session the Canadian delegation intends to submit a proposal which we sincerely hope will encourage the world-wide collection of more accurate data on radiation and will provide for its central collation.

77. I turn now to the question of aid to less developed nations. First I should like to re-emphasize my country's concern for economic development in less developed areas. Much good work has already been accomplished in this field both inside and outside the United Nations. A great deal more remains to be done for which we believe vigorous action is required to accelerate the social and economic progress of people throughout the world.

78. The Canadian Government has always strongly supported multilateral United Nations economic assistance programmes. We will be providing our share of the increased resources of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In the past year we gave \$2 million to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance

and another \$2 million to the newly established Special Fund. Canadian representatives participated actively in the establishment of this new organization. My Government's contribution in the first year of the Fund's operation indicated our confidence that it will become an important source of assistance in fields essential to the integrated development of less developed countries.

79. Members of the United Nations will be aware that, apart from the multilateral programmes under the aegis of the United Nations, other substantial and useful aid programmes exist. The Colombo Plan is one of them with which my country has been very happily associated. We have found that these plans, in which the donor and receiver countries work in close co-operation, have had good results. The impetus and the prime effort must come from the recipient; only then can a healthy relationship exist between donor and recipient.

80. My delegation will at this session, as in the past, work closely with delegations, both from recipient and from donor countries, to continue building up the sound patterns of economic co-operation which have been laid down in the United Nations in the past years.

81. I now come to a heart-rending subject. One of the world's most pressing social problems is that of refugees. This is World Refugee Year during which most Member States are pledged to make a determined assault on the problem.

82. Delegates know the active interest Canada has always taken in the plight of the millions of unfortunate people uprooted by the Second World War and by political unrest during the post-war years. Many scores of thousands of these people have made a new start in Canada and have enriched our national life.

83. In addition, Canada has for many years contributed to programmes to alleviate the distressing conditions in which refugees, through no fault of their own, are compelled to exist in camps throughout the world. We have made substantial financial contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to the programmes of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and to the Far Eastern operation of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Canada can be counted on again this year to assume its share in maintaining these international programmes.

84. The essence of the World Refugee Year is, however, that Governments should make an extra effort. In considering what special contribution would be most appropriate and effective, my Government noted that the camp clearance project of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had been assigned a top priority. If increased efforts could be made, it appeared possible to close the European camps and thereby terminate one entire United Nations refugee programme.

85. We are all aware that the remaining population of these European camps contains a high proportion of people who are difficult to relocate elsewhere because they fail to meet the medical regulations of countries which might provide a new home. A great many of these so-called "hard-core" cases are suffering from tuberculosis; in many instances whole families have had to face the prospect of remaining indefinitely in the camps because one member had contracted that disease.

86. I am pleased to announce, therefore, that as its special contribution to the World Refugee Year the Canadian Government will waive normal immigration requirements and admit to Canada a substantial number of tubercular refugees and their families. This group will be brought to Canada and treated in sanatoria at Canadian expense. Furthermore, a family unable to support itself while a member is under treatment will receive maintenance payments. It is my hope that the first refugees selected will reach Canada by the end of this calendar year.

87. In this undertaking the Canadian Government will have the co-operation of provincial governments and the active support of a private organization known as the Canadian Committee for World Refugee Year.

88. I am aware that a number of other Members of the United Nations have outlined imaginative plans to receive handicapped refugees. Our collective efforts should have the effect of easing or bringing to an end the disproportionate burden which some European countries have carried since 1945, fourteen years ago. Above all, Canada welcomes the occasion offered by World Refugee Year to give a group of human beings whose plight is particularly tragic an opportunity to rebuild their lives in dignity and in happiness.

89. One other item on the agenda which is of special interest to Canada concerns the United Nations Emergency Force. This Force has for another year admirably carried out the tasks set for it by the General Assembly. Canadians are proud of the part which their armed forces are playing, with those of other contributing States, in attaining this satisfactory result.

90. In view of the relative quiet which now prevails in the area where it is stationed, some Member States might be of the opinion that the time has arrived to curtail the Force's operations. I think we should bear in mind, however, that the reduction of frontier incidents between the United Arab Republic and Israel is due in large measure to the presence of the Force. It would therefore be unfortunate if the contribution of UNEF to more stable conditions in the area should now be jeopardized by a premature limitation of its operations.

91. All Member States have an equal interest in ensuring the continuing effectiveness of the Force. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General to consolidate its financial position. We hope these efforts will receive a degree of co-operation commensurate with the political significance of the UNEF operation and of the collective responsibility of all Members to maintain international peace and security.

92. Finally, I turn to conditions in the Far East. May I say that in our view a notable effort was made at the Geneva Conference in 1954 to establish equilibrium in Indochina. It was an effort at peace-making fully compatible with the United Nations Charter. The principles underlying the Geneva agreements, and in particular the principle of non-alignment, should be respected in order to lessen the tension existing in that troubled area.

93. The United Nations for its part has an important role to perform, not—as has been charged—in upsetting the régime established at Geneva, but in supplementing it with arrangements essential for the long-term stability of the area.

