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

**Statement by the Secretary-General**

1. The PRESIDENT: Before the General Assembly resumes its general debate this morning I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: When I asked for the privilege of exercising my right of reply at this stage of the general debate, it was not because I wanted to use this opportunity to correct any factual mistakes or misrepresentations. That should be unnecessary in the light of the very full debates in the Security Council and at the very recent Fourth Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly. At any rate, such a clarification of facts and such other observations as may be called for may more usefully come at a later stage when a wider ground may have been covered by interventions in this debate. Naturally, I reserve my right to such an intervention, if necessary and in due time.

3. I should like, however, in this context to draw the urgent attention of delegations to the first progress report on the situation in the Congo, circulated just a few days ago. This paper, submitted by Mr R. Dayal, as document S/4531 and Corr.1 and 2, will, I am sure, be found very helpful by those who want to get a balanced picture of the realities with which the Organization is dealing.

4. My reason for taking the floor now is another one. I felt that, before the debate goes any further, it would be appropriate for me to make clear to the Assembly what, in my view, is and is not the problem before the Assembly in certain respects on which the Secretary-General has been addressed by some speakers.

5. In those respects the General Assembly is facing a question not of any specific actions but of the principles guiding United Nations activities. In those respects it is a question not of a man but of an institution.

6. Just one week ago the General Assembly [863rd meeting] adopted resolution 1474 (ES-IV) regarding the Congo operation. It did so after a thorough debate and

a full presentation of facts. As that is the situation, it may well be asked why those same facts should now be brought out again in the Assembly as a basis for new and far-reaching conclusions, perhaps involving even a question of confidence.

7. The question before the General Assembly is no longer one of certain actions but one of the principles guiding them. Time and again the United Nations has had to face situations in which a wrong move might have tended to throw the weight of the Organization over in favour of this or that specific party in a conflict of a primarily domestic character. To permit that to happen is indeed to intervene in domestic affairs contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. To avoid doing so is to be true to the letter and spirit of the Charter, whatever disappointment it may cause those who might have thought that they could add to their political weight by drawing the United Nations over to their side.

8. This is, of course, the basic reason for the principle spelled out at the very first stage of the Congo operation, and approved by the Security Council, to the effect that the United Nations Force is not under the orders of a Government requesting its assistance and cannot be permitted to become a party to any internal conflict, be it one in which the Government is engaged or not. It is common experience that nothing, in the heat of emotion, is regarded as more partial by one who takes himself the position of a party than strict impartiality.

9. Further, as I have said, this is a question not of a man but of an institution. Use whatever words you like, independence, impartiality, objectivity—they all describe essential aspects of what, without exception, must be the attitude of the Secretary-General. Such an attitude, which has found its clear and decisive expression in Article 100 of the Charter, may at any stage become an obstacle for those who work for certain political aims which would be better served or more easily achieved if the Secretary-General compromised with this attitude. But if he did, how gravely he would then betray the trust of all those for whom the strict maintenance of such an attitude is their best protection in the world-wide fight for power and influence. Thus, if the office of the Secretary-General becomes a stumbling block for anyone, be it an individual, a group or a government, because the incumbent stands by the basic principle which must guide his whole activity, and if, for that reason, he comes under criticism, such criticism strikes at the very office and the concepts on which it is based. I would rather see that office break on strict adherence to the principle of independence, impartiality and objectivity than drift on the basis of compromise. That is the choice daily facing the Secretary-General. It is also the choice now openly facing the General Assembly, both in substance and in form. I believe that all those whose interests are

safeguarded by the United Nations will realize that the choice is not one of the convenience of the moment but one which is decisive for the future, their future.

10. One last word. Sometimes one gets the impression that the Congo operation is looked at as being in the hands of the Secretary-General, as somehow distinct from the United Nations. No: this is your operation, gentlemen. And this is true whether you represent the African and Asian Member countries, which carry the main burden for the Force and for its Command, or speak and act for other parts of the world. There is nothing in the Charter which puts responsibility of this kind on the shoulders of the Secretary-General or makes him the independent master of such an operation. It was the Security Council which, without any dissenting vote, gave this mandate to the Secretary-General, on 14 July.<sup>1/</sup> It was the Security Council which, on 22 July,<sup>2/</sup> commended his report on the principles that should be applied. It was the Security Council, on 9 August<sup>3/</sup> which again, without dissenting vote, confirmed the authority given to the Secretary-General. Again, just a week ago, the General Assembly, without any dissenting vote, requested the Secretary-General to continue to take vigorous action [resolution 1474 (ES-IV)]. Indeed, as I said, this is your operation, gentlemen. It is for you to indicate what you want to have done. As the agent of the Organization I am grateful for any positive advice, but if no such positive advice is forthcoming—as happened in the Security Council on 21 August [887th meeting], when my line of implementation had been challenged from outside—then I have no choice but to follow my own conviction, guided by the principles to which I have just referred.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

11. Mr. NOVOTNY, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:<sup>4/</sup> Undoubtedly all of us who are meeting in this hall realize the importance of this session of the General Assembly. On the initiative of the Soviet Union, many countries have decided to send their top representatives to attend this session. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has lent its full support to the idea of participation of the Heads of States or Chiefs of Governments in this session.

12. We have come because the nations urge the acceptance of truly efficient measures for the safeguarding of peace and peaceful coexistence. To contribute effectively to the ensuring of peaceful co-operation among nations is the basic task of the United Nations. In order to fulfil successfully this task it is necessary now more than ever to approach the discussions with an extraordinary seriousness and to reject emphatically any attempts which are contrary to peaceful understanding.

<sup>1/</sup>See resolution S/4387, adopted at the 873rd meeting of the Security Council.

<sup>2/</sup>See resolution S/4405, adopted at the 879th meeting of the Security Council.

<sup>3/</sup>See resolution S/4426, adopted at the 886th meeting of the Security Council.

<sup>4/</sup>The President spoke in Czech. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

13. The central problem of the present-day world is the urgency to ensure that nations may live in lasting peace and devote their energies to peaceful work for their own welfare. The necessity of peaceful coexistence and the elimination of methods of violence in the settlement of disputes among States becomes increasingly more obvious. It has been made necessary by the high stage of social development attained by mankind and the revolutionary changes of the post-war period in technology, particularly in military technique. These changes are of such a character that today any aggressive plan or mere design, any attempt at frustrating the noble endeavour to avert war, assumes a criminal character.

14. We believe that today we cannot even for a moment passively reconcile ourselves to a situation where the threat of war has not been definitively liquidated. We cannot approve of any action which frustrates equal negotiations, makes impossible reasonable settlement of disputes and sharpens tensions.

15. We realize, of course, that it is not easy to seek avenues leading to a lasting peace, because it is a complex and difficult task. Creation of a new world without armies, elimination of war from the life of mankind, the search for avenues leading to peaceful understanding, and the creation of new relations between nations, constitute quite a new problem which mankind never before has faced with such an urgency. It is no wonder that mankind is finding difficulty in getting nearer to its solution.

16. The basic prerequisite of any success in seeking ways to a lasting peace is goodwill on the part of all those who decide the issues of war and peace. The overwhelming majority of mankind is decisively for the cause of peace and for the liquidation of war as a method of settling disputes. This alone is an important factor. But also, all responsible statesmen to whom nations have entrusted their destinies must show their desire for peace.

17. As it stands now, it seems that there are big obstacles on the road to successful negotiation and agreement. However, some people see obstacles where there are none. For instance, different state or social systems in individual countries surely cannot be considered as an obstacle to peaceful coexistence. Is not the way of life adopted by a nation entirely its own internal problem? We consider it an inalienable right for nations to maintain or change their state or social systems, no matter whether some people abroad like it or not.

18. Historical development has brought nations to an important crossroads: they can either continue to follow the present road of the old social system—capitalism, or take a different road which leads to a new social system—socialism. One billion people have chosen the latter road and proceed on it successfully, demonstrating the great advantages of socialism. A number of nations have only now set out on the road of independent statehood and begun to shape their future state and social systems. A number of nations still continue to follow the old road. But should this be a reason for mankind to throw itself into an atomic hell? We do not think so.

19. So far, the developments have shown that both social systems—socialist and capitalist—can live together and compete in peace. There is no other choice if we want to save mankind from a world

conflagration. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize the necessity of peaceful coexistence and the competition of countries with different social systems.

20. The people and Government of our country sincerely desire that this session of the General Assembly may help in clearing the way to a further strengthening of peace and in removing obstacles which stand in the way of the peaceful coexistence of nations.

21. As a result of the well-known changes in the balance of power in the world and the active peaceful endeavour of nations, we succeeded a few years ago in embarking upon a gradual process of relaxation of international tensions. Such an atmosphere is necessary for fruitful negotiations and the solution of major international issues.

22. Also, our country participated in furthering these healthy developments. Peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation among nations are basic to Czechoslovak foreign policy, which enjoys the full support of all our people. In compliance with their will, the principles of peace and peaceful coexistence were laid down in the new Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, adopted this year.

23. In the forum of the United Nations we support all constructive peaceful proposals submitted by other States, particularly the Soviet Union. In the spirit of peaceful co-operation, Czechoslovakia maintains friendly, mutually advantageous relations with a great number of States with different social systems on all continents. As a country which has a deep interest in peaceful construction and normal international relations, we welcomed all negotiations between the West and the East which took place in the period under review. We welcomed the fact that in the course of the top-level negotiations between the Soviet Union and, subsequently, the United Kingdom, the United States and France, the elimination of the method of violence from the settlement of international disputes was confirmed. We also hopefully awaited such events as, under more favourable circumstances, the Paris Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers in May 1960 might have been.

