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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Tsiang (China), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Dato' ISMAIL (Federation of Malaya): Mr. President, it was my intention to congratulate personally Mr. Belaúnde on his appointment to the high office of the President of the General Assembly. However, I should be very grateful if you would convey to him our congratulations. I am confident that, with his great knowledge and rich experience in the United Nations, he will carry out the responsibilities of his high office in a most distinguished manner.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my delegation our profound sympathy and heart-felt condolences to the delegation of Ceylon and the Government and people of Ceylon on the untimely death of their late Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike. Mr. Bandaranaike's leadership in Ceylon and his dedication to peace and humanity are well known to us all, and his death must surely be a great loss to the people of Ceylon.

3. My delegation also extends its deep sympathy to the Government and people of Japan on the tragic loss in lives and property they had suffered in the recent calamity of nature. We send our condolences particularly to those whose dear ones have perished in the tragedy.

4. This is the third occasion on which the Federation of Malaya is privileged to take part in this august international gathering, and on behalf of the Government of the Federation of Malaya I would once again renew the pledge of our nation to support the United Nations and to uphold the provisions of its Charter. But on this occasion, I am privileged to reiterate our faith in the United Nations and the principles for which it stands, as the representative of a Government which has just obtained a renewed and unequivocal

mandate from the people of the Federation of Malaya.

5. We have just had a general election, an election based on the true concept of democracy in which every citizen had a right, and was free, to decide for himself or herself, the kind of government considered most desirable. The Government I represent had won seventy-four out of the 104 seats in the House of Representatives of our Parliament. This is the measure of the support and the confidence of the people which the present Government of the Federation of Malaya now enjoys.

6. The inauguration of our first Parliament which took place only a few days ago, was a demonstration of our determination to maintain and preserve the democracy which we have nurtured and cherished since our independence. It is on the basis of our abiding faith in democracy and our determination to uphold the Charter of the United Nations that we wish to live at peace not only with ourselves, but with our neighbours, particularly those who are so close to us in the region of Asia. However, we have become increasingly aware of a certain danger which threatens not only our own freely chosen democratic way of life, but the freedom, national sovereignty and integrity of our neighbours. We have ourselves experienced this menace and have resisted it for the past eleven years. I am happy to say that the armed struggle which we have had to put up in resisting it on our own soil is almost over, with the victory in our favour, but we are continually being made the target of subversion. We continue to be the object of ugly and hostile propaganda by press and radio directed at us from outside. We observe the same thing happening, on the same pattern, to our neighbours—Viet-Nam and Thailand. And now we see the same monstrous menace looming in Laos.

7. My delegation feels that it is incumbent upon us to speak on Laos. Laos is an extremely friendly country. Laos is our close neighbour. We know that Laos is sparing no efforts in consolidating its position in order to create stability and prosperity for its people. All that Laos wants is peace to carry on and to be left alone. Yet what do we see in Laos but intrigues and subversion and now the position had deteriorated so much that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been approached. We are glad that the Security Council is seized of the matter and we are definitely satisfied that the decision it took to appoint a fact finding Sub-Committee was a correct one. The maintenance of peace and security is certainly the business of the Security Council. Had it not taken that decision it would have failed in its sacred responsibility towards mankind.

8. The Government of the Federation of Malaya will pledge here and now that it will abide by any decision of the Security Council or the General Assembly in

respect of Laos and hereby give a solemn undertaking that it would play its part within the framework of any decision of the United Nations.

9. From our own experience, we are inclined to the view that it may not be so easy to obtain sufficient evidence of direct external intervention and involvement in the present subversive and disruptive activities in Laos. It may be desirable to have, with the consent and co-operation of the Governments concerned, continued United Nations presence in the area, in one form or another, for some length of time, if tangible results are to be obtained.

10. Young and small countries like ours, in our region of the world, are naturally preoccupied with the process of laying a secure and stable foundation to their newly-won independence. It is therefore very regrettable that they should be harassed in their efforts to consolidate their national sovereignty and integrity, notwithstanding the often repeated professions of adherence, and the lip-service paid, to the so-called principles of peaceful coexistence.

11. The events in Tibet show that colonialism is still rampant in our area of the world. While considerable progress has been achieved in the struggle against the old, traditional form of European colonialism, in Asia and Africa, we have become increasingly aware of a new and more devilish and sinister form of colonialism.

12. The Dalai Lama's journey to seek refuge in India because of his devotion to the cause of freedom and liberty for his people in Tibet has aroused the sympathy of all freedom-loving peoples the world over. We are all aware of his desperate appeal to the United Nations.

13. Why has there been disturbance in the peaceful life of a country like Tibet, a country where men do not ask for much, but merely the liberty to live in peace and the serenity which they have long had, preserving their right to worship as they please? Yet today those men of religion who practise and believe in peace are fighting for that peace and freedom they hold so dear.

14. While most of the countries in Asia which had been under the domination of Western colonial rule have achieved their independence, we are witnessing a ruthless suppression of the heroic Tibetan people. But what is happening in Tibet is not new. We have seen the same pattern of suppression in Hungary and elsewhere. The Federation of Malaya, together with Ireland, have requested the inscription of the question of Tibet on the agenda of the General Assembly [A/4234]. In his speech this morning [820th meeting], the representative of Hungary alleged that the Federation of Malaya acted under the influence of the United States. I can say quite categorically here that the allegation is not only baseless and unfounded but also made in a manner which, to say the least, is deplorable and a slander on our foreign policy in regard to the question of Tibet, which is, as is quite well known, an independent policy and entirely our own. May I point out that the Federation of Malaya was one of the first countries to pronounce itself on the question of Tibet.

15. The Government of the Federation of Malaya condemns colonialism in any form, be it in West Irian, Algeria, Hungary or Tibet. The Federation of Malaya

is pledged actively to support subject peoples and nations in their legitimate aspiration to self-determination and independence.

16. Although the question of West Irian has not been included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, my delegation nevertheless feels it necessary to express the profound regrets of the Government of the Federation of Malaya that no amicable settlement of this question is yet in sight. I should like once again to reiterate that, in the view of my delegation, the question of West Irian is one of vestigial colonialism, and it is in this light that we must express our concern in this matter.

17. One of the greatest events in the life of our young nation had been the conclusion this year of a Treaty of Friendship with Indonesia—the first of its kind entered into by the Federation of Malaya—reflecting our desire to restore those ties of race and culture with Indonesia: ties which were interrupted by the accidents of history.

18. The Federation of Malaya has once again, together with other Asian and African Members, proposed the inscription of the question of Algeria in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly [A/4140]. We uphold the principle of non-intervention in matters which are strictly within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. However, we firmly believe that any problem which may result in international tension and constitute a threat to international peace and security is a proper matter for consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations. In our considered view, the question of Algeria is not a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France alone. The whole free world has an interest in it. All freedom-loving nations and peoples have a stake in it. The war of independence in Algeria still goes on. The Federation of Malaya is determined to make every endeavour to exert whatever little influence it has, here in the United Nations or in any other international forum, to assist in removing the causes of strife and injustice in that area and assist the parties concerned in arriving at an acceptable, amicable and just solution.

19. My delegation is studying very closely the recent statement of the President of France on the question of Algeria. We feel that this is a very important statement in keeping with the stature of President de Gaulle and his dedication to the task of enhancing the prestige, dignity and international status of France. His recent declaration, therefore, merits very careful consideration.

20. However, because each colonial Power has a different meaning for the same word in the colonial vocabulary—as we well know from our own experience as a colonial appendage of the United Kingdom before we became independent—we have not as yet been able to interpret the details of the statement by the President of France. We earnestly hope that the French delegation will participate actively in the consideration of the question of Algeria during this session of the General Assembly and thus assist the General Assembly to arrive at a correct decision based on a proper understanding of the latest situation resulting from this very important statement by the President of France.

21. My delegation has been greatly impressed by one particular part of the statement made by the Presi-

dent of France on the question of Algeria, when he said—and I quote:

"Taking into account all these factors—those of the Algerian situation, those inherent in the national and the international situation—I deem it necessary that recourse to self-determination be here and now proclaimed."

We hope and pray that this wise declaration could form the basis for negotiations between all the parties concerned for the achievement of a peaceful solution in Algeria.

22. Because of our ardent desire to uphold the prestige and dignity of the United Nations, my delegation must once again express our grave concern over the continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of Hungary by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Hungarian authorities and their continued refusal to co-operate with bodies set up and persons appointed by the General Assembly.

23. The question of Cyprus, which had been on the agenda of the General Assembly for so many sessions, is now happily no longer before us. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to place on record the profound appreciation and admiration of the Government of the Federation of Malaya for the statesmanship of all the parties concerned in working out a peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus question. We should like in particular to pay tribute to the leaders of the Greek Cypriot community, as well as the Turkish Cypriot community, and we should also like to take this opportunity to extend to the people of Cyprus the best wishes of the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya for their future as an independent Republic. We look forward to welcoming the independent Republic of Cyprus to the great family of nations in this world Organization.

24. It is also with great enthusiasm and pleasure that the Federation of Malaya anticipates the forthcoming independence of the new African States of the Cameroons, Togoland, Nigeria and Somalia next year. We eagerly look forward to welcoming them to their rightful places in our international community of free nations. My delegation hopes that the path blazed by Ghana and Guinea in the last few years, which will be taken by these four new African nations next year, in the onward rapid and steady march of the peoples of the great continent of Africa to independence, will be taken by all countries in Africa before long. We earnestly hope that, through the co-operation of the metropolitan Powers and the peoples of the dependent territories in Africa, political, economic and social progress will be accelerated, so as to make it possible for firm dates for independence to be fixed for all the countries of Africa which are still under colonial rule.

25. It was with much regret that the Federation of Malaya once again co-sponsored the request for the inscription on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly [A/4147 and Add.1] of the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of "apartheid" of the Government of the Union of South Africa. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Government of the Union of South Africa will not continue to ignore the appeal which has been made year after year since 1952 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, calling upon it to do away with

its policy of "apartheid". It is hoped that the moral force of the United Nations will bring about a change of heart towards a more enlightened policy consistent with fundamental human rights and human dignity on the part of the South African Government. Such a change will remove the only blot in an otherwise happy relationship now existing between the Federation of Malaya and the Union of South Africa in the family of the Commonwealth of nations.

26. The Government and people of the Federation of Malaya have followed with great interest and expectation the efforts made by the great Powers towards the relaxation of existing international tension. Though the results of the meetings of the Foreign Ministers in Geneva have not been as encouraging as we had hoped for, nevertheless, we join all peace-loving people the world over in optimistically hoping that some concrete agreement will ultimately emerge from their deliberations. We particularly welcome the meeting between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, and their exchange of visits, as a contribution towards the relaxation of existing international tensions.

27. It is our constant hope that the main question in Europe, the unification of Germany, will be resolved in the near future.

28. We are extremely anxious that the question of disarmament should be settled once and for all. However, we feel that the initiative still lies with the nuclear Powers. We have to make it absolutely clear that any programme for reduction of armaments is possible only when simultaneously carried out and consistent with the security of every nation. We feel that disarmament is the fruit of an effective system of international security, co-operation and understanding rather than its basis.

29. While all the three nuclear Powers have mutually suspended tests temporarily, it is a matter of great concern to my delegation that France should be contemplating testing its first nuclear bomb in the Sahara. We hope that France will reconsider this decision and be responsive to world public opinion.