94. It seems to us that the United Nations must look ahead at this long-term future. True, we have in Laos at present a sub-committee set up by the Security Council, and we must await its report upon the facts of the situation there. However, the very presence of this United Nations body seems already to be having a pacifying effect.

95. There exist in that part of the world a number of newly-established States which are finding their feet as nations in conditions of international tension. These new nations have many needs, but by far the greatest are peace and other conditions for material development. We believe that the United Nations has a proper, legitimate interest and concern in this area in which a number of its Members are located, including Laos.

96. Admittedly the efforts of the United Nations to help to preserve peace may be seriously hampered by the attitude towards the Organization of certain non-member States directly interested in the problem; but we must hope that such States will as time goes on come to recognize the useful contribution the United Nations can make.

97. For all these reasons, should the United Nations not now find a way to express its continuing interest in Laos? Such an approach, if it were welcome to Laos, could make a most valuable contribution to stability. We, for our part, have come to the view that some appropriate and continuing expression of United Nations concern is desirable, not only in the interest of the people of Laos but also in the general interest of world peace and security.

98. In conclusion, I believe that this session of the Assembly can go far to bring renewed hope to the people of all lands; they desire, above all else, permanent world peace. We meet in a period when there is some diminution in world tension, largely due to the friendly exchange of visits this year between the leaders of great Powers. These visits could be the starting point on a new road which would lead away from all the friction and distrust which have developed since the Second World War. Whether or not they do lead in that direction may very well depend in large measure upon the words and actions of the delegates to the present Assembly—and I am sure that we will not fail to meet this great challenge.

99. Mr. ARCAYA (Venezuela) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, my delegation is gratified and proud that you have been elected to preside over this session of the General Assembly. With the distinction you have achieved in the diplomatic history of the Latin American peoples and the reputation you have earned as a true disciple of Bolívar in thought and feeling, your Presidency will bring this session, as it were, under the auspices of the great liberator Simón Bolívar, in other words under the sign of that freedom and unity of the world's peoples which were the ideals of that universal genius.

100. Whenever I come to this rostrum, from which we speak to the world, I cannot but recall that hour in human history when the United Nations came into being, as the embodiment of the loftiest aspirations of mankind and the fruit of a resounding victory of right over might. Armies were then returning from the field, their ranks depleted by thousands of casualties, and all the cities of the world were thronged with seething multitudes home from the trenches, the barbed-wire entanglements and the air-raid shelters

and hoping for a new and happier life with peace, freedom and justice.

101. All those hopes found their purest expression fourteen years ago in the creation of the United Nations.

102. No great effort is required to observe that the noblest of those hopes was never fulfilled, and that in the years which have elapsed between the victory of yesterday and the frustration of today the world has continued to suffer from the very evils which had caused the aggression and war: clashes between the great Powers; a colonial system stifling the national aspirations of peoples yearning for freedom; poverty, illness and ignorance afflicting vast numbers of people in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The peoples of the world are today so universally aware of these evils and the shadows they cast over their lives that there is no need to emphasize the gloom and anxiety that today take in our hearts the place once held by hope and faith.

103. Two facts, however, have remained unaltered: in the first place, the will of the peoples to resist the threat of war and, in the second place, the existence of this international Organization, which, despite its limitations, is a forum, and an invaluable one, for the defence of peace.

104. The specific purposes of the United Nations are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and to promote social progress and higher standards of living in larger freedom.

105. There has been considerable diplomatic activity recently outside the framework of the United Nations, which may also serve to strengthen the hope that conciliatory methods and ways of reducing tension will be found. We must not, however, regard such a state of affairs as permanent. Political realism is not necessarily opposed to the basic formulae that were thought appropriate to the solution of world problems when the Charter was signed in 1945. One of these formulae presupposed the participation of all States, large and small, in the search for the implementation of solutions of those problems which in the last analysis affect us all vitally.

106. It is true that the experience of the last fourteen years has revealed structural defects in this world Organization, and if it is to endure and to thrive as an effective means of preserving peace its essential machinery must be honestly examined and overhauled. I cannot conceal the fact that my Government is particularly concerned at the paralysing effect which the abuse of the veto so frequently produces on the United Nations organ bearing the greatest weight of political responsibility, namely, the Security Council. This state of affairs must be remedied.

107. A facetious journalist quoted, and the international Press services picked up, a shrewd remark attributed to our President that the United Nations does not function with the veto, and without the veto it would cease to exist.

108. I do not know whether our President actually said those words or not, but if he did he was no doubt attempting thus pithily to convey the seriousness

of this problem of the veto in the United Nations. We must face this grave problem and try to solve it by democratic means in keeping with the standards of the United Nations.

109. In speaking for Venezuela from this rostrum I bring to you the voice of its people and its new democracy. For many years a domestic régime based on force and terror came between us and the United Nations, but our national life has now changed. Twenty months ago the revolution in Venezuela swept away the last of our tyrannies, and it has not sought to replace the violence of despots with the violence of demagogues. Where formerly the tyrant unlawfully held sway there now exists a constitutional power created by the vote of a national majority, a power which respects the laws and is exercised through genuinely democratic and representative institutions.

