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President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

Message to the General Assembly from
His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

1. The PRESIDENT: Before coming to the first item on the agenda this morning, I have the honour to read the following gracious message to the General Assembly from His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie of Ethiopia:

"When during the course of this year the big Powers were to meet in Paris last May to discuss major issues that affect world peace, the small Powers, though not parties to the conference, were hopeful that steps would be taken to remove certain obstacles that have for a long time been hindrances to world peace. At that time the proposed Summit Conference did not achieve the hopes of the world. Today, when the United Nations is holding its fifteenth annual session, many Heads of State are participating in its deliberations as heads of their respective delegations. We therefore hope that out of this session will result decisions that will remove the issues that have so far divided the nations. The presence of so many Heads of State at this opening session shows the great role the Organization is playing with regard to world peace.

"We had repeatedly stated that meetings among leaders are of great importance for the good relations among nations. We therefore hope that the Heads of State now in New York will avail themselves of the opportunity to discuss and exchange views on issues of mutual interest to them and to the world in general.

"Today, when the Organization opens its fifteenth session, the most pressing issue of the moment for us Africans is the Congo situation. It is our sincere hope that the Assembly will give priority to this important matter and reach a decision whereby the independence, integrity and security of the Congo is safeguarded as well as the civil strife stopped.

"Ethiopia, being a faithful member of the League of Nations and a founding Member of the United Nations Organization, has always been a loyal supporter of the basic principles inscribed in the Charter. In the future too she will continue to support these same principles and be guided by them in her relationship with other States.

"On the occasion of the opening of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the Organization, we send our greetings and extend our best wishes to those assembled that they may succeed in their endeavours for the cause of world peace.

"HAILE SELASSIE I, Emperor"

2. I am sure it will be the wish of the General Assembly that the Secretary-General, in replying to His Imperial Majesty, should convey to him the sincere thanks of the General Assembly for this gracious message and an assurance of the inspiration and encouragement which we have derived from it. That is the wish of the General Assembly, and it shall be so done.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

3. Mr. LAFER (Brazil): Mr. President, I am deeply gratified and honoured to be able to congratulate you, in the name of Brazil, upon your election to the presidency of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. Our fifteenth session will, no doubt, be one of the most important held by this Organization; and the guidance of its activities requires a dependable helmsman of acknowledged capability and impartiality, as is the case with Your Excellency, to whom I wish to renew my tribute.

4. Only a short time ago the American nations held in Costa Rica one of their most important conferences of foreign ministers. The most significant outcome of this conference was the affirmation of solidarity of the countries of this continent with regard to the principles and ideals that have formed the basis of our peoples' aspirations.

5. Nineteen nations of this hemisphere solemnly reaffirmed that the régime accepted by the American peoples as compatible with their traditions and collective aspirations is that régime characterized by the free expression of thought, by free elections, by the separation of powers, by the limitations upon the terms of elective office, and by respect for civil liberties and human rights. At the same time, these nineteen nations declared that they attached quite as much importance to the need for economic development of their peoples as to these political aspirations. It was with this preoccupation in mind that the President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek, proposed the plan now known as Operation Pan America. Its basic aim

is to lay the foundation of a close economic solidarity among the nations of the continent, so that, in the spirit of the ideals of peace, freedom and democracy which characterize our political philosophy, it may be possible to foster the economic and social progress of Latin America as speedily as possible.

6. After the close of the Costa Rica conference, the American nations assembled in Bogotá, where the nineteen countries of the continent again accepted collectively a plan for social progress submitted by President Eisenhower, as well as measures to promote their economic development, within the objectives of Operation Pan America. Thus, the Latin American countries reaffirmed their desire to solve their dramatic problems of economic growth without sacrificing the ideals of freedom and respect for human dignity. Only two abstentions were recorded, and we hope that these will shortly disappear.

7. What is the real meaning of this consensus of opinion among the American countries in the United Nations? It means that America has its politico-social policy defined and adopted, and staunchly defends it. But this definition does not exclude respect for the ideas of others, particularly since intransigence is impossible today.

8. Indeed, peaceful coexistence of peoples is an imperative in our time. The development of nuclear weapons has ruled out war as an alternative instrument of policy. Faced with the inadmissibility of resorting to war as a solution, the world is confronted with the necessity of settling through negotiation those differences that separate nations. The only feasible path leading to a solution of the problems of our age is that of permanent negotiation, the persistent determination to continue to negotiate. The United Nations is not a super-state, but is, rather, an affirmation that the world must live in a continuous, patient, constant state of negotiation. It is a mechanism that offers maximum opportunities for meetings and lines of compromise. Although it is true that this process of negotiation may always entail the risk of a stalemate, it is equally true that it is the only means for arriving at solutions that will assure the survival of mankind.

9. Nonetheless, to attain this state of peaceful coexistence that we are all seeking, a basic premise, a point of departure, must be fixed. This premise is the acceptance by each one of the reality, just or unjust, of nations with régimes, ideologies, and organizations, not as we would wish them to be, but as they are today. This acceptance must be accompanied by the pledge of non-intervention, direct or indirect, by one ideology in the sphere of another. How can we aspire to disarmament, cessation of the cold war and unrest, if there is fear that some countries wish to destroy or dominate others? So long as the principle of the status quo of the present political geography among the existing politico-ideological organizations is not accepted, we shall waver between the cold war and the prospect of catastrophe. In this connexion, a relevant role can be played, vis-à-vis the major protagonists in the current political scene, by the lesser, anti-war Powers, which can become the impartial interpreters of the world's desire for peace. Attempts to modify the order existing today will merely delay the establishment of an understanding which is indispensable if the world is to look forward to disarmament, peaceful coexistence,

and an end to the cold war. The stalemate in efforts to achieve disarmament stems from the lack of mutual confidence. Why not negotiate this point of departure right now?

10. The problem has another aspect, which the President of Brazil has constantly stressed: only economic development can consolidate peace among nations. The world spends at least \$100,000 million per year on armaments, while the industrialized countries have in the last ten years spent only about \$40,000 million on aid, assistance, investments, etc., for the under-developed areas of the world. It is inconceivable that armaments, garrisons, and armies should be done away with; this Virgilian scene is chimerical. But the arms race can be brought to a halt, by applying the resources thus saved to economic development. Why, then, not adopt in a special conference a system whereby the Powers would pool their savings effected by an arms reduction and turn them into a United Nations international development fund? It would be very difficult to devote, in addition to the large sums turned over to this fund, an equivalent sum to armaments as well. It would mean paying twice. Brazil supports the efforts to achieve international disarmament by realistic means in technically studied and effectively controlled stages. The accumulation of funds through decreases in expenditures for arms, linked with a percentage of resources that more highly developed countries could lend to this fund would instill life into the field abandoned and forgotten by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Finance. The United Nations will win everyone's heart the day it enters upon the path of ample, generous programmes of co-operation that will promote the social well-being and economic progress of nations.

11. In the United Nations' fifteen years of existence, we have not succeeded in creating genuinely effective instruments of economic co-operation, nor has international peace been consolidated. But the United Nations is, none the less, humanity's great hope today and constitutes, with all its serious limitations, the best instrument for diplomatic negotiations and the most perfect mechanism for maintaining the peace that we have been able to devise to date. The vigour, energy and speed with which the Security Council acted in the crisis involving the Congo are proof of the Organization's real possibilities. With the Council paralysed by the veto, an emergency special session of the General Assembly was immediately called under the provision of the "Uniting for peace" resolution [377 A (V)]. At that session, which ended two days ago, the Assembly approved without a negative vote the resolution [1474 (ES-IV)] that will make it possible for the United Nations to continue its activities in the Congo without disruption or delay. And it behooves me here to say a special word of praise and encouragement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, who, with patience, courage, devotion and impartiality, has faithfully interpreted and forcefully expressed the yearning for peace which lies behind the anxiety with which the people of the world look upon the dangerous and delicate situation in the Congo.

12. Brazil, through officers of its air force, is participating in the effort being made by the United Nations to maintain law and order in the Republic of the Congo. Bound by cultural and historic ties to the peoples of Africa, conscious of the geographic affinities

and the heritage of blood which link us with the nations of the black continent, the Brazilians follow with extreme interest the awakening of their African brothers. And here we extend our sincere and whole-hearted welcome to the States newly admitted to the United Nations.

13. In Suez, also, with hundreds and hundreds of Brazilian soldiers, we are paying the price of peace in the hope that the Middle East may reach a peaceful solution of coexistence, in a spirit of mutual respect and self-determination.

14. If peace hinges upon the criterion, as we have pointed out, of a previous, preliminary, basic understanding, economic development has yet to find the means to attain it.

15. It is encouraging that one of the items to be considered by the General Assembly is that entitled "Economic development of under-developed countries", a problem that has been of concern to us since the establishment of the United Nations. Some important steps were taken with the creation of the Special Fund at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1240 (XIII)], and that of the Committee for Industrial Development at the twenty-ninth session of the Economic and Social Council [resolution 751 (XXIX)]. But there still remains on our agenda the question of establishing a development fund with resources for financing and expanding the economy of the under-developed countries where over a billion human beings await the social justice to which they are entitled. We are certain that the capital development fund will win full acceptance in the Assembly.

16. The Brazilian Government, together with various other countries, this year sponsored the request for including in the agenda of this session the item referring to racial discrimination. Brazil has always supported all recommendations presented in the United Nations opposing the policies of segregation based upon differences of race, colour, or religion, which are repugnant to the conscience of the Brazilian people and are clearly condemned by the Charter. Brazil submitted a draft resolution to the Council of the Organization of American States expressing repudiation of any and all forms of racial discrimination and segregation, a proposal which was adopted unanimously by the American States. In this connexion, I wish to recall that Brazil subscribed to and ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations [resolution 260 (III)]. Racial persecution is contrary to the spirit and the purposes of the United Nations, and Brazil, with the civilized world, most vehemently condemns it.

