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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. RAHIM (Yemen): My delegation takes pleasure in congratulating you upon your unanimous election as President of this fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We feel certain that, with your wisdom and wide experience, this session, with God's help and the co-operation of the Members of this Organization, will contribute significantly to world peace.
2. It has been the custom at this time every year in our general debate to review international events, to take stock of the past and try to plan for the future. Fortunately, our session this year begins with revived optimism and hope for the solution of international problems. Despite the storm clouds hovering over Laos, the Indian frontier and Berlin, and the delayed reunification of Germany, rays of light are breaking through the darkened international skies. The meeting in Geneva of the Foreign Ministers^{1/} has renewed our optimistic hope that we may see an end to the cold war which has undermined the morale of the world for more than fourteen years. Although these meetings did not lead to conclusive results, they did bring the two parties closer together, helped to dispel some of their mutual fears, and paved the way for the exchange of visits between the leaders of East and West.
3. The problem of Cyprus, to which the General Assembly has devoted much time during the last two years, and which evoked sharp debate among friendly nations, has been settled successfully through complete agreement by the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece. Yemen and the other Arab States joyfully await the birth of a young Cyprus Republic so that they may renew their historical friendship and good-neighbourly relations.
4. The sinews of peace have also been healthfully exercised in wrestling with the problem of nuclear experiments. Their temporary suspension to the end of this year may spur this session of the General Assembly to lay a firm foundation for the absolute

and permanent prohibition of these experiments, as well as to provide for the necessary controls over this prohibition. My delegation, however, views with deep concern the announcement by France that it plans to carry out atomic experiments in the African Sahara. Such plans create fears of great danger, especially to the northern half of the African continent. In spite of assurances by the French representative last week that precautions will be taken to eliminate all risks, the 1959 Annual Report of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [A/4119] clearly reveals the futility of such precautions. Since the atomic Powers have temporarily heeded the collective appeal of the world to end these experiments which endanger the human race, we cannot suppress our hope that France will be persuaded to abandon the Sahara tests.

5. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union has presented this session of the Assembly with a proposal for general and complete disarmament [799th meeting]. The United Kingdom has presented another proposal [798th meeting]. Both sides have shown their good intentions to settle the vital problem of disarmament. But nothing practical has been achieved so far except the establishment of the ten-power committee to discuss this serious subject. While wishing this committee all success the other Members of the United Nations, which are vitally involved, earnestly hope that the United Nations as a whole will play an effective part during this session in laying the necessary groundwork for disarmament. The peace and prosperity of the world depend upon it.

6. But disarmament, total or partial, is not in itself sufficient to guarantee world peace. Peace is social; peace is economic. The billions of dollars now being wasted on destruction should be employed in raising living standards and improving human welfare. Hundreds of millions of human beings are still doomed to poverty, afflicted by disease and ignorance. Through his scientific accomplishments man has penetrated outer space, but there is much to be accomplished still on the surface of the earth.

7. My delegation expresses its satisfaction over the establishment of the International Development Association, and hopes that more attention will be directed to the strengthening of the United Nations programme of technical aid to under-developed countries. In this area we have set the pattern for the future, although we have not accomplished enough in the past. We have much more to accomplish.

8. We do, indeed, have solid reasons for our optimism in vast sections of the world. But is there a climate of optimism in the Middle East? Assured voices in this Assembly hall have interpreted the comparative calm prevalent there as a reason for optimism. I wish my voice were one of them. But I cannot feel assured

^{1/} Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference, held at Geneva 11 May - 20 June and 13 July - 5 August 1959.

when I know that such thinking is wishful. Too many unsolved problems in the Middle East threaten the peace of the world.

9. Where are we to find optimism in the Arabian peninsula when colonialism continues its aggression? The leaders of Oman are being oppressed; the Omani people dispersed; their homes destroyed—all this for no crime committed by them, unless the demand for freedom and self-determination is a felony to be punished by death and the destruction of property.

10. Oman is an Imamate whose autonomy the United Kingdom recognized by the Sib Treaty of 1920. It continued to enjoy that independence until the area began to smell of oil and the forces of imperialism began to occupy the land. The scale of United Kingdom operations in Oman demanded the establishment of a headquarters in the Sultanate of Muscat for the purpose of training a strong army of local inhabitants, in addition to the massing of thousands of troops there. Naturally, these forces met, and continued to meet, heroic resistance by the Omani people.

11. The situation in Oman led Mr. P. Noel Baker, a member of the United Kingdom House of Commons, to wonder:

"Why is the British Government reluctant to admit that the Oman operations were connected with oil? Everything in Western Arabia is connected with oil. Of course it was for oil that military operations in Oman were undertaken."

12. Impossible and unbelievable, but the violent war now raging in Oman is a secret. A dispatch from London, published on 26 August 1959 by the New York World-Telegram and Sun is an eloquent proof of its secrecy. This dispatch informs us of the awards conferred on thirty-one United Kingdom troops who fought a secret war in the Arabian desert. The dispatch goes on to describe how the men, members of an airborne task force, flew to the United Kingdom Protectorate of Muscat and Oman in January 1959, overcame tremendous obstacles of terrain, and put down a rebellion that had assumed serious proportions. It was all done in four weeks and in secrecy.

13. This war is unknown to the world because the imperialistic forces have used every effort to keep it that way. They besiege the area and prevent newspaper correspondents from penetrating it. This secret war should be publicized from this rostrum, so that the world will realize the danger which threatens the south Arabian peninsula and world peace. My delegation strongly recommends that this Assembly send a fact-finding mission to penetrate the imperialistic curtain, to investigate current military operations, their casualties and losses, and to submit a report to this body.

14. Where is the optimism in southern Yemeni territories? The situation in occupied southern Yemen—Aden and the neighbouring so-called protectorates—is no less grave than that in Oman. Here imperialistic authorities form fictitious federations, not based upon the wishes of the inhabitants but aimed at strengthening their own ambitions. Terrorism and oppression have been so utilized in setting up such federations that the Sultan and the principal members of the Lahj Government have had to flee the country. Yemen has formally protested to the United Kingdom Government that such federations contradict the third

article of the 1934 Treaty between the United Kingdom and Yemen.

15. The imperialistic authorities, however, continue their military operations in Yemen proper, with resultant heavy Yemeni casualties. Harib, El-Sauma'a and Shuqueir are but a few examples of the destruction brought to southern Yemen by the attacks of United Kingdom planes. The Yemeni delegation has brought these aggressions to the attention of the Security Council more than once. Yemen has tried several times, but in vain, to reach a settlement with the United Kingdom through peaceful negotiations. The aggression continues, and Yemen still endeavours to solve these problems peacefully.

16. The war in Oman and the successive waves of aggression in occupied southern Yemeni territories, and in Yemen proper, are manifestations of the nationalist spirit now prevalent in the Arab world, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Gulf. The peoples of this area are determined to continue their fight for their rights of freedom and self-determination. Brute force can never separate the southern part of the Arabian peninsula from the rest of the Arab homeland.

17. How much optimism is there for the Arab refugees from Palestine? The Israel aggression on Palestine and its subsequent partition was, and still is, a black spot in the book of humanity, a great injustice plaguing the conscience of the world, a grave responsibility for this international Organization, and a continuous threat to world peace. A million Arab refugees have been thrown out of their homes by Israel to live in tents and caves, in utter despair and misery. For the last ten years UNRWA has been engaged in alleviating the misery of those unfortunate refugees. An important question to be reviewed during this session is the continuation of UNRWA. The Secretary-General has strongly recommended it, and we support his recommendation.