24. It is common knowledge that the aggressive forces of world imperialism impede negotiations, support feverish armaments and sustain the hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world. On the eve of the Paris Conference they committed particularly condemnable provocations. Our people could not understand why, particularly at the time when the Paris Conference was being prepared, even in the days immediately preceding the opening of negotiations, the United States sent a spy plane over the territory of the Soviet Union; why at the same time it proclaimed again the so-called "Captive Nations Week", which represented a gross affront to the peoples of all socialist countries; why at this particular moment it prolonged for another two years the embargo against the socialist countries; and finally, why, on the very eve of the negotiations, it ordered directly from Paris a state of alert of all its forces.

25. What kind of discussion should it have been? In what atmosphere was it to take place? Undoubtedly, it was intended to emphasize the "position of strength", that is, of United States strength, and to create an atmosphere of concentrated threat and pressure.

26. People thinking along these lines evidently paid little attention to the realities of our time and failed to realize that the other side has grown up into a mighty Power which cannot easily be threatened. It is a well-known fact that even this side, that is, the Soviet Union, is a country with a highly-developed economy, science and technology.

27. Similar threats are well known from history, especially from the whole of the imperialist and militarist policies of Germany from Frederick the Great to Bismarck and Hitler. We cannot say as yet what will be the further developments in Germany, since we do not know what will be the end of their bright pupil Adenauer.

28. To approach the Paris Conference from a similar position cannot naturally mean anything else but to prepare for the negotiations with a firm intention to wreck them.

29. The General Assembly and its organs will undoubtedly deal with these events and their consequences from various points of view. On the suggestion of the Soviet Government, this session will consider agenda item 80: Complaint of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics about a menace to world peace created by aggressive actions of the United States of America against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We fully agree to the consideration of this item and our delegation will in this connexion point at the continuous, systematic violations of Czechoslovak air space by military aircraft of the United States and of the Federal Republic of Germany.

30. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers strict respect for the generally-recognized principles of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter to be a question of key importance. In other circumstances it might seem strange to remind the Member States of the Charter fifteen years after the establishment of the United Nations. However, it happened that the United States Government, in connexion with the shooting-down of its spy plane over the territory of the Soviet Union, declared through its top representatives, including the President of the United States, that it did not consider itself bound by the obligation to respect the sovereignty of other States and that it wanted to treat it as it pleases. But respect for the sovereignty of other countries is the cornerstone of international law and the basic provision of the United Nations Charter.

31. Fortunately enough, we no longer live in the period when those who ruled the world transformed whole continents into colonies having no rights. We are living in the second half of the twentieth century when peace-loving nations possess means for legitimate defence of their sovereignty and for the prevention of aggression. The principle of absolute equality of rights is the only one which can serve as a basis of negotiations today. This principle is one of the elementary and generally-recognized principles governing international relations.

32. Therefore, we think that one of the foremost tasks facing this session is to achieve a situation where the United States Government respects the relevant norms of international law and thereby helps restore the necessary preconditions for useful negotiations. If the General Assembly is to be faithful to the Charter and is to live up to its obligations to

mankind, it must take energetic initiative in this respect.

33. Speaking about the elementary principles of international law and sheer decency which cannot be absent in normal international relations, I cannot pass over the really unprecedented decision of the United States Government to place restrictions on the stay of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, and a few other statesmen, in New York, the very city where the Headquarters of the United Nations is located. On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I most emphatically protest against this act of the United States Government, which showed thereby not only a complete lack of goodwill in seeking ways to understanding, but grossly violated its obligations towards the United Nations.

34. The Slavonic peoples and a number of other nations have an ancient custom of receiving guests and visitors with open friendliness and respect. We pay respect to everybody regardless of whether he has good or bad relations with us. I wonder, however, if the "friendly" reception accorded to us and the "decency" with which we have been treated are the expression of the much boasted American "freedom" and "democracy".

35. Perhaps we are behind the times and do not understand this modern form of "free friendship" with which we were met. In any case we have been much impressed, and after we return home we shall speak about this form of "friendship" for which we in our country have a name of insolence and uncouthness. Not to allow even the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia in the United States to enter the airport to welcome a delegation headed by the President of the Republic which the Ambassador represents, that, I think, exceeds all bounds in its insult. It is unprecedented for police organs to decide such matters.

36. We think that under these circumstances when free representatives of States Members of the United Nations face difficulties in work and when police organs often decide questions concerning their sojourn, a serious question arises as to whether it will serve its purpose to keep the Headquarters of this important world organization in the United States any longer. Similarly, like the Soviet delegation, we are of the opinion that in these circumstances it would be better to move the Headquarters of the United Nations and its activities to some other country.

37. The urgent need for clarification by all States and primarily the United States Government of whether they are in favour of peaceful coexistence is demonstrated by a number of statements made by the state officials of the United States. Thus, for instance, on 20 April 1960, that is, shortly before the Paris Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers was to open, Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Dillon stated:

"Let us therefore relegate to the scrap-heap the concept of a transitory and uneasy coexistence."

To Mr. Dillon and those whose opinions he voices, the concept of coexistence, that is, of life in peace, is uneasy. Should we assume that also all the activities of the United Nations which strives for peaceful coexistence are uneasy to him, that this is the way he feels about its efforts and its unanimously adopted resolutions?

38. If not peaceful coexistence, what else? War? Everybody says: No, we do not want war. We also declare that we do not want war and are struggling for peace.

39. We again repeat to these officials of the United States and other countries: If you do not want war, let us explore the possibilities of understanding. But stop speculating on a change of the social system in our country, speculating on the defeat and destruction of socialism. Socialism is today the way of thinking and the conviction of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people and this cannot be changed by any kind of policy from the position of strength.

40. But what is the situation today?

41. For a number of years Czechoslovakia, like some other countries, has been subjected to repeated interference in its internal affairs by the ruling circles of the United States. This interference is motivated by the vain desire to see a change in our internal system and the restoration of the capitalist system which was consciously rejected by our people. From time to time the United States Government openly professes its adherence to this aim, spends millions of dollars for its achievement and encourages various campaigns inimical to us as, for instance, the provocative "Captive Nations Weeks".

42. I would like to say to such politicians, you must understand at last that the notion of freedom as you understand it and which you so ostentatiously advocate is today incomprehensible and absolutely unacceptable to our people.

43. We see our freedom from another point of view, the point of view of the interests of the development of the whole socialist society and, therefore, also the full development of man, devoid of the rapacious features of your capitalist society.

44. I would like to mention another characteristic example: On 9 May 1960, the day when the United States congratulated us on the occasion of the Czechoslovak National Day, the fifteenth anniversary of the liberation of our country from Hitlerite occupation, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Christian Herter, deemed it necessary to interfere in an inadmissible way in our internal affairs by uttering foul slander at a press conference.

45. The policy of disrespect for national sovereignty was clearly manifested of late in conspiracies against some new States which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke.

46. The example of the Congo is characteristic of the capitalist conception of political and economic freedom in States which were formerly their colonies. The liberated Republic of the Congo which constituted its Parliament and Government by democratic means faced a flagrant attack at the very beginning of its independent life.

47. When the colonizers saw that the Congolese people and its representatives took seriously the freedom they had won, that the colonialist privileges gained by rough violence in the past are definitely breaking down, they decided to resort to new violence. In order to maintain their political and economic positions, to keep the decisive power over the Congo in the hands of foreign monopolies, they organized a military attack against this newly-born independent country, disregarding the so often proclaimed principles of

"freedom", "democracy" and agreements into which they had entered.

48. And what is more, it happened that the just decision of the Security Council was implemented by the representatives of the United Nations and its staff in such a way that steps were taken not to support the Government, which asked for United Nations aid, but against it. In effect, the organs of the United Nations made it impossible for the legitimate Government of Mr. Lumumba and the Congolese Parliament to act, supported various secessionist groups sold to colonizers, and thus in fact prepared the ground for paralysing the political life and the disintegration of the unity of the Congo. The legitimate Government became a prisoner of the United Nations forces and was prevented from ruling the country.

49. These are the facts which cannot be disregarded. Nobody who had his share in those facts can escape responsibility for them. True, the operation in the Congo is a matter for the United Nations, but its execution is in the hands of the Secretary-General. We concur in the views expressed in this respect by the President of Ghana and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

50. The United Nations is duty bound to arrange through its organs for immediate restoration of the free activities of Mr. Lumumba's legitimate Government and legitimate Parliament. The people of the Congo must be guaranteed the sovereign and inalienable right to decide freely about their country and to get rid of any influence of imperialism and colonialism.

51. I would like to draw attention to another case of unscrupulous pressure against a heroic people who decided to put an end to the exploitation of their country by foreign monopolies and to establish complete freedom and independence in their country. I have in mind the people of Cuba who fought heroically to chase dictator Batista and his henchmen out of their country and who are also liquidating the domination of United States monopolies which unscrupulously exploited the wealth of Cuba and threw its people into misery.

52. But the attempts to force the people of Cuba to bend their knees, to disrupt the economy of the country, and to restore Cuba to the domination of United States monopolies are doomed to failure. These attempts merely expose to a still greater extent the rapacious character of imperialism, which cannot be covered even by phrases, repeated a thousand times, about "freedom" and "democracy".

53. The fight of the heroic Cuban people will open a glorious chapter in the history of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America. This fight has the full sympathy also of the Czechoslovak people who maintain a warm attitude to any nation struggling against oppressors and colonizers. We wish the people of Cuba and their Government the best of success in their endeavour toward the development of their country and the consolidation of national independence.