17. This session opens in an atmosphere of anxiety. Public opinion is fearful lest the men responsible for their Governments may not find the formulas conducive to peace. Antagonisms are strong and deep-rooted. Allow me to conclude with the earnest hopes of the people of Brazil, and I trust of the entire world, that the wisdom of the statesmen present here may find the way, not to unify thought and action—an impossibility—but to allow each one in his sphere to respect his fellow man and make possible coexistence with a just peace.

18. Mr. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America: The people of the United States

join me in saluting those countries which, at this session of the General Assembly, are represented here for the first time. With the admission of new Members, mainly from the giant continent of Africa, almost one hundred nations will be joined in a common effort to construct permanent peace, with justice, in a sorely troubled world.

19. The drive of self-determination and of rising human aspirations is creating a new world of independent nations in Africa, even as it is producing a new world both of ferment and of promise in all developing areas. An awakening humanity in these regions demands as never before that we make a renewed attack on poverty, illiteracy and disease.

20. Side by side with these startling changes, technology is also in revolution. It has brought forth terrifying weapons of destruction which, for the future of civilization, must be brought under control through a workable system of disarmament. And it has also opened up a new world of outer space—a celestial world filled with both bewildering problems and dazzling promise.

21. This is, indeed, a moment for honest appraisal and historic decision. We can strive to master these problems for narrow national advantage or we can begin at once to undertake a period of constructive action which will subordinate selfish interest to the general well-being of the international community. The choice is truly a momentous one.

22. Today I come before you because our human commonwealth is once again in a state of anxiety and turmoil. Urgent issues confront us.

23. The first proposition I place before you is that only through the United Nations and its truly democratic processes can humanity make real and universal progress towards the goal of peace with justice. Therefore, I believe that to support the United Nations and its properly constituted mechanisms and its selected officers is the road of greatest promise in peaceful progress. To attempt to hinder or stultify the United Nations or to deprecate its importance is to contribute to world unrest and, indeed, to incite the crises that from time to time so disturb all men. The United States stands squarely and unequivocally in support of the United Nations and those acting under its mandate in the interest of peace.

24. Nowhere is the challenge to the international community and to peace and orderly progress more evident than in Africa, rich in human and natural resources and bright with promise. Recent events there have brought into being what is, in effect, a vast continent of newly independent nations.

25. Outside interference with these newly emerging nations, all eager to undertake the tasks of modernization, has created a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations. That authority has grown steadily during the fifteen years since the United Nations pledged, in the words of its own Charter, "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". And during those years the United Nations successfully supported Iran's efforts to obtain the withdrawal of foreign military forces, played a significant role in preserving the independence of

Greece, rallied world resistance to aggression against the Republic of Korea, helped to settle the Suez Crisis; countered the threat to Lebanon's integrity, and, most recently, has taken on an even more important task.

26. In response to the call of the Republic of the Congo, the United Nations, under its outstanding Secretary-General, has recently mounted a large-scale effort to provide that new Republic with help. That effort has been flagrantly attacked by a few nations which wish to prolong strife in the Congo for their own purposes. The criticism directed by these nations against the Secretary-General, who has honourably and effectively fulfilled the mandate which he received from the United Nations, is nothing less than a direct attack upon the United Nations itself. In my opinion the Secretary-General has earned the support and the gratitude of every peace-loving nation.

27. The people of the Congo are entitled to build up their country in peace and freedom. Intervention by other nations in their internal affairs would deny them that right and create a focus of conflict in the heart of Africa. The issue thus posed in the Congo could well arise elsewhere in Africa. The resolution of this issue will determine whether the United Nations is able to protect not only the new nations of Africa, but also other countries against outside pressures.

28. It is the smaller nations that have the greatest stake in the effective functioning of the United Nations.

29. If the United Nations system is successfully subverted in Africa, the world will be on its way back to the traditional exercise of power politics, in which small countries will be used as pawns by aggressive major Powers. Any nation, seduced by glittering promises into becoming a cat's-paw for an imperialistic Power, thereby undermines the United Nations and places in jeopardy the independence of itself and all others.

30. It is imperative that the international community protect the newly emerging nations of Africa from outside pressures that threaten their independence and their sovereign rights. To this end, I propose a programme which contains five major elements:

31. First, a pledge by all countries represented at this session to respect the African peoples' right to choose their own way of life and to determine for themselves the course they wish to follow. This pledge would involve these specific commitments: to refrain from intervening in these new nations' internal affairs—by subversion, force, propaganda, or any other means; to refrain from generating disputes between the States of this area or from encouraging them to wasteful and dangerous competition in armaments; and to refrain from any action to intensify or exploit present unsettled conditions in the Congo—by sending arms or forces into that troubled area, or by inciting its leaders and peoples to violence against each other.

32. These actions my country and many others are now avoiding. I hope that the Assembly will call upon all its Members to do likewise, and that each speaker who follows me to this platform will solemnly pledge his country to honour this call.

33. Second, the United Nations should be prepared to help the African countries maintain their security

without wasteful and dangerous competition in armaments.

34. United Nations experts are being asked to train the Congo's security forces. If the Secretary-General should find it useful to undertake increased activity in order to meet requests of this nature elsewhere, my country would be glad to join other Member States in making essential contributions to such United Nations activity.

35. More important, I hope that the African States will use existing, or establish new, regional machinery in order to avert an arms race in this area. In so doing, they would help to spare their continent the ravages which the excesses of chauvinism have elsewhere inflicted in the past. If, through concerted effort, these nations can choke off competition in armaments, they can give the whole world a welcome lesson in international relations.

36. The speed and success of the United Nations in dispatching substantial forces to the Congo should give these States assurance that they can rely on the United Nations to organize an effective response if their security is threatened. This should reduce any pressures on them to raise larger forces than are required to maintain internal security. Thus they would help to free their resources for more constructive purposes.

37. Third, we should all support the United Nations response to emergency needs in the Republic of the Congo which the Secretary-General has shown such skill in organizing. I hope that States represented here will pledge substantial resources to this international programme, and agree that it should be the preferred means of meeting the Congo's emergency needs. The United States supports the establishment of a United Nations fund for the Congo. We are prepared to join other countries by contributing substantially for immediate emergency needs to the \$100 million programme that the Secretary-General is proposing.

38. Fourth, the United Nations should help newly developing African countries to shape their long-term modernization programmes.

39. To this end, the United Nations Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance should be increased so that in combination they can reach their annual \$100 million goal in 1961. The Special Fund's functions should be expanded so that it can assist countries in planning economic development.

40. The United Nations programme for the provision of operational, executive and administrative personnel for making available trained administrators to newly developing countries should be expanded and placed on a permanent basis. The United States is prepared to join other countries in contributing increased funds for this programme, for the Special Fund, and for the United Nations technical assistance programme.

41. The International Bank and the International Monetary Fund should be encouraged increasingly to provide counsel to the developing countries of Africa through missions and resident advisers. We should also look forward to appropriate and timely financial assistance from these two multilateral financial sources as the emerging countries qualify for their aid.

42. Of course, many forms of aid will be needed, both public and private, on a bilateral and multilateral basis. For this assistance to be most effective it must be related to the basic problems and changing needs of the African countries themselves.

43. Fifth, I propose, as the final element of this programme, an all-out United Nations effort to help African countries launch such educational activities as they may wish to undertake. It is not enough that loud-speakers in the public square exhort people to freedom. It is also essential that the people should be furnished with the mental tools to preserve and develop their freedom.

44. The United States is ready to contribute to an expanded programme of educational assistance to Africa by the family of United Nations organizations, carried out as the Secretary-General may deem appropriate, and according to the ideas of the African nations themselves.

45. One of the first purposes of this assistance, after consultation and approval by the Governments involved, might be to establish, staff and maintain—until these Governments or private agencies could take over—institutes for health education, for vocational training, for public administration and statistics, and perhaps for other purposes. Each institute would be appropriately located and specifically dedicated to training the young men and women of that vast region, who are now called upon to assume the incredibly complex and important responsibilities inherent in an explosive emergence into nationhood.

46. If the African States should wish to send large numbers of their citizens for training abroad under this programme, my country would be glad to set up a special commission to co-operate with the United Nations in arranging to accommodate many more of these students in our institutions of learning.

47. These then are the five ingredients of the programme I propose for Africa: non-interference in the African countries' internal affairs; help in assuring their security without wasteful and dangerous competition in armaments; emergency aid to the Congo; international assistance in shaping long-term African development programmes; United Nations aid for education. Such a programme could go far to assure the African countries the clear chance at the freedom, domestic tranquillity and progress they deserve.

48. The changes which are occurring in Africa are also evident elsewhere. Indeed, Africa is but one part of the new world of change and progress which is emerging in all the developing areas. We must carry forward and intensify our programmes of assistance for the economic and social development in freedom of other areas, particularly in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East.

49. Beyond this, we must never forget that there are hundreds of millions of people, particularly in the less developed parts of the world, suffering from hunger and malnutrition, even though a number of countries, my own included, are producing food in surplus. This paradox should not be allowed to continue. The United States is already carrying out substantial programmes to make its surpluses available to countries of greatest need. My country is also ready to join with other Members of the United Nations in devising a workable scheme to

provide food to Member States through the United Nations system relying on the advice and assistance of the Food and Agriculture Organization. I hope the Assembly, at this session, will seriously consider a specific programme for carrying forward the promising food and peace programme.

50. In the developing areas, we must seek to promote peaceful change, as well as to assist economic and social progress. To do this—to assist peaceful change—the international community must be able to manifest its presence in emergencies through United Nations observers or forces. I should like to see Member countries take positive action on the suggestions contained in the introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/4390/Add.1] looking to the creation of a qualified staff within the Secretariat to assist him in meeting future needs for United Nations forces.