18. These Arab refugees are not destitute. They could be partially sustained by their own vast fortunes left behind and now exploited by Israel. These fortunes produce large incomes which could be utilized to replace an important portion of the funds needed to maintain the refugees, without having to beg contributions in their name. It is imperative that the United Nations take the necessary measures to protect Arab property now exploited by Israel, by the establishment of an office to take over these properties, administer them, and prevent Israel from disposing of them. The United Nations has already exerted a praiseworthy effort in recording these Arab properties [see A/4225], but this effort is in need of completion.

19. An elaborate economic study attached to the Secretary-General's report, containing proposals for the continuation of the United Nations assistance to Palestine refugees [A/4121 and Corr.1, Annex], points to the possibility of reintegrating the Arab refugees in neighbouring countries. Thus, an economic factor has been needlessly injected into the issue of continuing that Agency. Such integration is in conflict with the General Assembly resolution [resolution 194 (III)] on repatriation and is inconsistent with the desire of the refugees themselves. The General Assembly has, on many occasions, reaffirmed the refugees' right to repatriation. The fundamental principles of justice and freedom demand that the Palestine

refugees should be allowed to choose between repatriation and resettlement with adequate compensation. This is the least that the United Nations can do for these oppressed people.

20. Another important issue relating to the right of the refugees to repatriation is the increasing threat of Zionist immigration into the occupied territory of Palestine. This immigration, during the past thirty years, has been, and still is, the basic cause of tension and instability in the Middle East, and continues to be the main obstacle in the way of implementing the United Nations resolutions. The Arab countries consider any political or financial assistance given to facilitate this immigration as an unfriendly act detrimental to stability and peace in our area.

21. This Assembly has recently listened to statements stressing freedom of passage through the Suez Canal. Such statements are pointless, because ships pass through it freely. Following the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, Egypt formally declared its intention to respect the principle of free transit, and passage of ships has continued on a regular and ever-increasing basis. The services rendered under the Arab management of the Suez Canal have evoked the satisfaction and admiration of world navigation. Furthermore, continued improvements in the Canal assure increased shipping through that important waterway.

22. The United Arab Republic has declared on more than one occasion her determination to adhere to the 1888 Constantinople Convention and, moreover, has communicated to the Secretary-General in a letter that she accepts in this matter the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.^{2/} What more could be expected of the United Arab Republic?

23. In his intervention yesterday [820th meeting], the representative of Israel pretended that no country supported the United Arab Republic's policy in the Suez Canal. Nothing is further from the truth. The United Arab Republic is fully supported by many peace-loving nations, including all the Arab States. Yemen declares her full support to the United Arab Republic in her stand, and in so doing, she and the other Arab States implement the decision unanimously adopted in the meeting of the League of Arab States in Casablanca on 1 September 1959 on this question.

24. Yesterday, also, the representative of Israel stretched out his hand for peace, and just last week [806th meeting], when Mrs. Meir was talking also about peace and waving the olive branch, the Mixed Armistice Commission condemned and strongly blamed Israel for the unprovoked attack by four Israel fighter planes on an Egyptian airliner. The Commission termed this aggression a flagrant breach of the General Armistice Agreement. This is only one of hundreds of instances.

25. It is common knowledge that the repetitious talk by Israel about peace is always followed by aggression. It is also a well-known fact that Israel has flouted all the United Nations resolutions on Palestine. It triggered the infamous war against Egypt in 1956. It has been formally indicted by the United Nations at least twenty-five times for aggression by its regular armed forces against the Arab countries, including

the United Arab Republic. In spite of this aggressive record the Israel representative has the audacity to talk about peace.

26. I submit that the deeds of Israel belie its words. Before their empty talk about peace, let them abide by the United Nations resolutions and implement them. Before their empty talk about peace, let them stop their continuous aggression against the Arab countries and give the refugees their inalienable right to return to their homes.

27. Does the Algerian situation inspire optimism? For five years the Algerian people have been struggling with courage, and in a manner unprecedented in the entire history of the Asian and African nations, to regain their freedom from France. The Algerian people have the inherent right to decide their own fate—a right guaranteed to all mankind by the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To suppress this right by sheer force is a grave act of injustice.

28. The Algerian war has resulted in thousands of killed and wounded, and hundreds of thousands of refugees, mostly women, children, and elderly people, who were forced to flee their country.

29. In a speech by the President of the French Republic on 16 September 1959, an attempt was made to solve the Algerian problem. Though the French proposals are replete with loopholes, they nevertheless recognize the right of Algeria to self-determination. It is a step forward which we note with satisfaction, brought about solely by Algerian sacrifices in their determined struggle for freedom. However, the self-determination proposed by the French is dependent upon unconditional surrender. The brave Algerians, who have struggled so long for complete liberty, can never be induced to accept such a condition. Military men everywhere, including the Algerian freedom fighters, have their ideas of honour and obligation to the dead. From the Algerian point of view, surrender and laying-down of arms are unthinkable.

30. According to the French proposals, the plebiscite to be conducted for self-determination would take place within four years, at a time and duration of French choosing. The representative of France referred [814th meeting], in his opening speech, to this plebiscite as a free election.

31. Judging from past experience, we wish we could share his conviction. But even if such a plebiscite were conducted freely, the outcome of the plebiscite would be dependent ultimately upon the desire and consent of the French people. This is tantamount to negation of self-determination. And even if the French people should approve the Algerian choice for independence, Algeria, according to these proposals, will be visited by the colonial scourge of "partition". Any plan for partition would, as explained by President de Gaulle himself, include a French part, which will naturally comprise the most wealthy and fertile lands, including the Sahara oilfields.

32. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has announced, on 28 September 1959, its reply to the French proposals. This reply was formulated after long and careful study, which indicated the Government's wise statesmanship and sense of responsibility. It declares that:

^{2/} See Official Records of the Security Council, Supplement for April, May and June 1957, document S/3818.

"... the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic... is the trustee and the guarantor of the interests of the Algerian people until this people shall freely pronounce itself. It directs and controls the resistance of the Algerian people and the liberating struggle of the Army of National Liberation. Thus, there can be a return to peace only with its accord. This peace can be immediate."

The Algerian Government's reply declares also Algeria's readiness "to enter into conversations with the French Government, in order to discuss the political and military conditions of a cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees of the application of self-determination". The Yemen delegation fully supports and endorses the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in its wise and constructive reply to the French proposals.

33. Under these circumstances it is imperative that conversations should take place immediately, either with the Provisional Algerian Government, which is the legitimate representative of the Algerian people, or through the good offices of friendly nations, taking place within the United Nations or outside it.

34. Every year we emphasize in this Assembly the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. This right being now recognized by France, we should, this year, reach a final solution of the problem. Within the framework of the United Nations, through direct or indirect negotiations, we should bend every effort to reach agreement on cease-fire and on conditions and guarantees for a free and liberal plebiscite for self-determination. If this objective is realized during this session, it would be one of the most outstanding achievements of the United Nations.