110. Because I speak on behalf of a people which has recovered its freedom of speech, the points I wish to make are not tied up with diplomatic commitments and are not a selfish and cynical statement of my country's self-interest. My intention is not merely to please those who do me the honour of listening to me. I have come to express, humbly but frankly, the views and wishes of my people and Government in respect to certain problems of our time.

111. Venezuela will endeavour to express its views on international questions before this Assembly in terms that will faithfully reflect our deep devotion to the cause of peace. We do not come to this rostrum to make aggressive or discriminatory speeches against any nation or group of nations. In international as in domestic politics we are, and aim to be, objective, and this attitude has brought us to the realization that we are part of the Western world and of its economic, social and political structure. But this realization does not cause us to believe that the desire for peace and the will to achieve it are the monopoly of the group of nations to which we belong, or that schemes for conquest and oppression rear their ugly heads only in the opposite camp. Far from it. We know that peace has good friends in all latitudes and that all human communities, from the mere fact that they are communities of human beings, regardless of the economic or political system under which they live, must share an unswerving determination to prevent war, to live in harmony, as good neighbours, with the rest of the human species, and to obtain for themselves and for others the guarantee of an international security which will permit them to live, work and enjoy the fruits of their labours.

112. As a peace-loving people, we in Venezuela share the fervent hopes of all mankind at this historic hour when signs of understanding and good will seem to be replacing the previous attitudes of antagonism and mistrust adopted by the great Powers. We welcome the visit of Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, to this great North American nation and the proposed return visit of President Eisenhower to the USSR, as so many steps along the road to peace, co-operation among nations and the sincere and effective application of the spirit of the United Nations in international affairs.

113. We are not unaware that the road to peace and coexistence is beset with the most serious difficulties. As a people of very limited military strength we do not wish to take the easy line of throwing all responsibility

upon those who must be the pioneers and prime movers in the defence and maintenance of peace. We do wish, however, to express our conviction that in the face of this difficult task, any policy which closes the door to understanding, discussion and a gradual easing of tension would be disastrous. We maintain that some kind of political agreement is a necessary prelude to disarmament, to the suspension of nuclear tests and to the prohibition and control of atomic and nuclear weapons.

114. A few hopeful developments have begun to dispel the darkness that has enveloped the world in recent years. The deadlock on disarmament seems to have been broken at long last. Although the great Powers have reached an agreement in principle without the direct participation of the United Nations, we welcome the initiative they have taken and consider it to be in keeping with the spirit of the Charter.

115. We are glad to see that in their communiqué of 7 September 1959 [DC/144] the four Powers formally recognized that ultimate responsibility for disarmament rests with the United Nations and that the setting up of a ten-Power Disarmament Committee, on a basis of parity, in no way diminishes or encroaches upon the functions of the United Nations in the matter. Equally significant is their recognition of the cardinal principle that only effective international control can provide the necessary safeguards for the limitation and reduction of all armaments and armed forces.

116. We also welcome as a good omen the apparently successful outcome of the negotiations between the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on the cessation of nuclear tests. Each test has brought home to us the painful fact that we are living in dangerous times and has made us recoil before the inferno it seemed to foreshadow. As the world's most eminent scientists have warned us, each test has involved a grave danger of atmospheric contamination, a danger which has given rise to universal and justifiable alarm.

117. Problems relating to disarmament are obviously part of the wider and more deep-seated problem of peaceful coexistence between two worlds living under different political, economic and social systems. The Eastern world seeks to maintain the status quo in Europe and to institute changes in Asia and Africa, whereas the Western countries favour changes in Europe but apparently wish to leave things as they are overseas. Given such a situation, such complex and diametrically opposed positions, it must be clear to everyone that a policy of intransigence is ultimately bound to lead to war. The indefinite preservation of the status quo may arrest the process of historical development and strike at the roots of the democratic principle of self-determination, yet any violent change in Europe or Asia will bring war, and war will mean the death of civilization and the end of the human race. That is why we believe that the policy of maintaining contact, of keeping the lines of communication open, cannot be abandoned. Peace can be achieved only through the exercise of great patience and an infinite capacity for tolerance and sacrifice.

118. Peace is essential not simply as the alternative to war, as the means of delivering us from death or extermination. It also constitutes the indispensable foundation for every international policy aimed at the independence of peoples, at economic and social

development and at the consolidation of the international legal order.

119. Since the birth of the United Nations some fifteen years ago, peace has been absent from the international scene and, as a result, too little headway has been made in the struggle against colonialism, social evils and economic backwardness. Solely because peace has been replaced by the cold war, the United Nations has been impeded in its function of uniting all the peoples of the world and its character as a democratic organization based on the principle of equality for all has been impaired.

120. Peace will enable us to launch an effective programme of economic assistance to the under-developed countries on a truly international scale. The end of the cold war would mean that the vast sums which have hitherto been invested in the production of armaments could be released for economic aid.