51. To regularize the United Nations emergency force potential, I proposed in 1958 [733rd meeting] the creation of stand-by arrangements for United Nations forces. Some progress has been made since that time. Much remains to be done.

52. The Secretary-General has now suggested that Members should maintain a readiness to meet possible future requests from the United Nations for contributions to such forces. All countries represented here should respond to this need by earmarking national contingents which could take part in United Nations forces in case of need. The time to do it is now—at this session of the General Assembly.

53. I assure countries which now receive assistance from the United States that we favour the use of that assistance to help them maintain such contingents in the state of readiness suggested by the Secretary-General. To assist the Secretary-General's efforts, the United States is prepared to earmark also substantial air and sea transport facilities on a stand-by basis, to help move contingents requested by the United Nations in any future emergency.

54. Over the long run, further progress toward increasing the United Nations' ability to respond to future needs is surely possible. The prospects for such progress, however, will remain just that—prospects—unless we move now to exploit the immediate possibilities for practical action suggested by the Secretary-General.

55. Another problem confronting us involves outer space. The emergence of this new world poses a vital issue: will outer space be preserved for peaceful use and developed for the benefit of all mankind, or will it become another focus for the arms race—and thus an area of dangerous and sterile competition? The choice is urgent, and it is ours to make.

56. The nations of the world have recently united in declaring the continent of Antarctica "off limits" to military preparations. We could extend this principle to an even more important sphere. National vested interests have not yet been developed in space or in celestial bodies. Barriers to agreement are now lower than they will ever be again. The opportunity may be fleeting. Before many years have passed, the point of no return may be behind us.

57. Let us remind ourselves that we had a chance in 1946 to ensure that atomic energy be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes. That chance was

missed when the Soviet Union turned down the comprehensive plan submitted by the United States for placing atomic energy under international control.

58. We must not lose the chance we still have to control the future of outer space. I propose that, first, we agree that celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation by any claims of sovereignty; second, we agree that the nations of the world shall not engage in warlike activities on these bodies; third, we agree, subject to appropriate verification, that no nation will put into orbit or station in outer space weapons of mass destruction; fourth all launchings of space craft should be verified in advance by the United Nations.

59. We press forward with a programme of international co-operation for constructive peaceful uses of outer space under the United Nations. Better weather forecasting, improved world-wide communications, and more effective exploration not only of outer space but of our own earth—these are but a few of the benefits of such co-operation. Agreement on these proposals would enable future generations to find peaceful and scientific progress, not another fearful dimension to the arms race, as they explore the universe.

60. But armaments must also be controlled here on earth, if civilization is to be assured of survival. These efforts must extend both to conventional and non-conventional armaments. My country has made specific proposals to this end during the past year. New United States proposals were put forward on 27 June in the Disarmament Commission [DC/154], with the hope that they could serve as the basis for negotiations to achieve general disarmament. The United States still supports these proposals.

61. The communist nations' walk-out at Geneva, when they learned that we were about to submit these proposals, brought negotiations to an abrupt halt. Their unexplained action does not, however, reduce the urgent need for arms control. My country believes that negotiations can—and should—soon be resumed.

62. Our aim is to reach agreement on all the various measures that will bring general and complete disarmament. Any honest appraisal, however, must recognize that this is an immense task. It will take time. We should not have to wait until we have agreed on all the detailed measures to reach this goal before we begin to move toward disarmament. Specific and promising steps to this end were suggested in our 27 June proposals.

63. If negotiations can be resumed, it may be possible to deal particularly with two pressing dangers—that of war by miscalculation and that of mounting nuclear weapons stockpiles.

64. The advent of missiles, with ever shorter reaction times, makes measures to curtail the dangers of war by miscalculation increasingly necessary. States must be able quickly to assure each other that they are not preparing aggressive moves—particularly in international crises, when each side takes steps to improve its own defences, which actions might be misinterpreted by the other. Such misinterpretation in the absence of machinery to verify that neither was preparing to attack the other, could lead to a war which no one had intended or wanted. Today the danger of war by miscalculation could be reduced, in times

of crisis, by the intervention, when requested by any nation seeking to prove its own peaceful intention, of an appropriate United Nations surveillance body. The question of methods can be left to the experts.

65. Thus the vital issue is not a matter of technical feasibility but the political willingness of individual countries to submit to inspection. The United States has taken the lead in this field.

66. Today, I solemnly declare, on behalf of the United States, that we are prepared to submit to any international inspection, provided only that it is effective and truly reciprocal. This step we will take willingly as an earnest of our determination to uphold the Preamble of the United Nations Charter which says that its purpose is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind..."

67. The United States wants the Soviet Union and all the nations of the world to know enough about United States defence preparations to be assured that United States forces exist only for deterrence and defence—not for surprise attack. I hope the Soviet Union will similarly wish to assure the United States and other nations of the non-aggressive character of its security preparations.

68. There is a more basic point. In an age of rapidly developing technology, secrecy is not only an anachronism—it is downright dangerous. To seek to maintain a society in which a military move can be taken in complete secrecy, while professing a desire to reduce the risk of war through arms control, is a contradiction.

69. A second danger which ought to be dealt with in early negotiations is posed by the growth and prospective spread of nuclear weapons stockpiles. To reverse this trend, I propose that the nations producing nuclear weapons immediately convene experts to design a system for terminating, under verification procedures, all production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. That termination would take effect as soon as the agreed inspection system has been installed and is operating effectively, while progress in other disarmament fields is also being sought.

70. The United States is prepared, in the event of a termination of production, to join the USSR in transferring substantial quantities of fissionable materials to international stockpiles. The United Nations Disarmament Commission has already heard Mr. Lodge's proposal [66th meeting] to set aside not pounds, as was proposed by the United States in 1954, but tons of fissionable materials for peaceful purposes. Additional transfers would be made as progress in other aspects of disarmament is accomplished.

71. If the USSR will agree to a cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, some production facilities could be closed without delay. The United States would be willing to match the USSR in shutting down major plants producing fissionable materials, one by one, under international inspection and verification.

72. The proposed working group of experts could also consider how to verify the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, which is part of the third stage

of our proposed disarmament programme of 27 June. There is as yet no known means of demonstrably accomplishing this; we would hope that the experts could develop such a system.

73. United States officials are willing to meet immediately with representatives of other countries for a preliminary exchange of views on these proposals. Some who have followed closely the many fruitless disarmament talks since the war tend to become cynical—to assume that the task is hopeless. This is not the position of the United States.

74. Men everywhere want to disarm. They want their wealth and labour to be spent not for war, but for food, for clothing, for shelter, for medicines, for schools. Time and again, the American people have voiced this yearning—to join with men of goodwill everywhere in building a better world. We always stand ready to consider any feasible proposal to this end, and, as I have said so many times, the United States is always ready to negotiate with any country which in integrity and sincerity shows itself ready to talk about any of these problems. We ask only this—that such a programme not give military advantage to any nation and that it permit men to inspect the disarmament of other nations.

75. A disarmament programme which is not inspected and guaranteed would increase, not reduce, the risk of war. The international control of atomic energy and general and complete disarmament can no more be accomplished by rhetoric than can the economic development of newly independent countries. Both of these immense tasks facing mankind call for serious, painstaking, costly, laborious and non-propaganda approaches.

76. I have specifically avoided in this address mention of several immediate problems that are troubling the United States and other nations. My failure to do so does not mean in any sense that they are not of great concern both to the United States and to the entire international community.

77. For example, accumulating evidence of threatening encroachments to the freedom of the people of West Berlin continues to disturb us deeply.

78. Another instance, though of special concern to the United States, the shooting down of an American aircraft on 1 July last over international waters, the apparent killing of four of its crew members and the imprisonment of two others on trumped-up spy charges is a shocking affront to the right of all nations to peaceful passage on and over the high seas. By its veto in the Security Council¹ the Soviet Union prevented a full investigation of the facts of the case. But these facts still demand to be heard as a proper matter for the consideration of an impartial tribunal.

79. The particular problems I have just mentioned are not merely isolated instances of disagreements among a few nations. They are central to the issue of peace itself, and illustrative of the continuous and interdependent nature of our respective national concerns. They must be confronted with the earnestness and seriousness which their settlement demands.

80. The basic fact today of all change in the domain of international affairs is the need to forge the bonds and build the structure of a true world community. The United Nations is available to mankind to help it create just such a community. It has accomplished what no nation singly, or any limited group of nations, could have accomplished. It has become the forum of all peoples, and the structure about which they can centre their joint endeavours to create a better future for our world.

81. We must guard jealously against those who in alternating moods look upon the United Nations as an instrument for use or abuse. The United Nations was not conceived as an Olympian organ to amplify the propaganda tunes of individual nations.

82. The generating force behind a successful United Nations must be the noble idea that a true international community can build a peace with justice if only people will work together patiently in an atmosphere of open trust.

83. In urging progress towards a world community, I cite the American concept of the destiny of a progressive society. Here in this land, in what was once a wilderness, we have generated a society and a civilization drawn from many sources. Yet out of this mixture of many peoples and faiths we have developed unity in freedom—a unity designed to protect the rights of each individual while enhancing the freedom and well-being of all.

84. This concept of unity in freedom, drawn from the diversity of many racial strains and cultures, we would like to see made a reality for all mankind. This concept should apply within every nation as it does among nations. We believe that the right of every man to participate, through his or her vote, in self-government is as precious as the right of each nation here represented to vote its own convictions in this Assembly. I should like to see a universal plebiscite in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity freely and secretly to answer this question: "Do you want this right?" Opposed to the idea of two hostile, embittered worlds in perpetual conflict, we envisage a single world community, as yet unrealized but advancing steadily towards fulfilment through our plans, our efforts and our collective ideas.