30. Because nationalism is so much a part of our life in the Federation of Malaya, we recognize nationalism wherever it exists. We are in full sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of the people of the Middle East. Peaceful settlements by the Arabs themselves of their own political problems is a matter to be encouraged, and any foreign intervention or interference cannot be tolerated. My delegation believes also that any external assistance towards the solution of economic problems in this area must be given in order to sustain and reinforce nationalism but never to supplant it. It would be deplorable if economic aid or co-operation in this area becomes only a means of transforming the Arab countries into pawns in the diabolical game of power politics.

31. The upsurge of genuine nationalism everywhere must be recognized. For example, nationalism in the Federation of Malaya is a force which is far from being restrictive. It has wisely governed the political thinking of the leaders of our country and has amply proved its usefulness in creating a new outlook in a country which was once under the domination of a Western Power. We have been able to adopt what is best in the world. In the field of industrial development, we have adopted the capitalistic practice of allowing private enterprise to find its fullest expres-

sion. In the sphere of community development and social services, we have adopted a programme patterned on the basis of socialistic ideals. Nationalism has channelled the energies of the people of the Federation of Malaya to create and improve schools, clinics, hospitals, co-operative movements, housing and land development schemes, labour benefits and all the social services intended to enrich the life of the people. During the two years of its independence, the Federation of Malaya has made much progress in the field of basic economic development as well as in community projects. In the private sector, there has also been a great deal of expansion in industrial as well as business and commercial enterprises.

32. It cannot be denied that there exist today nations which have reached different stages in their social and economic development. Some are highly developed while others are under-developed, and there are those which are undeveloped. International peace and security cannot be maintained for long if economic instability and injustice prevail in some countries or if there continues to exist a gap in the standard of living between the peoples of different countries.

33. The Federation of Malaya has benefited much from the various international agencies and bilateral arrangements with other nations in the field of economic development. We are glad to have been able to participate in the various spheres of economic co-operation in order to close the economic gap both within our borders and between nations.

34. We have also learned through our experience that direct economic aid alone would not solve the problem of economic instability or backwardness. What is equally important is guidance in capital accumulation and increase in productivity. It is not enough for Governments only to co-operate with each other. The private sector of those nations that are prepared to share their know-how and make capital investments towards creating economic strength in those under-developed and undeveloped areas should be given every encouragement to do so. For that reason, the Government of the Federation of Malaya takes every possible measure to encourage foreign private investments. Not only are we prepared to allow remittance of profits on capital invested from overseas but we also allow repatriation of invested capital of approved projects to the country whence it came even if it is outside the sterling area. There are no restrictions on ownership and no discrimination against foreign enterprise. There are tariff concessions and income tax relief and special treatment is given to pioneer industries. Every assurance is given towards the security of foreign investments. Hence the Federation of Malaya has entered into an investment guarantee programme with the United States and is prepared to examine similar proposals with any friendly investor country.

35. There is a real and urgent need for international co-operation in the economic and social fields in order to reduce the existing gap in the standard of living between nations. Any development programme aimed at improving the economic and social standards in one country must also take into consideration the progress and conditions existing in neighbouring countries. It is perhaps no longer possible for one nation to achieve economic and social progress in complete isolation from other countries. There is growing realization of the necessity for neighbouring

countries to get together and plan together, sharing ideas and exchanging knowledge and skills to achieve the maximum results in their common endeavour.

36. It is not necessary that all nations in any given region should be like-minded on political matters for such active co-operation to be successful. We maintain that it is possible for countries in a given region to co-operate on economic, social and cultural matters, especially when they have so much in common, without necessarily creating another political grouping. Of course, much can be said for a regional forum where political ideas could be exchanged for the purpose of creating better understanding among neighbours within the area. In conformity with this view, our Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, during his visit to the Philippines in January of this year, called for the establishment of closer co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia especially in the economic, social and educational fields.

37. In considering the question of closer economic, social and cultural association among the countries of South-East Asia, the Federation of Malaya has not been motivated by any desire to create a new military alliance, or to assist in the establishment of a wing of any existing military alliance, in our part of the world. It is our intention that there should be no political strings attached to the proposed association, which would be free of any discolouration to satisfy a particular power bloc.

38. As a small country, we place our faith in the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations is the one Organization which can bring peace, security and prosperity to mankind. It is in the moral force exerted by the United Nations rather than in military strength that we can place our hopes for peace and security even in South-East Asia. Any regional association and co-operation in our area of the world can only be in furtherance of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

39. Under its Charter, the United Nations is pledged to resist aggressive force. It is a cardinal purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, and, to that end, the United Nations must take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. Though a comparatively small country with limited resources, the Federation of Malaya will play its full part in, and make its proper contribution to, the noble efforts of the United Nations for the achievement of peace and justice for all mankind.

40. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): This fourteenth session of the General Assembly opened under particularly happy auspices. The responsible heads of the two great Powers which today constitute the pivot around which the international situation revolves, have met a few days ago in the United States. This meeting will be repeated next spring in Moscow.

41. The aim of these personal contacts between President Eisenhower and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, is to end the cold war and to win a more stable, less menaced peace, a peace that will be just and equitable.

for all. In the shadow of such a peace the peoples of the earth will be able, by their labours and according to their will, to build up their future and that of their children. This is a great undertaking, on a scale commensurable with that of the danger of an atomic war.

42. The problems ahead are vast, complex and thorny. In certain cases, they are poised in fragile, yet vital, equilibrium. However, we believe that there are no irreducible factors dividing the two worlds so long as existing differences are approached in a spirit of mutual respect and with the intention of either party not to seek advantages at the expense of the other. At the end of the match there should be but one winner: peace.

43. The present stage is mainly devoted to the improvement of the psychological climate and to soundings destined to define mutual positions and to evaluate possibilities of agreement. These preparatory efforts concern the particular and collective interests of both the Western and the Soviet World. However, it is of equal interest to the international community as a whole, for peace is a benefaction common to all. It is no longer possible to draw a line between the happiness of some and the misfortune of others.

44. We fervently pray that this exploration may lead to positive results. It must be a promise of concrete and practical realizations, for we are all aware that the continuance of the international crisis which holds the world in its grip is not due solely to psychological considerations. It is due to the lack of confidence caused by concrete disputes and by antagonisms reflected in day to day realities. It is, indeed, indispensable to ameliorate the psychological climate; but above all, it is necessary to see whether a way can be opened towards negotiation and agreement on precise and determinate points.

45. There is no doubt that we are faced with an extremely delicate operation centring upon sensitive and painful points, and liable to have far-reaching consequences in time and space. But the world has at its disposal all the wisdom necessary in order to undertake this task with good chances of success.

46. I now turn to the question of disarmament. It is indeed in this hope that we envisage the progress of negotiations concerning disarmament. All of us, without exception, are vitally interested in facing this great problem and in resolutely entering upon the path of the immediate and practical measures necessary to its solution. I shall avoid insisting on that which everyone well knows; I refer to the potential for destruction of modern weapons of war. I only wish to point out that the limitation of armaments is linked to the notion of security itself and that security depends upon the maintenance of the existing balance of power in the world.

47. It must be admitted that, despite all efforts made to date, despite attempts to build the international community on foundations of justice and law, relations between nations are still governed by the outmoded, but still working, rules of the balance of power. It is true that today this notion of balance has been considerably broadened. But whether one speaks of the balance between the two super-Powers alone, or between the two groups of Powers, one is forced to recognize that it is under the blanket of this balance that the peaceful existence of the world presently

evolves. It is by virtue of this balance that some hold their place in existing political formations and others can remain uncommitted. It is true that there is a much better alternative to the rule of the balance of power. This is world peace and order maintained and secured by the United Nations, having at its disposal an effective international military force. But for the time being such an alternative is possible only in theory.

48. The effort to maintain the military equilibrium stimulates the arms race, since each nation, and especially the great Powers, press on with their armaments programmes for fear of seeing the balance disrupted at their expense. However, if, in order to maintain the forces necessary to a certain degree of security, the nations continue to arm, it is logically possible to maintain this same balance by a common agreement either to avoid increasing the potential of the respective war arsenals, or even to lower the existing level of armaments. This means balanced disarmament.

49. It is quite evident that the balance of military power is a technical question. But it goes without saying that any agreement providing for a limitation of armaments, and any undertaking concerning disarmament, must necessarily depend upon efficient international control. The limitation of armaments is a feasible operation; but only to the extent to which the interested parties are sincere in their intention of freezing or of proportionally reducing the level of armaments and to which they are ready to furnish proofs of their sincerity of accepting guarantees satisfactory to all.

50. Another point of capital importance is the collective character of security. This character cannot be changed for it is inherent in the very nature of collective defence. Within the framework of this defence each nation is called upon to play the part which falls to it, by reason of the common interest. Even those peoples who find themselves outside of existing political groups cannot consider their security and the means of defence at their disposal otherwise than in relation to the more general factors which determine the security of the international community of which they are an integral part. Does not the Charter, in fact constitute the essential expression of the collective character of international security?

51. From this it results that partial measures affecting the common security cannot be considered separately. Such measures are always possible, but they must be examined in the light of the interests as much of the collective body as of each individual member. It is not possible to cut up into sections the unity of collective defence where it exists. And it does exist not only in the defensive alliances with which we are familiar, but also within the larger framework of the United Nations.

52. Thus, regional arrangements on matters of security depend on broader agreements on disarmament among the Powers mainly concerned. This is even more so as the range of modern weapons, and in particular that of ballistic missiles, actually covers all the surface of our planet. This means that regional security cannot be valued and dealt with but in terms of total security. A ballistic missile launched from hundreds of miles away is not more welcome than one launched from a shorter distance. The exist-

ence of such weapons, by suppressing the distances, practically minimizes the geographical individuality of the regions, in terms of security.

53. If based on solidly realistic foundations—and only then—a common effort for disarmament has a good chance of yielding results. I should say, in all modesty, that Greece, faithful to its peaceful traditions, will not fail to contribute to this great objective in the measure of its possibilities and its competence.

54. There can be no doubt that disarmament constitutes an urgent duty and a cardinal responsibility of the United Nations. And I am impelled to say that any tendency to dissociate the Organization from developments concerning this problem would be particularly regrettable and dangerous. Nevertheless, let us hasten to recognize that, up to the present, the authority of the United Nations in this domain has never been seriously contested. The ten-Power disarmament committee, the creation of which was communicated to the United Nations Disarmament Commission, is an organ which does not engage the responsibility of the United Nations. I must add that the cause of disarmament is so vital that no one could raise objections to the great Powers choosing the procedure that seems good to them in order to bring to fruition the negotiations which they have in view. The merits of their choice will be judged by the results. We all pray that these results may be satisfactory.

55. We do not believe, however, that what may go on outside these halls exempts the General Assembly from its role and responsibilities as regards disarmament. The Assembly must have its own organs not only in order to be in a position to follow what is going on beyond its limits, but also in order to be able, at the opportune moment, to declare its point of view and to establish its permanent interest in the progress of the cause of disarmament.

56. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, has from this platform made proposals for total disarmament [799th meeting] which cannot but arouse the liveliest interest.

57. The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Herter [797th meeting], and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], have also set forth action programmes for the limitation of armaments which cannot but retain our undivided attention.

58. Other interesting suggestions concerning disarmament have been presented by other representatives.

59. We believe that the work of co-ordinating and examining all these plans and possibilities in common should begin as soon as possible at the United Nations. In our opinion, the Disarmament Commission, which is the most qualified body to deal with all aspects of disarmament, should be asked to share in the relative responsibilities and work of the United Nations.