35. There are sound reasons for optimism because we see the possible end of the long and protracted cold war. But is there such a climate of optimism in the Middle East? The only optimism in the Middle East depends on a large "if" in Algeria. But what about other regions? Is there any cause for optimism in Palestine and among its refugees, victims of a country that persists in its aggressions and refuses to implement the United Nations resolutions? Is there any cause for optimism in Oman and the Southern Yemeni territories, where nationalists clamouring for their unity and independence are subdued by brute force?

36. Let us then dedicate ourselves during this session to the solution of the problems besetting the people of the Middle East, in Palestine, in Algeria, in Oman, and in the Southern Yemeni territories and give them hope. If we succeed, then the optimism and hope, which are now prevailing in some parts of the world, would also dawn on the Middle East. Let us share our hopes so that our children shall inherit a peaceful earth.

37. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) (translated from Spanish): The President of the General Assembly at its last session was a scholar and a humanist who gave tone to our debates, and was a lesson and an example to us all. I should like to mention with respect and affection the illustrious figure of M. Malik and to pay a tribute through him to the civilized nation he represented.

38. Our President now is M. Belaúnde, and we are glad to see that he has recovered so soon and is again

with us. I think it not inappropriate to repeat the tribute which my delegation addressed to him on the occasion of a debate at this session. We spoke of our pride as Spaniards in seeing a man of Mr. Belaúnde's stature and spiritual endowment presiding over this world Assembly. To listen to his words in Spanish is a pleasure which many of you must envy us. Even those who do not understand him—there are some, of course—are able to divine his thought. His eloquence and his human warmth break through even the barrier of language. He has a great deal to contribute. Although many may have gained a different impression from his hearty exuberance, the eminent professor is a man of clear and penetrating mind for whom problems are not solved simply by intuition, or opinions formed solely on emotional grounds. Those who thought so have misjudged him. They cannot be familiar with his rather terse and crystalline writings. To this quality he adds the most envied gift of all, that of eloquence, whereby words, sometimes quite ordinary words, when handled by a speaker take on a power of penetration and magnetism. It is a gift of nature to those worthy of it and a delight to those who enjoy it. All apologies are rooted to a large extent in the example and the work of men, and the distinguished figures whom the United Nations has made its leaders and the servants of its purposes are its apologia. At the same time Mr. Belaúnde is surrounded by that veneration described by Cicero in his *De Senectute* as the reward of men who have occupied consular posts with honour, that halo of glory which adorns them in the venerable time of their long and useful old age, full of strength and vigour. This is the case with Belaúnde. His personality, universally respected, is stamped with the seal of greatness, and my delegation bows in deep homage.

39. It has been said, anticipating events slightly and expressing what is really wishful thinking on the part of us all, that this fourteenth session of the General Assembly may indeed be the Assembly of Peace. As far as our observation goes, all the sessions of the Assembly since my country became a Member of the United Nations have been—to the honour and warm praise of this institution be it said—Assemblies of peace. All have helped to settle disputes, sometimes of alarming aspect, and by judicious action have provided an opportunity for feelings to calm down and have gradually transformed what seemed to be unfathomable gulfs into accessible terrain, where even at times paths could be seen, bordered with flowers and trees.

40. Just think of what the great shock of Suez was to the world, the feelings aroused by the danger of violence in Lebanon, and the dispute over Cyprus; such events give some idea of what the United Nations can achieve and the hopes we may place in it. Its prestige, its spiritual authority, the knowledge that there is available an immense reservoir of good will and the support of great Powers whenever the time comes for action, make the United Nations a body to be reckoned with by anyone disposed to break the law. The Secretary-General sagaciously pointed out on one occasion the great value of this body, which is designed to engage in open diplomacy and is most valuable precisely in that it works in those spheres of diplomacy which are usually, if not secret, at least not widely publicized. That is true and there is no essential paradox in it.

41. At present our task is more difficult; it is connected with the present problem of the world—division into two major blocs with different aims, a deep distrust of each other and powerful means of enforcing two opposite conceptions of life and immediate political purposes. We hasten to say, and we are only repeating our customary opinion on behalf of the Spanish delegation, that in view of the situation in 1945, it seems to my country, to my delegation, that the existence of those two blocs is not an evil in itself, on the contrary it is one solution to the dangerous problem of the so-called "Communist bloc" and the expansion of the countries comprising that group. A glance at the figures shows that since 1945 the Soviet bloc has occupied 1,775,000 square km. of territory and brought into subjection 134,500,000 persons. And if only that were a thing of the past! But now in the last few weeks we have witnessed the atrocious attack on Tibet, overwhelming a people with an age-old history, and now while negotiation is in progress within the United Nations itself, we have the attack on Laos, with the inevitable direct and indirect influence of communism in the aggression.

42. Just think how easily the world might have perished under savage tyranny if there were not, fortunately, other nations sufficiently well armed and capable of at least partly resisting this wave of domination. The "other" bloc is providential when we think of communism and its ideology evolving as a world power. It would have been tragic if the way had been left clear to the one threatening invading bloc to pursue its designs and to go on creating so-called peoples' democracies by armed force, thereby bringing all the peoples of the earth under its domination. When we hear people talk of the existence of two blocs, while we deplore the existence of aggression, we do not regret the necessary remedy. On the contrary, the world would have been in a sorry state if there had been only one bloc!

43. Heaven forbid that we should try to put haloes round any Power or group of Powers. All have sinned and many are still in a position with respect to other countries, including those of their own group, which falls short of the demands of international justice. I speak as the representative of Spain, on whose national territory there is still a foreign enclave which has been maintained by force for 250 years. But we must learn to live with some degree of injustice and danger. The present moment admits of few shades of colour.

44. To designate the two sides as representing good and evil respectively is not an over-simplification. Even at the rate of appearing ingenuous and of not speaking the language of our time, we shall say so and repeat it. Those peacemaking counsels where the essential distinction is lost and services rendered are forgotten, to our way of thinking and with all due respect to the opinions of others, saps the strength of the champions of order, as established and defended by those who have been maintaining it since 1945. With all generosity we must recognize the justice of the cause, which is our own and co-operate with it, at least by moral support if we have no other stronger means. If we have, we should place it at the service of that bloc which stands for the defence of the world—soberly, without hostility to anybody, and now, without shutting our eyes or forgetting that, as Sir Winston Churchill once said, if the western coun-

tries had not possessed the atom bomb, the whole of Europe would have been overrun by communism. And heaven only knows what the fate of other continents might be as a result of such a mass movement of forces.

45. It has been the historic destiny of the great Russian Empire, which throughout its history has possessed great spiritual virtues and has been an essential part of the story of mankind, very often to inspire fear in others. I am not speaking only of the present. I am talking of the Czarist epoch and history. The political literature of all the principal European countries affected by the problem are full of prophecies and statements, sometimes apprehensive, made by political thinkers and statesmen, referring to what was very frequently known as the Slav menace. In Spain I recall Juan Donoso Cortés, one of the outstanding authors and orators of the nineteenth century in our country, if not in the whole of Europe. He was Ambassador in Berlin and Paris at the time, and on 14 August 1834 he wrote:

"With Poland has disappeared the only barrier protecting Europe from Russia, whose destiny it is to grow and become great with the spoils of the world. For Russia all roads, whether in the direction of Paris or of Constantinople, lead to domination."