85. Thus we see, as our goal, not a super-State above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples.

86. As we enter the decade of the 1960's, let us launch a renewed effort to strengthen this international community, to forge new bonds between its Members in undertaking new ventures on behalf of all mankind. As we take up this task, let us not delude ourselves that the absence of war alone is a sufficient basis for a peaceful world. I repeat, we must also build a world of justice under law, and we must overcome poverty, illiteracy and disease.

87. We of the United States will join with you in making a mounting effort to build the structure of true peace—a peace in which all peoples may progress constantly to higher levels of human achievement. The means are at hand. We have but to use them with a wisdom and energy worthy of our cause.

88. I commend this great task to your hearts, to your minds, and to your willing hands. Let us go

¹/See Official Records of the Security Council Fifteenth Year, 883rd meeting.

forward together, leaving none behind. Thank you and God bless you.

89. Mr. TITO, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia:^{2/} Mr. President, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation and in my own name, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high and responsible function of President of this important session of the General Assembly.

90. May I be allowed to express my gratification at having the opportunity to attend the fifteenth session of the General Assembly here at United Nations Headquarters. The peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia have always attached an exceptional significance to the United Nations as the broadest and most important international organization, whose basic objectives, particularly the maintenance of peace and security in the world, embody the fundamental aspirations and needs of the international community.

91. I also wish to express, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation and in my own name, our satisfaction that the fifteenth session of the General Assembly is being attended by a large number of representatives of new Members of the United Nations, particularly of the African countries that have only recently attained their independence. This increase in membership is of particular significance as it has, in a positive sense, made the structure of United Nations membership more complete; the basic aspirations of the new Members of our Organization are undoubtedly directed towards the consolidation of the independence they have achieved, towards a more rapid internal development, towards a status of equality in the community of nations, and towards a contribution of their own to the preservation of peace and to the stabilization of the world situation. Such aspirations are fully in accord with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

92. We hope that the United Nations will achieve real and complete universality in the near future through the attainment of independence by all the peoples now under colonial rule, as well as through the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

93. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly acquires special significance for more than one reason: above all because this Assembly is confronted with highly important and difficult tasks, and because it is taking place in an international atmosphere which causes grave concern, in an atmosphere marked by a revival of the "cold war" and by complete uncertainty as to where all this may lead in the future. In our opinion, the world has perhaps never at any time since the end of the war gone through such a period of uncertainty as it is going through today. It is for this very reason that we should all see to it that the activities of our Organization and the manner in which they are carried out should always be in keeping with the spirit and the principles of the Charter and the fundamental rights and sovereignty of each Member State and of non-members as well. Otherwise, such activities would not serve their purpose and might well impair considerably the standing of the United Nations and the trust placed in the Organization.

94. There is little difficulty, we believe, in tracing the causes of the present situation, a situation which, unless the utmost efforts are made within this international Organization and already at the present session, might lead the world into a new catastrophe greater than any it has known in the past.

95. Fifteen years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War; and no solutions have as yet been found to any of the major issues it left in its wake. I shall not attempt to describe here the course of events, but shall merely say what has already been said so many times, that the main reason why none of the major international questions has been solved is to be sought precisely in the fact that a wrong course was embarked upon from the very outset, a course which consisted in seeking to settle outstanding international issues from positions of strength, and one which is still persistently favoured by certain influential circles.

96. What results has such a course brought to the world? It has led to a growing accumulation of new problems which are straining more and more an already tense international atmosphere.

97. The world had placed considerable expectations in the Summit Conference in Paris, and the failure of that Conference caused profound disappointment, particularly in view of what had preceded its failure and had been one of the main causes of that failure. This has confirmed the conviction of peace-loving peoples that the fate of the world should not be left to the decisions of only a few States, no matter how big, but as the issues involved are of interest to all, they should be decided jointly by countries large and small, and primarily through the United Nations and under its auspices, because it was precisely for this purpose that the international Organization was established. That is why we attach such importance to this fifteenth session of the General Assembly.

98. Of course, we have not come here to pour more oil upon the fire or to side with any of the extreme attitudes that may reflect present tense international relations. We have come with a desire, above all, to contribute as much as possible to the easing of world tensions and to express our belief that the eleventh hour has struck to embark upon a new constructive course in international relations, upon a course of peaceful solutions of outstanding issues, a course of consolidation and of international co-operation based upon equality, as well as upon peaceful, active coexistence.

99. We do not delude ourselves that any final solution can be found here and now in the United Nations to the major issues that constitute a permanent threat to world peace. It would, however, we feel, be a major success if the view prevailed at this session that everything should be done to prevent a further deterioration of the international situation and an aggravation of the cold war atmosphere, that it is essential to secure such a composition and such activities of the United Nations bodies as to ensure the performance of their functions in the most effective manner under the control of the Organization. This has prompted us to work actively in favour of the idea that Heads of States and of Governments should attend this session personally in order not only to consolidate but to enhance still further the prestige attained by the United Nations.

^{2/}President Tito spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

100. The responsibility of us all is far greater than could have been visualized fifteen years ago when the United Nations came into being. In the course of these fifteen years we have, on the one hand, witnessed the unprecedentedly rapid and successful advance in the field of natural sciences and technology, and, on the other, the increasingly vigorous, broad and active appearance on the stage of world history of the most numerous part of mankind that had hitherto been prevented from participating, on a footing of equality, in the shaping of its own destiny. However highly we may evaluate the positive contributions of the United Nations so far, we should not be blind to the fact that under the stress of the political conflicts and dissensions of the post-war period, which were reflected within the Organization, the latter has not been able to keep wholly abreast of the march of contemporary history.

101. There is a growing disparity between the brilliant successes achieved in the endeavour to harness the laws of nature to the service of man and the deplorable conditions in which the majority of mankind lives, a mankind which still has to struggle for the elementary right to an existence worthy of man. Not only those peoples that still have to fight for their independence, often at the cost of heavy sacrifices in human lives, but also those who have already acceded to statehood still find themselves in practice in a position of inequality as against the highly developed countries.

102. The hopes of a more substantial and lasting easing of international tensions, that were aroused a year ago, unfortunately, have failed to materialize.

103. In contrast to last year's session, which took place in the atmosphere of Camp David, an atmosphere of East-West negotiations, this year we are meeting in the shadow of the failure of the Summit Conference, of the breaking-off of the Geneva disarmament talks, and of the continual postponements in achieving the essential agreement on the banning of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests; in short, the tendency to increase tensions in East-West relations is growing and there is a revival of the cold war. These dangerous trends in the development of East-West relations are, on their part, creating an atmosphere of increasing mutual distrust.

104. These alarming trends have now also found expression in the recent demand to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, a demand which reveals the full gravity of the present international situation and would, if granted, diminish to a decisive degree the prospects of peace in Europe and in the world.

105. Although our people have, in the recent past, suffered severely at the hands of German militarism and fascism, we harbour no feelings of hatred towards the German people. We are, however, deeply concerned by the revival of militarism in the Federal Republic of Germany. I feel I have, in this connexion, to draw your particular attention to the mounting influence of military circles and to the revival of tendencies in West Germany that ominously recall the past. Such tendencies can, however, only do harm to the genuine interests of the German people and increase tension and uncertainty in the world. On the other hand, those who foster or facilitate such tendencies for the purpose of advancing their narrowly conceived interests assume a heavy responsibility.

106. In this same period, owing to the policies pursued toward dependent and newly independent countries by the colonial Powers, as well as by other Powers that support this policy for various reasons, the war in Algeria continues endlessly and conflicts and crises arise, as in the case of the Congo, of Cuba, Laos and West Irian, and seriously imperil world peace.

107. As Members of the United Nations, we cannot reconcile ourselves to such a state of affairs. Regardless of frequently differing views on this or that specific problem, or of a different appraisal of various situations and events, we can, all of us together, or at least a great majority of us, direct our efforts more energetically and more effectively towards a solution of the fundamental questions of our time.

108. In the first place, we should not allow mistrust and tension to render impossible a constructive solution of the major issues upon which world peace depends. Foremost among these issues is the problem of disarmament, which has, in our era of technological progress, assumed an exceptionally serious significance.

109. However, amidst the conditions of a revival of the cold war, it is not the arms race alone which impedes the settlement of other fundamental issues. The unsolved problems of the colonial world and the problem of the attainment of genuine independence and economic progress by new and under-developed States also hamper the creation of the necessary international atmosphere for the initiation of disarmament and for co-operation in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

110. The level of development reached by mankind and the crucial problems that have accompanied it increase our responsibility, but, at the same time, they augment our capabilities of impelling the course of history in a positive direction. It has been said frequently that the eyes of the world are turned towards this Assembly hall. Yet we must not forget that outside this hall there are hundreds of millions of people willing to support any constructive action on our part and, through the power of their will and of their numbers, to make it into a new step forward towards peace and a better life for all nations, for the people of all continents.

111. Although the disarmament problem is the greatest among all the problems awaiting solution, I should nevertheless like first to turn my attention to the most acute colonial problem. This is particularly justified in view of the powerful upsurge of national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere, and, more especially, of recent events in the Congo, which do not concern that country alone, but also Africa as a whole and the further development of independent African peoples.

112. The process of the national, economic, political and cultural emancipation of former colonies is a historical necessity. The liquidation of the obsolete economic, social and national relationships that constitute the essence of colonialism in its various forms makes it possible for numerous new States to emerge as constructive members of, and active factors in, the international community. These processes should not, therefore, be impeded; they should, rather, be approached in a constructive manner and the emer-

gence of newly independent nations should be encouraged, since the ending of various forms of colonial relationships in the modern world is part of the efforts of the whole of mankind to achieve universal peace and progress.