60. The fact that recent negotiations on the limitation of armaments, as well as certain great international problems which at present preoccupy the world, appear to be evolving outside the United Nations, has created the impression that the world Organization is being excluded from these developments. Apprehensions on this subject have been voiced, of which the echo may be found even in the introduction to the

Secretary-General's report [A/4132/Add.1]. It is true that he does not seem to find them justified and his personal opinion on this score is reassuring.

61. However, while we share the Secretary-General's solidly established opinion, we think that we are all in duty bound to pay special attention to a matter which so closely affects the future of our Organization. For what is not happening today might happen tomorrow. And it would be a great misfortune if ever international relations were to be removed from the field of the United Nations and to return to the paths of the past. We hear it said sometimes that the ways and methods of the old diplomacy present considerable advantages as compared with those of the United Nations. To debate delicate political affairs—we are told—in an open forum is an error which goes contrary to mutual interests and to friendly relations between nations.

62. I have no intention of making a case against traditional diplomacy by recalling the liabilities registered against it by history's balance of accounts. Moreover, nothing prevents us from having recourse to its services whenever this appears to be desirable or useful. However, we must remember that the United Nations is not just another diplomatic means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes; it represents an attempt to organize, to establish, international society on a basis of law. The Charter is a first expression—elementary and incomplete, to be sure, but nonetheless a genuine expression—of international legality.

63. The aim of the United Nations is not solely to solve conflicts, but to solve them in accordance with the Charter. That means to solve them according to a notion of legality and justice independently of the respective power of the parties in litigation. This notion of legality and justice, although not always put into practice—and when it has been so put, the results have in many cases proved disappointing—is nonetheless always present at the United Nations. It instils itself into our consciences and may tend to become a dynamic idea capable of one day producing the structure of an international organization founded on legality and justice.

64. To save the peace is obviously the goal which we all strive for. But we must save the peace without sacrificing freedom, without betraying the right, and without defying justice. It is true that, in order to attain this goal, the Charter does not refer the litigants to a court of justice but counsels negotiation. However, negotiation according to the letter and the spirit of the Charter must necessarily be inspired by these principles. Even if we admit that the guarantees offered by the United Nations are not sufficient, in any case they represent a certain progress over former methods and justify our hopes and our perseverance in following the new road. The evolution cannot but be slow and gradual. That is why, instead of despairing, we must all resist the temptation to avoid the path of the United Nations, a path which constantly reminds us of the Charter and sets us at the listening post of the universal conscience as expressed by this great and noble Assembly.

65. The negotiations which resulted in the solution of the Cyprus question were indeed inspired by these principles. They were put into motion following a resolution unanimously adopted by the General As-

sembly at its last session [resolution 1287 (XIII)]. The resolution recommended that a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the Charter, be sought. The solution was reached in conformity with this recommendation and is based on the recognition of the status of independence for the island of Cyprus and on the principle of co-operation among all Cypriots.

66. The Cyprus question was a United Nations question "par excellence". Since 1954, it was the object of the constant interest and deliberations of the General Assembly. Greece, within these halls, assumed the role of spokesman on behalf of the legitimate aspirations to freedom of the people of Cyprus and of their heroic struggle to attain it. She demanded self-determination for the Cypriots. As is well known, self-determination as a principle, as a right, is not an end in itself. It is not a solution. It represents the road to a solution. In this respect, the move generated within the General Assembly, during its successive sessions, in favour of an independent Cyprus, helped the Cypriots in their quest for freedom, to exercise their choice in a practicable way. It also helped all the parties concerned to discern a possibility for agreement. Such a line was in conformity with the relative provisions of the Charter and concurred with the way followed by almost all other dependent territories liberated from colonial rule by accession to independence.

67. There are some who wonder whether Archbishop Makarios, the political and religious leader of the Greek Cypriots, may not have acted thus in view of the international difficulties then prevailing and the grave dangers which other solutions entailed. The fact is that Archbishop Makarios acted in full freedom of conscience and decision, but it is evident that he acted as a responsible political leader, aware of realities and of the possibilities defined by existing international contingencies. He chose independence as the political status of the island, freedom for all Cypriots, close co-operation between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island, and permanent friendship of the new State of Cyprus with both Greece and Turkey. He himself, in his great wisdom declared: "In addition to our duty to fashion our future, we have an important role to fulfil, that of a link uniting Greece and Turkey." On these foundations the Zurich and London agreements were negotiated and concluded.

68. Various committees have been established in London and in Nicosia working hard for the implementation of these agreements. The creation of a new State in a rather short period of time is a challenging enterprise. We rest assured, however, that its outcome will be successful as all participants to these working bodies display a spirit of loyalty and dedication to the basic agreements of Zurich and London. The burden of these efforts rests mainly on the Cypriots of both communities facing the responsibility of building up their own future, as free men, in conditions of human dignity and prosperity. Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom assumed the responsibility of assisting the new State of Cyprus in establishing its independence.

69. I feel sure that the General Assembly will be unanimous in registering with satisfaction the creation, in accordance with the spirit of its resolution and wishes, of the new State of Cyprus, and that it

will be ready to welcome it in these halls as a member of the great family of nations on the day when the new republic, duly proclaimed, will present its request for admission.

70. On this occasion, I wish to express our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to all the delegations which showed interest in the promotion of the Cyprus issue towards a right and peaceful solution.

71. A happy consequence of the solution of the Cyprus question was the liquidation of the conflict which, for a certain time, brought Greece into opposition with Turkey and the United Kingdom. The bonds of friendship which have existed between Greece and the United Kingdom are being restored.

72. Relations between Greece and Turkey are steadily improving. The policy of close co-operation and friendship established by Venizelos and Ataturk, those great pioneers, has been revived. The visit of Premier Karamanlis to Ankara a few months ago and the coming visit to Athens of Premier Menderes will contribute to strengthen the ties between the two neighbouring countries.

73. May I be permitted to say that, as it has already been pointed out from this rostrum by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Turkey [809th meeting], this development is not profitable only to Greece and Turkey. It constitutes a factor of stability and peace in the Eastern Mediterranean area as well as in that of the Balkans. A centre of anxiety and a situation pregnant with potential dangers had been replaced by a climate of co-operation and understanding. This is an instance of an important contribution toward the improvement of the international situation and one which we are sure will be appreciated by those who are sincerely interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

74. The Hellenic Government rejoices in the very close bonds which unite Greece and Yugoslavia. Relations between these two neighbouring countries, which were always excellent, become even more so as the years go by. This proves—and we shall never weary of repeating it—that differing social systems are no obstacle to the establishment of relations of co-operation and understanding, so long as these relations are based on respective independence and reciprocal respect.

75. Greece maintains good relations with many other socialist countries. We are glad to see the progress of our commercial exchanges and of our relations with Romania. Peace and good neighbourly relations are not a matter of words but of deeds and facts. The favourable factual situation created in the field of the relations between the two countries led to the aforementioned improvements. Greece steadfastly pursues a policy of peace towards all.

76. Other problems await solution. In the Middle East, the problem of the Palestine refugees remains in suspense and provokes justified apprehension and rancour in all the Arab countries. As long as this question is left without a just solution, it will constitute a potential threat to peace and tranquillity in the Middle East. In the absence of such a solution, my delegation considers as an imperative necessity the continuation of the humanitarian work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees.

77. We follow with active sympathy the advance of mandated and Non-Self-Governing Territories towards political emancipation and independence. The Greek delegation has constantly given its support to any action of the United Nations tending to assist colonial peoples in becoming masters of their own countries and of their destinies. In the course of the next year, several new African States, the Cameroons, Togoland, Nigeria and Somalia, and Cyprus, a Mediterranean State, will come to take their seats among us. This proves that the world is marching forward and that the family of nations is steadily acquiring the riches of equality and freedom.

78. The Algerian question, included in the agenda of the present session, will be the object of our deliberations and our efforts to contribute to a solution thereof in conformity with the principles of the Charter, principles for which Greece has always stood. We have no doubt that the General Assembly will register gratification at the recognition by the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, of the right of the Algerian people to determine freely their own future, as well as the efforts made by our Arab friends to approach this new hopeful development in a constructive way.

79. One question of paramount importance confronting the world today is that of economic development. It is, therefore, only natural that it constitutes one of the main preoccupations of our Organization. Greece has always supported, and will continue to offer its contribution to, any planning and action designed for the economic development of countries and territories, especially those which have not yet attained a more advanced stage in their economic development.

80. It is in this spirit that we wish, on this occasion, to reiterate the importance we attach to the good work already accomplished and to be accomplished in the future by the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund of the United Nations. With regard to the Special Fund, which has begun its activities under good auspices, we in Greece are certain that it can and should play an important and ever increasing part in the endeavours for economic planning and development and the subsequent raising of standards of living throughout the world. The fact that these activities are being directed by Mr. Paul Hoffman constitutes a guarantee for its success.

81. The scientific and technological progress of our times constitutes a unifying process in the field of human relations. Viewed from the moon, the oneness of our world will be even more conspicuous. We are steadily progressing towards international, towards universal, integration. Our problem is not how to avoid such an evolution but how to remove the existing barriers, the remaining obstacles standing in its way, without a war. It is for the United Nations and for human reason to give a hopeful answer to such an agonizing question.

82. Mr. GARIN (Portugal): Mr. President, allow me through you to offer to Mr. Belaúnde the warmest congratulations of my delegation on his unanimous election to the highest office in our Organization. But the gratification and joy felt by my delegation, as well as the unreserved admiration which Mr. Belaúnde's outstanding career and moral stature have earned from my country and Government, are not only a tribute to his personality as one of the most eminent

statesmen of Latin America; we also feel that in the presidency of this Assembly Mr. Belaúnde is carrying with him the symbol of the greatest traditions of our common Iberian heritage, as well as the noblest aspirations of the United Nations. His indefatigable work in our Organization throughout the years, his brilliance of mind, his diplomatic tact and his unshakable faith in the destinies of man are, to all of us, the most treasured inspiration in these times of uncertainty and desperate quest for peace.

83. As the years go by, and in spite of the trying tests of international disharmony, the United Nations has played a most influential part in the life of mankind. Even though it often is misused as a propaganda stage for the selfish interests of some Governments, its stature as a world forum, as a kind of rallying point of the community of nations, has grown steadily, and its accomplishments in helping to safeguard world peace in more than one instance are the more praiseworthy and gratifying because the United Nations has had to overcome many difficulties placed in its path.

84. The international scene is still the anxious searching ground for peace—for a real peace built on justice and security, which has not truly existed in the world for some decades. During our generation mankind has endured much suffering: two world wars and their aftermath have brought to the peoples of the earth countless ordeals. For some, the hardship reached high on the spiral of human endurance, for they saw, and often suffered, cruel tyranny, pitiless annihilation, starvation, and the strangling of thought and social life.

85. On the other hand, mankind gained new and most impressive potentialities by virtue of scientific and technological developments of a scope capable of bringing unprecedented benefits to the economic and social life of all peoples.

86. Unfortunately, it has so far proved impossible to fully harvest the benefits one could reasonably expect from such discoveries, notwithstanding the earnest desire of peoples and Governments. This is the unhappy price which the future of humanity is paying for the dangerous political and military situation which has been our shadow for several years. The peoples of the earth today may appear, to the observer from another planet, somewhat like acrobats hanging on to the brim of a volcano, listening to its permanent rumblings and being occasionally jolted by its sporadic eruptions. Again, as he who risks the abrupt undoing of years of training when making a false step on the high wire, the human race risks complete obliteration of itself and of the civilization which it built slowly and painfully in the course of the centuries. The ghastly truth is that either man proves himself capable of controlling the destructive forces he has created or else, if he continues to toy with the atomic and thermo-nuclear forces, he is headed for self-annihilation. If the thinking man is unable to live in peace with himself, he cannot expect that the new powers he has created will serve him peacefully as they should.