And again:

"If we study the origin of the strength of the Czarist Empire it is evident that it lies in the fact that, dominated by a single principle under a single will, diplomacy there has not become a power in itself, but by recognizing that will and that principle, operates always under its inspiration, and does not venture to modify even the remotest consequences."

46. Nor shall I ever forget the note made by one of the de Goncourt brothers in a book of lasting significance—their Journal—in which he set down the impressions of French life, or Parisian life, in the last part of the nineteenth century. Edmond de Goncourt relates that one day he had been talking at dinner with a diplomat to whom a Russian, or one with connexions in Russia, had given a description of what the power of the then St. Petersburg Empire might very soon become in relation to the whole of Europe, once it harnessed and united the strength of the teeming hardy Asian tribes which under Russian direction would be able to dominate the world. De Goncourt went away alarmed and says he was unable to sleep.

47. The world had been living like that, rendered sleepless by the threat of the Czarist Empire, against which it sometimes had to wage a war of containment, as in the Crimea. Today the world has more reason not to sleep when that vast power has been concentrated in the hands of an ideological group which after forty years has to a large extent become identified with the nation, with many helpers in distant countries who will always, as in the days of Philip of Macedon, assist it in its conquests and persecutions. Today, it has extraordinary technical achievements to its credit which enable it to rival the forces of the bloc representing the defence of the international juridical order. Any fear is understandable in the face of this social revolutionary parallel to Genghis Khan. And the remedy for this fear—

the grouping of peoples with the intention of resisting it—entails in the opinion of this delegation, which conceives and expresses it rather bluntly, a duty of vigilance, action and aid in a greater or lesser degree on the part of the Western Powers, and requires the use of all psychological or other means of action in their power.

48. Does this mean that the Spanish delegation is opposed to the aims of peace or is against the peace negotiations in progress, or is deaf to the appeals of those who are seeking grounds for agreement and at least attempting still to salvage something from this wreck—this situation of nervous disequilibrium and gigantic expenditure on preparations for war, and is at loggerheads with them? Not at all. The Head of the Spanish State said categorically to General Eisenhower, President of the United States, in a letter delivered personally only a short time ago by our Minister of Foreign Affairs who went to London to hand it over to the President, that Spain was grateful for the sacrifices and efforts he was making to help our western world and to lead us on the way of peace and concord, adding that lack of action, lethargy and a defensive attitude would quickly lead to defeat, and that in a situation like the present one before us, all contacts were of assistance in unveiling the immediate objectives of the adversaries.

49. This is no new idea for us, and the notion of a settlement of some of the more extreme divergencies between the two blocs has never been absent from Spanish policy. On 20 June 1958 Le Figaro of Paris published an interview between the well-known journalist Serge Groussard and the Head of the Spanish State. General Franco made some statements concerning the recent division of peoples into two blocs, not only in Europe, but throughout the world, which he felt could be subdivided into two different stages since the war. At one point Mr. Groussard asked General Franco whether he thought that we were going to have to stay at the bloc stage? General Franco replied that there might be a third stage: the stage of "entente"—he used the French word—"the age of world agreement".

50. Those who know the full extent and gravity of the communist danger in the world, and can refrain from smiling at the adversary, may be the best fitted—owing perhaps to their very mistrust of him—to adopt or support the realistic measures of agreement which life itself makes necessary, with the object of avoiding unnecessary effort in the futile procedure of prolonging disputes and resistance which might have terrifying results. Mutual esteem and understanding between adversaries are not requisite to the seeking of an armistice, or even of peace. Perhaps the day will come, by a process of evolution already familiar to many nations, when agreement can be reached on a common view of human interests and progress can be made, once the defensive strongholds have been well established, towards mutual understanding. But in the present atmosphere of red-hot passions, burning injustices and palpable dangers which no temporizing speeches can remove, it is still possible, in a higher interest and within the limits of strict morality, to avoid total destruction and seek some cover, albeit of reeds or damp straw, against the storm and deluge which threaten almost the entire world.

51. There are decisive moral laws which it would be very wrong of us to evade. But this higher morality must not be assimilated with the harsh needs of everyday life, provided that its spirit goes unimpaired and awaits the coming of its hour. In the last fourteen years of dispute which have done such honour to the United States and the principal Powers allied with it—countries with whom illustrious names of the living and the dead are forever associated—it has not been possible to remedy the iniquities that darken and disturb the life of Europe. It has proved impossible, for instance, to remove the cruel scandal of broken German unity, which is a challenge to the conscience of Europe and the world as a whole and enables those who seized a substantial part of the old German empire to use this illegally acquired property as a bargaining counter and a threat in all international negotiations.

52. During the period of dispute it has, admittedly, been possible to avoid an abandonment of the legal position, an abandonment of rights, such as to create a negative precedent that we should all have ultimately regretted. It is to be hoped that at new stages reached we shall maintain those basic positions and not accept what was described in The New York Times on 29 September 1959, in reference to Tibet, as peace with dishonour. All the political systems which ensured periods of peace in the past found it necessary, not to sacrifice principles, but to make concessions to the hard facts of the moment in order to maintain stability.

53. Conservative opinion has always admired the policy of Metternich who, in the 19th century, kept the peace in Europe and the world for almost forty years, with considerable benefit to the moral life of the countries involved. Nevertheless, the Austrian Chancellor achieved his purpose only at the cost of condoning the dismemberment of Poland, as well as some arbitrary reduction of German and Italian territory for the benefit of new owners without any legal title to such new possessions—arrangements no longer extant today, but accepted at that time, by the more sensitive of consciences, as a lamentable concession to bitter necessity. In any peacemaking there may be a similar element; but we pray to Heaven, in remembrance of the great Austrian Chancellor, his policy of expedience and his concessions thereto, that the "Metternich" element will be reduced to a minimum, and that no great principle or historical truth will be sacrificed in the future talks between the great Powers.

54. Let us not, for our part, entertain the idea of making concessions to the forces of destruction. Let us avoid premature measures, and even simple statements of theory, likely to weaken the position of the forces of order. The idea, for instance, of creating a neutral zone in Europe, corresponding mostly to German territory, from which the armaments most effective at the present time would be removed, particularly alarms us. It was realized, as soon as that suggestion was made, how dangerous it would be for the rest of Europe, including ourselves, if this vast and tempting "no man's land" were exposed to the danger of rapid invasion by those troops nearest to the potential battleground—namely, the Soviet troops. With Germany totally disarmed, even if Poland were also to be disarmed, the Russian army would reach our frontiers much sooner, for instance, than the

army of the United States. That idea has always been in the mind of communist imperialism, and our acceptance or anticipation of it might have serious consequences. It took shape especially in the Rapacki Plan—named after the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs—which no amount of soft and artful speeches could make acceptable to us.

55. The present situation is a delicate one, since this perfectly explainable move for clarification and contact between the two blocs involves, among other risks, that of awakening or restimulating a revolutionary illusion in all countries, if they derive the impression that it is being translated into reality by the mere fact of normal diplomatic conversations between representatives of the existing Powers.

56. This move may also revive the feeling, in certain eclectic thinkers, that the communist policy of pure violence and materialism is a progressive one, and that they can try once more to whitewash it and to present it as the policy of respectable associates with whom talks are not only profitable but essential, owing to similarity of principles and community of aims. No greater danger could confront humanity than this blurring of vision, against which we must all be on our guard if we are to distinguish between good and evil, between Ormazd and Ahriman, not trying to revive the past as if the essential postulates of fifteen years ago had not become extinct. Only with our conscience clear and our eyes open can we accept partial solutions in the interest of avoiding extreme calamities.