113. Unfortunately, these processes are still meeting with a lack of understanding and with resistance. Many colonial Powers and highly developed countries are unwilling to reconcile themselves to the ineluctable historical trends in Africa and in other under-developed areas. They seek to block these processes in various larger or smaller areas, on the strength of their acquired positions and of their material and other advantages, or to alter their course by various political, economic and military means. Such efforts, doomed as they are by history, and futile in the final analysis, give rise to or aggravate conflicts and crises, such as the persistent continuation of the war in Algeria, the events in South Africa, the recent developments in the Congo, and, in a different context, the tension in Laos, or the situation relating to Cuba, where the people, under the leadership of their revolutionary Government, won their freedom of which they had been deprived for so long, and are now exerting efforts to strengthen their independence on the basis of full equality. All these conflicts shake an already unstable world peace, the more so as they show an almost unavoidable tendency to become entangled with East-West antagonisms. These cold war conflicts also threaten on their part to spread to areas which had been or still are under colonial domination, and to transform the newly independent countries into new hotbeds of strife and war dangers.

114. As an excuse for such outside interference, the alleged incapacity and immaturity of the newly liberated countries and their lack of economic development have been invoked, particularly of late. It cannot, however, possibly be a mere coincidence that, as a rule, the countries that had until recently not been free are also the least developed ones. Although it is a fact that the newly liberated countries encounter numerous difficulties in their development, it is also a fact that these difficulties stem primarily from a long period of colonial rule and that a continuation of colonial relationships could only multiply and increase them.

115. In this connexion, I feel I have to dwell in particular on the situation concerning the Republic of the Congo. The Congo has been the scene of the most typical manifestations of a negative colonial policy, of interference from without for the purpose of safeguarding the narrow interests of those forces and circles which cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their privileged positions and interests.

116. The recognition of the independence of the Congo was construed by these circles merely as a façade behind which economic exploitation could be continued and other forms of dependence maintained. When this policy met with the resistance of the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo, these circles resorted to various forms of more or less open interference, to the organizing of rebellion, to the secession of individual provinces, to the subversion of the Government, and so forth. Belgium, which had ruled the country and which persistently opposed a withdrawal of its troops, undoubtedly bears a particular responsibility for the adverse developments in the Congo. Part of the

responsibility is shared by those who have supported or permitted such a course.

117. The intervention of the United Nations for the preservation of peace was to have secured for the Congo development along such lines as would have safeguarded its independence, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and would have been in harmony with the interests of the people of the Congo and the rights of the lawful Government. It is our profound belief, however, that the assistance of the United Nations has not proved to be sufficiently effective, primarily because there have been serious omissions and shortcomings in carrying out the resolutions of the Security Council.

118. The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has repeatedly—including its request for the convening of the Security Council of 8 September 1960^{3/}—set forth its views on the problem as a whole and has striven for what it considered to be a correct solution. We hope that appropriate ways and means will be found, on the basis, among other things, of the resolution recently adopted by the General Assembly at its emergency session [1474 (ES-IV)], to protect and promote the strivings of the people of the Congo to maintain the independence and unity of their country. At the same time, it is essential that measures of necessary economic and technical assistance to the Congo be continued. The Yugoslav delegation will, for its part, support all measures in keeping with these aims.

119. The problem of the war in Algeria has been before us for five years now, but no progress towards a satisfactory solution has so far been made. The people of Algeria, who are continuing to make great sacrifices for the attainment of their freedom—thus placing all peoples fighting for peace, independence and equality in their debt—claim their natural and legitimate right to self-determination. This right was recognized by France, in principle, last year. Subsequent negotiations have unfortunately revealed that the French side has not drawn the practical conclusions deriving from the recognition of the right to self-determination. For this reason the conditions for negotiations were, naturally, unacceptable to the representatives of Algeria. In these circumstances, the Provisional Government of Algeria is seeking a way out of the situation by means of a referendum under United Nations supervision, and we, for our part, can only welcome and support this proposal.

120. However, the continuation of the war in Algeria also has other, broader implications. If no early democratic solution is found, this will implicitly amount to a legalization of force as a means for suppressing the legitimate aspirations of a people and thus, in fact, a legalizing of war in general.

121. A specific and extremely dangerous aspect of these profoundly anti-historical tendencies, which are still at work on the African Continent, is the ruthless policy of racial discrimination and oppression pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa, a policy whose consequences have so tragically come to the fore this year. It is well-nigh incredible that it should be possible to conduct such a policy

^{3/}Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4485.

at the present time, in this latter half of the twentieth century, and in an area where liberation trends are so powerfully at work. This is certainly a problem to which the United Nations must devote even greater—and more effective—attention than it has done in the past.

122. If we probe more deeply into the problem of the liquidation of colonial relationships and analyse it in all its aspects, we shall easily come to the conclusion that the present tendency of the colonial Powers to preserve, at all costs, their economic and other positions, even after the attainment of independence, particularly by the African countries, is basically detrimental not only to the peoples which have achieved their independence, but also to the peoples of the colonial Powers themselves. Such a policy cannot, in the long run, yield any benefits. It can only lead to new conflicts and do harm to both sides. Only relations based on equality between the peoples which have attained their independence and the peoples of the colonial Powers can benefit both sides and can moreover—and this is their most important feature—make such a policy into a powerful element in the safeguarding of peace and the promotion of constructive international co-operation. The implementation of such an approach to the question of relations between the newly liberated peoples and the peoples of the colonial Powers would do away with the basic source of conflict and crisis, and remove the causes of antagonisms between countries in the backward and under-developed regions, on the one hand, and the highly developed parts of the world, on the other.

123. The role of the United Nations in all these developments is of the highest significance both in the political and in the economic spheres. The United Nations should act effectively to ensure that the processes of emancipation be speeded up and that they evolve with the least impediment possible; it should, at the same time, extend all-round and timely assistance to the countries which have set out along the road of independence so as to enable them to consolidate their independence and to give it the maximum substance. So far, the main concern of the United Nations in this respect has been to guide the trust territories towards independence as rapidly as possible and to speed up the evolution of other dependent territories towards independence. Thirty-five territories have achieved their freedom since the establishment of the United Nations, while several territories will attain their independence in the very near future. Twenty-nine formerly dependent territories have been admitted to the United Nations during the period under review. Now, however, our Organization is faced with the tremendous task of providing this new freedom with full political and economic substance.

124. It is also quite obvious that the question of the final liquidation of colonial relationships is closely connected with the existence of the gap between the under-developed countries and the highly developed regions of the world, such as Europe and North America, and that it represents, moreover, one of the main causes of the continued existence and of the extension of this gap. It is from this and from backwardness in the most varied forms, it is from the economic weakness and dependence of certain countries and areas that conditions for interference

from outside, for attempts to establish and redistribute "spheres of influence", necessarily arise. All this leads, as we are well aware, to political conflicts and hinders stabilization both in the political and the economic fields.

125. In view of the experience so far, and of the fact that the granting of assistance and support is sometimes linked to political and economic conditions, while the granting of assistance on an individual basis is viewed by other States with the utmost suspicion and raises political problems, it is clear that to channel such assistance primarily through the United Nations is the best and most appropriate course. However, in view of the fact that the material resources of the United Nations are extremely limited, owing to the reluctance and refusal of wealthy States to place substantial means at the disposal of the United Nations for this purpose, it is clear that the newly liberated and under-developed countries cannot, under such conditions, rely solely upon assistance from the United Nations. One has to recognize their right to receive assistance from wherever they can obtain it, provided no political, economic or other conditions are attached.

126. The measures undertaken by the United Nations so far in this respect have undoubtedly been useful, but have been out of all proportion to the actual needs. If assistance through the United Nations were to continue on so limited a scale, at so slow a pace, and in the manner in which it has been given so far, its effect could hardly be expected to tally with the interests of the consolidation of the countries concerned and of world peace. We should then still be faced with the wholly unwarranted situation where the highly developed countries spend on armaments a sum equal to the total production of the under-developed countries, and where one tenth of the production of our planet is being thrown into funds earmarked for destruction and devastation instead of being directed towards the advancement and progress of mankind. One of the most urgent tasks of the present session of the General Assembly is, therefore, to hasten, extend and render more effective all forms of international assistance and of international financing of the development of under-developed countries, primarily through an increase of funds available to the United Nations for the purpose. This, in fact, means that our Organization should now undertake large-scale action for the purpose of providing broad and unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries of Africa, so as to enable them to consolidate their independence and advance vigorously along the path of economic, cultural and general progress.

127. The problem of the development of under-developed countries has assumed a particularly acute form in Africa, where political and colonial relations are most persistently maintained and where they are intertwined with the consequences of economic backwardness. The problems of Africa demand the greatest efforts on our part. We consider as fully justified the request that the United Nations take concerted action with a view to technical, financial and economic assistance to the African Continent. I am, therefore, in a position to state here that my country is ready to consider, together with other countries, the possibility of increasing assistance to the newly liberated African countries in the form of experts, materials and funds. My country is, at the same time, prepared

to renounce a considerable part of the assistance which it has hitherto been receiving through the technical assistance programme of the United Nations in favour of the new African countries.

128. The concentration of our efforts towards the solution of the problems of Africa should not, however, mean that we intend to neglect the problems of Latin America and Asia, with which we have been confronted for a decade now, and are even today confronted. A solution to the problems of Latin America is to be sought, in our view, primarily through an accelerated industrialization. The new economic conditions prevailing in the world call for a diversification of national economies. The awareness of the inevitability of this process should impel us to support and not seek to slow it down or impede it as this would be bound to provoke resistance and lead to political tension and conflicts, as shown particularly by the example of Cuba. In any case, we cannot consider as normal a situation where the markets of many Latin American products are placed at the mercy of the so-called free play of world supply and demand. There is an obvious need for international action in this sphere.

129. Neither have the economic problems of Asia lost any of their urgency. The progress achieved by many Asian countries in the field of industrialization provides the best answer to the assertion advanced as recently as ten years ago to the effect that the under-developed countries did not have the natural resources and manpower required for industrialization in the modern sense. The Asian countries are successfully mastering the organizational problems of industrialization. They are making tremendous progress in the training of domestic industrial personnel. However, their efforts are greatly hampered by the lack of financial resources.