54. All these and other actions directed against the sovereignty of some States—no matter which imperialist State commits them—are part of a policy which must be most resolutely condemned. It is high time to put an end to all colonial wars which still continue to be waged and, above all, to the long, cruel and unjust war against the people of Algeria. It is in the interest

of the people both of Algeria and of France to stop this shedding of blood.

55. We also support the correct and just attitude taken by the Government of peaceful Indonesia in the question of West Irian.

56. We are convinced that it is necessary to abolish forever the whole system of colonialism and give all nations every opportunity to gain freedom. This is why we unreservedly endorse agenda item 87: Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union at the present session of the General Assembly [902nd and 903rd plenary meetings].

57. I would like to take this opportunity to salute again all the nations which are liberating, or have liberated, themselves from colonial slavery. On behalf of the Government and all the people of Czechoslovakia, I wish them absolute victory, the best of success in the development of their countries and assure them of our sympathies and support.

58. We are well aware of the fact that winning freedom is an important, but only the first, step in the future development of new States. The colonial Powers are trying to put obstacles on the road of the independent development of newly established States and to bind them, from the very outset, by various unequal treaties and political and military obligations.

59. We are against any form of colonialism—whether new or old—which strangles the creative development of nations which have embarked upon the road of liberty and independence. We firmly stand on the side of newly established States which have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism. We think that all nations should help them in every way to take a dignified place in the world and prevent any interference in their internal affairs which endangers peace and security in the world.

60. These new States should be provided with assistance, especially in the economic field, but in such a way as to promote a genuine development of their economy and culture. They should be given assistance in expanding the output of raw materials and in building factories whose production would be based on these raw materials. At the same time they should be given assistance in the development of agriculture, in the expansion of education, the building of schools, hospitals and the like.

61. Any assistance which would continue to yield profits to monopolies and prolong in another form the exploitation of their country and the misery of their people would be of no avail to them. Whether they like it or not, the imperialist and colonialist circles must reconcile themselves with the fact that the newly liberated nations will take natural and material resources into their hands for their own benefit.

62. Czechoslovakia considers as one of its foremost tasks the rendering of selfless assistance to these new States and all the less developed countries. We have been providing for many years such mutually advantageous assistance, based on the principle of equality and with no political conditions attached, to a number of States. This co-operation has resulted in a firm friendship between the people of Czechoslo-

vakia and the people of the new independent States, a friendship which is a support to peace.

63. We attach exceptional importance to the question of the international position of, and of providing assistance to, the new States. This is why we have submitted for consideration to the present United Nations General Assembly agenda item 77: Appeal for maximum support to efforts of newly emerging States for strengthening their independence. We are convinced that this proposal of ours will meet with due understanding and support of the General Assembly.

64. The time has come for laying a firm and unflinching basis for peace. And this basis is, above all, general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

65. We are convinced that the realization of general and complete disarmament would bring about a still greater development of the whole human civilization. It would make it possible to release immense material resources spent on armaments for the welfare of nations, for aid to countries which need it so urgently, for the realization of the most audacious plans of mankind.

66. The great initiative of the Soviet Union and personally of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, just a year ago at the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly [799th meeting] became an important turning point in the discussion of the question of disarmament. The proposal of the Soviet Government was enthusiastically acclaimed and universally supported by a large body of world public opinion. It became the basis for the adoption of an important resolution [resolution 1378 (XIV)] by the General Assembly on 20 November 1959, which singled out the question of general and complete disarmament as the most important problem of our time and called upon Governments to make every effort to achieve its constructive solution.

67. On the basis of this exceptionally important document of the United Nations, negotiations were started in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva this year in which, along with the delegations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic actively participated.

68. Czechoslovakia approached these negotiations with the utmost seriousness. Our delegation was given clear directives and instructed consistently to strive, in full conformity with the proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the resolution adopted by the United Nations, for the earliest possible realization of general and complete disarmament.

69. The clear wording of the General Assembly resolution and the unanimous support accorded to it justified the expectation that the elaboration of the programme of general and complete disarmament would proceed without unnecessary delays. However, the results of work of the Committee give evidence to the contrary.

70. The main reason for the failure of the work of the Committee was the basic opposition of the representatives of the Western States to a constructive solution of the question of disarmament.

71. On the one hand, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in consistent conformity with the appeal of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, strove for the elaboration of the programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control within the shortest space of time. As is well known, their delegations showed maximum goodwill and patience for reaching agreement. They submitted a number of new constructive proposals. Particularly in the proposal of 2 June 1960<sup>5/</sup> they took into consideration to a great extent the views and positions of the Western Powers.

72. On the other hand, however, the United States and its allies, in contradiction to the resolution of the General Assembly, frustrated the achievement of any progress and by all means urged the Committee to consider only the establishment of control over continued armaments.

73. The leading representatives of the United States do not try to conceal the fact that the United States Government is not in favour of general and complete disarmament, but only of the establishment of control.

74. On Thursday, in his statement from this rostrum the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, [868th meeting] considered as urgent the discussion of disarmament in outer space and the prevention of wars on other celestial bodies. We can understand this position of the Government of the United States which has not advanced in the field of flights in outer space as far as the Soviet Union has. Everybody knows that the astounding successes of the Soviet science and technology in the field of exploration of outer space are directed exclusively at peaceful purposes and serve all mankind. On the other hand, it is publicly admitted in the United States that preparations are under way to launch cosmic bodies for the purposes of military intelligence.

75. We believe that, as far as the question of war and peace is concerned, today the most urgent task is to discuss the present situation here on our own planet, as called for by the previous sessions of the General Assembly in its resolution on general and complete disarmament. Let us just recall the question of the great number of military bases from which bombers loaded with hydrogen bombs take off every day and which were not even mentioned by the United States representative.

76. The President of the United States spoke about the idea of complete disarmament, but he relegated its realization to a distant future and as the next step he urged the control of armaments. From this we draw the conclusion that the Government of the United States has not in mind concrete measures of disarmament, but continues to harbour plans for acquiring military advantage. This is exactly the way in which the United States representatives proceeded in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

77. World public opinion is justly raising the urgent question: who needs control without disarmament which enables, above all, the collection of detailed information on the defences of other countries? It is clear that such information can be of avail only to

<sup>5/</sup>The USSR proposals were discussed at the 34th meeting of the Conference of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva on 8 June 1960.



those who are preparing for aggression and try to liquidate by a surprise attack the means of defence of the attacked country and thus make sure against retaliation.

78. This is not the road leading to general and complete disarmament, the road to the consolidation of international peace and security. On the contrary, such proposals cannot but result in mounting distrust and the sharpening of tension in relations among States.

79. No wonder that under such circumstances no progress whatever was achieved in the work of the Committee. A situation was created where the five Western Powers tried artificially to drag out negotiations and to sustain a false idea in world public opinion that at least something was being done for disarmament. As a matter of fact, such discussions were to serve as a smoke screen covering continued feverish armaments of the Western Powers.

80. The socialist countries—among them Czechoslovakia—refused to be a party to such a deception of world public opinion. Upon exhausting all means to bring the Western delegations to serious discussion, they decided to suspend their participation in the deliberations of the Committee and transfer further discussion of disarmament to the General Assembly, a forum, which a year ago unanimously adopted the idea of general and complete disarmament.

81. The Government of the United States has declared here [870th meeting] through its representatives that such questions cannot be discussed and solved in such a broad plenum. We assert, as a matter of principle, that the General Assembly can solve such questions.

82. Why could not the plenum take decisions on general and complete disarmament under international control? Why could not the plenum express in general terms what its idea of disarmament is, and then enjoin other United Nations organs to elaborate the measures for the realization of this task in keeping with these basic directions?

83. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers serious and effective consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament as one of the main tasks of the fifteenth session of the United Nations Assembly. To realize general and complete disarmament under effective international control is in our opinion the most urgent task of the present day. Our delegation will make every effort to contribute to the achievement of the pertinent decisions.

84. Our profound interest in a speedy solution of the question of general and complete disarmament stems from the very substance of our peaceful foreign policy and from our vital national interests. Today militarism and "revanchism" in the German Federal Republic attempt again to endanger these interests.

85. We went through a bitter historic experience with German imperialism. With the assistance of the Governments of some Western countries, Czechoslovakia became the first victim of the Hitlerite aggression as a result of Munich which led to the Second World War. This makes us follow with maximum vigilance the dangerous development on our Western border which is again endangering the security of European nations and the peace of the world.

86. While we can express the greatest measure of satisfaction in evaluating the development of the situation in the German Democratic Republic which carried out all provisions of the Potsdam Agreement and where a truly peaceful and democratic State was established, we have every reason to be ever more alarmed by the path followed by the other German State—the Federal Republic of Germany.

87. It has been even more evident that the ruling circles of the German Federal Republic have embarked upon the same road taken by the German imperialism in the times of Hitler. The provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, designed to cut the roots of the aggressiveness of German militarism and to secure peaceful and democratic development in the whole of Germany, have not been implemented in its Western part.

88. We witness today that the same and presently still far more powerful financial and armament circles that brought the Nazi dictatorship to power are the principal pillars of the revived West German militarists.

89. The representatives of the Bonn Government themselves have rendered proof indicating that they do not feel bound by any international obligations. The revival of the German militarism and the equipment of the Bundeswehr with ever more perfect weapons systematically continues. This fact itself is sufficient proof of how little can be trusted the sincerity of the professed good intentions of the West German Government.

90. In 1949, Chancellor Adenauer said that he was opposed to the creation of a new German army. His present Minister, Mr. Strauss, even said at that time that the hand should be chopped off anybody who would dare to take up arms again.