87. The cause of peace continues to be disturbed by the dragging conflict between the free world and the communist world and by the clash between their different political philosophies and ways of life. The issues involved are of common knowledge. I shall not dwell on them. Certain glimpses of hope emerging on

the international horizon during the recent days and weeks certainly deserve our collective encouragement in the search for a mutual understanding and for an equitable modus vivendi. Doubtless, it is to be hoped that in the minds of the political leaders of the world certain unquenchable concepts may take strong roots and be given vital priority—the priority of the survival of humanity, for the modern weapons of destruction and the organization of defence which had to be set up, would make any attempt at imperialistic expansion the fuse of a third and thoroughly calamitous world war. The fearful prospect of mutual destruction must thus appear increasingly impracticable.

88. On this rational and practical basis, the cold war should be wiped off the tormented stage of our contemporary world, giving way to a policy of peaceful coexistence—the equitable modus vivendi which the force of destiny has inexorably made a sine qua non condition for the survival of the next generation and of the generations to come. Even if we think selfishly in terms of our own generation alone, let us consider the fervent hopes of all peoples today—that the easing of political tensions would permit drastic curtailment of the phenomenal military expenditures, much to the advantage of the economic well-being of the populations of the world.

89. The serious recognition by those concerned that war would be absolute insanity, and the related abandonment of the use of force to promote territorial gains or to disseminate revolutionary doctrines, would be in itself a fundamental contribution to the cause of peace. In the light of recent developments, what then can we expect, with a measure of guarded optimism? Hopefully, a truce in the cold war, a reduction of international tensions, new attempts to secure a platform for better understanding and good will, and the genuine practice of peaceful coexistence and not its mere preaching. These would be indeed great blessings, for the peoples of the world are tired of the cold war, as they are of the economic sacrifices it entails. Yet, we should not allow ourselves to be carried away by premature optimism or misjudged wishful thinking, lest the delivery should aggravate rather than relieve the labour. The world expects genuine acts to follow the proclaimed intentions, before it can be convinced that a true and honest policy of peaceful coexistence is being pursued.

90. For one thing, peaceful coexistence would require the abandonment of hostile propaganda as well as scrupulous non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. It would signify the settlement of disputes without threats of force; it would imply the fulfilment of international conventions, the scrapping of plans for domination of others and for subversion; and it would demand sincere and loyal collaboration in the solution of problems of common interest to all States.

91. The application of these principles is not new to some countries—it is, in fact, a normal procedure of their policy—but it would certainly mean a totally new outlook for some other States. A reversal of political attitude in international relations would be, for the latter, the necessary premise to take on, convincingly, the principles of peaceful coexistence. Hence the great difficulty. The free world, which, as a matter of course, subscribes to such principles in practice, faces today the uncertainty of whether or not the

mentality behind the words of peace coming from other quarters is semantically harmonious with the verbal expressions we hear. For one thing, there can be no peaceful coexistence if world subversion should be allowed to disseminate freely from certain "privileged" areas.

92. There again, if the clearing of the atmosphere for which we yearn were to lead to a soft attitude of conformity or to the premature weakening of the barrier of self-defence, while others maintained their active policy of expansion, doctrinary and otherwise, then we would render a disservice to peace by allowing the principle of defence of our civilization to be replaced by a fallible notion of trust without trustful deeds.

93. While stressing such difficulties and dangers, it is not the intention of my delegation to detract from the purposes and merits of the principle of peaceful coexistence itself. Quite the contrary; what we earnestly hope is that the thorns and difficulties on the path to peaceful coexistence will be removed or overcome. Thus, my delegation sincerely welcomes any efforts that can reasonably be made—gradually as it must necessarily be—with the aim of establishing concrete and workable measures which would bring about a relief from political tensions and a positive beginning to the solution of the most pressing problems of the moment.

94. Among these, we have uppermost in our minds the problems of Germany and disarmament. The problem of Germany is, in my delegation's view, the problem of its ultimate reunification, as no other just solution is conceivable. Manifestly, the reunification of Germany is an indispensable foundation for the maintenance of peace in Europe and in the world. While deploring that the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers failed to produce positive agreements, we believe it has had at least the merit of opening the way for further talks, at whatever level, on the crucial problem of Berlin.

95. It is distressing to us that the problem of disarmament continues in the same protracted deadlock. Negotiations on the problem as a whole have not taken place in this Organization or outside of it since 1957, and this fact is to be deplored. Fortunately, recent developments give us the assurance that this intricate problem will be taken up anew by the negotiating body agreed upon during the last Geneva Conference of the four Foreign Ministers.

96. We hope for a fresh start, and let no strenuous efforts be spared in order to arrive at concrete and substantial results on as wide a range as possible, despite the fact that they shall have to be of a preliminary character. The task is a trying one, we know, but it becomes the moral duty of every one of us to support the new body and to encourage its members in their work. The disarmament dilemma is primarily in the hands of the major Powers, but obviously it is also of vital concern to every single member of the community of nations.

97. For this reason, I am in entire agreement with those speakers who have stressed the necessity to set up linking channels between the new negotiating body and the United Nations, as it is with our Organization that the ultimate responsibility for general measures of disarmament rests.

98. My delegation heard with great interest the statements before the Assembly by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Herter [797th meeting], and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev [799th meeting], bearing in mind the special responsibility of their three countries on matters of disarmament. Each one of them rightly emphasized the necessity for approaching the subject in a forceful and urgent manner. In doing so, they reflected the common aspiration of all the peoples of the world. While my delegation holds serious doubts on whether Mr. Khrushchev spoke with the intention of being entirely realistic about the problem, it is none the less gratifying to note the great concern which the question of disarmament is causing his Government.

99. My delegation agrees with the view of the vast majority of the peoples of the free world that any disarmament agreement or agreements, partial or comprehensive, can only be dependable if self-preservation goes with it; that is, disarmament with security for all. Starting from this axiomatic premise, and considering the international tensions and mutual suspicion extant, we also believe that any workable disarmament agreement cannot be based merely on a paper treaty or a gentlemen's agreement; it is indispensable that every country of the world accept a genuine and practicable system of international observation and control over their armaments or the balanced reduction of their armaments. This has been, and it will always be, the crux of the whole problem of disarmament.

100. As regards the problems relating to the peaceful uses of outer space, we believe the United Nations has a decisive role to fulfil in this ever-increasingly important field—urgently too, considering the rapid advances being made by science to extend man's sphere of activity beyond our planet. The dream of the universe belongs equally to all members of the community of nations. Therefore, it is legitimate to expect that the question of the peaceful use of outer space will be the one common goal susceptible of uniting every country with the same fervour and willingness to work together, constructively and harmoniously, under the aegis of our Organization. We sincerely hope that it will be so, in spite of certain preliminary difficulties which have arisen.

101. Concurrently with the East-West conflict, and apart from other problems in other areas of the world, there arise with particular importance the political events in Africa, the problems of economic progress and the world-wide desire to increase the standard of living of peoples.

102. As it might be expected, my country's old standing in Africa, going back many centuries, justifies our very special interest in the economic, social and political development of that continent. We have long historical ties with all other peoples of Africa, and my country warmly welcomes the new African States which have joined the community of nations. Portugal will always be ready to co-operate with them in all questions of general and mutual interest. My country's ties with the other African nations have in no way been weakened nowadays; much to the contrary. Once again, they came very much to our minds on the occasion of a State visit which the renowned

head of a noble and glorious African nation paid recently to my country. I am referring to the honour done to us by the visit of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, whom the Portuguese people greeted warmly and respectfully.

103. Being simultaneously in different continents, namely, Europe and in Africa, Portugal follows with the greatest of interest the political developments taking place in the African continent. For one, we are convinced that both continents complement each other, and that they are interdependent for their welfare, for their defence, and for their survival in dignity and security. Similarly, each of the two continents requires the support of the other, if their respective economies are to prosper.

104. As a country with the largest part of its national territory in Africa, and practically half of its population, Portugal could not fail to attach vital importance to the process of enhancing the economic development of the African countries and territories, as well as to the parallel pattern of the raising of their populations to higher forms of social structure and government. In this respect, and broadly speaking, three different tendencies are evident.

105. The United Kingdom has set itself one objective; namely, the formation of new independent countries, while keeping the doors open for them to be freely associated in the Commonwealth. This process has been based on the traditional character of British action in Africa, which has consistently followed certain well known principles.

106. For its turn, France has travelled in another direction; autonomous States were created, which decided to be associated with France, the whole structure constituting the Community.

107. A third historical process is presented in my country. In its particular case, and throughout the centuries, an entirely different picture has been developed. It originated with the steady and consistent application of certain basic principles of high humane brotherhood, and from them emerged a national society made up of different races and different cultures. This multi-racial society has always been and is politically embodied in a unitarian nation and a unitarian State territorially spread, not unlike other States and nations, in more than one continent. All this has been a tendency of old which presently became the basic national policy, built upon the interlacement of peoples of different races, colours and religions. Parallel to a mutual feeling of complete absence of racial discrimination—which in itself has always been one of the cornerstones of my country's social and political organization—we are inspired by the lofty principles of Christianity and human fraternity, always aiming at providing equal means of access to social and political development for all.

108. The very outlook of the, shall we say, original Portuguese was a strong factor in guiding our country to that policy, for he had inherited from the multi-racial formation of continental Portugal itself the moral and mental attitude which led to his social alloyage with other peoples. This was the way in which Portugal dispersed in shape but united in spirit, grew in the four corners of the earth. Looking intently and objectively at all the constituent units of the nation, the keen observer will find a common feeling—specifically, that the reality of the Portu-

guese nation as a whole is everywhere in the minds of the people, in their institutions and in their ways of life.

109. We firmly believe in our system. We sincerely believe in the nobility of our principles, as others believe in theirs. Therefore, these remarks are not aimed at making any comparisons. In any case, we are dealing with historical facts for which it would be fatuous to seek an adaptation to unrelated yardsticks. History alone will have the authority for a verdict. If my delegation considers it pertinent to dwell at some length on the subject, it is because there have been too many generalizations on the issues of Africa, voiced by delegations moved by purposes of their own. When there is abusive influence and pressure from abroad, a nation has a right to call the attention of the misinformed ones to the irrefutable evidence of history. The system through which the Portuguese nation has become the reality it is today does not represent an overnight expediency; it has been fully put to the test of time and its survival bears out the proof of its stability. Its moral and political oneness has been proved time and again—particularly in times of crisis—for the solidarity of every province in resisting external enemies and their loyalty to the nation, many a time with great sacrifice and risk, are the indestructible essence of the Portuguese nationality.

110. Incidentally, it occurs to me to touch briefly upon another point. I wish to assure the delegation of Ghana that there is no reason for their alleged apprehension, as it were, in regard to Angola as there is possibly no more reason for any apprehension of this Assembly in respect of the conditions in Ghana itself. Also, the wishes voiced by the same delegation [807th meeting] to the effect that my Government should submit information to the United Nations, in the context I presume they had in mind, have no base whatever in the Charter or in any other document. In fact, we cannot accept any specific international status which would differentiate between parts of the same national territory: all of them and their respective populations, against whom any discrimination would be intolerable, are independent with the independence of the nation.