57. We lesser Powers are able to influence events by the integrity and firmness of our attitude. I have noticed in many speakers, and have myself felt a slight uneasiness in speaking of problems which in the last resort are war problems, when our means do not match our words. While the vast majority of countries, discussing the problem of relations between the two blocs—including the countries which, like my own, make to their bloc a contribution of men, bases and moral obligations—have no great armaments, we must remember that firm moral positions are of enormous influence in the present debate.

58. If responsibilities so serious as those now facing us are to be assumed, the world must be in a sound state of health. Our own health, in certain important respects, certainly seems to have improved. For instance, feeling in the Middle East seems to be better than it was at the time of previous Assemblies, and there is less bitterness there. Greater understanding between its peoples and the Western world—which God grant may some day turn into understanding between all peoples—places them, as soon as they begin to feel that the justice of many of their aspirations has been understood, on a better basis for resisting the revolutionary temptation of universal communist violence, to which they would never yield on fundamental issues, since they are peoples possessing outstanding virtues incompatible with materialism as a way of life. But for understandable reasons of expediency they might temporize with it, wounded as they have been by what they regard as insults from the Western Powers. If, as we all hope, the new language spoken by the competent authorities in regard to the problem of Algeria clears the way to understanding and perhaps to a settlement, then we shall be able to claim that one great section of the world, blessed with the necessary virtues for human

progress, is recovering its stability and is entering, perhaps unawares, into the family of nations with its authority and influence increasing year by year. Our affinity and long-standing friendship with the Arab peoples, which has never been belied, finds expression in these words of encouragement and in our approval of any step towards peace and reconciliation.

59. And since we are speaking of Spanish affinities, there is none closer than the authentic relationship, rising above circumstance, which unites us with the America of Spanish origin and foundation, and indeed with all America of Iberian origin, in which the history and spirit of Portugal have played so illustrious a part. Here it is a question, not of vague and general cultural trends, but of a relationship as spare and unadorned as our own imagery. As we look upon the present predicament of the world, and remember that the American continent has protected it almost continuously since 1945, we are justly proud to think, now that 12 October is at hand, that it was the Spaniards who threw that continent open to the others. Our ships discovered it and brought our first settlers to its shores, and Spanish laws, implanted by Spanish peoples, established there a rule of law almost a century before any other people descended upon the future "Virgin of the world, innocent America" spoken of in bad verse, but with a genuine if faltering tenderness, by our poet Quintana. Of this we are now reaping the harvest.

60. The Spaniards who transplanted their spirit and culture to America have formed an impressive group of nations, already powerful but destined in the near future to exercise a still greater and more decisive influence in international disputes. The religious fervour, morality, sense of honour and nobility of soul transferred from Spain to America by the ancestors of the Latin American peoples have flourished, fusing admirably with the virtues of the original inhabitants and with their own noble creations in a new land. You, Latin Americans of Spanish origin, must know that we, the Spaniards of Spain—presumptuously perhaps, in view of our distance from America, though that distance seems less every day—take up our stand beside you, and that in our actions in this world, guided by motives higher than those provided by diplomatic treaties and agreements, we keep constantly in mind the considerations which for you must be determinative. In a few decades the Latin Americans will be a solid bloc of States, beside which the Iberian peninsula may seem small. But it will never in fact feel small if it is a member of this spiritual community. It is the unity and effort of the Latin American States, for which the Foreign Minister of Argentina [797th meeting] pleaded so eloquently, that the world needs at this crucial time. The Foreign Minister of Colombia has rightly said, speaking of the Latin American countries:

"The numerical importance of these countries enables them to play a more significant part in major international decisions. We are the greatest combination of nations linked together by the ties of a common language, united by the same religious beliefs, and defending the same spiritual and political values.

"The opportunities which language, geography and history have extended to the Latin American nations are exceptional factors making for the achievement of political unity on the international plane." [800th meeting, paras. 38 and 39.]

61. The same point was made [810th meeting], with masterly precision, by the Foreign Minister of Peru.

62. Recently our association with the great Latin American bloc took the practical form of a common Spanish supranationality, with the agreement for dual nationality concluded between Spain and Chile on 28 October 1958, and with that concluded by Spain with Peru and Paraguay respectively on 16 May and 25 June 1959. Under these agreements, a Chilean, Peruvian or Paraguayan national can have Spanish nationality without losing his own; vice versa, a Spanish national can enjoy the nationality of any one of those three sister countries without losing Spanish citizenship.

63. The Iberian pact and our friendship with Portugal continue to be a basic feature of Spanish policy. This partnership, inspired by affection and common interests, has proved its worth in the most difficult days. Its present and future stake could hardly be sounder or more effective.

64. From this consideration of spiritual values, the religious factor—which for us is all-important—cannot be omitted. Much as the material poverty of the world grieves us, our deepest concern is with its moral and religious plight. We have already had occasion to deplore the Tibetan catastrophe. We must not forget that we live in an age when the 200 million Christians of the USSR have been reduced, according to the most kindly estimates, to 50 million; this process is continuing, and many of these people are being persecuted or are too old to resist pressure. In this connexion, we drew attention last year to the situation in the Holy Land, and urged observance of the United Nations agreements concerning this area, to which so many millions of believers proceed in pilgrimage. We shall not cease to put forward this plea, in the sure knowledge that the religious peoples who are territorially responsible in the matter will see the importance of freeing the conscience of so many Christians, instead of debarring them from the performance of their supreme earthly devotion.

65. With regard to our relations with Europe, there is no need to add anything to what has been said, and further underlined by the visit to London by Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to which I referred earlier. There has never been a greater need for unity among the nations of Europe, and strange as it may seem it is through American efforts that we have joined with them in the military defence of our continent. That is due to circumstances on which we prefer not to dwell, but it does not lessen our respect for all the nations of Europe or our close friendship with many of the countries with which we are working to safeguard peace and security.

66. Spain is traditionally open to contact with all races and was a pioneer, during the period when the overseas countries were created, of the practical equality of the human race in accordance with the religious doctrine of the Council of Trent, to which we contributed very largely. Accordingly we rejoice in the achievement of nationhood by so many peoples, particularly in Africa.

67. We became a Member of the United Nations three full years ago; since then there has not been a single session of the General Assembly at which the number of Members has not been increased by at least one

country from the African continent, and we have welcomed them all, one by one. We also wish to welcome in advance the territories on the threshold of nationhood which will join us in 1960—Togoland, the Cameroons, Nigeria and Somalia—all of which will become independent next year. Their contribution to the work of the United Nations will be as valuable as that of the other African countries which are already participating in our work. Those countries, as I have said, will become independent, but there are other territories in Africa that have reached maturity and have followed a different road. Three of the countries I mentioned have been Trust Territories and are achieving independence in that way; others may achieve their political maturity in co-operation with the former metropolitan Powers, and I should be remiss if I did not pay due tribute to the admirable work those Powers have done. To give the administering Powers their due helps to establish a better spirit of understanding; the culmination of the evolutionary process can only be peaceful and successful if there is unity of purpose between the administering Powers and those who will one day take over the administration from them, and whose destinies are now closely linked with theirs.