121. We have not the slightest doubt that if the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the other great Powers had been able to devote to economic development and to the eradication of disease and ignorance the huge sums they have so far been compelled to invest in the armaments race, the poverty-stricken masses of the world would be on the verge of deliverance from exploitation and want.

122. At this session, Venezuela will support any practicable, workable proposals designed to facilitate the economic development of the under-developed countries. With the exception of political problems, which tend to be of a serious character, none of the problems confronting the United Nations is more important or far-reaching than that of economic development. If carried on intensively, it will bring the fruits of civilization and culture to the masses, and will eliminate the social evils which find fertile soil in misery and insecurity. It will give real meaning to many of the human rights enshrined in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed in Paris eleven years ago, because these rights will be effectively enjoyed and observed.

123. We hope too that, in the triumph of peace, economic aid will no longer be affected by the political considerations which have unfortunately so often vitiated it in the past. Economic aid has often been yet another weapon in the arsenal of the cold war instead of an instrument of world peace and justice. It has frequently been granted not out of a desire to help the weak or to promote economic development but purely for strategic purpose. For that reason alone, Latin America, a region no less impoverished than others, has always been the Cinderella of economic aid. Our continent has long suffered from poverty, but as it is remote from the cold war, it has not received the help it needs. Latin America is convinced that the end of the cold war will mean the end of the discrimination practised against it.

124. We are equally convinced that the gradual reconciliation of conflicting views will affect another important aspect of international affairs and the work of the United Nations, namely, the colonial question. May I say that during the debate on this question Venezuela will take an unequivocal, firm and just stand in support of the colonial peoples aspiring to independence.

125. We realize that such a stand may not always be in our best interests from a diplomatic standpoint. However, Venezuela, as a democratic country and a nation of which Simón Bolívar was both son and father, can take no other. Whenever matters of this kind are discussed, our position will be one of outspoken support for the national independence of peoples. We are convinced that the progress of peace will further the cause of the non-self-governing peoples. The liberation of the colonial peoples has clearly been hampered by the prejudices that have clouded world public opinion as a result of the cold war. Both sides have tended to confuse nationalistic causes with political movements of the most varied complexion. The time has come to put an end to this confusion. The desire for nationhood is one of the deepest aspirations of the human spirit. The existence of an international legal order is not compatible with the survival of the colonial system. The world of the United Nations must be one in which no people is denied the full exercise of its sovereignty.

126. I wish to make it quite clear in this connexion that Venezuela's anti-colonialist policy in no way weakens our firm and sincere friendship for those nations with which we may temporarily differ because of that policy.

127. Problems relating to racial discrimination and human rights are of particular interest to the democratic Government of Venezuela. Ours is a country in which there is full social and racial democracy and which is free of discrimination and prejudice based on inequality. While Venezuela's political progress has been hampered by periods of tyranny and retrogression, the Venezuelan people have always been in the vanguard of the movement for the integration and unification of mankind. All of us, blacks and whites, Indians and mestizos, are equal, and our legal and moral rights as human beings are fully recognized.

128. This being the situation within our borders, our policy with respect to racial discrimination and human rights is crystal clear. We are opposed to discrimination and wholeheartedly support every provision of the Charter designed to safeguard human rights. Respect for human rights throughout the world can never be urged too strongly. Humanitarian considerations apart, there is an inescapable collective responsibility in the matter. The first exchanges of the Second World War did not take place on the battlefield but were internal clashes between right and might, the persecutors and the persecuted, the police agents of the totalitarian State and their victims.

129. Today, violations of human rights are still being committed in the name of sovereignty, often witnessed with cold indifference by distant spectators. No area in the world seems to have been spared this internal struggle. The sound of violent measures of repression still echoes in the United Nations, and in our own continent of America, not very far from the country in which this Assembly is meeting, force has been used for decades to deprive men of their fundamental rights.

130. A little over a month ago I had the great honour of representing my country at the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, held at Santiago, Chile. At that meeting, which was a landmark in the development of the international public law of the Americas, it was

recognized that harmonious relations could exist among the American Republics only if human rights and fundamental freedoms and the exercise of representative democracy were a reality within each individual State. It was further admitted that the idea of sovereignty was in no way incompatible with collective action based on agreements freely concluded for the defence of the individual, political and social rights of Americans.

131. The Charter of the United Nations, in fine and stirring words, reaffirms the faith of the peoples in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women. Every Member State had pledged itself to take measures, jointly and severally and in co-operation with the United Nations, to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

132. It would be going too far to say that the United Nations has achieved nothing in this direction during the past fourteen years. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the very modest efforts of the Commission on Human Rights and its subsidiary organs provide concrete evidence of its concern. I feel bound to point out, however, that very little has been done in relation to the actual needs of the peoples and the urgent promptings of the conscience of mankind. Steps must be taken to streamline procedures, to revitalize organs whose activities are unduly restricted by out-of-date provisions, and to apply a creative stimulus to the whole work of the United Nations so that it can fulfil the hopes placed by mankind in its mission of emancipation.