111. Incidentally again, the representative of Guinea in his speech before the Assembly [818th meeting] made some gratuitous and unjustified remarks about my country. We honestly feel that a new State such as Guinea must have too many problems of its own to be dwelling in propaganda for propaganda's sake, or to be trying to interfere in the internal affairs of other States.

112. I now turn to matters of no less importance which are of paramount interest to all of us. I have in mind the world-wide economic problems confronting all nations individually, as well as the international community as a whole.

113. Notwithstanding the remarkable scientific and technical developments—likewise it is only fair to point out the encouraging improvements taking place in many parts of the world—the unfortunate fact remains that the majority of mankind is still far from enjoying a full share of life, free from poverty, disease and other similar misfortunes. In this connexion, we have to concentrate and co-ordinate all our efforts. International co-operation being essen-

tial, the United Nations and its specialized agencies must be prepared to play an important role. In fact, during the current session of the Assembly, many important subjects in the economic and social fields are to be debated, and we only hope that we may succeed in finding solutions which bring about satisfactory results, giving hopes for the eventual solution of the problem of under-development. Such co-operation is fundamental. Otherwise, the gap now existing between the wealthy countries and the less developed nations would tend to grow so wide as to become unbridgeable. However, it should be noted that constructive co-operation in that field must take into account one condition, namely, the integration into the national economy of such factors as technical skill and capital. In this respect, the Technical Assistance Programmes and the Special Fund have provided a valuable contribution.

114. The situation is not as encouraging in respect of international financing. The funds made available for improvements and investments by international bodies will always be so small in relation to existing and increasing needs that they ought to be considered gestures of good will rather than an effective means of solving all difficulties. We therefore believe that conditions should be created in each country so as to attract private investment, convinced as we are that it will always play a most important part in the development of the world's wealth. The steps already taken or under consideration by IBRD are meant to foster the progress of less developed nations. It is to be hoped, and my delegation certainly shares this hope, that such measures shall have a favourable bearing not only on individual nations, but also on the Operation Pan America, as well as in regard to other forms of regional co-operation in other areas of the world.

115. My delegation follows with great attention and care the problems of international co-operation in the economic field, as my country's economy depends to a large extent on international trade. In this respect, the outcome of the international action regarding primary commodities and the consequences of the establishment of regional markets, whether on a European scale or even wider, may dislocate the traditional direction of our foreign trade and may have a bearing on the rate of our economic growth. We follow these problems with keen interest, and we believe that the search for fair and equitable solutions will benefit the general development.

116. Despite the enormous difficulties of establishing measures which would avoid great price fluctuations on the primary products, my delegation believes that the obstacles are not insurmountable, if the problem should be approached in a spirit of good will and solidarity. The objective of stabilizing the prices of basic products can only be reached by reciprocal concessions. Experience shows that, if such a spirit of solidarity and reciprocity exists, it is possible to reach just and equitable solutions, even though calling for certain individual sacrifices. A case in point was recently demonstrated by my country during the negotiations for the international coffee agreement with several Latin-American, African and European countries.

117. Another important body of the United Nations for international co-operation in the economic field is the Economic Commission for Africa, whose first

session was held in January last in Addis Ababa. We participated in the work of the Commission, and we did so with enthusiasm and a constructive spirit. We feel that the results achieved during that first session are encouraging, although, on some occasions, certain matters quite outside the scope of the Commission were brought forth. We hope, however, that the Economic Commission for Africa may avoid such a procedure in its future meetings by not allowing itself to be carried along a path which would be detrimental to the best interests of all concerned. In the meantime, and with that hope in mind, we are co-operating whole-heartedly in implementing, in so far as we are concerned, the resolutions and recommendations adopted at Addis Ababa. We shall be doing our utmost in that direction and provide the assistance of our technicians and competent agencies as well as several scholarships for African graduates in Portuguese departments. Thus, we are doing our share to carry out the agreed programme in accordance with the order of priorities recommended by the Commission. We have no doubt that at the next session, to be held within a few months in Morocco, we shall be able to see the fruit of the Commission's work, as the ground for future development and progress, to the benefit of the whole continent of Africa, is being paved.

118. On a wider scale, my own Government is engaged on the implementation of a large plan of development in all parts of the nation. A first six-year plan had been completed, and a second six-year plan started in January last. It is not my intention to burden the Assembly with details. I will merely point out that the current plan of development envisages a total of public investments of the order of 1,000 million dollars; and it is estimated that further investments from private capital will bring that total to 2,000 million dollars for the period ending in 1964. This effort, supported as it will be almost entirely by national resources, is estimated to complete the infrastructure necessary for further developments and, at the same time, to provide for an annual increase of between 4 per cent and 5 per cent of the national gross product. To that end steps have already been taken, namely the establishment of a Development Bank, which has the largest capitalization of any Portuguese corporation to date, and the co-operation with international institutions as IBRD and IMF. With the monetary and financial stabilization which has been and is a permanent feature of our policy, and with the help of any foreign capital or loans which may be forthcoming, we hope to achieve fruitful results in the fight for better conditions and higher standards of life for the Portuguese peoples.

119. As my Prime Minister said in a recent speech:

"We are a modest nation which does not claim high rates of wealth, production or standards of living, but our accounts are up-to-date, and we maintain free international trade and monetary exchange with all nations, securing the value of our currency and supporting our population adequately. We do not seek to impose our political ideas or institutions on others nor do we create difficulties in their lives. We do not disturb the peace and we collaborate loyally in the international bodies. No State holds against us any claim or any well-founded complaints or pretensions to which in all justice we owe any satisfaction. We work hard and try to pro-

gress as much as possible, without unduly relying on outside help, so as to improve our people's lives without detriment to the spirit of solidarity which unites us to the rest of the world. Any foreigner may visit us, travel freely all over our territory, see for himself, ask questions, obtain information, and form for himself an accurate and objective idea of what our life is like."

120. I venture to believe that in our national life and in the international field we are endeavouring to live up to the best guiding principles of the community of nations.

121. Sir Claude COREA (Ceylon): Apart from the tribute paid by this Assembly a few days ago [810th meeting] on the occasion of the passing away of our late Prime Minister, speakers have individually expressed their sympathy with us. It is, therefore, my mournful duty, on behalf of my delegation, to express our appreciation to them, and to thank them.

122. My delegation also wishes to extend our deepest sympathy to the Government and people of Japan on the dire calamity which has recently befallen that country as a result of a typhoon which has caused serious loss of life and great damage.

123. What we are now seeking to do is, by discussion, to clarify the problems that exist and to consider such measures as are available to us to achieve the principal objective of our Charter, namely, world peace and security, and thus to secure the happiness of all peoples. Such discussion enables us not only to review those events, great and small, that have occurred in other parts of the world since we last met—events which are really symptomatic of the state of health of our world—but also to review our own acts of commission and omission. Thus we may gain strength from what we have achieved in the past and note wherein we have omitted to do the things we should have done, or wherein we have done the things we should not have done. I need hardly state that such a review is not only important but essential, if the United Nations is to carry out its great purposes. Moreover, by our discussions here we focus the attention of the world on our problems and on the measures that must urgently be undertaken to cure them.

124. At the same time, there is an anxious feeling growing among many, including Members of this Organization, regarding a tendency to deal with pressing international problems outside this body, by diplomatic activity amongst a few of the great Powers. In his introduction to the annual report, the Secretary-General discusses this important matter and concludes that such activity is within the Charter. Of course, my delegation agrees with him fully when he says:

"...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].

But the position should be carefully considered by us all and, more particularly by the great Powers themselves in order to prevent the weakening of our own Organization. This can happen if we neglect the possi-

bilities which the Organization offers, and fail to discuss our problems here within the United Nations.

125. There is also the possibility that some consider that the Organization is not able to meet the demands which Member States are entitled to put on it. A case in point is the Disarmament Commission as established by resolution of the General Assembly at its thirteenth session [resolution 1252 D (XIII)]. It is undoubtedly true that disarmament is essentially a matter for big-Power agreement. But it is an issue of vital interest to all Member States and one on which they are all, including the smaller States, competent to make some valuable contribution. The Disarmament Commission was not in fact convened for nearly a whole year, and was actually convened only a few days before the General Assembly met at its fourteenth session, after the great Powers had reached a decision. This is an unsatisfactory state of affairs which creates a legitimate concern. We are, however, satisfied that the Secretary-General has interpreted the situation correctly, but our concern makes us express the hope that all its Member States will utilize the possibilities of the Organization to the fullest extent.

126. In this belief, it is the desire of my delegation to place before this Assembly the views of our Government on some of the problems which we consider particularly important. We have listened with interest and close attention to the weighty and important views expressed by representatives in the course of this debate. Whether they have been made by big or small countries, they have all contributed to the clarification of world public opinion and the thinking of Governments all over the world. There is no doubt that these statements will assist us greatly when we meet in plenary or in committee to discuss and take decisions on specific problems. In expressing our own views, we are fully conscious of the fact that we are a small country and we do not entertain any pretensions to authoritative pronouncements on any of the pressing problems of the day. We are, however, as deeply concerned about the possible consequences of a failure to solve these problems as any other of our colleagues who are Members of the United Nations. We have, therefore, no hesitation in expressing our views in the hope and expectation that, in doing so, we may be able to assist in some small way in the collective effort that is now being made towards the solution of the great issues that face us in our time.

127. I should like, therefore, to assert that, while we recognize and give full weight to the value of opinions expressed and positions taken by the more advanced and developed countries of the world, the contributions made by the smaller countries can be equally important and useful. In fact, smaller countries are in a singularly advantageous position of being free from prejudice or self-interest. They are less interested in power politics or in such questions as the maintenance of a balance of power. They are, therefore, in the specially favoured position of being able to express views and take positions on world problems in an objective way, basing their stand on what is right, irrespective of who is right. Left to themselves, they can consider questions without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. While we know that, at times, this becomes exceedingly difficult because of the existence of two powerful political groups opposed

to each other, and because of pressures which may be brought to bear, the opinions of small countries, nevertheless, are not unworthy of careful consideration, especially, for instance, in those issues such as world peace, freedom and independence, in which they are vitally interested. We therefore hope that there will not be any desire to segregate too much the bigger issues for consideration only by a section or a segment of ourselves, even if that happens to constitute the great Powers. What we have already heard from them in the course of this debate makes it clear that the smaller Powers also could make a useful contribution.

128. The agenda before the General Assembly sets out the problems we are faced with at the present time. All these problems are important as they are undoubtedly symptoms or manifestations of an unhealthy state of affairs. Similar problems have arisen before, and will still continue to arise in different parts of the world. We have a good record of satisfactory solutions of many problems and, in other cases, even if we have not been successful, satisfactory steps have been taken to prevent certain developments from spreading and becoming a danger to world peace. The United Nations presence, for one thing, has been most helpful on numerous occasions.

129. It is hardly necessary, in this Assembly, to refer in detail to those actions by the United Nations at different times in its short history. These are well-known and indicate the absolute necessity of the existence of an international body such as this. There are instances where we have not been as successful, but it is our hope that, at this session, we may be able to proceed with confidence and energy to resolve as many of the problems which are before us.

130. I should like here to express our great appreciation of the most valuable constructive work done in his usual quiet but effective manner by our Secretary-General in reducing tensions, creating better understanding and in attempting to attain the basic objectives of the Charter. His task has not been easy, but we admire the patience, determination and confidence he has shown in carrying out his difficult and delicate task, and we wish him continued success in the role he has to play.