68. The more general aspects of the problems I have mentioned should not distract our attention from immediate considerations. Human suffering is often allayed by the creative activity of work. It is not enough to weep and complain; we must face our daily task, we must divide our day into small sections appropriate to what is after all our very humble spiritual and temporal stature. The most acute and general political problems must be dealt with in concrete terms. Let us take the example of disarmament. No "concrete terms" are in sight. In recent days, there have been references, in connexion with the declarations made in this Assembly, to earlier disarmament negotiations, those undertaken by the former League of Nations in 1927 and 1932. The so-called "arms race" has been a cause of concern since the early days of the present century, but it was only after the First World War that the problem received official consideration and disarmament negotiations were undertaken in the League of Nations at Geneva. For a number of years there was no progress. Then the Second World War broke out; the United Nations was established, and the problem was taken up again, this time with better prospects of success. Despite international tension, and a succession of disputes, some hope has grown up in recent months of a better understanding and a more constructive approach. It is hardly necessary to point out that the immense power of modern weapons and the fear of the havoc that they can wreak have also contributed to this welcome change of outlook.

69. The goal that was not achieved in the days when disarmament would have applied to what are known as conventional armaments now seems to be becoming the subject of negotiation. We have seen the signs of progress in this Organization. While it is true that no conclusive results were achieved at the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, the fact that nuclear weapons tests have been suspended and not resumed since November 1958 is an encouraging sign. The establishment of the ten-Power committee, which is governed by the principles of "parity" in the representation of the two major military blocs, and which, so far as its composition

70. Two statements in particular have recently been made in this hall on the problem. The one so categorically made by the Head of the Soviet Government [799th meeting] does not seem to us very effective. It is not so much a disarmament plan as a demagogical appeal for the abolition of armies, the annihilation of the military virtues, and the destruction of the traditional order. It seeks to replace the army, with its discipline and significance, by popular party militias in the use of which the Communist countries have had much experience and enjoy a monopoly. ". . . the purpose of an army is not merely to defend the independence of a country against external aggression, but also to maintain law and order", the Foreign Minister of Peru rightly observed in commenting on the implications of the Soviet proposal. He also pointed out that in the American countries—and I would add not in the American countries alone—the army "has an educational role; it makes good citizens of outcasts from society; it instructs the people; and it helps to inculcate a sense of social discipline." [810th meeting, para. 74.]

71. I shall not conceal our preference for the proposal outlined by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd [798th meeting], which is more realistic and accordingly appears likely to achieve mutual acceptance. We have heard several Ministers of Foreign Affairs suggest that they might go so far as to agree with the Soviet proposals. We shall not go into the substance of the matter. It is a practical issue, but it may well encourage hopes for a solution. We are among those who think that control and inspection must precede, or at least be simultaneous with, all disarmament operations. It seems extremely obvious. Only control can banish mistrust and provide a safeguard. And that seems even more obvious to those who, like ourselves, think that negotiations should still go on, even in an atmosphere of mistrust. It is satisfactory to have heard that the incompatibility between the two theories which were until recently so diametrically opposed (disarmament preceded by control or control after disarmament has been achieved) may be removed by a new formula which provides for both simultaneously.

72. We believe that all negotiations of the "armed" Powers and their allies in the military blocs they direct must proceed in close touch with the United Nations, so that all countries may hear and receive information about them. Only on that basis can we accept the principle of parity as a realistic concession. We have already said in the debate here that the establishment of a body which could provide practical results should not be opposed on grounds of principle. For that reason, we voted for it, on the understanding that the authority of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter should not be impaired.

73. Our delegation considers it a matter of urgent necessity that outer space should be placed under international law. This would entail the collaboration of those countries which have hitherto not taken any active part in the work of the ad hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, set up by the last Assembly [resolution 1348 (XIII)]. It is a strange and significant fact that statements of leading scientists of a country which has recently achieved great successes in this field seem to concur with the principle recognized in that Committee's report [A/4141] that outer space should be explored and exploited by all on a basis of equality.

74. Our delegation hopes that at the Second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea an international agreement may be reached on the question of the delimitation of territorial waters and similar problems. Spain attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance and respect for the traditional principle of freedom of the sea and does not agree that the limits of territorial waters can be changed by unilateral action without reference to international conferences.

75. On reading the reports we note with satisfaction the progress achieved by the United Nations in the vast economic and social field. We agree with the comment made by Mr. Luns, Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs [809th meeting], that the Organization's sphere of action should be widened and that the Economic and Social Council—of which Spain is a member—should both deepen and widen its activities.

76. The programmes of technical assistance and the recently established Special Fund are both directly connected with international aid. The proposed International Development Association will provide a valuable contribution in this field. Its establishment will help in the vast problem of helping and raising the standards of the under-developed areas.

77. In recent years Spain has undertaken an agricultural, hydraulic and industrial programme which has transformed the entire country, and this, in a country with an economy which has until quite recently developed in enforced isolation. For that reason we have a better understanding of the peoples which are seeking aid and only receive it through international bodies.

78. I must mention a new and decisive step taken in Spain through our currency stabilization and trade liberalization plan, recently initiated as a consequence of our admission to membership in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) and with the special assistance and co-operation of the last two bodies. Our membership in OEEC has brought us into the European movement. Economically speaking, Spain is not confining itself to this very important regional group but is hoping to widen its relations in this field with other countries, other continents and especially with the Spanish-American world, with which we have particularly close ties, as I have already said. We share the hope that all the countries of Spanish origin place in international economic assistance from the United Nations and the agencies connected with it.

79. We fully agree with the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Taboada [797th meeting], in his chivalrous expression of gratitude to the United States for the aid which it has provided out of its own flourishing economy, and is still providing, to countries needing economic assistance to help them transform their economies and utilize their resources.

80. In conclusion, I should like to point out that these actions on our part are similar to those taken in other countries. We take pleasure in coincidence, repetition, the wholesome monotony of the words spoken by powerful human groups in connexion with progress, improvement, and the work of justice. We must not omit a reference, now we are touching on this theme, to the industrious search for the material

improvement of mankind as a basis for its spiritual advancement. St. Thomas considered extreme poverty as a condition ill-adapted to the practice of virtue. On that subject we have heard not just statements, but pleas: we have been moved and impressed by the number of speakers who have appealed for action on these lines. And it is food for thought that the general debate opened with a remarkable speech [797th meeting] by the Brazilian representative inspired by a very promising plan, "Operation Pan-America"—which we might call "Operation Kubitschek"—devoted to relief of this great human need, so that the Assembly opened on an auspicious note.

81. Mr. MONTERO DE VARGAS (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): We Latin Americans are all proud of you, Mr. Belaúnde. Your unanimous election to the high and distinguished office of President of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations places you in a privileged position. To me personally it has been a great satisfaction to witness the tribute that has been paid by all countries of the world to your effective, generous and humane work, to your ceaseless activity for many years on behalf of the United Nations, its Charter and its fundamental Purposes and Principles.

82. Your feeling for humanity and your philosophy of life, your steadfast faith in God, which at all times have marked your efforts and activities in this world forum, place you, as I have already said, in a privileged position on the international stage. I should like to extend to you and to Peru, your country, our congratulations on this recognition of your great personal qualities. On behalf of Paraguay, on my own personal behalf, and on behalf of all the members of my delegation, I offer the sincere wish that your efforts may be crowned with the fullest measure of success and that they may bring prestige to all America and to all our peoples, so closely linked in a common destiny.