133. The Venezuelan delegation endorses the policy which found specific expression in the reorganization last year of the Commission on International Commodity Trade and in regional agreements regulating the prices of primary products, such as the Latin American Coffee Agreement signed at Washington in July 1959.

134. While we are in a fortunate economic and monetary position because oil, our chief national product, is still in demand and prices are high, we realize that the continuous decline and frequent fluctuations in the prices of primary products, together with the continuous rise in the prices of the manufactured goods exported to us by the highly industrialized countries, are mainly responsible for the stagnation, poverty and social and political insecurity of the under-developed countries. Venezuela will firmly support any measures designed to maintain markets and prices for primary products at levels which will ensure the progress and stability of our continent and all the under-developed areas of the world.

135. I should like to say that, within the framework of the present economic system of our continent, Venezuela will fully support the plan known as "Operation Pan-American" proposed by President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil because we consider that it has great possibilities and will certainly promote the political consolidation and economic development of Latin America.

136. Before concluding this brief summary of Venezuela's position at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly, I should like to express a hope.

137. Perhaps the most promising prospect held out by the relaxation of international tension is the possibility that our Organization may finally become what the Charter intended it to be: a union of all States and a forum for all peoples. While we recognize that it has come some way along this road, it obviously still has far to go. It cannot be denied that large and important sections of the human race are excluded from our midst and that this limitation, which has been forced upon the United Nations by the tensions of the cold war, hampers it in its task of promoting peace, freedom and justice.

138. Venezuela hopes that, with the removal of international tensions, the United Nations will regain its original universal and democratic character. There must be room in our Organization for all peoples and that is why we feel that in due course a solution must be found, without prejudice of any kind and solely in the light of the essentially universal character of our Organization, to the Chinese question, which has been raised by the delegation of India. In response to the increasingly strong demands of the peoples for the application of democratic principles, the United Nations must undertake a balanced reorganization of its structure and present a completely democratic face to the world, having put to an end to the privileged position which is now enjoyed by some sections of its membership and which at present imposes a status of inferiority upon an important group of States participating in its work.

139. I fully agree with the statement made on 16 September 1959 at a Latin American meeting by the chief of the Brazilian delegation, Mr. Augusto Federico Schmidt. I shall quote him verbatim: "Standing together, united, the Latin American States are a force; divided and scattered, with an intermediary between us, what will we be tomorrow? We are living at a time when the world is making impressive strides. We are witnessing the awakening to intensive activity of the People's Republic of China with its 600 million inhabitants. We see the birth and development of new nations. We behold a Europe which has not only recovered but is now more prosperous than ever before, a Russia that has shown startling and unparalleled technological advances and a United States which, through its world-wide activities, controls trade in a very large part of the world."

140. We the peoples of Latin America are entitled and resolved to make our voice heard—a voice which reflects our own interests and aspirations—in the settlement of international affairs. The important project known as "Operation Pan-American", initiated by the President of Brazil a year ago, reflected a strong current of opinion, which again found expression at the Santiago conference. Against the background of minor issues which seem to dominate our regional politics, one fact is emerging: Latin America is finding its voice, wishes to be heard and is entitled to be heard.

141. On behalf of Venezuela, I wish to express the hope that this Assembly will constitute a new victory for peace. I have been the spokesman of a people whose determination to co-operate in the highest human endeavours has left a lasting imprint on American history. Today, having resolutely overcome temporary setbacks, it again stands before the world in its true image.

142. Never before has mankind been faced with such sharp alternatives. The contemporary development of science and technology has opened up unlimited prospects of material progress. Astonishing scientific discoveries follow each other in seemingly endless succession. We are now no longer surprised by the periodic news of human ventures so daring that they alone could serve as the hallmark of any era.

143. The challenge which history presents to modern man is that of a colossal conflict between the blind forces of matter and the creative, illuminating action of the spirit. It is the age-old drama of man, but now the world is the stage: only the triumph of intelligence, reason and common sense can prevent a hideous catastrophe, in which matter will destroy us all.

144. Mr. LANGE (Norway): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to join the speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its fourteenth session.

145. We all welcome the establishment of direct personal contacts between the responsible leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. It is my understanding that one of the main purposes of the current conversations is to review the major outstanding problem with a view to establishing areas of possible agreement where both parties desire and find it worth-while to make a fresh attempt at working out solutions.

146. In all countries, ordinary men and women are anxiously and eagerly longing for an improvement in the general international atmosphere. For too long we have had to live in much too cold a climate.

147. No doubt it is only prudent that we be not governed in our policies by hopes for overnight and spectacular settlements of major outstanding issues. The possibilities for a gradual improvement do however, in our view, appear better now than in the last few years and make us in Norway feel there is justification for cautious optimism. It is our hope that we have now definitely embarked upon a period of continuous contacts and negotiations at different levels. We assume that before decisions are taken all parties directly concerned in the problems taken up for solution will have their full say.

148. If we are justified in our hopes, it is to be expected that this period of negotiation will prove to be of considerable length and will require both patience and frankness as well as a real will to accept solutions on the basis of equitable give and take. Time will be required in order to reach a mutual understanding of respective positions and, on that basis, explore and work out feasible compromises.