131. Among the many problems to which I have already referred and which, as I said before, are all of great importance, there are, in the opinion of my delegation, two problems which stand out as of supreme importance. It is our view that, if these two basic problems can be satisfactorily dealt with and some effective solution found, the settlement of many of the other problems will become easier. I refer, of course, to the problems of disarmament and economic development. I therefore propose to confine my remarks to these two problems at this stage, reserving such comments on the other problems as we may desire to make for the appropriate time either in plenary or in committee.

132. It would be futile for us to deny the fact that the world situation, at the present time, is one which causes grave concern to peoples everywhere. Fourteen years after the signing of the Charter, embodying as it does the highest aspirations of mankind, the world is still as far away from those ideals as, and perhaps further than, at the time the Charter was signed. But we are glad that we still continue here as

representatives of peoples determined "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

133. He would be a brave man who would deny that the most pressing international problem to which we have to find a solution is that of disarmament. The President of this Assembly, in his remarks at the very commencement of this session [795th meeting], prayed that this Assembly may come to be known in the future as the "Assembly of Peace", implying thereby the hope that before we conclude our deliberations under his able guidance, we would have taken the first step towards agreement on the reduction and control of armaments. The delegation of Ceylon echoes that hope, and we pray with him that it may indeed be so.

134. The armaments race between great Powers is fraught with peril at any time, but the danger is considerably heightened when such a race takes place in the tense international atmosphere which we have commonly come to call the "cold war". With the terrific destructive capacity which science has enabled man to possess, the results of war can be restricted neither in space nor in time. The scientists of the world say with one voice that it is not only our own generation that will be exposed to death and suffering, but that a generation still to be born is under a similar threat. That more than one million persons will die and one and a quarter million abnormal children will be born as a result of radioactive fallout from nuclear bombs already exploded is the considered opinion of five prominent American, Japanese and French scientists, expressed in a memorandum submitted by them to the French Academy of Science. Comment on this appears to be superfluous. Here is a moral consideration which was absent from the questions of war and peace in the past. For the first time, perhaps, in recorded history, we have a cold war situation in which two Powers are sitting on unparalleled means of destruction.

135. It is in this context that the fourteenth session of the General Assembly has met and it would be tragic if we failed to consider sincerely all disarmament proposals and endeavour to indicate a way to put them into practice by the adoption of a reasonable scheme of implementation, generally acceptable. The seriousness of the international situation was brought to the fore early this year when the question of West Berlin again caused the world the gravest concern since 1945.

136. In other areas of the world, also, problems arose which carried with them a threat to peace. The tension of the cold war continued unabated. But almost at the same time that dark clouds were dangerously gathering around us, paradoxical as it may seem, we began to see an important change for the better.

137. Many factors contributed towards this welcome change. Undoubtedly, the threat of total disaster and annihilation, if a nuclear war began, was the most potent deterrent. The fact that the Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests was making good, if slow, progress was another important factor in the improvement of international relations. Other important developments leading to a better understanding and the creation of good will between the East and West began to take place. Exchanges of cul-

tural and trade missions and the visits of important citizens from both sides of what is called the Iron Curtain, including highly-placed politicians and officials, brought about a very beneficial change in international relations. A most noteworthy event was the visit of Prime Minister Macmillan, accompanied by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, to Moscow towards the end of February this year. This was a wise and statesmanlike act and, at the time the decision was made, was most courageous. There can be no doubt that his talks in Moscow helped to ease the tension and to create an atmosphere of better understanding and mutual good will.

138. The decision to hold a conference at the Foreign Minister level to discuss the questions of West Berlin and Germany was taken after this visit and was a realistic and wise decision which again helped to ease world tension. Although there was no successful outcome of these discussions at the time they were adjourned, it is generally agreed that the issues were clarified, the differing points of view were narrowed down and more fully understood, in an atmosphere of greater good will. All the factors to which I have referred brought about a great improvement in the international atmosphere.

139. At the same time, we note with regret the emergence of new problems in South-East Asia and the continuance of tension over long-standing problems in the Middle East. We earnestly hope that, at this session of the General Assembly, we may be able to find some satisfactory solution to these problems.

140. It is also, of course, a satisfying experience that we have all gone through during the past weeks as a result of the visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, to the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower. May I be permitted to state from this rostrum that, in the opinion of my delegation, the President's decision at this time was a wise, courageous and statesmanlike one, a decision which I am sure, when history comes to be written, will rank as one of those great and decisive events which from time to time have taken place in the past.

141. It is our firm conviction that this invitation, and the reciprocal invitation by Mr. Khrushchev to Mr. Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union later, are steps in the right direction on a road which will eventually lead to an easing of world tension, to a better understanding of each other by the two great Powers, and towards an eventual settlement by negotiation of the outstanding issues which have hitherto separated these two great nations from each other and prevented their close co-operation, which is surely necessary for the benefit of the rest of the world. We, for our part, are convinced that this exchange of visits and the events that must necessarily follow are efforts, worthy of great men, to foster and improve good will among nations, which is so necessary for the removal of mutual suspicion and mistrust. This exchange of visits is certainly the culmination of the several promising features which have introduced some hope during the last few months and we hope that the beginning of a new chapter of more cordial and intimate international relations has opened.

142. All that had happened before the visit of Mr. Khrushchev pointed to a steadily improving climate

of opinion in which the exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower was necessary and indeed imperative for the maintenance of this thaw in the ice of the cold war. We now have it on the highest authority that international disputes will be settled by negotiation rather than by force. We understand that the critical question of Berlin might be settled by early discussions, and we are now closer than ever to an early meeting of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers. These are all matters which augur well for the relaxation of tensions and for the attainment of world peace. All men of good will must therefore pray that God may continue to guide and inspire the leaders of the world Powers and the leaders of all countries to continue to make every effort in this direction. The ice has been broken. A thaw has begun. But a freeze can, however, set in again. Every effort should be made to prevent this from happening.

143. It is somewhat astonishing that there appear to be people, at this time, who dislike the emergence of a conciliatory and more friendly feeling between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers, on the theory that it would lead to a weakening of the defensive arrangements made by the Western Powers and that it would make these Powers let down their guard. Obviously, nothing could be more foolish or more dangerous than such specious arguments. It will not be expected that the mere relaxation of tension and the beginning of better understanding could lead to unilateral disarmament or reduction of the strength of defensive armaments on the part of either side. Disarmament, as I said before, must be a matter of multilateral agreement, acceptable to all and certainly acceptable to the great Powers under reasonable conditions of control and effective supervision. Even if a disarmament agreement is not reached, which God forbid, improved international relations will reduce frictions and prevent, at any rate for some time, any major conflict. Therefore, it is the imperative duty of all men of good will and certainly of the States Members of our Organization, to do everything possible to promote and foster the growth of better understanding among nations and especially among the great Powers. This is surely not the time to talk of increasing armaments, as some people seem to be doing at the present time, even if such increase is suggested to increase defensive strength.

144. Mr. Khrushchev, in addressing the Assembly a week ago, used the opportunity to good purpose and made a forceful contribution to the cause of peace by making a forthright and categorical declaration for disarmament on behalf of the Soviet Government. It is true that the Soviet Union had made similar declarations and offers before. But this was the first occasion on which the Head of the Soviet Government in person stood before the assembled representatives of eighty-two nations and announced solemnly, on behalf of his Government and his people, that:

"...General and complete disarmament will remove all the obstacles that have arisen during discussion of the questions involved by partial disarmament, and will clear the way for the institution of universal and complete control.

"What does the Soviet Government propose?

"The essence of our proposals is that, over a period of four years, all States should carry out

complete disarmament and should divest themselves of the means of waging war..." [799th meeting, paras. 69-71.]

This was indeed a notable statement which we hope will lead to a successful disarmament agreement.

145. We, for our part, are considerably gratified that this firm declaration received a constructive response from the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and of France, as well as from the Secretary of State of the United States, when each of them stated that their Governments would give to Mr. Khrushchev's declaration the serious and earnest consideration which it so obviously deserved. The representatives of the countries who have spoken here are also agreed that careful consideration should be given to the general principle of complete disarmament so that practical measures may be taken to implement this principle.

146. It would be easy for those who have been in the habit of decrying any general declarations of this kind to dismiss this as yet another act of propaganda. We will be the first to concede that it does not require much ingenuity to make an open statement in favour of complete and total disarmament in extremely general terms. We fully recognize that the difficulties which face us arise in the implementation of such a declaration. It will require but a moment's thought to realize how great these difficulties can be on details such as the question of control, the force or sanction behind such control, the necessity for inspection, the nature of the control body to be set up, its authority and its composition. Indeed, Mr. Khrushchev himself realized the difficulties inherent in a proposal for total disarmament. He indicated in his address before the Assembly that the whole proposal could be rendered futile by the insistence on making measures of disarmament conditional upon such demands of control as the other States would be unable to satisfy in the existing conditions of a universal arms race.

147. It may be assumed in some quarters that the solution to the question of disarmament under control, as envisaged by the Soviet Government, must be preceded by some degree of control before the process of disarmament itself commences. The delegation of Ceylon has much pleasure in noting that, even on this crucial matter, Mr. Khrushchev gave considerable hope of agreement when, just before he left this country for Moscow, he stated: "...the appropriate inspection and control would function throughout the entire process of disarmament".

148. To think that there will be no great difficulties ahead of us would be indeed a naive supposition. But to think that these difficulties are insuperable would be indeed an extremely grave and unwarranted act of disillusionment and lack of confidence, which my delegation would be unable to share. Given a spirit of good will and mutual confidence, nothing is beyond the realm of possibility in international agreements on matters in dispute. The pith and substance of any negotiated solution to any problem, great or small, is the mutual confidence of the parties concerned. This is an essential requisite and, unless nations can learn to trust each other, very little progress is possible.

149. This is illustrated clearly in regard to the question of effective control in relation to disarmament, where the two great Powers hold views which seem, at first sight, to be diametrically opposed to

each other. We ourselves are inclined to think that a plan for total, or even partial, disarmament cannot succeed—indeed cannot even begin—unless there is established a control organ agreed on by both sides, an organ which will have authority to carry out an agreed plan of practical action. This kind of difficulty, however, should not derogate from the fact that the leader of the Soviet Government has now committed himself publicly and unequivocally to the general principle. The principle has also been accepted by leaders of the other great Powers. We expect, and I am sure every delegation here represented does so too, that they will act to implement it in good faith.

150. Even before the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union made his declaration regarding total disarmament within a period of four years, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, had lent eloquent support to the principle of total disarmament. He has also, in addition, given us a detailed scheme for consideration, as was done by Mr. Khrushchev in his statement. The response of the three other big Powers, to which I have already made reference, in effect leads us to believe that these difficulties will eventually be overcome and the declarations in favour of total disarmament will be converted into a practical, workable plan as soon as possible by the joint efforts of all Members of the United Nations. We have the opportunity now of helping the great Powers in this difficult task by a full and constructive discussion of this problem, both when it comes up as a separate item before the First Committee and, I am sure, eventually in the Disarmament Commission itself. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to urge sincerely on all concerned not to dismiss Mr. Khrushchev's call for total disarmament as mere propaganda. The stake at issue is of tremendous importance, for it is nothing less than war or peace in our time. It is our duty, therefore, to assist in the deliberations in this particular field. As far as my small country is concerned, I pledge the support of my Government for any constructive contribution we may be called upon to discharge. It is our earnest hope that, by solving the problem of disarmament—if not completely, at least by opening the way for a future complete solution—the great Powers would enable the rest of the world's problems, of which there are undoubtedly many facing the current session of the General Assembly, to be settled by negotiation, free from the atmosphere of tension resulting from the arms race and the cold war.