83. As Chairman of the Paraguayan delegation, I speak for the Government and the people of Paraguay when I express our deep appreciation of the gigantic task which the Secretary-General is carrying out on behalf of the United Nations. Because of his efforts, the Organization is daily gaining prestige through the formation of a more favourable attitude among the nations of the world, an attitude of confidence and hope in the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter. The personal renown which the Secretary-General has won in fostering a world public opinion in favour of the United Nations is a very valuable contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. Mr. Hammarskjöld's policy of visiting so many different countries, where personal contacts help to increase knowledge and understanding of the problems which confront the United Nations, has enabled the peoples to appreciate more and more the role being played in the world by this Organization.

84. Paraguay recently had the privilege and satisfaction of receiving a visit from the Secretary-General which was of great importance to our country. Paraguay is a small and sparsely populated country, but our people have always had a profound belief in the rule of law as the only means of solving the problems which may often degenerate into conflicts between nations. Paraguay is a united nation, as the Secretary-General has seen, a nation formed from a

new race which has sprung from the absorption of the proud Spaniards by the Guarani race, equally renowned for its pride and its warm-heartedness.

85. With this background, the Paraguayan nation has emerged without encountering problems of race or religion or even of social divisions. Paraguay is a homogeneous nation, conscious of its social and ethnic unity which provides a bulwark for the defence of its destiny and its progress.

86. Such was the people that welcomed the Secretary-General on his recent visit to Paraguay, and informed him, through its Government spokesmen, of its anxieties and its hopes, and at the same time of the great efforts being made to build a better way of life more in agreement with the principles of an honest peace-loving nation which is an ardent defender of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

87. It is an honour for me to express to the Secretary-General our deepest gratitude for his support and understanding of the aspirations of the people of Paraguay in their peaceful struggle to achieve the progress and well-being, of which they are so much in need, and also for the privilege which we conferred on us in visiting our country.

88. It is an honour and a pleasure for me to express the views of Paraguay before this fourteenth session of the General Assembly, and to reaffirm our faith in the work of this international body which was specially created to preserve international peace and security and, at the same time, to fashion a better world by endeavouring to promote the progress and happiness of all peoples.

89. A great deal has been said on this rostrum about the aspirations of peoples and Governments and about their attitude to world problems. Paraguay too, wishes to make its voice heard, the voice of a people which is working for the peace of all nations and which at all times has pursued its destiny under the banner of law and justice. We shall touch on only a few of the problems, since their diversity makes it impossible to study them all, and we shall express our views at a later date on those problems which we are leaving alone for the moment.

90. We are deeply disturbed by the ever more appalling dangers which attend the armaments race, when every day brings the announcement of the invention of new and deadly weapons capable of destroying ever larger areas of the world and bringing about the complete disappearance of human life, which could be overwhelmed and destroyed from distant points of the earth almost without possibility of detection. We have also pondered on the words and deeds reflecting the position of the leading countries of the world in connexion with the dangers of a permanently armed peace.

91. We have listened attentively too to the aspirations expressed by those peoples and Governments which, though they do not possess the means of keeping up with scientific progress or the economic background needed for technological development, nevertheless ardently seek disarmament on the moral and spiritual level. These nations earnestly desire, too, the limitation of armaments and armed forces, together with the abolition of nuclear weapons, the destruction of stock-piles, and the prohibition of the manufacture of such weapons. They also desire to see the peaceful use of

outer space assured, and adequate provision for international control.

92. As representative of the people and Government of Paraguay, I wish to express the hope that the personal contacts between world leaders, and the future meetings of organizations created by the United Nations to seek a solution to this vital problem for mankind, will conduce towards better understanding and greater harmony, in order that the peoples of the world may live without brooding daily on the fearful destiny that awaits mankind if a rapid understanding is not reached among the great Powers.

93. We are very anxious for a system of disarmament accompanied by adequate international control, without which there can be no feelings of security and trust among the nations. We do not believe in declarations of peaceful intentions unless they are made against this background of international control, which must be established before the introduction of any real measure of disarmament.

94. We all have been witnesses of, and participants in, the efforts made by the United Nations to reach an effective agreement on the question of disarmament. Year after year we listen to debates, exchanges of views, and declarations, but every time, whatever we may do, we come up against an insoluble problem, that of the acceptance of complete international control wherever it may be necessary and absolutely independent of alien factors which might create antagonism and ill-feeling between the great Powers. The people and Government of Paraguay are well aware of this aspect of the problem and, as a nation of western culture we firmly believe in the sincerity of the efforts that are being made by the United States, the United Kingdom and France to have a system of control accepted as the cornerstone of future measures for armaments limitation, the abolition of nuclear weapons, the destruction of stocks and the prohibition of the manufacture of such weapons. Having stated its position clearly and honestly, Paraguay expresses the hope that the future may offer some more favourable solution for this fundamental problem of disarmament.

95. The so called cold war which is so often mentioned in this Assembly is another aspect of the same problem, which disturbs the conscience of mankind. Severe frictions exist in certain parts of the world which unfortunately encourage the use of force and certainly endanger the delicate balance of power while at the same time giving rise to inordinate attempts at domination. We are very concerned by the stationing of military forces on the Indian frontier by a nation whose ambition is to achieve hegemony over a large part of the globe. We sincerely hope that this problem will be quickly solved and that there will be no repetition of such incidents.

96. The same cold war has created a very difficult situation in the Kingdom of Laos, where there has been foreign interference on the part of the adherents of certain ideologies who can only establish their influence by force and destruction. Happily the revolt, as this strange method of violating a people's integrity has been called, has been met by action in the Security Council. We await with confidence the result of this action and we hope that peace and tranquillity will be quickly restored to the Kingdom of Laos.

97. Distressing events have also occurred in Tibet. The forces of Communist China, seeking complete

domination, compelled the Dalai Lama to leave his country and seek refuge in India after a spectacular and perilous flight. The result of this action was the annihilation of a large part of the population of Tibet who are defending their age-old religion and liberty. We raise our voice in solidarity with the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people, and we protest strongly against the extermination of a people which desires to preserve its religion and its ancient way of life.

98. Other problems on which we should like to focus attention concern the self-determination of peoples. First of all, we would refer to the question of Cyprus. In connexion with this problem we can say that the United Nations contributed in large measure to the achievement of peace and to the final settlement of the problem of this island, which will soon be free and independent. We should like to pay tribute to the Governments of the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece for their good will, and to the Cypriot people, of both Greek and Turkish origin, for having contributed, through their conciliatory attitude, to the achievement of a solution to the problem which had preoccupied many General Assemblies of this Organization. The happy solution of this problem of Cyprus should serve as an encouragement to the United Nations to continue its work in connexion with problems arising from the aspirations of peoples.

99. The Algerian question is a matter of great concern to us. When previous General Assemblies took up this problem, world attention was aroused and this helped to clarify the situation. The President of France, General de Gaulle, has now offered a more reasonable solution to the problem. We hope that the new proposals for discussion and negotiation will be considered by the parties directly concerned, and so offer a new opportunity to France and the Algerians to seek a satisfactory settlement and a means of living together which will be acceptable to both sides. We earnestly desire friendship between France and the Algerian peoples, and we are therefore in favour of direct negotiations between the parties. We also think that, since there is now a possibility of a satisfactory outcome, it is better to await a direct settlement. We hope that France and the people of Algeria will find peace in a settlement which will enable them, in the future, to maintain friendship based on mutual respect.