130. The next important and urgent problem which I should like to examine is the question of disarmament.

131. The importance of disarmament, as one of the key problems of war and peace, is generally recognized. This awareness has not, however, in the attempts made hitherto to solve the problem, been translated into terms of essential practical measures. This has led to a situation where disarmament has assumed a specific role in international relations, a role whose significance is, it seems to me, even more crucial perhaps than has ever been the case before.

132. Therefore, we have to approach the solution of the problem of disarmament with a sense of extreme urgency. It should constantly be borne in mind that, as time passes, the armaments race grows in intensity and that, as a result of this, each new measure of disarmament becomes more difficult and complicated. New and more dangerous types of weapons which are increasingly difficult to control appear every day; the circle of countries possessing such armaments is expanding. Therefore, it is erroneous to speak, with regard to disarmament, of the continuation of the arms race; actually, this race is constantly gaining in speed, scope and intensity.

133. There are many ways of illustrating the absurd proportions assumed by the ever more intense armaments race as well as the extent of its negative consequences for mankind, but it is not my intention to do it here. The fact that the cost of a single B-70

super-bomber is equal to the total assistance extended through the United Nations for the development of under-developed countries in the course of one year points clearly to the urgent need of abandoning the course now being pursued.

134. As a concrete example of a measure which we favour and which is essential to all, I shall mention the unwarranted delay in the reaching of an agreement for which all the objective preconditions have matured and which is demanded by public opinion throughout the world. I am referring to the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. We believe that there are no longer any real obstacles in this respect, provided the great Powers could reach a political understanding to conclude the negotiations, which have already lasted approximately two years, and come to an agreement, to which all countries should adhere.

135. That, and any other genuine progress in the field of disarmament, would have a favourable effect on international relations and would contribute considerably to their improvement. In the same way, any improvement in international relations, any progress in solving outstanding international issues—an aim towards which we should persistently strive—would have a favourable bearing on the solution of the disarmament problem. It follows, therefore, that the interdependence between the state of international relations and the situation in the field of disarmament is absolutely clear and direct. There is obviously no need to try to find out where to start, as it is obvious that the greatest efforts should be exerted in both directions.

136. It would be a mistake to believe that, in the unfolding of the process of international disarmament, everything would remain as it was before—the cold war, the war preparations and the rest. The vicious circle would be broken and international relations would enter a new era. In fact, disarmament, if viewed in a sufficiently broad perspective, is a specific form of changing the world in a positive sense, as well as of relations therein. An ability to grasp this is, therefore, also required, as well as a readiness to place international relations upon a new basis.

137. That means that it is necessary, in order to make progress, to change certain established concepts and approaches, to abandon certain aims which obviously cannot be attained without war, to turn for the solution of international questions towards genuine peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

138. The present so-called balance of armaments has reached so high and dangerous a level of military techniques and equipment that it is losing its "raison d'être" to an increasing degree every day. This balance does not ensure security, as the protagonists of a certain policy want to make us believe. On the contrary, it is being transformed into a state of complete insecurity and presents a permanent mortal danger for mankind.

139. In order to create conditions in which the efforts for the attainment of disarmament might prove successful, it is obviously essential—as I have already said—to create a minimum of favourable atmosphere and an indispensable degree of mutual confidence. Unfortunately, an opposite course has too often been followed in the past.

140. For instance, it cannot be assumed that it is possible, at one and the same time, successfully to negotiate and to violate the sovereignty and national frontiers of the negotiating partners regardless of the motives invoked for justifying such harmful practices.

141. Similarly, as an expression of the negative views of those who are unable—even in the present condition marked by the existence of missiles and nuclear weapons—to renounce the potential use of force and war as a means of solving international disputes, we also come across various theories on the possibility, or even harmlessness, of local wars. These theories are put forward despite a number of extremely eloquent experiences derived in this respect from the post-war period, although precisely the opposite should have become clear to everybody, namely, that any local war inevitably tends, under present world conditions, to turn into a general war. The trend towards so-called tactical nuclear weapons is bound to have the same effect.

142. What is the only lasting positive alternative to the present negative developments in this sphere? We are firmly convinced that the realization of general and complete disarmament alone provides such an alternative. This is precisely the reason why the Yugoslav Government has—in addition to the support given to other comprehensive measures leading towards general and complete disarmament—welcomed the proposal set forth in the statement made by Mr. Khrushchev, Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to the General Assembly of the United Nations on 18 September 1959 [799th meeting], as well as later Soviet proposals indicating a broad and direct approach to actual disarmament measures.

143. We are firmly convinced that general and complete disarmament is not an unrealistic aim, but rather the only possible and lasting solution. It is sufficiently well known, I believe, that the Yugoslav Government has always worked comprehensively and actively in the United Nations and elsewhere towards a solution of the problem of disarmament.

144. The problems of balance and control have often up to now been placed in the forefront of negotiations. Provided there is a readiness and a sincere willingness to advance towards genuine disarmament, these problems should not, we feel, be allowed to become untractable and to constitute an obstacle to an agreement because, intrinsically, they are not and should not constitute such an obstacle. The question of balance should, of course, be taken into account in the concrete process of disarmament, as it would be unrealistic to expect any country to accept a proposal which might, at a given moment, or in a given period, place it in a position of obvious inferiority. It would be, however, extremely harmful to seek to establish an abstract and absolute balance in advance, as no such balance exists in the process of armament either.

145. The same applies to the control of disarmament. It is not possible to question, nor does anyone actually question, the need for adequate, strict control as a function of disarmament. On the other hand, to insist upon the introduction of far-reaching measures of control before undertaking measures of actual disarmament is only another way of opposing dis-

armament. Satisfactory compromises regarding the problem of control are possible, if control is viewed within the context of solving the problem of disarmament and of the achievement of certain practical measures within a given process.

146. While giving its support to general and complete disarmament, and thus to the proposals made to this effect, the Yugoslav Government would be prepared to accept certain measures as part of the process leading to general and complete disarmament; such measures would, by their very nature, stimulate both further agreements and the solution of the problems of disarmament in its entirety. What we have in mind here are genuine measures of a radical nature, with a visible and direct material and political effect, measures apt to contribute towards advancing the technological process essential to disarmament (what I have in mind is the development and application of control etc.). The discontinuance of nuclear tests provides the best example of such a measure. Similar useful measures could, in the light of the above conditions, be the following: the reduction of military expenditure and the utilization of the savings effected in this way, or of part of these savings, for assistance to under-developed countries; the transfer of fissionable materials for peaceful uses, as well as disengagement in Central Europe. Taken together, these measures should provide a pattern of advance at the beginning and within the framework of essential progress towards general disarmament. The best thing would be, of course, to achieve the most substantial results as soon as possible; it seems to me, however, that the steps I have outlined are significant enough to lead rapidly to major results.

147. The fifteenth session of the General Assembly is undoubtedly called upon, even more so than has been the case in the past, to help establish an appropriate procedure and machinery for disarmament negotiations. A more appropriate procedure than the one applied so far would certainly make it possible for developments in the field of disarmament finally to take a more favourable turn. The forms used in the past have obviously not proved very fortunate. The frameworks which have been laid down were either too narrow and one-sided, or too broad and rigid, for the conduct of practical negotiations.

148. It is a fact that the great Powers have a particular responsibility with regard to the question of disarmament, and thus also specific obligations towards the world. For this reason we have, for a number of years—through the establishment of the five-Power Sub-Committee and later through the setting up of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament—entrusted the great Powers with the task of finding a basis for agreement on disarmament and of evolving methods for the realization of such an agreement. It is well known that no results have been achieved; the negotiations were interrupted and the problem of disarmament has again been placed before the United Nations at the initiative of the great Powers themselves.

149. It would therefore be necessary, for the purpose of conducting disarmament negotiations, to find a solution along the lines of a negotiating body which would be more effective and which would be constituted on a broader basis than the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. The composition of the negotiating

body should be such as to reflect more adequately the political structure of the present-day world and the principle of geographical representation. This would also ensure a more stable equilibrium in the negotiating body which might help to avoid the difficulties soon encountered by the Ten-Nation Committee based on the concept of mechanical equilibrium between the representatives of the two military alignments. On the other hand, the negotiating body should evidently be better suited to the performance of the operative tasks of negotiating than has been the case with the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which—I wish to lay particular emphasis on this—has a positive place and, perhaps, a lasting importance as an expression of the common interest and responsibilities of the entire membership of the United Nations in regard to the disarmament problem. An appropriate and acceptable machinery could perhaps be found within the general framework of the Commission.

150. Efforts should be made in that respect to make proper use of the time and work of the present session of the Assembly in order to reach at least a basic agreement on the renewal of the negotiations on disarmament. The whole world expects this of us. The Yugoslav delegation will, for its part, participate with the greatest interest, in the course of this session, in the consideration of various aspects of the disarmament problem as well as in the possible study of new proposals striving, as it has done in the past, to appraise objectively and to support all the elements that can bring us closer to a solution.

151. If the modern world is to cope successfully with the problems I have just mentioned as well as with all the other problems upon which peace and the future of mankind depend, it is indispensable that all peoples, without exception, should accept the principles of coexistence and, what is more, apply them in their mutual relations everywhere and on every occasion.

152. In our opinion, the essence of peaceful and active coexistence should contain important elements that are not yet generally accepted in international relations, a fact which poisons in various ways and to a growing extent the relations between peoples and States in the world. The first fundamental principle of coexistence, as we understand it, is that different social systems must not be a reason for war conflicts or stand in the way of peaceful co-operation amongst States and peoples. The second fundamental principle of peaceful coexistence is that various controversial issues should be settled in a peaceful way, and that force and war should be eliminated from the practice of international relations. The third fundamental principle is the observance of the obligation of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and States and the right of every people to organize its own internal development and its own life.