151. Apart from disarmament, it is our view that the other vital matter of importance which we should face and put our minds to is that of the economic development of the less developed countries of the world. This is a matter which is of crucial interest to countries such as my own, which have been struggling, since they regained independence during the last fifteen years, to give their people a better and higher standard of living and more of the material advantages of life which are available to their fellow human beings in the more developed areas of the world. Much has already been said on this subject, but we think it imperative to call the attention of the Assembly once again to what we consider to be a vital matter. We believe that the forms of government which we in our countries have voluntarily chosen as the political framework of our governmental system would be jeopardized if the economic and social fab-

ric, on which forms of government are necessarily based, fails to give to that political framework the substantial support it must have. The solution of the economic problems of the less developed areas of the world has been, in our humble opinion, not only a challenge but an opportunity to the richer and materially advanced nations of the world. We look to the United Nations as the appropriate source for a solution of these difficult problems.

152. I have dealt at some length with disarmament because of its importance, but even total disarmament will not guarantee world peace or the happiness of all mankind unless at the same time we seek the eradication of hunger, poverty and want. There is too much of this in many parts of the world today. In consequence, there is much suffering and misery. These conditions create discontent and dissatisfaction and ultimately lead to revolution. We may disarm, but that alone will not lead to peace. No doubt, the world will then be safe from destructive wars, but misery and unhappiness will remain and there will be very little security for anyone if we allow revolution to be bred of economic insufficiency. Therefore, I should now like to examine the question of economic development.

153. It is alarming that more than half of the world's population belongs to what are called under-developed areas. This is a danger to themselves and to the rest of the world, even to those who are highly developed and who enjoy a high standard of living. With the alarming increase of population, particularly in the under-developed areas, the people in these areas are getting poorer and the standards of living are declining at a time when in some other areas standards are improving. There is an unhealthy imbalance. We have read with considerable satisfaction the statement Mr. Ludwig Erhard, West Germany's Minister of Economy, is reported to have made only a few days ago. Addressing himself to his countrymen, he advised that they should ask themselves whether "we have the right to enjoy all to ourselves the steady annual increase of 6 per cent in our national product". He thought that a part of this increase could well be diverted to aid to under-developed nations. In the course of the same statement, Mr. Erhard described such aid as "the greatest task of the twentieth century". These are weighty words, coming as they do from so great an authority.

154. Reference to this dangerous situation has been made by many other eminent and responsible persons over the years, on different occasions, notably by our own Secretary-General. In the introduction to his annual report to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General stated, in the course of his observations on economic stability and growth:

"Though we live in an era of unprecedented gains in material well-being, most of mankind is yet condemned to a life of extreme poverty. The task of ameliorating the conditions of life in under-developed countries demands a sense of urgency which, I believe, the nations of the world have not yet sufficiently realized."^{1/}

What the Secretary-General said in his report to the thirteenth session is equally true at the present time.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 3.

155. The reports of the Economic and Social Council and the discussion in this Assembly have highlighted the importance of this matter and drawn attention to the urgent need to deal effectively with it. Some international action has been taken, in diverse ways and in different fields. Individual Governments of many countries have increasingly grappled with it, but very little good can result without action on a wide front, with very large financial resources. Economic development affects the life of a people at many points and, unless we attack it at all these points, very little good will accrue.

156. I must make it very clear here that my delegation is fully aware of the valuable help given by many countries to the lesser developed countries to help them improve their economic life. We are deeply appreciative of and grateful for this assistance. The Colombo Plan, towards which the more developed members of the Commonwealth and the United States of America have contributed lavishly, has helped greatly. This unique co-operative international endeavour has been of great use in providing technological and scientific skill and know-how. The bilateral arrangements made by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and other countries with the lesser developed countries of the world have led to considerable economic aid. Private investment of capital, though not large, has helped, although, unfortunately, such investment has helped only a limited area, and more in respect of limited operations, such as the extractive industries. And, more recently, there is the proposed bank to be set up for the benefit of the Latin American countries. These are all worthy of increasing international interest and support, and constitute big advances.

157. The problem of financing economic development in the under-developed countries is also receiving the attention of several international financial organs, existing and contemplated. First, there is IBRD, whose capital was doubled recently. This institution finances only the direct foreign exchange cost of development projects and makes loans directly to Governments, and where Governments offers a guarantee, to private industry as well. Projects must be strictly bankable, however, in order to qualify for loan assistance. This is as it should be. Second, there is the more recently established International Finance Corporation which, however, finances only projects run by private enterprises and again, rightly, on a strictly bankable basis. The Corporation, unlike IBRD, finances both the foreign exchange and the domestic cost of a private project. Third, the United Nations, only last year, established the Special Fund, the object of which is to finance, as an official introductory pamphlet aptly describes, the cost of bringing interesting ideas to bankable shape. Finally, there remains the projected international development association, approved at the annual session of IBRD which has just concluded. The principal aim of this institution is to promote, by financing sound projects of high priority, the economic development of less developed member countries whose needs cannot be adequately met under IBRD's lending programmes.

158. While all of these institutions do share in the task of financing economic development within the rather limited field of their respective spheres of responsibility, it is idle to expect that these institutions finally exhaust, among them, the scope for

financing productive development in the under-developed countries of the world. Notwithstanding all the measures taken by the United Nations on its own, or through its specialized agencies, as well as by the industrially advanced countries, through enlightened national policies, to promote economic development of these countries, and, moreover, notwithstanding all the conscious and determined efforts made by the under-developed countries themselves to press on with the national task of their own development, one must face the unpleasant truth that the rate of economic growth between the industrially advanced countries and the less developed countries of the world is now widening instead of narrowing. In other words, rich countries are continuing to get richer, while the less developed countries, in spite of all their development programmes, are getting relatively poorer. This widening disparity in rates of economic growth, it must be conceded, cannot conduce to international peace and understanding.

159. When one considers carefully the various international measures, taken or currently contemplated, to assist financially the economic growth of under-developed countries, one is forced to conclude that the finances so provided take care of only a fraction of the cost of national development. All of them emphasize that development projects, to qualify for international assistance, must be bankable, however elastically this latter term may be stretched for the purpose at hand. Practically all of them are concerned with financing primarily the direct foreign exchange cost of development, though, in certain instances, the indirect foreign exchange cost is also embraced within the financing schemes.

160. Here, let me make a brief reference to a statement reported to have been made by Mr. Eugene Black at the meeting of the Board of Governors of IBRD which indicates the insufficiency of the funds available under this scheme and the need, for that and other reasons, to limit the loans to only economically sound schemes. This is what he is reported to have said, and I quote: "Loans of the new international development association will go only to countries that pursue sound economic policies". This is quite unexceptionable and can be accepted. He also said, and I quote: "The billion dollar affiliate of the World Bank will make 'soft loans' but will not be a soft lender, and it will operate in accordance with the same high standards of the Bank". It is clear from these statements, which are certainly, as I said before, unexceptionable from a banking point of view, and in the context of the high standard maintained by IBRD, that there will be practically the same test of bankability applied to these loans as was applied before, and thus there will be a serious limitation on loans. We have to remember that not every loan for essential economic development can stand up to the test of being sound in the bankable sense.

161. Another limitation inherent in this new effort to help world economic development is to be seen in the following statement made by Mr. Black at the same meeting. He said: "The supply of capital for industrial development is too small and the world-wide need for it is too great for any of it to be wasted. I regard it as essential therefore, that I.D.A.—that is the new institution—"shall support only sound projects of high development priority, and only in

countries that follow sound economic and financial policies".

162. I am in full agreement with Mr. Black when he points out the utter inadequacy of even 1,000 million dollars to meet the urgent needs of industrial development, and I agree that, with the limited funds at his disposal, he has to make a careful selection of the best projects. The point of his remarks, however, is that, both because of inadequacy of funds and because of the need to confine the application of these funds only to a limited class of projects, the establishment of the international development association will not solve the problem of development. Undoubtedly, these additional funds will be most valuable as going some way to help countries in need of development. My delegation is very glad that, in that sense, IBRD has taken a further step forward and, while appreciating the every-watchful recognition it has given to the importance of economic development of under-developed countries, we should like to take this opportunity to congratulate all concerned and wish IBRD every success.

163. National development embraces not only economic investment, strictly so called, which is bankable but also, more importantly, economic investment, which is not of a self-liquidating character, as well as social investment, all of which it is now fashionable to identify with the provision of so-called infrastructure of development. The financial problem that faces under-developed countries now is that these latter categories of expenditure outlays are proving to be not only excessively burdensome for the available resources of the countries concerned but, more significantly, entail in the process such heavy drains on their foreign exchange resources, by reason of the direct and the indirect foreign costs their development programmes impose, that much needed national development at an adequate rate to make economic growth self-generating continues to be severely checked.

164. A dispassionate analysis will thus show that the core of the problem of financing economic development through international action still remains, for the balance of payment impact of national development of under-developed countries can be solved only internationally. This is an important point which still remains and must be noted. It is for this reason that the delegation of Ceylon would urge that Member nations should continue to give their unremitting attention to the question of establishing a United Nations capital development fund, which should constitute the reservoir of finances that can fill the important lacuna in the existing scheme of international financial arrangements set up to promote economic development. This is a question which we should not ignore. On the contrary, it should continue to engage our attention and we should not allow ourselves to be led astray by suggestions that seek to identify the proposed international development association as offering the only or a sufficient and satisfactory solution, through international action, to the financial problem facing the under-developed countries.

165. As matters stand, the proposed international development association will not be able to tap all the international financial resources that are available. This, in itself, is a serious blemish on the proposed scheme. What is more fundamentally important is the principle that financing economic development, out-

side of the limited category of strictly bankable projects, should become the responsibility of the United Nations and be subject to its control and authority. This purpose can be achieved only by establishing a special financial agency within the United Nations. The proposed United Nations capital development fund would do this.

166. We all know of the great success achieved by the Marshall Plan in Europe. There was great war damage and much reconstruction work was needed. Despite the material destruction and the loss of life caused by the ravages of war, there were still skilled scientists and technicians available in these countries. Thus, the work of reconstruction was not so difficult, owing to the advanced conditions prevailing in Europe at the time. What was needed was financial help and capital equipment. The merit of the Marshall Plan, apart from its exemplification of United States generosity and the high sense of responsibility of the American people and the inspired act of statesmanship of General Marshall, was that it was conceived in big terms, big enough to deal with the total need and provide all the money that was needed to reconstruct Europe all along the line. If the figures available to me are correct, they illustrate the point I am making, that we need a unified, concentrated approach, with adequate financial resources spread over a limited but definite period of time. In the period from 1948 to 1952, the total amount spent under the Plan amounted to \$13,600 million, while the total cost of the Plan to date is said to be about \$24,000 million. The economic development of the under-developed parts of the world is a much bigger job.

167. There are, of course, other aspects of economic development than the financial aspects. I do not propose to take up the time of the Assembly, as these can be dealt with at a later stage, particularly the very important problems of price stabilization. I had hoped to go fully into some aspects of the problems connected with economic development, but, owing to the lateness of the hour, I shall not at this stage refer to them, except to draw the attention of the Assembly to the great importance and absolute need of action on matters connected with price stabilization in regard to primary agricultural commodities. This is an issue which has been with us for over thirteen years. It has been discussed in many places, particularly by the members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and we are very regretful that no definite action has been taken to deal with this important problem.