149. As the representative of a small country, I must however emphasize that any compromise eventually agreed upon must meet one crucial test: it must not infringe on the rightful desires of the peoples concerned. Thus, any possible arrangement relating to Central Europe must fully respect and safeguard the the freely expressed desire of the inhabitants of West Berlin to continue to live in a free democracy.

150. Bilateral contacts, or discussions and negotiations directly between the parties concerned, should of course not be viewed as a substitute for the use of the universal instrument of the United Nations, for utilizing the capabilities which have been developed

and are continuously growing within this Organization. On the other hand, I also want to associate myself with the Secretary-General's statement in the Introduction to his annual report, to the effect that:

"...the United Nations is not intended to be a substitute for normal procedures of reconciliation and mediation but rather an added instrument providing, within the limits of its competence, a further or ultimate support for the maintenance of peace and security." [A/4132/Add.1, p. 1.]

151. Over the last few years the United Nations has proved to be indispensable in a variety of situations which threatened to get out of hand and which, without the assistance of the United Nations, might well have grown into catastrophes. This use and serious testing of the United Nations has also brought out the remarkable viability of the Organization and its ability to adapt its procedures and actions to prevailing needs and rapidly changing circumstances. On behalf of the Norwegian Government, I therefore urge that in any negotiations to come, the parties directly concerned make full use of the possibilities offered by the United Nations.

152. There is in our day a marked tendency towards universality in international affairs, which is clearly determined by technical and economic developments. In questions of peace and war, there are no longer parties concerned and others not concerned. Over the last couple of years economic trends and developments in the industrialized countries have had immediate and serious effects in the raw material producing and agricultural areas of the world. Lately there is also a growing realization of the impact of trends in the less developed countries upon the more advanced and diversified economies.

153. I would like to stress the importance to the world community as a whole of an ever more active participation of all Members, old and new, in the solution of our common problems.

154. Valuable results have been achieved, not least in the past year. I need only mention the questions of Lebanon and Jordan and the problem of Cyprus, which have been wholly or partly solved. Caution and moderation on the part of the Member States seem to me to have been essential, even decisive factors, in their solution.

155. Allow me to dwell for a moment on the role played by the United Nations in the question of Cyprus. During the years when this issue was before the Organization, none of the parties succeeded in getting the support of the United Nations for any of the more extreme positions. I have no doubt that this attitude on the part of the world Organization contributed significantly to making the parties realize that moderation and a compromise based on a system of balance and counterbalance was the only way out of the tragic situation which had arisen. The interrelationship between assistance by the United Nations and direct consultations and negotiations which was so successfully applied in the case of Cyprus, to us stands out as an example of wise application of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

156. It is the sincere hope of the Norwegian Government that a development along similar lines may take place in the question of Algeria, where close to ten million human beings continue to suffer under large-

scale military operations, and where many hundreds of lives are lost every month. As far as the United Nations is concerned, this will require active assistance from all Members and a willingness to refrain from soliciting the support of the Organization for extreme positions. The adoption by Member States, without exception, and by our Organization of such a course of moderation would in my view be the adequate response in the new and more hopeful situation created by the declaration of President de Gaulle, opening the door for a development towards solutions in accordance with the desires of the population of Algeria.

157. When the Assembly discussed the first report of the General Committee [A/4214] early this week, my delegation voted in accordance with the well-known view of the Norwegian Government on the representation of China in the United Nations. There is no need for me to elaborate that view in any detail. I would, however, like to stress two of the considerations underlying our position as they have a direct bearing on recent events in Asia.

158. Firstly, to us the question of the recognition or non-recognition of a foreign Government is essentially a practical problem. If a Government exercises full and effective control over a national territory it should in our view be recognized under international law. Our recognition of a foreign Government has never carried with it any moral approval of its actions.

159. Secondly, the non-recognition of the People's Republic of China as a Member State means that its Government may justifiably claim that it is not bound by the obligations set forth in the United Nations Charter. What the international community might gain by admitting the People's Republic of China is too often ignored when the representation issue is being discussed.

160. As a Member of the United Nations, the People's Republic of China would not only be pledged to observe the Charter provisions concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. It would also, by the presence of its representatives here, be actively engaged in the negotiating machinery which constitutes the practical expression of the Charter provisions for peaceful settlement. In the present situation, the Chinese People's Republic is outside the existing international order and beyond its control.

161. The reports of the repressive actions perpetrated by the Government of the People's Republic of China against the population of Tibet have caused deep grief among the people of Norway. These actions constitute serious violations of the principles which are now widely accepted as a code of behaviour within the international community.

162. As for the situation in Laos, the Norwegian delegation will await the report of the sub-committee of the Security Council before taking any position regarding the further handling of this question. We do hope that the material to be submitted by the sub-committee will confirm other reports that the latest developments have alleviated the most immediate anxiety of the Laotian Government.