91. However, already the so-called Paris Agreements<sup>6/</sup> of 1954 opened the way to the build-up of the West German army and enabled the German Federal Republic to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Western Powers stated at that time that the said Agreements were a guarantee of military control over Western Germany and rendered a revival of German aggressiveness impossible.

92. As late as in July 1957, Chancellor Adenauer asserted in Kiel that West Germany wanted no atomic weapons and consciously rejected the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr.

93. What has remained today of these declarations and accepted treaty obligations? Only ruins have remained of the limitations and control measures so many times emphasized. The actual state of affairs today is that the West German Bundeswehr is equipped with the latest planes and various types of missiles capable of transporting nuclear warheads.

94. But even this is not enough for the West German militarists today. Last August the General Staff of the Bundeswehr issued a provocative memorandum requesting accelerated equipment of the German Federal Republic with nuclear weapons. Such demands are being raised by the same generals who on Hitler's

<sup>6/</sup>Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany—Paris, 23 October 1954.

General Staff prepared and carried out attacks against peace-loving countries.

95. The road of war preparations being taken by German militarism under Chancellor Adenauer is therefore basically the same as that taken before the First and Second World Wars.

96. It is evident to all reasonable people that such a dangerous development could not have taken place if it had not been instigated and supported by the ruling circles of the countries members of NATO, and the United States in particular. It is precisely NATO which has become an instrument of West German militarism for the preparation of new conquests. It is with the help of NATO that German militarism has acquired nuclear weapons, military bases on the territory of other States, and a free path towards an unlimited growth of its military strength.

97. Those who so ardently support the present development in the German Federal Republic, and its aggressive policy, should not forget that, as in the past, this time again the aggressiveness of German imperialism may turn against them. In 1938 this support resulted in the Munich capitulation and the sacrificing of Czechoslovakia. It paved the way to the Second World War. Today, however, the imperialist appetites of Western Germany would not lead to another Munich—certainly not in our case.

98. The present pronouncements of the Premier of the Northern Rhineland-Westphalia, Mr. Meyers, who has formulated claims for the renewal of the German borders of 1871, are not fortuitous.

99. The anti-peace policy of the Bonn Government, backed by the Western Powers, is already having consequences of the utmost gravity today. Nazism, whose alarming anti-Semitic provocations were only recently condemned by world public opinion, is again rearing its head. High offices in the State apparatus of the German Federal Republic are occupied by a number of former Nazis who perpetrated serious crimes but escaped their just punishment. Many of them are leading exponents of the aggressive policy of German imperialism. It was only under the pressure of world public opinion that the Bonn Government was forced to recall from the office of Federal Minister the war criminal Theodor Oberländer, whose crimes also afflicted our people during the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Also alarming is the case of Hans Globke, the closest associate of Chancellor Adenauer. Globke continues to maintain his office of State Secretary, although it has been proved that he took an active part in the massive massacre of millions of citizens—mostly Jews—from different countries of Europe. For instance, in September 1941 he personally assisted in the issuance of the so-called Jewish Codex, which subjected the Jewish population in Slovakia to mass extermination. The Bonn Government failed to take steps even against persons whose crimes were proved by convincing evidence—in numerous cases from Czechoslovak authorities.

100. This dangerous development in the domestic policy of the German Federal Republic also has a destructive influence on the education of West German youth. School curricula, directives, textbooks and methods of instruction give ample evidence of the fact that the Bonn Government bears the responsibility for the psychological preparation of West German

youth for war. A result of this notorious situation, and evidence of the aggressive designs of West German Government circles, are the openly proclaimed territorial claims and the desire for revenge. "Revanchist" and revisionist demands against the eastern neighbours of the German Federal Republic—and thus also against Czechoslovakia—are today being raised quite openly by official representatives of the West German Government.

101. In his cablegram on the occasion, last August, of the tenth anniversary of the promulgation of the so-called "Charter of Transferees", Chancellor Adenauer declared that the Federal Government associates itself with the claims of the transferred persons. At the beginning of June of this year, the Bavarian Minister, Stain, said in Munich that West Germany cannot exist without the territories in the East and will be obliged to threaten Europe again if the eastern regions are not voluntarily returned.

102. A number of statements of a similar character have been made by the Minister of Transport of the Bonn Government, Hans-Christoph Seeböhm, at various "revanchist" meetings—even directly on the Czechoslovak border.

103. I wish to emphasize that we draw attention to this danger of German militarism neither out of fear for our independence nor out of hatred for the German nation. Our Republic maintains absolutely firm and reliable ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is a guarantee ensuring, as never before, the security of our Republic. Neither do we on our part intend to organize demonstrations on the borders of the German Federal Republic nor to "retaliate" by sending balloons, leaflets and other similar articles there. We draw attention to this danger because we have sufficient experience of German chauvinism and fascism, which are likely again to drag the world into war the moment they are given an opportunity.

104. Therefore, it is imperative for all people who cherish peace in the world to take energetic measures to liquidate one of the most dangerous hotbeds of a new war, that being created in Western Germany. Similarly the untenable state of affairs regarding West Berlin must be terminated.

105. The fact that there is no disarmament agreement makes it possible for West German militarists to accumulate aggressive weapons for the equipment of their army, air force and navy, to build an aggressive army, and to take hold of such means as might enable them to fire the fatal "first shot". The fact that the German question remains open, that the Western Powers refuse to conclude a peace treaty with the existing two German States and to solve the question of West Berlin, complicates the general international situation and facilitates the manoeuvres of the opponents of disarmament and peace.

106. The recent proposals of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for a gradual realization of general and complete disarmament on the territories of both German States—proposals which were submitted to all States Members of the United Nations—represent a great contribution to the settlement of the German question. We fully endorse these proposals of the Government of the German Democratic Republic.



107. We appeal to the responsibility of all countries, in the first place to the responsibility of the great Powers; we urge that a peace treaty with both German States be signed and that the question of West Berlin be settled with the greatest possible speed. In this way the aggressive plans of the West German militarists could be thwarted and peace in Europe ensured.

108. All the statements that we have heard in this Assembly so far prove that the present situation is an exceptionally responsible one and imposes very serious tasks upon the General Assembly. But the United Nations will be able to discharge these obligations with honour only if it proceeds and acts strictly in the spirit of the ideas contained in the Charter. Unfortunately, there are instances of actions which have nothing in common with the Charter and which are based on attempts to misuse the name of the United Nations for the unjust policies and selfish aims of some Powers.

109. In the first place it is necessary to point out once again the manner in which the legitimate Government of the Chinese People's Republic has not been allowed to exercise its right of membership in this Organization. The shameful situation still persists in which the place reserved for the Government of China in the United Nations continues to be occupied by people who were expelled from China more than ten years ago and represent nobody. It is a shame that a great Power, which by the number of its population and the size of its territory is one of the largest in the world, which is making great strides in the development of its economy and culture, and the role of which in Asia cannot be disputed, is not legitimately represented in this Organization. The absence from this Assembly of the representatives of the Chinese people seriously harms the cause of peace and international co-operation.

110. Likewise, we have to solve the question of membership in this Organization for the Mongolian People's Republic, whose people and Government are profoundly peace loving and fulfil all the requirements of the Charter for admission to the United Nations. If we want to call the United Nations a universal organization, then all nations must be represented in it.

111. The Czechoslovak delegation expresses its agreement with the view that the executive body of the United Nations should be adapted to the new composition of Member States and to the new tasks before it. Therefore the Czechoslovak delegation supports the proposal of the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, to set up a tripartite collective executive organ of the United Nations and to make changes in the executive body of this Organization.

112. In his reply on Friday [870th meeting], the United States representative labelled the criticism of the Secretary-General and the staff of the United Nations as well as the Soviet proposals for solving this question as a crisis of the United Nations. This is more than a strange standpoint. The existence of the United Nations is not solely dependent on the Secretary-General and his staff; they are only its auxiliary, administrative and executive organs. The United Nations is a world international organization composed of sovereign States based on firm principles laid down

in the Charter. The General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations consider and solve problems of mutual relations and co-operation among nations, and the task of the executive body is to implement the instructions and put into effect measures agreed upon in the United Nations organs.

113. As we see it, the proposal submitted by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, for the setting up of a tripartite top collective executive organ is in full harmony with the democratic principles on which the United Nations is based.

114. It is necessary to take into account that in the course of the last fifteen years the composition of this Organization has undergone marked material changes. The number of Member States has nearly doubled. At the same time three groups of States have crystallized. There are a number of States associating themselves with the so-called capitalist system; there is another group of socialist countries; and, finally, a large group of States professing a policy of active neutrality. Such is now the actual situation in the United Nations. The only realistic approach to the real and effective working of the United Nations is an approach which takes into account this objective situation.

115. Therefore, we are of the opinion that in the United Nations the interests of all States, irrespective of which group they belong to, should meet and be expressed. For instance, we shall never agree that the United Nations should express the interests and the will of the Western capitalist countries only. We know equally well that the representatives of these countries would never agree that the United Nations should unilaterally express the interests and the will of the socialist countries. Therefore, it is necessary to endeavour to create conditions under which no one-sidedness can take place and all measures will be agreed upon on the basis of all-round consideration, and under which even the interpretation of the decisions adopted will not damage any country or group of countries as occurred in the case of the Congo.

116. Let us suppose that an agreement will be arrived at in the United Nations to implement general and complete disarmament under effective international control, that even United Nations armed forces or other organs will be created with specific terms of reference. Sooner or later, we shall reach this stage because we want to prevent war and the nations in the end will enforce disarmament. Is there anybody who believes that Czechoslovakia or another socialist country would agree that the armed forces of the United Nations should be, for instance, commanded by the present Secretary-General in his capacity as an individual? We could never agree to this. Similarly, even we are no day-dreamers. Neither do we expect that, for instance, the United States would agree that the United Nations armed forces should be commanded by the representative of a socialist country.