168. Before I conclude these very general remarks on this important matter, I should like to invite attention to the close connexion which it has to the other matter I discussed earlier, namely, disarmament. The following points briefly set out are worth some consideration.

169. First, disarmament and economic development are both basic and fundamental factors in the accomplishment of the aim of the United Nations Charter to achieve world peace and improve living standards.

170. Secondly, both are essentially human problems, the solution of which require the united effort of all peoples, based on good will, understanding and confidence.

171. Thirdly, there is the extreme difficulty of providing for economic development adequately without

reducing or abolishing the financial burden of armaments. One of the strongest objections raised against the provision of more money for economic development by the great Powers is the already crushing burden of defence expenditure. Therefore, there is a very close connexion between these two and, if an era of peace and plenty is to begin, we must hasten disarmament. President Eisenhower has said that his Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in directing a substantial percentage of the savings which would be achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid. The Soviet Union has urged a percentage cut on armament expenditure, to be used for economic development. Disarmament has got to be brought about if only to enable adequate support of economic development of under-developed countries.

172. Before I conclude, I wish to make briefly a reference to a rather important aspect of the work of the United Nations. I refer to our duties to the territories under international trusteeship under Article 76 and to territories which are not yet self-governing under Article 73. My Government has always in the past made, and will continue in the future likewise to make, our contribution to the development of self-government in these territories, and towards the political, economic, social and educational advancement of these peoples. It is not in dispute that the continent of Africa is today the scene of vital activity in this sphere. We have watched with pride and satisfaction the movement of the African peoples towards their rightful place in the councils of the world. We look forward with warm interest to seeing with us next year the representatives of four sovereign independent African States—Nigeria, Togoland, the Cameroons and Somalia. Perhaps the most pressing and the most difficult problem which Africa presents to us today is the demand of the peoples of Algeria for the right to determine their future.

173. Finally, I wish to make a few observations on the important problem of Algeria. My delegation notes with extreme satisfaction the improvement that has taken place since we last met at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly. I refer to the very statesmanlike and courageous declaration of French policy made recently by the distinguished President of France, General de Gaulle. Speaking on this same problem last year, I expressed the confidence of my delegation that General de Gaulle would attempt to solve the problem in a bold, liberal and statesmanlike way. His recent declaration of policy justifies the confidence which we had in him.

174. This declaration itself may not bring a complete solution of the problem, but we are equally confident this year that he will not take a rigid attitude in the implementation of his policy and that it will be done in a manner reasonably acceptable to all concerned, and especially to the Algerian people as a whole. He has made an unequivocal offer of self-determination to the Algerian people, giving them the right to choose the kind of political status which they would wish to have. The choice includes the right to opt for independence. All the bitter fighting, all the bloodshed and loss of life and property that have taken place hitherto were to attain political freedom and independence. Now General de Gaulle has offered them the opportunity to choose freedom at a referendum to be held after a cessation of hostilities.

175. By itself, this is a magnanimous offer. It is an act of great faith and courage, and the whole world will applaud him for his recognition of the right of people to decide for themselves the kind of government under which they would like to live. The members of the Algerian Provisional Government have accepted this offer. Even if the Provisional Government is not recognized by France and many other countries, it represents the Nationalists and the national aspirations of the people. We are glad that the representatives of Algerian national liberation have shown realism, a constructive attitude and a willingness to do what is in their power to bring about a peaceful solution of the problem on the basis of self-determination. Even if the French declaration contained nothing more than an offer of unconditional self-determination at the end of hostilities, it would not seem to us to be unreasonable that some preliminary consultation and discussion would be required before the Nationalists disbanded their armed forces. They would find it difficult to do so without getting a detailed understanding of the conditions of the referendum and the time limit imposed and other important points of detail.

176. But the French offer has several important qualifications, such as the possibility of partition and the control of the Sahara. The Algerian Nationalists have asked for an opportunity to discuss these matters which are undoubtedly of vital importance to them. Is this unreasonable? Even if we were to admit that Algeria is an integral part of Metropolitan France, an important change is now taking place when France offers complete freedom on the fulfilment of certain conditions. If such a request were made at that time and in that connexion for discussion and further consideration, it would seem to us to be not unreasonable. I feel sure that the French Government would accept this position were it not for what it regards as a fundamental difficulty. It does not recognize the Algerian Provisional Government. It is unable, therefore, to negotiate with it. One can understand this difficulty. On the other hand, the Algerian Provisional Government would find it extremely difficult to dissolve itself unless and until the conditional offer were discussed and clarified.

177. I believe it is correct that the Provisional Government has agreed to its dissolution after "pour-parlers" have taken place and a satisfactory understanding has been reached. Thus, while we are at the threshold of a peaceful solution, we encounter an impasse, a formidable barrier. Friends of France and of Algeria, indeed all men of good will, must do everything possible at this juncture to bridge the very narrow gulf which separates the two parties. We have confidence that they will strain every nerve themselves not to be diverted from their common goal and to find a liberal formula that will act as the "open sesame" to the door that bars the road to peace. There are many friendly countries that are prepared to stand by them in support of this effort. Notably, we think of Tunisia and Morocco whose people and whose leaders have been working hard for many years to bring about an understanding. We have no doubt that they will help.

178. In addition, it is the firm conviction of my delegation that here we are faced with just the kind of situation in which the United Nations should unhesitatingly extend its hand of friendship and help to the

parties concerned. We, therefore, suggest that we indicate our readiness to designate a member country, or a group of such countries, to use their good offices to make agreement possible, if such an offer is acceptable to all concerned. We know that we cannot and would not want to force ourselves on unwilling parties, but we are sure that France, which has such a glorious history of a people dedicated to the principle of freedom, and which is a distinguished Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, a body principally responsible for world peace and security, would not reject any offer of help from the United Nations, if it is considered necessary. We are all aware of the consistent and firm attitude adopted by France under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations. But the present situation is different from the situation in which every year France has invoked the provisions of that Article. Here we are on the verge of a settlement, made possible by her own generous and wise act. A little accommodation between the parties only is required. Any offer of help in these circumstances cannot be considered as an interference in the internal affairs of France. Of course, we shall all be delighted if France alone, or with the help of any other country, succeeds in getting implementation of her proposal. If not, it would be a pity if she failed to invoke the assistance of the great Organization which she herself was instrumental in founding.

179. It is with a great deal of hesitation and much diffidence that my delegation has taken upon itself to make this suggestion. We want the French delegation to believe that we are inspired only by a sincere desire to promote a settlement. And we should like our Algerian nationalist friends also to believe that, in making this suggestion, we are actuated by a sincere desire to see the people of Algeria obtain, after all these years and after so much difficulty and the need to wage a costly war, the freedom to which they are entitled. We have therefore made this suggestion as friends, and it is based on an objective approach in the hope that France may succeed in carrying out her desire to give to the Algerian people their freedom and thus create the possibility that they will live together in peace and friendship.

Mr. Louw (Union of South Africa), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

180. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United Kingdom has requested to speak in exercise of his right of reply to certain points made in the statement this morning by the representative of Iceland [820th meeting]. In accordance with past practice and in accordance with rule 75 of the rules of procedure, I shall call on the representative of the United Kingdom, if there is no objection.

181. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I have asked for the floor in order to make a few remarks arising out of that part of the statement this morning by the representative of Iceland which related to the fisheries dispute between his country and mine, the existence of which we, of course, deplore every bit as much as he does.

182. Although, in our view, the general debate is better used as the occasion for a broad review of the problems of the world rather than for the pursuit of sectional disputes, the account of this particular dis-

pute given by the representative of Iceland seemed to me too one-sided to be passed over in silence.

183. In the United Kingdom we appreciate, perhaps more extensively and concretely than our Icelandic friends give us credit for, the dependence of Iceland on fisheries and the importance of the fishing industry to the Icelandic economy. We sometimes wonder, however, whether there is equal appreciation on the Icelandic side of the importance of the deep sea fishing industry to the economy of the United Kingdom, or of the extent to which numerous communities in England traditionally engaged in deep sea fisheries are wholly dependent upon that industry.

184. The representative of Iceland said nothing of the patient and protracted negotiations which were conducted by Her Majesty's Government both directly with the Icelandic Government and through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization before the Icelandic Government, rejecting all proposals for a compromise solution, had decided to enforce their unilateral regulations to the full.

185. In consequence of this and because they could not admit the right of the Icelandic Government to keep British fishermen out of waters which the latter had traditionally fished for over a century, Her Majesty's Government decided to give naval protection to their vessels fishing in these waters. Even so, Her Majesty's Government accompanied their action by an offer to take the matter before the International Court of Justice.

186. I confess that I found the remarks made by the representative of Iceland this morning on this offer singularly unconvincing. If the Icelandic Government is so certain as it professes to be of its right under international law to extend its fishery limits unilaterally to twelve miles, it should surely be willing to accept the offer of Her Majesty's Government to go before the International Court of Justice.

187. There are many other points in the statement of the representative to which I could refer, but I do not want to prolong this statement unduly. I must, however, entirely reject the suggestion that British guns are pointed on Icelandic vessels. Our action is wholly directed to preventing interference with our own vessels on what we regard as the high seas. We have not stopped any Icelandic vessel from fishing anywhere on the high seas. We merely ask a similar freedom for our own fishing vessels to fish on the high seas without let or hindrance. We have repeatedly said that these are matters to be settled by negotiation and by the conclusion of agreements such as we have reached, for instance, with the Soviet Government and with the Danish Government in respect of the Faroes.

188. We still hope that the Icelandic Government may come round to the view that this is the best method of dealing with this matter. If they should decide to take that view, they will find us ready, as we always have been, to discuss the matter and to do everything that lies in our power to reach a satisfactory agreement about it.

189. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iceland, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

190. Mr. THORS (Iceland): I shall be very brief in replying to this moderate intervention by the repre-

representative of the United Kingdom, but there are several points I should like to mention. The first is in regard to the International Court. As I have stated, we are being aimed at by the guns of British warships, and therefore we cannot go with the British before the Court. There is also another point, and that is that it would take perhaps several years to have this matter settled before the International Court. We hope it will be settled on a broad international basis at the second Conference on the Law of the Sea which is to be convened in Geneva in March 1960. Therefore, going before the International Court is out of the question, and the British know that very well.

191. The representative of the United Kingdom said that he completely rejected the statement that British cannons were aimed at the Icelanders. We have had many incidents, I am sorry to say, where British warships have interfered with our small patrol boats and aimed their guns at them. No shots have been fired, fortunately, but the threat is there, and that threat of using force is entirely contrary to paragraph 4 of Article 2 in our Charter, under which we

are all obliged to avoid using force or the threat of force.

192. The representative of the United Kingdom said that I had not mentioned the negotiations which took place prior to 1 September 1958. I did, and I regretted that no agreement was reached before that time.

193. There is not much more I have to say. I only want to point out that there are thirty-seven British warships, with a tonnage of about 24,000 tons and crews totalling about 9,000, against our small Icelandic fleet of seven small boats, totalling about 1,700 tons and with crews totalling about 100. Does this not remind you of the story of David and Goliath? And who won?

194. We are hopeful that a sense of justice and public opinion will solve this dispute sooner or later in our favour, and we hope sooner, also in the interest of the prestige of our friends in the United Kingdom, which is dear to us still.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