153. Peaceful and active coexistence is now gaining momentum in the world in the technical, cultural and even, to a certain extent, in the political field with regard to relations among States with different social systems. Why should artificial obstacles be placed in the way of this, the only correct process of development in the world? Why should misinformation, falsehood and even hatred among peoples be disseminated through the Press, in speeches and

in other ways? Why should antiquated, obsolete methods and procedures persistently be used in the modern world where they are not only anachronistic but also pose a constant threat to the peace and progress of mankind? These are precisely the elements that impede the proper development of international relations and co-operation.

154. It is, of course, completely illusory to expect that peace will prevail among nations, that they will be able to face the future without fear, if this world of ours continues to be a world where there is no equality between big and small States and nations, where those that have more consider it to their advantage that others have been left behind, or where it is believed that the arms race and the continuation of the cold war are the best means of national policy, and that the policy of force and strength is the surest way towards the fulfilment of their aspirations, whether justified or unjustified, and to solve outstanding problems.

155. Coexistence among nations therefore imposes itself not only as a practical necessity but also as an imperative in the present conditions. There is no alternative to this except to live in an almost constant state of "cold war", or to walk along "the verge of war", and finally to have a real war, which would mean complete destruction and this we must all discard.

156. It is for this reason that it is no longer sufficient to define war as a "continuation of policy by other means". The orientation towards war for the solving of international disputes has become a component of a policy which is no longer capable of convincing otherwise than by threats or use of force. The fundamental principles of coexistence are really a living and creative interpretation of the spirit and principles of the Charter of our Organization. By acceding to membership, we pledge ourselves to observe and apply these principles, and thus also to pursue an international policy fully in harmony with the concepts and practice of coexistence among nations, regardless of their racial, ideological or other differences. That is why it is completely incompatible with the principles of coexistence, and consequently with the principles of the United Nations Charter, not merely to preach and apply a policy of force and of the right of the stronger, but also to preach and apply racial discrimination, to interfere in the internal affairs of others under ideological and political pretexts, to exert economic pressure and discrimination of the stronger against the weaker, to apply any method of moral and political pressure.

157. On the other hand, no less erroneous is the notion that coexistence should mean the preservation of existing relations, as in areas under colonial rule, for instance, and in other regions where the stronger and the more developed have built up privileged positions in weaker and under-developed countries. Such a notion is in flagrant contradiction to the spirit and significance of coexistence, which cannot serve to halt historical processes in international life. On the contrary, it stimulates and facilitates these processes without endangering world peace, but rather making it more stable. Because our views on the concept of coexistence are such that we cannot accept the view that in the present world coexistence should be confined to ensuring the coexisting of the

existing groupings. Of course, coexistence between them should also be sought in order to replace present tensions and mistrust, not with the intention of stopping at such coexistence, but rather of making it a starting-point towards more active relations and more fruitful and broader co-operation among all States and nations including those that today hold antagonistic positions. Bearing all this in mind, we consider that the true observance of the principles of coexistence is proved and tested only through actual practice, that is, above all through the extent to which a given policy and given political concepts and actions contribute to the strengthening of peace.

158. The country on behalf of which I am speaking here today, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, has, ever since its birth, sought to establish relations with countries from various parts of the world on such a basis. Owing to this, we believe that our country has contributed not only to its own national interests and aspirations, but also to the general cause of the world. As a fully independent country, it acts in the conviction that it follows a course which, in the present world, leads most surely to peace and to active international co-operation. Pursuing such a course, my country has established fruitful relations with all the nations that were ready to co-operate on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-interference. On the other hand, Yugoslavia has met along this road a number of countries and peoples from all continents which, guided by the same aspirations, constituted a beneficial force for peace in the days of the cold war. In the present changed international conditions these countries and peoples have proved to be the most consistent protagonists of efforts for the realization of coexistence in the world, for peace based on progress and equal rights. These independent countries have therefore turned, in the first place, towards our Organization, seeing in it and its Charter a powerful instrument for the realization of their own aspirations as well as the general strivings of mankind. It is up to us to prove at the present session of the Assembly, by the decisions which we are going to take, more than we have done before, that their trust in our Organization has been justified.

159. I believe that the Assembly should, at its present session, adopt certain general directives, perhaps in the form of a declaration relating to the efforts and rules of conduct which are essential in order to eliminate international tension, to promote peaceful and good-neighbourly relations among States and to develop international co-operation in all spheres.

160. All of us here, representatives of countries large and small alike, are faced with the momentous and unique task of making it possible, through our common efforts, for the peoples and nations of the world to advance towards a more radiant future.

161. I have set forth our views concerning certain international problems that we consider to be of the greatest importance and urgency today. In defining our attitudes on various questions, we always endeavour to be guided by certain principles which constitute the foundation of our entire foreign policy; these principles, as I have already said, are merely a concretization of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

162. May I, in conclusion, summarize our views.

163. We believe and maintain that there is no other alternative to active, peaceful coexistence in the world of today and tomorrow. By this we mean the possibility and necessity of developing lasting co-operation among countries with different social and political systems.

164. With regard to the crucial question of disarmament, we are faced by a seemingly insoluble contradiction. On the one hand, war is becoming ever more absurd owing to the appalling destructive capabilities of contemporary weapons. On the other hand, the piling-up of ever more destructive weapons itself leads to war. It is evident that only the prevention of the further accumulation of weapons, that is, disarmament, can provide a solution. In this sense we insist that disarmament talks should be renewed as soon as possible within an adequate framework. If no agreement on general disarmament can be reached at the present moment, we should be ready to engage in a partial agreement. Once the idea of a partial agreement is accepted, we must be ready to face the fact that such an agreement will fall short of perfection. The risks involved are obviously incomparably smaller than those contained in the present completely uncontrolled armaments race.

165. This point of view of ours also determines our attitude toward certain tendencies which may lead to a general division of the world and which evidently constitute one of the basic negative facts and elements of contemporary international life and one of the main causes of the so-called cold war. Therefore, any extension and aggravation of this struggle necessarily leads to the intensification of the cold war, to propaganda moves, to extreme and exclusive attitudes, and to the alignment of all countries according to these attitudes—thus further deforming and straining international relations, intensifying and aggravating existing disputes, provoking new conflicts and rendering agreement more difficult.

166. We have always endeavoured, especially in tense situations, to take a stand on various proposals and initiatives not according to the side from which they come, but in terms of their significance for the strengthening of peace. We have thus given full support to the Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament, and do so today. We shall continue to act in this way in the future and lend our support to any initiative, regardless of where it comes from, which, in our opinion, contributes to the strengthening of peace.

167. It follows from all that I have said, that we do not see a way out of the very dangerous situation in which the world finds itself in alignment with one side or the other, still less in an aggravation of the struggle between them. We believe that a way out can be found in a gradual overcoming of the obstacles that this struggle brings in its wake and in the gradual superseding and eliminating of the existing military alliances. It is evident, for example, that coexistence in the atmosphere of the arms race can in no way provide a basis for a lasting and stable peace. On the contrary, peace can be ensured and strengthened only through the development of broad co-operation on all questions of general interest and through a resolute struggle for disarmament and for the abolition of unequal relations.

168. Finally, we believe and maintain that war is no longer inevitable, or rather that there exist real

prospects for its permanent elimination as an instrument of policy and a means of settling international disputes. Our conviction is based on an estimate that those forces in the world which incline towards war for the attainment of their objectives, and which are accordingly preparing for war, can be isolated and rendered harmless by the consistent policy of peace. In other words, we believe that the overwhelming majority of mankind is opposed to war, that the material and social and political conditions for the maintenance of peace are maturing increasingly, and that the forces in the world which are against war are today sufficiently strong and capable of preventing its outbreak.

169. Those are the basic principles by which Yugoslav foreign policy is guided. I think that the explanation I have given will contribute towards a better understanding of both these principles and of our entire foreign policy. I am convinced that within this framework it will be clear why and in what sense we are attaching particular importance to the contribution that the so-called non-committed countries can make towards the betterment of international relations as well as to the great role that the United Nations can and should play in this respect.

170. Mr. KOSAKA (Japan): Mr. President, I wish to tender, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. I believe that your wisdom and discretion, combined with ample experience in the League of Nations and in the United Nations, will successfully guide this important session of the General Assembly. I am delighted to have with us the delegations from the many newly independent countries. I am confident that they will not fail to follow the path of prosperity and progress. I have no doubt that they will, as Member States of the United Nations, fully perform their important functions in the interest of world peace and freedom.

171. On behalf of the Japanese Government, I wish to assure the Assembly of my country's unwavering support of this world organ. Today, when the importance of the United Nations is growing greater than ever for the peace of the world, it is, we believe, the paramount responsibility on the part of all Member States to co-operate in the strengthening of its functions and in the enhancement of its authority and prestige. And it is in this belief that Japan participates in the activities of the United Nations.

172. I wish to clarify the views of the Japanese Government regarding the various important questions which now confront the General Assembly, with special reference to those concerning Africa, the relaxation of international tension, disarmament, and the economic development of the newly developing countries.

173. In the past fifteen years since its establishment, the United Nations has already undergone a number of trials, such as the Korean War and the Suez Canal affair. And, on each occasion it has succeeded in fortifying and expanding its functions for the preservation of peace. Today, it faces a new test in the Congo question. How the question is dealt with concerns not only the Congo, but also the entire continent of Africa. Indeed, it is already linked to the very maintenance of world peace. The United Nations cannot afford to fail in this vital task.

174. The Japanese delegation is highly gratified with the success of the United Nations activities in coping with the initial disturbances and with its efforts in restoring order. What would have happened if the United Nations had not existed to take prompt and effective measures? By this single instance alone the United Nations has, we believe, amply demonstrated its "raison d'être" as an indispensable organ for peace. On behalf of my Delegation, I wish to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General who has organized this campaign of peace, and who is now assured of the support of an overwhelming majority of the Member States.