117. We cannot but consider the question of the creation of a collective and representative organ in which all interested parties will be represented. This is exactly the organ the Soviet Union has proposed to create.

118. As far as the neutral countries are concerned, they play—as is generally known—an important part in the present endeavour aimed at peaceful co-existence. The demand that these countries should have a far more clear-cut representation in the United Nations organs, *inter alia* in the proposed three-member Secretariat, is fully justified. In the same way, the representatives of the neutral countries should be invited to participate in the concrete discussions on disarmament and enlarge the previously mentioned Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament. There is no doubt whatsoever that the neutral States also are interested in preventing war and are interested in disarmament. They well know that the next war would involve even them and that in such a case there would be no mere onlookers. Undoubtedly they have much to say in respect of the questions concerning disarmament and they could certainly make a positive contribution to the discussion of the problem.

119. If we consider without haste and with due deliberation the proposals of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR relating to a certain reorganization of the United Nations in keeping with the objective conditions, we shall realize that this does not mean any "declaration of war" against the United Nations, or any disruption of this Organization, or its crisis.

120. If there is something in the state of crisis, then it is the old conception of the United States Government which proceeds from the premise of a leading part of this country to which others are subordinated. Well, what can be done about it? The Government of the United States will have to reconcile itself to the fact that the United Nations will be no appendage of the United States but an international organization consisting of free and equal Members. Among them the United States can be only a Member State, though a big and an important one. It would only serve the cause if the United States Government parted with its outmoded conception of its relationship to the United Nations and adopted a new conception corresponding to the new situation.

121. The United States representatives must get accustomed to the fact that not everybody will subscribe to principles which they proclaim. And the United States will gain nothing by calling everybody who does not see eye to eye with its policy a Communist or a Communist satellite. The leaders of the United States must realize that the days of the absolute economic and political superiority of the United States over other countries are gone forever. The world and society have moved forward; an ever-increasing number of nations and States has come into being, and it is natural that they seek their own ways in domestic and foreign policies conforming to the interests and requirements of their peoples. No wonder that, as a result, they come into conflict with the interests of imperialist and colonialist Powers. This development cannot be stopped by any policy of strength, any economic, political or even military pressure.

122. If we put into practice the Soviet proposals for the improvement of the activities of the United Nations, then we shall strengthen this Organization and increase its authority and effectiveness. It will also help the United States Government to begin to value more the fact that it plays host to the United Nations and treat the visiting delegations accordingly.

123. The Czechoslovak Government sincerely wishes that the United Nations, of which we are co-founders, may remain in every respect faithful to its lofty ideals and contribute effectively to their translation into reality. In drawing attention to some serious shortcomings in the activities of the Organization and recommending certain steps to be taken we are guided by a sincere wish that the United Nations may play an important role in ensuring the peaceful future of mankind.

124. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is not a large country, but it is a country which has a thousand-year-old past and a prominent place in the history of Europe, a country of high culture with an industrious and peaceful people.

125. We are proud of the rich and progressive traditions of our country and we endeavour to develop them in the spirit of the ideals of the new era, in the spirit of the great humanitarian ideas of socialism. During our fifteen years of life in freedom our people have reached remarkable achievements by their assiduous work. Today we live a much better and richer life than in any period of the past. We contribute our utmost to the strengthening of peace and friendship among nations.

126. Our Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is an independent sovereign State. Our Government together with our people decides the issues of the domestic and foreign policies of our Republic. We are by no means dominated by what the United States representatives call Soviet imperialism.

127. Our relations with the Soviet Union are based on the very substance of our national existence. In the most troubled times in our history the Soviet Union rendered really invaluable assistance to our country. By defeating the fascist Powers it frustrated Hitler's plans for the annihilation of the Czech and Slovak peoples and helped us regain our freedom and independence. Therefore our destiny is forever linked with the community of socialist States, and the independence of our Republic is guaranteed by treaties of alliance with the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia will never again become an object of speculation and a plaything in the hands of the Western Powers, as was the case in the not very distant past.

128. The fact that our people have definitively broken off with the representatives of the capitalist world is to an extent their fault too. In 1938 they threw their faithful ally in to Hitler's throat as to the beast thinking that it will be appeased and that by doing so they would open to Hitler the road to the East.

129. This is why the events of February 1948 have nothing to do with a "coup d'état". The people's democratic régime had been in existence and successfully developing since 1945. In February 1948 our people frustrated the attempt to stage a reactionary "putsch" and expelled all those who wanted to pursue the old Munich policy and the policy of collaboration with the enemy which served the interests of capitalism but was in basic contradiction with the interests of the nation.

130. Those several hundred or thousand people who do not agree with our system and of whom some fled abroad and are also here, in the United States, have no more say and our people nothing to do with them.

If you in the West rely on them, well, it is in our opinion a peculiar, though a bit strange, kind of amusement on your part. If you derive any pleasure from it, you may go on; we do not object. The tens of millions of dollars which you annually spend on their subversive and instigatory activities are, in our view, money lost.

131. In conclusion, I would like to assure you that our Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will also in the future march on the road of progress and peace. We shall encourage every initiative and measure aimed at the promotion of the policy of peaceful coexistence and safeguarding of permanent peace in the world.

132. Mr. TABOADA (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): I should like first, Mr. President, to congratulate you upon your election to the office of President of this Assembly. Your election is a tribute to the merits of one who is well known and respected in the United Nations. We are certain that in discharging your duties as President you will display the impartiality and moderation which are so much a part of your personality.

133. Since the beginning of this year, the international situation—which appeared to be easing somewhat—has become considerably worse. In many respects the cold war is now more intense than ever before. This has created justified alarm throughout the world and intensified the fear of "war by miscalculation" as a result of the nervousness that dominates the international scene.

134. This year's experience fully demonstrates the inadequacy of "direct diplomacy" on the international level and underlines the necessity of using international institutions as the centres for negotiations. In particular, it demonstrates the imperative need to use the machinery of the United Nations. Recourse to the United Nations has the advantage of providing the parties to a dispute with the opportunity of utilizing legal procedures of conciliation which do not exist in direct negotiations.

135. It is undeniable that war and peace depend, in the last analysis, on the intentions of the countries whose military strength places them in a position to choose one or the other alternative. But this does not mean that nations with lesser capacity for making war cannot and should not exercise a restraining influence on the principal actors and exert every effort to discover ways and means of enabling the major groups into which mankind is divided to live together in peace.

136. The middle-sized and small Powers are assuming an importance which they did not possess recently and their voice is being heard more and more forcefully on the international scene. The primary reason for this is the entry of new States into the international community and the fact that a nuclear war would be equally disastrous for all peoples, belligerents and non-belligerents alike.

137. In that connexion the outstanding role played by those Powers in this year's meetings of the Security Council is to be viewed as an auspicious sign. The co-ordination of effort between their representatives in the Council has been a decisive factor in the revitalization of the Security Council after a long period of lethargy.

138. It should be made perfectly clear that the fact that the middle-sized and small Powers play the role

of moderator does not necessarily imply that they should take a position midway between the two conflicting ideologies. As far as my own country is concerned, we wish to reaffirm our solidarity with the West, to which we belong by origin and of which we are a part spiritually and geographically. We reaffirm our rejection of the attempts of one ideological bloc to extend its system to all countries of the world by means of subversion or force. We affirm our unshakable faith in the superiority of Christian moral values over atheistic and materialistic systems. We maintain that the struggle for a fairer distribution of wealth between peoples and classes of society is compatible with political freedom and respect for the inviolable dignity of the human person.

139. Accordingly, we see no contradiction between taking sides openly and sincerely between the conflicting ideologies and the exercise of the peacemaking role which falls to the middle-sized and small Powers by reason of their limited military strength. Our great objective is to assist without abandoning our firmly held positions in maintaining peace and in thus ensuring the survival of man on earth.

140. The United Nations has an outstanding part to play in this mission of goodwill. I have already mentioned the failure of "direct diplomacy" and the need to have recourse to international institutions in settling disputes. We believe that the United Nations, in view of the inefficiency of other procedures, has become the last objective recourse available to States—and particularly to the great Powers—for the solution of the differences between them. If this recourse were to fail, it is impossible to imagine how negotiations could be resumed.

141. In this connexion, we should note the decidedly positive outcome of the work of the United Nations in the year since the opening of the last Assembly. The Security Council has once again become an active body and has satisfactorily dealt with the most serious problems that have troubled international life. In that year, under specific mandate from the Council, the United Nations has carried out—in the Congo operation—the most momentous undertaking in its history. This should be emphasized because the action of the United Nations in the Congo crisis categorically refutes the charges of ineffectiveness so frequently levelled at the world Organization.

142. Argentina, as a member of the Security Council, supported the United Nations action and contributed to it by making available the military pilots and aviation technicians requested of it. My country hopes that in future this type of problem can be solved strictly at the regional level thus precluding attempt at interference alien to the legitimate interests of the African continent.

143. In paying tribute to the work accomplished by the United Nations this year, it would be unfair to overlook the essential role played by the Secretary-General. Few people in the whole world are now unaware of the exceptional qualities which Mr. Hammarskjöld has shown in the most difficult circumstances and the impartiality, wisdom and firmness with which he has coped with them. For all those reasons, the Secretary-General can rely on our continued confidence and has earned the gratitude of all Members of the United Nations.

144. In the year just ended, we have seen an unprecedented acceleration in the evolution of the non-self-governing peoples towards self-government. No less than fifteen countries will become Members of the United Nations this year and many other territories are on the way to achieving full independence. The colonial system can now be regarded as a thing of the past. In view of our unceasing support for the principle of self-determination of peoples, you can legitimately view with deep satisfaction the completion of this process, and we offer fraternal greetings to the States newly admitted to membership.

