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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KHOMAN (Thailand): I wish, in the first place, to offer to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our warm congratulations upon your election to this high office. We feel confident that your wide knowledge and experience of United Nations affairs and your wisdom will lead the deliberations of the General Assembly to concrete results. We wish you all success in this very important task ahead.
2. As we gather here again for the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, there is no doubt that the international climate now prevailing is widely different from that which existed a year ago. Unlike last year, when hope and optimism pervaded the atmosphere the Assembly now meets in grim circumstances, a continuation of a critical period during which man's yearnings for peace and tranquillity have been singularly contradicted.
3. In the interval between the two sessions of the General Assembly, efforts to improve international understanding suffered so many reverses that, as the fifteenth session convenes, the world is still shaken from the turbulent weather through which it has gone during the last few months.
4. The time is not for panic but rather for sober thinking. What is needed is probably less words and more thoughtful deliberations and constructive steps designed to relieve the deep anxiety which grips the bodies and minds of millions of people. Our aim here should be not to manoeuvre for propaganda or psychological gains but to join efforts in restoring healthy international conditions. We owe it to our peoples and those of the world, whose eyes are focused upon us, to do everything we can to remove the causes of possible conflicts and to lay the foundation of a long and lasting peace. Today, more than ever, the greatest single problem facing us is still that of preserving

peace, of shielding it from unwitting and deliberate assaults and strengthening it so as to enable it to resist any future encroachments. This is not a task which should be assigned to any single Power or group of Powers—a smaller Power has as great a stake in it as a larger one—and should we fail to attain this momentous purpose, we know what will happen to us all, to our peoples and our homelands. That is why my country will never relinquish what we consider to be our duty and to that end we shall do everything possible within the limits of the resources of our nation.

5. What should we think of the situation so succinctly described above? Should we adopt an apathetic attitude and say to ourselves that, after all, the world has for some years felt hot and cold winds alternately blowing? Or should we rely on that well known cyclic law which would govern both the economics and politics of everything human? This is the problem. Now we may try objectively to consider its component elements, to consider the assets and liabilities which are offered to us.

6. On the positive side we may safely assume that no nation, at least those which are Members of this Organization, desires to steer the world into a widespread conflict, because those who are in possession of modern weapons know, and those who do not have them can well imagine, the magnitude of the destruction and sufferings that will descend upon us should a world-wide conflagration break out. The very fact also that many high personalities are assembled to take part in the work of the Assembly may be interpreted as an indication of the deep aspiration of most countries to find a path towards enduring peace. However, if the lack of desire on the part of most nations to plunge the world into a conflict is a definite asset for our efforts towards peace, it does not, unfortunately, follow that all of them are willing to refrain from words or actions which, by themselves, sow the seeds of conflicts.

7. Especially in the verbal domain no one could have failed to notice a marked deterioration in the usage adopted in international gatherings. Instead of what was known to our internationalist forefathers as *comitas gentium* we now have to witness an intentional and calculated discourtesy toward one another as well as frequent resort to abusive language. There can be no doubt that such a behaviour will not enhance international concord and harmony; it rather vitiates the atmosphere and renders more difficult, if not impossible, the chances for better understanding and conciliation. This may be a passing sign of our time. Nevertheless, one cannot help expressing the hope that the sooner it disappears the better it will be for our international community.

8. Another disturbing feature of our present world is the relentless propaganda activities, both verbal and written, which have already been raging for some

time against one another. This war of words knows no limit of decency and it is a common happening that falsehoods are repeated over and over again, gaining more strength as they become more blatant. Who can ever claim that such propaganda activities will foster goodwill and good understanding? My country for one, knows from bitter experience the extent of those activities including wild charges and accusations. If we choose to ignore them and not to respond to them in most cases, it is in the firm belief that those who engage in them will succumb to their own viciousness.