175. However, the task of solving the Congo question has only begun. Its final settlement will depend largely on the future activities of the United Nations and the co-operation of all its Member States. I fully subscribe to the view clearly set forth in the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its fourth emergency special session [1474 (ES-IV)] that any outside aid to the Congo must be extended by the United Nations, and only through the United Nations. This is desirable and necessary in order to keep the aid free of political influences, as well as to sustain the authority of the United Nations. Japan earnestly hopes that effective assistance thus rendered will speedily accomplish its purpose.

176. Our task, however, does not stop with the Congo. The advent of independent nations in Africa one after another demands a reappraisal of the whole situation. In order to help these new countries to consolidate peacefully their independence and to achieve prosperity, it would be necessary for the United Nations to give serious consideration to the relationships among the nations at different stages of development. In this regard, our delegation would like to call the attention of the Assembly to the principle of racial equality which Japan has consistently advocated ever since the signing of the Versailles Treaty. To translate this principle of racial equality into practice is one of the major aims of the United Nations, as is clearly set forth in the Charter. It is an indispensable condition for enabling all nations to join hands, each as an equal member of the world community.

177. I hope all Member States will redouble their efforts for the realization of this principle. Only by so doing can the relations between the new independent nations and the countries which had formerly administered them be amicably adjusted, on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

178. Furthermore, the United Nations membership, with the admission of new States, has now been nearly doubled. This fact, I believe, should be reflected in its organizational make-up. I consider it urgent to increase the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, especially the latter.

179. Next, I wish to turn to the need for easing East-West tensions, which is another important question that demands the attention of this Assembly. Last spring the entire world had pinned all its hopes on the Summit Conference, but to its great disappointment it was abruptly called off. Since then the cold war has gone on unabated. In order to ease international tensions, it is necessary, first of all, that all nations, including the big Powers, not merely preach peace but demonstrate in action their devotion to its cause.

by creating a climate for friendly East-West talks. They should strictly refrain from interference in the internal affairs of other countries or acts of intimidation or fanning the flame of distrust and hatred between nations. In the case of an international dispute which cannot be settled by negotiation, the parties concerned should refrain from taking any arbitrary action but should seek a peaceful settlement through the United Nations.

180. I sincerely hope that the current session of the General Assembly will not be turned into an arena of verbal clashes, acrid oratory and propaganda performances, but serve as a forum for constructive discussions and thereby promote a friendly atmosphere for East-West negotiations.

181. In this connexion, the Japanese delegation wishes to stress the need for speeding the disarmament negotiations. The frightful development of modern weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction, and their means of delivery through outer space, threatens the total destruction of mankind and civilization. It also makes the very task of control and inspection for the reduction or abolition of these weapons technically more and more complicated and difficult. In other words, the more the development of weapons advances, the more the disarmament negotiations will become difficult. Should we fail in our efforts to push forward disarmament negotiations without delay, mankind might be plunged into a dire catastrophe.

182. It is most regrettable that the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament has been suspended without achieving any concrete results. A disarmament conference is not a place for propaganda. There is no time to be lost in carrying out realistic negotiations on concrete disarmament programmes. In order that the Ten-Nation Committee may not repeat the fruitless efforts of the past and proceed with discussions which reflect the will of the General Assembly, the Japanese delegation submits that the Assembly should furnish the Committee with appropriate guidance so as to facilitate the attainment of the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament.

183. Last year the General Assembly expressed the unanimous hope that "measures leading towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time" [resolution 1378 (XIV)]. This was significant in that it indicated the goal of disarmament. The Japanese delegation considers that a realistic and constructive approach is to start first with the implementation of disarmament measures which are at present controllable and feasible, and thereby restore confidence among nations; and then to proceed with expansion of the scope of disarmament. It is sometimes contended that a treaty covering the whole process of complete disarmament should be signed before inspection arrangements are worked out. This cannot be considered as realistic.

184. It is well known that the Japanese people, from its own experience, has deep concern for the suspension of nuclear tests. Therefore, the Japanese Government and people earnestly desire an early conclusion of an agreement on nuclear test suspension, which will pave the way for speeding general disarmament.

185. Japan appreciates the patient endeavours of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet

Union, which are continuing negotiations at the Conference for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests in Geneva, and it is gratified to see that the voluntary suspension of tests is being kept up even now by the negotiating Powers. However, since this voluntary suspension is without control and inspection, the present situation is insecure and fraught with danger. I hope that the Powers concerned will exert further efforts towards an early conclusion of an agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests.

186. With regard to the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, the General Assembly at its fourteenth session recognized that "the danger now exists that an increase in the number of States possessing nuclear weapons may occur, aggravating international tension and the difficulty of maintaining world peace, and thus rendering more difficult the attainment of general disarmament agreement" [resolution 1380 (XIV)]. In order to avoid such a danger, the conclusion of an agreement on nuclear tests suspension is urgently needed.

187. I wish to invite the attention of the Assembly to the fact that despite the voluntary discontinuance of nuclear tests over a fairly prolonged period, the need for a fundamental solution of the question of nuclear tests suspension is growing more urgent than ever.

188. Before leaving the subject of disarmament, I wish to refer briefly to the problem of the peaceful uses of outer space. The lively space activities of these days arouse both hopes and fears for the future of mankind. I should like to stress the need for a speedy international agreement on the prohibition of military uses of outer space so that mankind may live in those hopes free from those fears. There is also need of international co-operation in order that the peaceful use of outer space may be promoted under the principle of open and orderly conduct for the welfare of all of mankind.

189. In this respect, the Antarctic Treaty concluded last year among the nations concerned should serve as an excellent precedent, indicating the direction our endeavours should follow. I hope that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space set up at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly will promptly begin its activities, for which I promise Japan's co-operation.

190. I wish to touch upon the necessity of further reinforcement of United Nations activities in the economic and social fields.

191. Among the advanced nations of the world, the goal of their economic policy was until recently the attainment of full employment. Now they have advanced a step further. Their new goal is set at the maintenance of economic growth without inflation. On the other hand, most countries of the world are still in a stage far behind the target of full employment. They are faced with the serious problems of how to clothe, feed and shelter their rapidly increasing population. These countries, as long as they rely solely on the production of primary commodities, will not be able to escape the adverse effects of economic fluctuations in the advanced countries, and, as in the case of the 1957-1958 recession, they will have to put up with the widening of the gap in living standards between them and the advanced nations.

192. The Secretary-General, in his statement addressed to the thirtieth session of the Economic and Social Council,^{4/} referred to the significance of international division of labour in terms of dynamic gains. The newly developed countries, with their progress in industrialization resulting from diversification of their economies, will start seeking markets not only for their primary products but also for their semi-manufactured and finished goods. The question is whether, from the standpoint of international division of labour, the advanced countries are prepared to provide markets for the products of these developing nations. Today, among the highly industrialized countries, international division of labour is being carried on positively to the benefit of their respective economies. But, between countries on different levels of development, instances are not rare where the advanced nations resort to measures protecting their less efficient domestic industries, under the pretext of preventing a flood of low-cost foreign products. For nations in the process of industrialization, this means that their economic growth is nipped in the bud. I wish to point out the need on the part of advanced countries to adopt a broad policy looking to the expansion of the world economy as a whole, and to extend positive co-operation to young nations on the road to development.

193. The recent move towards regional economic integration deserves special attention as indicative of the direction of international division of labour within a given area. Such a regional arrangement, as long as it takes an outward-looking policy, might ultimately contribute to the expansion of world trade. However, there remain apprehensions that the complementary relationship between advanced nations and newly developing countries might be overlooked or that the inward-looking character inherent in regionalism might manifest itself, especially in times of depression. I cannot but hope that full consideration will be given to removing such apprehensions in order to make possible a balanced development of the world economy as a whole.

194. It is most gratifying that, since the inauguration of the United Nations Special Fund, the importance of international technical assistance in the pre-investment field has come to be more fully recognized and that this assistance, together with the United Nations technical assistance programmes carried out hitherto, is making conspicuous contributions to the economic development of the developing countries. Assistance to the developing countries is not charity but co-operation between them and advanced nations. As a

matter of fact, it has been suggested that the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations should be renamed technical co-operation programmes. The assistance from the Special Fund is so arranged that the recipient country does not just sit and wait for it but renders active co-operation, including the furnishing of a counterpart fund. The success of this formula is heartening. I am convinced that, as long as the developing countries, aspiring to higher living standards, persevere in their efforts, they will succeed in surmounting the shortage of capital, lack of technology and all other obstacles, thus enhancing their national prosperity and well-being.

195. World prosperity is one and indivisible, as world peace is one and indivisible. Such is the concept underlying the United Nations Charter. It is according to this concept that Japan has made its utmost co-operative effort in the assistance programmes on both bilateral and multilateral bases for the economic and social development of the developing countries. We have joined the Development Assistance Group since its establishment in March 1960, and we intend to join the International Development Association, which is scheduled to start soon. We will continue to do all in our power in any such programme along the fundamental lines of international co-operation. I am glad to announce on this occasion that the Japanese Government is prepared to increase its contributions for next year to both the Special Fund and to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

196. May I add that, as an Asian country, Japan earnestly hopes that assistance by the United Nations will be further increased to the Asian countries which are making serious efforts for the development of their economies.

197. In view of the serious economic and social impact of population increase, the Japanese delegation suggested last year [797th meeting] that the United Nations undertake research into the basic problems related to the more effective utilization, on a world-wide basis, of human resources, including technical personnel. I hope that the proposed study of these problems will be undertaken, with the support of the other Member States, and that the related question of immigration will be considered with deeper understanding.

198. Mr. President, I have outlined the basic positions of the Japanese delegation regarding the various problems confronting the United Nations. I wish the General Assembly the best of success under your chairmanship. To that end I pledge the all-out efforts of my delegation.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

^{4/}See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirtieth Session, Annexes, agenda items 2 and 4, document E/3394.