145. Frequently the emergence of a new country into independence or its admission to membership in the United Nations is used as an opportunity to launch a violent diatribe against the colonial system generally or against the former metropolitan Power of the country concerned, in particular. We cannot share in the spirit which sometimes underlines such attacks. When the transition from colonialism to independence is made with no opposition from the former colonial Powers or even with their close co-operation, such vituperation is unwarranted. Moreover, in the interests of the economic and technical development of the newly independent country it is often necessary that the friendly ties with the former metropolitan country should be maintained.

146. It is also worth noting that independence is the culmination and not the beginning of a process of social maturation of which the political act is merely the outward formality. Thus independence does not merely imply the acquisition of rights; it also entails the assumption of heavy responsibilities. We are therefore certain that the new States will co-operate fully in the peace-making and constructive role we must expect of them.

147. In the Declaration of San José, Costa Rica, of 28 August 1960 we once again reaffirmed the principle of non-intervention because we think we should make it clear that our condemnation of outside interference does not imply any restriction on the right of every people to establish institutions in keeping with its character and traditions. Non-intervention further implies that no American State will seek to extend its internal régime to any other by means of subversion or violence.

148. But our determination to strengthen the juridical principles on which the regional system is based does not relieve us of the duty to draw attention to the great economic vacuum existing in Latin America. The economic backwardness in which more than 200 million Latin Americans are living is the major cause of that continent's political instability which is liable to deteriorate to an extent that cannot be foreseen.

149. At the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs held from 22 August to 29 August 1960 at San José, Costa Rica, the Argentine Government, aware of the dangers inherent in this emergency, raised the question of the need for a vigorous programme of international co-operation for Latin America similar to that organized for reconstruction of the nations of Europe when they were faced with the same dangers.

150. Latin America is making an immense effort to preserve the fundamental institutions of the Western way of life with which it is inextricably bound. Our civilization rests on a political and economic system

whose functional interdependence is becoming increasingly marked and whose preservation depends now as never before on the reciprocity with which each member country is treated within the community.

151. This reciprocity is being undermined to an increasing extent as a result of the unceasing progress of the industrialized countries as compared with the relative stagnation of the economically underdeveloped nations. It introduces an unjustifiable discrimination between countries which are working equally hard to preserve a way of life common to them all.

152. We cannot, however, disregard the progress made on the continent of Latin America in understanding the problem. The Act of Bogotá, adopted at the recent meeting of the Special Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States to Study the Formulation of New Measures for Economic Cooperation (Committee of 21) which took place in September, 1960 is a major milestone in inter-American co-operation. At that meeting, we welcomed the initiative of President Eisenhower and the United States Congress in launching a broad programme of social improvement in Latin America by providing additional funds and technical assistance. We also welcomed the change in the attitude of the United States Government, which has decided to join with the other countries of America in envisaging the reorganization of financial and trade relations with the European nations associated in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association. We also welcomed the recognition by the United States Government, when it endorsed the Act of Bogotá, that an exceptional programme of international economic co-operation must be applied in Latin America. This programme must include financial aid, public and private, from the capital-exporting countries of the Americas, of Western Europe and international financing agencies.

153. Nevertheless, we would point out that Latin America has not yet found, in actual practice, the combination of financial resources and instruments of international co-operation which would enable it to cast off the fetters in economic under-development, in order to meet the needs of the modern world. The frustration of those objectives is the source of many potential dangers in Latin America and leads to the temptation to apply political and economic methods inconsistent with our way of life.

154. Again in the realm of inter-American relations, my Government announces, with deep satisfaction the conclusion of a number of agreements with Chile for a permanent settlement, through arbitration, of the boundary disputes between our two countries. The agreements signed are a guarantee that our differences have been successfully resolved and they will strengthen relations between two peoples bound by history, geography and the awareness of their common destiny.

155. The Antarctic Treaty, signed on 1 December 1959 between twelve countries with special interests in the Antarctic to which Argentina is a party and which has been ratified by the Argentine Senate is a triumph of the spirit of international conciliation and co-operation. Its most distinctive feature is perhaps that it prohibits the use of the Antarctic region for nuclear experiments, thus laying down a rule which we should

like to see extended to the other parts of the world. It should be made clear that the Treaty does not affect the rights of countries with sovereign rights in that territory.

156. Economic development is still the most important of the economic questions before the Assembly. This Assembly can provide an opportunity for a thorough and honest appraisal of this problem. The presence in this forum of the highly industrialized countries and the under-developed countries of the world may lead to recognition of the urgent need to use every available means to transform the latter's economic structure. In our own case, all the countries of Latin America have already embarked upon the path of industrial development to which they are irrevocably committed. They are firmly convinced that social betterment depends on economic development, in particular, industrial development, and that this is the only way to achieve the high levels of living which they should be able to enjoy in view of their resources and the efforts which they are making to preserve political institutions consistent with the dignity of man. However, this last objection may have to be sacrificed in face of the need to eliminate hunger, poverty and ignorance.

157. The advanced nations must understand the necessity of removing these dangers, not only in the interest of the less developed countries but also in their own interest. To achieve this end every effort must be made to establish new industries in the under-developed countries—particularly basic industries, which are the foundation of economic stability. The advanced countries agree to the re-establishment of the principle of reciprocity in trade on the world market so that the under-developed countries can recover and increase their former levels of foreign earnings, since this is the soundest and the normal means of financing their development.

158. If the highly developed countries fail in the near future to increase their public and private investments in our countries in order to strengthen our economic development, especially in the basic sectors of our economies and do not provide conditions in which our primary commodities can be freely traded on a stable basis in the world market, cold war incidents will become increasingly wide-spread in the world.

159. Some of the topics that will be considered in examining the report of the Economic and Social Council<sup>2/</sup> and of the question of economic development deserve special attention. Thus the studies made by the Commission on International Commodity Trade bring out some of the most serious difficulties encountered by the under-developed countries in their development plans, which should be taken into account in any policy it may be decided to apply for the benefit of these countries.

160. My Government supports any measure to increase the freedom of trade and to reduce the barriers that restrict it. In this spirit it has become a participant in the Latin American Free Trade Association establishing a Free Trade Area. We are certain that this important step towards the creation of the Latin American common market will lead to an increase in trade with other regions of the world as well as in regional trade.

161. This conviction has led us to express our interest in the efforts to establish a new European organization for economic co-operation. We believe that in view of the traditional direction of our export trade we are an interested party in any attempt to plan the agrarian and commercial policy of the countries of Western Europe.

162. The problem of economic development is particularly acute in the newly independent countries. The Secretary-General's suggestion that there should be a special programme of assistance to these countries recognizes this fact. In conformity with its policy on colonial matters, my country views with sympathy any aid granted to the new members of the community of free nations. Nevertheless, in this particular instance having regard to the fact that the majority of those countries belong to a single continent, it cannot but point out the difficulties of reconciling this step with the principle of the equitable geographical distribution of United Nations assistance in accordance with the Charter. In the interests of all, therefore, it would be advisable to seek a formula which will make it possible to solve the problem through voluntary contributions.

163. The scale of the problems inherent in the financing of economic development, the inadequacy of private capital and the increasing number of agencies and programmes with similar aims dealing with the question bring into new perspective the much discussed subject of the need to establish a United Nations capital development fund. We trust that these new circumstances will enable us to overcome differences and to find a way to constructive solutions.

164. The conviction that it is a fundamental obligation of Member States fully to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has determined my country's attitude towards cases of racial discrimination brought to the Organization's attention. For Argentina, as we have stated in the Security Council [854th meeting], racial prejudices are an aberration which we have difficulty in understanding. Having been brought up—like the peoples of the other Latin American countries—in the belief that all human beings are equal because they are all children of the same God, we have based our public and private life on the absolute equality of all races. We gratefully acknowledge that this spirit of brotherhood, transcending differences of colour, is one of the most valuable legacies of our Hispanic heritage.

165. We therefore earnestly hope that the few cases in which Governments make racism an integral part of their national policy will cease to exist through respect for the dignity of the human person. At the same time, we would point out that any discrimination against the white population in newly independent countries would be as objectionable and unacceptable to us as discrimination against coloured people has been in the past.

166. In the international protection of human rights national characteristics must be taken into account so that doctrines opposed to the fundamental beliefs of the contracting States are not imposed through treaties. In this connexion, my Government feels that it should draw attention to the importance of respecting in the forthcoming declaration on religious freedom the arrangements governing relations between the

<sup>2/</sup>See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 3, document A/4415.

State and the various religious denominations in individual countries.

167. As regards the family, we maintain that United Nations declarations on the subject should not affect the principles of the stability of marriage and the right of parents to choose the type of education which they wish their children to have in accordance with their own beliefs. We strongly oppose any measures at the international level designed either directly or indirectly, to spread the practice of birth control. We are convinced that the problems of the "population explosion" can be solved by economic measures and not by biological methods which are repugnant to the deeply rooted convictions of many Member States.

168. This Assembly will probably prove to be a decisive point in the history of the period following the Second World War. International tensions have become so great that we may well be unable to escape choosing between a nuclear war and the achievement of stability that will enable the peoples to live together in peace. For that reason the continuation of the cold war as a normal way of life no longer seems possible.

169. This gives the measure of the responsibility that devolves on each and every member of this Assembly. Our common efforts will determine whether the nations will be able to face the future with greater confidence or will have to admit the possibility of destruction so unthinkable that until yesterday it seemed no more than a figment of the novelists' imagination.