163. Turning now to disarmament, the Norwegian delegation notes with satisfaction the agreement between France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States to set up a ten-nation Disarmament

Committee. The unanimous desire among the great Powers to resume direct discussions and their agreement on the composition of the group for such discussions we take as a good omen for forthcoming progress in this truly vital question.

164. I feel it my duty, however, to state that the Norwegian delegation is anxious that the United Nations should as soon as possible again assume an active role in the field of disarmament. My delegation therefore welcomes the declared intention of the countries concerned to keep the United Nations Disarmament Commission appropriately informed of their progress, and hopes that these reports will provide a useful basis for the work of that Commission in the field of general disarmament, for which the United Nations carries the ultimate responsibility.

165. One of the most promising developments during the last year is the progress made by the three Powers negotiating in Geneva on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests under effective control. A considerable degree of agreement has already been reached, and my delegation believes that a final test ban agreement under effective control will contribute significantly to creating the improved climate required for further effective steps to be taken on the road to internationally controlled disarmament. We are therefore glad that these negotiations will soon be resumed, and we hope that the parties concerned will bend their efforts toward bringing them to a successful conclusion.

166. The Norwegian delegation also welcomes the decision by the atomic Powers to suspend their tests for a further period and sincerely hopes that no more tests will be conducted.

167. The fact that the Powers chiefly concerned during the last year have discussed separately various elements of the very complex problem of disarmament is a promising development. A pragmatic, down-to-earth approach to the problems, starting with discussion of the technical aspects in particular, is, we believe, the method best suited to achieve in the end over-all and complete disarmament.

168. Progress must be made by stages under satisfactory control. The present level of defence expenditures represents a heavy burden of which we all want to be relieved. The hard fact seems to be, however, that probably no Government feels it can take the responsibility for starting on the road to disarmament unless it can feel assured, on the basis of an effective control system, that the security of its country is not being jeopardized. Verbal agreements without control are—as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd observed [798th meeting]—more likely to add to insecurity than to security. The aim must be to move forward by balanced stages towards the abolition of all nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction and towards the reduction of other weapons and armed forces to levels which will rule out the possibility of aggressive war.

169. The declared desire of the Soviet Union that this Organization should adopt a course rapidly leading towards total disarmament has been noted with great interest by my delegation. The USSR proposal put forward by Mr. Khrushchev [799th meeting] deserves very close study. It is the hope of the Norwegian delegation that it will be seriously considered by the ten-nation committee, along with the detailed time-phased plan for general disarmament under adequate and effective

control which was presented by the United Kingdom delegation [798th meeting].

170. Before leaving the subject of disarmament, I would like to state that the Norwegian Government would give sympathetic consideration to proposals to devote a share of the savings resulting from internationally agreed disarmament to economic assistance to the less developed areas of the world.

171. In the Middle East, the United Nations Emergency Force has successfully continued to contribute to the maintenance of peace and quiet along the entire borderline between Israel and Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea.

172. To secure peace and stability in this area is a task of the greatest importance, and the cost of operating the Force is indeed small compared to what is at stake and the far-reaching consequences which a renewed outbreak of hostilities in the area might have. It is therefore a matter of serious concern to my delegation that the continued operation of the Force at its present minimum strength is being jeopardized because of financial difficulties.

173. As one of the leading maritime nations, Norway firmly believes in, and has a vital interest in upholding the principle of free navigation in international waterways. We therefore view with concern the fact that this important principle in some instances does not seem to be applied to the passage of ships and cargoes through the Suez Canal. It is our conviction that the traffic through this international waterway, which is so important for world trade, should be free and unhindered for ships and cargoes of all nationalities.

174. A problem of great importance for the achievement of peaceful and stable conditions in the Middle East is the reintegration and resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees. This problem is now more than ten years old, but is unfortunately no nearer to its solution. My delegation feels that determined efforts should now be directed towards solving this problem, in accordance with earlier General Assembly resolutions and taking into account the preferences of the refugees themselves. I sincerely hope that both Israel and the Arab host countries will co-operate to this end.

175. The Norwegian delegation shares the view of the Secretary-General [A/4121] that the assistance to the refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East must be continued, pending the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the area. However, as the Secretary-General also points out, this reintegration is only possible within the context of general economic development. Economic and technical assistance to the host countries therefore should be among the first steps toward the solution of the refugee problem.

176. Another step which ought to be taken promptly is the payment of just compensation for property belonging to the refugees which has been taken over by Israel. This would undoubtedly serve to alleviate much of the bitterness felt by the refugees and would facilitate progress towards reintegration and an ultimate political settlement of the differences. It may well be that some kind of partly international financing would have to be contemplated in order to assist Israel in meeting her outstanding obligations in this field.

177. The question of the establishment of internationally agreed norms for the extent of territorial waters and for fisheries limits is of particular concern to Norway. At the thirteenth session of the General Assembly it was decided [resolution 1307 (XIII)] to convoke a second international conference on the law of the sea in Geneva in the spring of 1960. It is our earnest hope that it will prove possible during this conference to reach agreement on the basis of the Canadian proposal for a maximum of six miles for territorial waters and twelve miles for fisheries limits, and that on this basis a solution may be found to the unfortunate disagreement which has arisen with regard to fishing rights in the waters around Iceland. We also hope that in the period until the conference takes place further incidents in these waters will be avoided.