100. Paraguay is a member of the Trusteeship Council. In the work of this important organ over the past year, it has found occasion to emphasize repeatedly its support for self-determination for the peoples hitherto under the trusteeship and protection of the United Nations. In all cases we have argued that it is the duty of the Administering Authorities to prepare these peoples to assume responsibility for their own future in the shortest possible time. We shall spare no effort in this direction and we shall work constantly for the future of these peoples. In a few months, a number of nations which the Trusteeship Council has helped towards preparedness and political maturity will attain their independence. We salute the future free countries of the Cameroons, Togoland and Somalia, and we look forward confidently to their prompt entry into the United Nations, with a view to receiving their co-operation in strengthening the prestige and unity of the international community.

101. Another item of great interest to my delegation is that relating to the freedom of the seas and of international rivers and waterways. We have listened

to many statements in the course of the general debate, as well as many arguments for and against free passage through the Suez Canal. Paraguay enjoys excellent relations with the United Arab Republic and is a staunch admirer of its people, as it is of the people and Government of Israel, so that the statement which I shall make is in the nature of an appeal and an expression of hope that a sincere understanding and an agreement will soon be reached which will make transit through the Suez Canal free to all shipping under any flags wishing to pass through it on their peaceful and lawful errands.

102. Paraguay has always defended the principle of the freedom of the seas and of international waterways and canals. Its whole history as an inland country offers examples of this unswerving policy. Because it has had experience of this type of problem and because it is familiar with the trouble and unpleasantness which restrictions on this freedom can cause to any country, Paraguay fervently hopes that the United Arab Republic and Israel may be able to reach a peaceful understanding on the use of and passage through the Suez Canal.

103. In our view, an agreement of this kind would do a great deal to diminish the international tension which is now a feature of relations in that part of the world. Reaching an agreement does not mean renouncing rights or relinquishing sovereignty. We know perfectly well that the Suez Canal lies within the territory of the United Arab Republic and that the Republic's sovereignty extends over the Canal, but we make this appeal in our anxiety to see an amicable solution to the problem of free passage through this waterway, which is at present denied to Israel.

104. In regard to the problem of the economic development of the under-developed countries, my delegation would like to place on record the importance which Paraguay has always attached to United Nations technical assistance. Much has already been done in this direction and more and wider technical assistance services are envisaged for the future. The establishment of the Special Fund rounds off this extremely effective action by the United Nations. The Managing Director, Mr. Paul Hoffmann, is envisaging a target figure of \$100 million to cover the programmes of the Special Fund. Paraguay is contemplating a substantial increase in its contribution, with a view to assisting the operation and activities of the Special Fund which is doing and will do so much in future for the under-developed countries. We therefore greet with sincere appreciation the announcements which have been made regarding future contributions to the Special Fund, noting with special pleasure the United Kingdom's pledge of a substantial increase in its contribution and that made by the United States, which will continue to contribute on a large scale to the operations of this very important agency of the United Nations.

105. In the regional field, Paraguay's international policy is based on the inter-American system; accordingly, it attaches particular importance to all that relates to joint and positive action to secure a stable and lasting equilibrium and understanding within the American continent. We take particular satisfaction in keeping in close touch with and actively participating in all efforts made to strengthen inter-American relations, and especially anything

connected with the economic development of Latin America.

106. Paraguay attended the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States held at Santiago from 12-18 August 1959 under the auspices of the Organization of American States, in a spirit of harmony and understanding. Our attitude at this international meeting was clear and specific. As an illustration, I should like to quote, with his permission, what Mr. José Ramón Gutiérrez, leader of the Chilean delegation at this fourteenth session of the General Assembly, so pertinently said in this connexion:

" . . . The Organization in question has just achieved some very satisfactory results at Santiago as has been recalled here by other speakers. There is no need therefore for me to sing its praises. I will merely reiterate our faith in the effectiveness of its methods.

"However, I do feel that we should contribute something of our own experience in regard to a few of the matters with which we have to deal. At the Santiago Conference, the principle of non-inter-vention was of course reaffirmed.

"This principle which in the past placed the former Spanish colonies beyond the reach of any foreign jurisdiction threatening their recently-won independence, now forms part of a statement of principles for our own internal use. It is no less valuable for that reason.

"There is a tendency to meddle in the affairs of other Governments or to judge them from our own particular point of view. This is especially true where frontiers permit easy contact between individuals and even actual infiltration with a view to changing prevailing systems.

"This would be a most unfortunate policy as far as American coexistence is concerned". [817th meeting, paras. 123-127.]

This is a sound and positive approach to good inter-American understanding.

107. Much has already been said from this rostrum regarding the disastrous and almost non-existent state of economic development in Latin America, and also regarding the right of Latin America to act jointly and in harmony, in the international field, as a creative and steadying force. In this connexion, Paraguay warmly supports the principles put forward [797th meeting], so ably by the head of the Brazilian delegation at the current session of the General Assembly, Mr. Augusto Frederico Schmidt, in his lucid explanation of the plan which his chief, the President of the United States of Brazil, Mr. Juscelino Kubitschek, called "Operation Pan-America". As we understand it, this is in essence a plan to set in motion a gigantic effort on behalf of the political and economic development of Latin America, transforming static Pan-Americanism into a philosophy equipped to cope with the anxieties and realities of the present or contemporary world.

108. The President of Paraguay had occasion to say, replying to the message from the President of the United States of Brazil:

"Paraguay is and has always been devoted to the principles of continental solidarity, and shares the

zeal inspiring your Government's activities in this Pan-American crusade, formally initiated by the exchange of letters between Your Excellency and His Excellency Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America. That is the reason why I intimated to you my Government's sympathy with your anxieties and aims.

"The Government of Paraguay agrees fully with your view that America should participate dynamically in problems of international scope in accordance with its contribution, its responsibility and the risk it assumes in the settlement of world conflicts, and Paraguay is therefore willing to participate, to the same extent as the other nations of this continent, in what Your Excellency has called 'Operation Pan-America'.

"I share whole-heartedly in the tribute you paid to the United States as a nation which has made many sacrifices, and is doing its duty towards the world, on behalf of international law and in defence of human dignity. This sacrifice will always be worthy of remembrance by the other nations, and will serve as a moral basis for continental solidarity.

"I agree with Your Excellency that investment for the advancement of the backward areas, inten-

sified technical assistance, protection against fluctuations in prices of raw materials and products and a reconstruction of the international financial organs are fundamental problems which America should approach with speed and energy. I therefore offer Your Excellency the collaboration of the people and Government of Paraguay in the task of laying the necessary economic, social, cultural, and political foundations for genuine American progress towards a happy solution of world problems".

We Paraguayans regard this as the legitimate attitude of a country which sincerely desires to contribute to the growth of our American continent and thus to strengthen peace and mutual respect throughout the world.

109. In conclusion, may I express the heartfelt wish that the deliberations of this fourteenth session of the General Assembly may prove of benefit to the future of this world of ours, and in particular to all the peoples in all parts of the world whose hopes are centred on this great international organization, the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