170. Beyond doubt our most urgent task is to find formulas that will make it possible to take the first steps towards effective disarmament under international control; but, as we have maintained on other occasions, in ensuring peace military disarmament is more an effect than a cause. What is essential is to establish mutual trust, since without it there will never be real peace.

171. A prerequisite for such truth is the certainty that no one will endeavour to impose his ideological system and way of life on others. Armed aggression is of course to be condemned, but so too are subversive penetration and attempts to establish in other countries systems which are contrary to their national characteristics and traditions.

172. We are in favour of peaceful coexistence based upon mutual respect and good faith in dealings between States. If under the auspices of the United Nations and by carrying out the principles laid down in the Charter we succeed in charting a course that will lead to a relaxation of the tension which keeps the world in a constant state of anxiety, we shall have proved ourselves worthy of the trust that the peoples place in this distinguished Assembly.

173. Mr. DIEFENBAKER, Prime Minister of Canada: First, Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election. I know that the General Assembly will benefit greatly from your wisdom, experience and independent judgement, qualities which are so essential in the discharge of those responsibilities that are yours. And may I add that one-tenth of Canada's population is of Irish origin, and they ask me to convey to you a particular word of congratulation.

174. I wish as well to join in welcoming the newly elected Member States. I know that they will derive benefit and advantage from their membership in this

Organization, as the United Nations will benefit from their participation in its work and activities. It is particularly significant that thirteen of these new Member States are in Africa, a continent in which great changes are taking place and which today holds the centre of the world's stage. I know all of us of the older Members of this Organization will agree that we have a responsibility to assist these new Member States in solving the challenging problems with which they are faced.

175. Their addition to our membership is a reminder of the need for the Assembly to consider enlarging the Economic and Social Council and the numerical strength of the Security Council, so that all geographical areas may receive adequate representation.

176. I wish now to speak of the present Assembly. To some observers the Assembly in the past week gave the appearance of being a circus and a drama of personalities. Whatever their views, this fact stands out, that this is the most important and most representative gathering of the world and national leaders in all history. This meeting symbolizes the bringing-together of the cultures and philosophies of all races. It is our responsibility to ensure that out of this meeting shall come a testament to the capacity of rational men to achieve rational relations, to bring about the attainment of peace and to practise brotherhood and the raising of standards everywhere in the world.

177. To the new Members I say this. As one coming from Canada, I say that the United Nations constitutes the greatest hope for the middle and small Powers, for the new and weaker States, indeed, for all the nations of mankind of every social and political system.

178. We meet under circumstances which, in my opinion, mean that this is a critical stage in the history and development of the United Nations. This Organization faces its most formidable threat, a threat to its very existence. In the last few days the Assembly has heard from the leaders of its two most powerful Members, I had great hopes when I learned that Mr. Khrushchev was going to attend. I came here prepared to accept, to adopt and to agree with any good suggestion he might offer, for I am of those who believe that his suggestions must not be rejected out of hand. I have been disappointed. Mr. Khrushchev, in a gigantic propaganda drama of destructive misrepresentation, launched a major offensive in the cold war. He gave lip-service to the United Nations which, in my opinion, would be destroyed by his proposal for a triumvirate. That speech could not have been intended to bring the world closer to peace; yet, to bring the world closer to peace is the major reason for our being here.

179. We do not always agree with the United States of America, but our very existence—with one-tenth of the population of the United States and possessing the resources that we do—is an effective answer to the propaganda that the United States has aggressive designs. I say that to begin with.

180. Mr. Eisenhower made a restrained, a wise and a conciliatory speech [868th meeting]. He presented a constructive programme. He looked forward to a world community of peace. He opened the door to international conciliation and world fellowship. I am sorry to say that Mr. Khrushchev tried to shut that door [869th meeting].



181. We have just heard from the Secretary-General, the agent and trustee of this Organization. I say at once that Canada rejects categorically the unjust and intemperate attacks that have been made on the office and person of this wholly dedicated and impartial Secretary-General. The proposal of the Soviet Union to replace the Secretary-General with a three-man presidium requiring unanimous agreement to act is a transparent plan to undermine the prestige and authority of the United Nations. Having thwarted the United Nations so often through the exercise of the veto, the Soviet Union now seems bent on destroying the United Nations by neutralizing its power to proceed effectively and promptly in emergencies as they arise.

182. I need not add that Canada is opposed to that bizarre proposal; to accept it would require an amendment of the Charter; to accept it would be to reduce the United Nations to an instrument of indecision and impotence. It would, in fact, multiply the veto to the detriment of the effective operation of this Organization.

183. I shall now say a few words on the Congo. What has happened there has given rise to one of the most challenging situations which the United Nations has ever had to face. I agree with the Foreign Minister of Argentina when he pointed out that the results so far attained are a demonstration of what international co-operation can achieve when its members are determined to lend their full support.

184. Canada has played its part in the United Nations operation there; it did so at the request of the United Nations, providing specially qualified personnel—signals, communications, air transport—and emergency food provisions. Canada is a member of NATO. Is the fact that we are a member of that defensive organization any indication that the course we took, in providing this type of assistance on request, can be described as being aggressive?

185. As I see it, one of the larger tasks of the Assembly will be to ensure that sufficient support is forthcoming to sustain the United Nations in its efforts to revive the financial and economic life of the Congo. I take this opportunity to assure the General Assembly that Canada will assume an equitable share of this burden.

186. I believe too that the experience in the Congo has demonstrated the need to have military forces readily available for service with the United Nations when required. For its part the Canadian Government has held in reserve a battalion transportable by air and earmarked for such service. That experience in the Congo has emphasized, as I see it, the need for the nucleus of a permanent headquarters military staff being established under the United Nations to be in readiness to prevent confusion and to assure cohesion when called upon in an emergency.

187. Canada's views on the Congo and on the larger African problem may be summarized in this way. The African continent must not become the focus of an East-West struggle; it must be free from the direct interference of the major Powers. The African nations must be permitted to work out their own destinies; when they need help, the best source is through the agencies of the United Nations.

188. I turn now to a subject dealt with at great length by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers

of the USSR, the subject of colonialism. He asked for, and advocated, a declaration at this session for "the complete and final abolition of the colonial system" [869th plenary meeting].

189. I think it would be generally agreed that, whatever the experience of the past, there can no longer be a relationship of master and servant anywhere in the world. He has spoken of colonial bondage, of exploitation and of foreign yokes. Those views, uttered by the master of the major colonial Power in the world today, followed the admission of fourteen new Member nations to the United Nations—all of them former colonies. It seems that he forgot what had occurred on the opening day.

190. Since the last war seventeen colonial areas and territories, comprising more than forty million people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period fourteen colonies and territories, comprising 500 million people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth. Taken together, some 600 million people in more than thirty countries, most of them now represented in this Assembly, have attained their freedom—this with the approval, the encouragement and the guidance of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and France.

191. There are few here that can speak with the authority of Canada on the subject of colonialism, for Canada was once a colony of both France and the United Kingdom. We were the first country which evolved over a hundred years ago by constitutional processes from colonial status to independence without severing the family connexion.

192. The Commonwealth now embraces ten nations, including the United Kingdom, all of them free and voluntary members from all the continents, comprising one-fifth of the world's population and representing virtually every race, colour, and creed. We are united not by the sword or the seal but by the spirit of co-operation and by common aspirations; and the process is a continuing one. Within the next week another country, Nigeria, the most populous in Africa, will attain its independence and remain in the Commonwealth family.

193. Indeed in this Assembly the membership is composed in a very considerable measure of the graduates of empires, mandates and trusteeships of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and other nations.

194. I pause to ask this question: how many human beings have been liberated by the USSR? Do we forget how one of the postwar colonies of the Soviet Union sought to liberate itself four years ago, and with what results?

195. I say that because these facts of history in the Commonwealth and other countries invite comparison with the domination over peoples and territories, sometimes gained under the guise of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of political freedom. How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 with Chairman Khrushchev's confident assertion of 23 September in this Assembly? Mr. Khrushchev said [869th meeting]:

"We have stood, we stand, and always will stand, for the right of the peoples of Africa, just as those of other continents, to establish whatever régime

they may please in their countries on attaining their freedom from colonial oppression."

That I accept—and I hope that those words mean a change of attitude for the future on the part of those he represents.

196. What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them? Mr. Khrushchev went further and said, in the same meeting:

"... Complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations is demonstrated by the entire course of the history of the world in recent decades."

There can be no double standard in international affairs.

197. I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections—to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. If those conclusions were what his words meant, for they must apply universally, then indeed will there be new action to carry out the obligations of the United Nations Charter; then indeed will there be new hope for all mankind.

198. My hope is that those words of his will be universally acceptable and that he will give the lead towards their implementation here and now.

199. I wish now to say a few words on East-West relations. A year ago we had great hopes. There seemed to be a promise of a decisive change in relations among the great Powers. We, the smaller Powers and the middle Powers, find ourselves in the position of trying to make our contribution to removing fear and distrust, to bring about mutual understanding and co-operation. The Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament began its work. Until the failure of even the opening of the Paris Conference of the Heads of the Four Powers there were high expectations. Then came the collapse of that Conference. Then there was the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the disarmament negotiations in June. Then came those propaganda attacks in degree and intensity during this summer, the very violence of which must naturally lead to the view that various issues were being deliberately exploited for the express purpose of raising tension. With mankind waiting for us to act, what good can there come from threats to rain rockets or nuclear bombs on other countries, large or small, to despatch so-called volunteers into situations already dangerously inflamed, to encourage political leaders to follow the line of extremism?