178. While in the economic sphere we have not recovered completely from the recession that was the centre of our attention last year, there are sufficient signs in the present world economic situation to justify a hopeful view with regard to short-term prospects. This should not, however, close our eyes to the fact that many major problems still remain to be solved, as for instance the problems relating to economic growth on the one hand, and price stability on the other. I would like to stress that in my country, and even more so in countries with an urgent and pressing need for economic development, the objective of rapid and continuous economic growth remains the overriding concern.

179. Highly industrial countries may feel the need to make adjustments in their economies to achieve price stability as a basis for further growth. We should, however, all bear in mind that the various national economies of the world are so interlocked that measures taken in one country are bound to affect the situation in the world at large. The World Economic Survey, 1958,^{2/} clearly reveals the unfavourable repercussions which recent economic set-backs in industrialized countries had on primary producing countries in particular and on world trade in general. Until ways and means have been found to reinforce the foreign exchange position of primary producing countries in times of deteriorating terms of trade, or until a scheme for the stabilization of commodity prices has been established, the industrialized nations should, as we see it, as far as possible avoid any major reduction in their economic activity. In our opinion the Secretary-General is therefore fully justified in putting special emphasis on these problems.

180. My Government has also noted with interest that the Secretary-General has suggested strengthening the role of the United Nations in respect of global economic problems through occasional meetings of ministers of economic affairs within the Economic and Social Council. May I suggest that we encourage the Secretary-General to initiate such meetings whenever the development of the world economic situation in his view calls for ministerial attention?

181. The Norwegian Government will continue to support the United Nations projects and programmes for technical assistance and would like to see a further development of the Organization's role as an initiator, guide and co-ordinator of economic aid programmes in general. While favouring increased responsibility for

the United Nations in channelling economic assistance to the under-developed countries, we do not fail to appreciate the aid programmes carried out by other multilateral organizations and through bilateral arrangements.

182. For that reason we also welcome the proposal to establish an international development association. We are ready to support it financially if it is generally felt that the establishment of such an institution will materially assist the financing of economic development plans in less developed countries. While retaining the planned working relationship with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the international development association should, in our view, also establish an adequate organizational relationship with the United Nations.

183. One word in conclusion on a very prosaic, but nonetheless vitally important aspect of the present situation of our Organization. In his foreword to the budget estimates for the financial year 1960 [A/4110] the Secretary-General states that the cash position of the United Nations is a matter of deep concern.

184. It is no pleasant reflection on the attitude of Member States to the Organization that the Secretary-General cannot meet current payrolls out of available resources because some Members have failed to pay their contributions. Each nation has been assessed according to its ability to pay and each nation has also, by voting for the assessment scale, committed itself to paying its share which, by no standard, should mean a heavy burden on its financial resources.

185. It is my earnest hope that ways to overcome these difficulties will be found during this session of the Assembly. The willingness of Member States to carry out conscientiously obligations freely assumed remains the very foundation of our world Organization.

186. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The representative of Mexico has asked for the floor to make a brief reply. If there is no objection, I propose to call on him.

187. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In his statement yesterday [805th meeting] the representative of Guatemala was kind enough to pay a tribute to my country in connexion with the resumption of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Guatemala. He also expressed his gratification that a satisfactory settlement had been reached between the Governments of our two sister republics.

188. I should like to say that my delegation fully shares these sentiments for, as Mr. Adolfo López Mateos, the President of Mexico, said in a radio message broadcast on 15 September, the understanding reached by our two neighbouring countries "does honour and credit to both republics, which, in a spirit of scrupulous mutual respect, must conduct their relations in such a way as to promote the development and welfare of their peoples" and "must open their doors to each other's nationals so that they may further assist in strengthening the close bonds of understanding that have always united the two countries".

189. The representative of Guatemala also referred in his statement to another matter, namely, the problem of Belize, in the solution of which Mexico has expressed an interest on more than one occasion.

190. We share Guatemala's view that the vestiges of colonialism in America should be eradicated and that

^{2/} United Nations publication, Sales No.:59.II.C.1.

today, particularly on our continent, colonialism is a complete anachronism. However, with regard to the specific case of Belize, we regret that our position regarding the future of that territory does not fully coincide with the views of our Guatemalan friends.

191. It is certainly not my intention to provoke a debate on this point, which would moreover be out of order, since the item is not on our agenda. I did not, however, wish our silence to be construed as indicating complete support of the Guatemalan position. I merely wish to say that Mexico's attitude in this matter has

already been stated in various international gatherings, including the United Nations General Assembly and its Committees. Of the many statements made by Mexican representatives, all of which complement each other, I shall merely mention the most recent one, made by the chairman of the Mexican delegation from this rostrum on 6 October 1958, during the general debate at the thirteenth session [711th meeting, paras. 108-111].

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.