200. Mankind, the peoples of all the nations, are fearful and anxious, and these fears and anxieties aggravate the tensions. I ask for a return immediately to the path of negotiation. It is the only course that the great Powers should follow. It is incumbent on this General Assembly to press for the resumption of negotiations, particularly regarding those main issues which divide the Soviet Union and those associated with it from the Western Powers. That is the paramount issue of this Assembly, disarmament.

201. The Canadian Government takes its stand on behalf of full disarmament, to be assured by effective

control and inspection. The major Powers today possess the nuclear capacity for mutual destruction and to annihilate all. We, the middle Powers and the smaller Powers, cannot remain silent. We would be the hopeless victims of any nuclear catastrophe that takes place. Quite apart from our instinct for self preservation, mankind knows of the futility of wanton waste. Without a return to negotiations, we cannot hope to arrest the arms race, we cannot hope to still the process of armaments and continuing armaments.

202. The tragedy of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament negotiations was that the break-down occurred at a time when there was an appreciable narrowing of the gap between the Soviet and Western positions. I wrote to Mr. Khrushchev on 30 June. I suggested then a return to the negotiating table. The unanimous voice of the Disarmament Commission in that regard has been disregarded, for in August it called for the earliest possible continuance of disarmament negotiations. I believe that it is imperative for this Assembly to reaffirm the appeal of the Disarmament Commission.

203. It is not plans and principles which we need. We have four different disarmament plans and two sets of principles. There may be working methods that should be brought about, to be adjusted by agreement. Canada suggested the appointment of a neutral chairman, and is prepared to examine every constructive suggestion. We do not lack appropriate machinery, but we do lack mutual confidence and a general will on the part of the Soviet Government to negotiate.

204. That confidence can be increased by dispelling the kind of secrecy which clouds preparation for war and fills the heart of men with fear of surprise attack. Canada is the nearest neighbour of the United States and the Soviet Union. Our people fear, and the people of the United States fear, a surprise attack across the polar regions. No doubt the people of the Soviet Union fear an attack from our side. Canada is prepared to make available for international inspection and control any part of Canadian arctic territory in exchange for a comparable concession on the part of the Soviet Union. They say that we prepare, in co-operation with the United States in our arctic areas, to attack. I give them the opportunity now to have an answer to their fears. You open your areas, and we will open ours, and that source of fear will be removed.

205. I find it difficult to understand, if it was reported correctly, why Mr. Khrushchev should have taken the view [869th meeting] that a resumption of disarmament talks should be conditional, among other things, upon the acceptance of demands by the Soviet Union for fundamental changes in the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament and in the office of the Chief Executive of the United Nations.

206. What other kind of measures might be undertaken? I have frequently had occasion to urge publicly the end of nuclear weapons, the systematic control of missiles designed to deliver nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the designation and inspection of launching sites for missiles, the abolition of biological and chemical weapons, the outlawing of outer space for military purposes and, especially, a ban on the mounting of armaments on orbital satellites, an end to the production of fissionable materials for weapons

and the conversion of existing stocks for peaceful purposes. Canada over and over again has advocated an end to nuclear testing.

207. I need hardly stress the significance of early agreement on measures like these, carried out under appropriate verifications and inspection, for there can be no dissipation of fear unless there is control and inspection. Tremendous advances have been made in outer space. It will be too late a year from now. I hope that at this time consideration will be given to jurisdiction in outer space being assured for scientific and peaceful purposes only, so that all nations, great and small, will have equal rights.

208. I believe, and Canada takes the stand, that no celestial body shall be considered as capable of appropriation by any State; that space vehicles shall be identified by a system of registration of launchings, call signs and other characteristics; that frequencies for communications with and among space vehicles shall be allocated on a rational and agreed basis.

209. These tremendous problems require the consideration of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—and that body to commence its work at once.

210. I should like to say a word too on the subject of aid and assistance. While the Chairman of the Council of Ministers dwelt at length on the evils of colonialism, he had very little to say about economic assistance to the less developed countries of the world. I read no pledge to make increased contributions to United Nations programmes of economic and technical assistance. That was one view expressed by President Eisenhower. Mr. Khrushchev asked simply for a declaration.

211. There is an urgent need to increase the flow of international economic aid to the less developed countries, and I think particularly of these newly independent States of Africa. I believe this. Through the United Nations the material resources for economic assistance must be greatly increased if the needs of Africa are to be met without impairing at the same time plans for assistance in other areas.

212. We in Canada have taken one stand in this regard. We have given economic and technical assistance. We do not condone the imposition upon recipient nations of any particular social, economic or political order. We will maintain our contribution to aid programmes. We will make increases.

213. Canada naturally has a family concern for those countries achieving independence within the Commonwealth of nations. Last week, the Special Commonwealth African Aid Programme was publicly launched. For this purpose Canada will, subject to Parliamentary sanction, make a contribution of \$10.5 million over three years towards the development of African countries within the Commonwealth, including some of the dependent territories.

214. There will be technical assistance and aids to education under this plan and assistance in the field of capital investment. We regard bilateral assistance within the Commonwealth as complementary to the United Nations programme in Africa and we will take every means to ensure that bilateral aid is closely co-ordinated with the United Nations programmes.

215. To the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development we have doubled our subscription. We have made financial provision for contribution to the International Development Association. We believe that the United Nations Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance deserve to have increased contributions. The specific amounts of these contributions will be announced by the Canadian delegation during this session of the United Nations.

216. One of these—the programme for the provision of operational, executive and administrative personnel (OPEX)—has proved its effectiveness in providing much needed assistance to new countries. We think it should be made permanent and expanded. We place before you a complementary proposal to establish a roster. We intend, in Canada, to establish a roster of Canadian experts in various fields—ready at short notice to be sent under United Nations auspices to newly independent States requesting them. They can help in setting up or restoring civil administration such as in the Congo, in distress areas or in disaster areas. National action of a standby nature is obviously desirable to supplement the United Nations OPEX proposal.

217. We suggest that experts, in an experts bank, if you will, might be recruited for medicine, public health, sanitation, public welfare, distribution of supplies, communications, transportation, and police services. To set up an experts bank would make for administrative stability instead of having to rely on a crash recruiting campaign for this purpose after the need arises.

218. One matter in which Canada has pressed in the past, and I now repeat, is in the field of providing aid through food contributions. The problem of feeding the millions of chronically hungry and under-nourished peoples of the world is tragic and urgent. Some of our countries have tremendous surpluses of cereals and other foodstuffs. We also have the capacity to increase our production greatly. Canada's surplus of wheat, as of 31 July, was 536 million bushels. Surplus food, piled up in sterile storage, is hard to justify when so many human beings lack adequate food and nutrition. I realize, as the Food and Agriculture Organization has stated, that agricultural surpluses of the more advanced countries would only be temporary relief and therefore would be incomplete. I believe, however, that much must be done on behalf of food-deficit countries, first to help them in their hour of need and then to help them raise their own levels of production. This to me is the responsibility of the United Nations as a whole, to meet this challenge.

219. A few countries cannot underwrite the costs of transferring their surpluses to the countries in need. What we need is to join together in contributing to a solution of truly world-wide scope to this problem of the world's suffering and starving peoples. We have tried to do that.

220. We have no ambitions internationally. We covet no country. We want to change no country's views. We have made available in wheat and flour to under-developed countries aid in the amount of \$56 million. I now welcome and commend the suggestion made by the President of the United States last week that the Assembly should seriously consider devising a workable plan along the lines of the "Food for peace"

programme. We envisage a "food bank" to provide food to Member States through the United Nations. Such a scheme would require the establishment of concerted machinery which would take into account established patterns of trade and marketing and co-ordinate the individual surplus disposal to improve the effective utilization of wheat.

221. Finally, for some reason, we have never been able to secure agreement on the compulsory authority of the International Court of Justice—that is the judicial arm of the United Nations—in the strengthening of peace-keeping machinery. The compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court, in the opinion of the country I represent, is of paramount importance. All Members of the United Nations are automatically parties to the Statute. Canada accepts the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court except in matters of a domestic nature, but does not itself decide what is of a domestic nature, and leaves it to the Court to decide. I hope that the nations in this Organization will declare their readiness to accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction so as to give sinew and muscle to the decisions that are made.

222 I have spoken for Canada. We are, as I have said, a middle Power, large enough to bear responsibility but not so large as to have traditions of national power or aspirations which arouse fears and suspicion. As a nation of North America, we have our deep roots in two European cultures—the British and the French—and also in the cultures of all the other races of men that have come to us.

223. By the accident of geography and history we find ourselves squarely between the two greatest Powers on earth. We have no fortresses facing

either. We want to live at peace with our Northern neighbours, as we have lived so long at peace with our Southern neighbours.

224. In a world passing through two great human experiences—the thrust of technology and the thrust of political and social change—new perspectives have been given for a better life. Must we admit that we cannot control these revolutions of science and society? Shall we rather harness them for the common good, do it now and prevent them from upsetting the all-too-fragile foundations on which peace rests today? That is our task.

225. We hear voices that speak of victories for propaganda. We are not here in this Assembly to win wars of propaganda. We are here to win victories for peace. If I understand correctly the thinking of the average man and woman today throughout the world, they have had enough of propaganda, of confusion and fears and doubts. They are asking us for the truth. We are not mustered here under the direction and domination of any nation. We are mustered not for any race or creed or ideology. We are here for the hosts of humanity everywhere in the world.

226. Peoples and nations are waiting upon us. Man's hopes call upon us to say what we can do. My hope is that we shall not leave this place without having done something for mankind, so that we shall be able to say to the peoples of the world that death's pale flag shall not again be raised in war, that fear shall be lifted from the hearts and souls of men. For this could be our last chance to achieve those objectives.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*