9. These propaganda activities sometimes do not conceal their heads under the anonymity of normal information media. They come out into the open in official statements and blatantly launch the most groundless accusations with the sole purpose of achieving propaganda benefit. One of the most recent cases, which I should like to mention, occurred a few days ago when a Government, which does not so far have diplomatic representation in a country of South-East Asia neighbouring on Thailand, accused the Government of Thailand of intervention in the affairs of that neighbouring country, of providing opposing forces with access to Thai territory, of concentrating military units on the border of that country and finally of firing from our boats on our neighbour's ships and troops. These accusations are a pure travesty of the true facts. In reality my country has scrupulously refrained from intervening in the domestic affairs of that country or indeed of any other country, in spite of the fact that during the recent disturbances many of our nationals have been beaten and manhandled and our boats were fired upon while navigating on our side of the river. Neither has my Government provided any facilities or passage through our territory to foreign forces. In this particular case, a simple glance at a map would reveal that neither side has any need to pass through our territory, since there is a great river which affords ample and convenient means of communication. As to the alleged troop concentration, anyone, whether one of our nationals or a foreigner, who lives in a free and open country like ours, with no kind of curtain, may bear witness to the imaginary character of the accusation.

10. However, charges such as these are not completely devoid of meaning; in our opinion, they may well portend an open intervention by certain elements which have so far remained in concealment. At any rate, they reveal certain interests which cannot be termed unselfish. In a case like this it might be interesting to envisage the revival of an investigation both inside that country and around it by impartial authorities such as those of the United Nations. Such an investigation might this time be very revealing and might show to the world a number of alarming facts, particularly as we learn from news which has reached us this morning that heavy attacks have been launched by forces trained, equipped, supplied and directed by outside Powers. Such an investigation would clearly show who is intervening, by what means and to what extent. It may not meet with the approval of those who are at present threatening the security and the very existence of that country, nor of their friends, but it may well serve the freedom and stability of that country.

11. As far as Thailand is concerned, it has no material or economic interest in that country, nor does it have any territorial designs. Our only interest is

to see peace and order prevail for the benefit of those people themselves. On the contrary, disturbances and interventions by certain disruptive elements affect our own well-being and security which, as a Government responsible to our people, we intend to preserve with all the means at our disposal.

12. However, the crux of the problem, lies, no doubt, in the fact that the world is sharply divided in terms of ways of life, of interests and ideology. The chasm is wide and difficult to bridge. The opposition between the two camps is so manifest that it may appear anywhere and almost on any occasion, especially between the two major leaders, so much so that clashes remain a constant possibility. The same is also true in regard to situations which arise in new areas which do not come within the spheres of their immediate interests. There the possibility of intervention by one brings the likelihood of intervention by the other, and that leads to the danger of possible conflicts.

13. This, in brief, is the basic problem which constitutes the fountain-head of our present difficulties. There is no doubt that this fundamental divergence between nations of the world affects and influences all other important questions—disarmament, economic aid or any others.

14. This is the deep-rooted problem we have to face, the solution to which is still beyond our reach. However, as long as the two camps face each other, with no possible compromise in sight and with profound feelings of fear and suspicion of each other, even a workable and dependable modus vivendi remains difficult to achieve. Our efforts, therefore, should be directed first to preventing a further aggravation of this delicate state of affairs. Our energy should be applied to avoid further deepening of feelings of apprehension and lack of trust among nations, and we can do so by refraining from threats to use the modern weapons of destruction which in recent times have been among the major causes of world tension. At the same time our efforts must be conjugated to bridge this yawning gap. At present we have at our disposal the best instrument of our time and perhaps of all times: the United Nations. We should know how to make use of it and to make it serve our general interests and not merely the interests of one or of a few.

15. It seems hardly necessary for me to say that the United Nations has more than fulfilled our expectations. In the recent delicate and complex situation in the Congo the United Nations has rendered the most valuable services and it continues to do so. It has saved the Congo, and perhaps the whole world, from chaos. The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, and all his associates deserve our high commendation and gratitude. The Secretary-General in particular, in the face of the most difficult circumstances, has shown a keen insight, great courage and wisdom. The overwhelming vote taken recently in this Assembly is a testimony of our wholehearted approval of his inspiring leadership and his conduct of the operations in the Congo.

16. With such results now at hand, the only logical course of action that remains open to us is to strengthen the office of the Secretary-General as institutionalized in our Charter. If any modifications should be brought about to that office, they should be aimed at increasing the authority of the Secretary-General and giving him, in addition to our support and confidence,

the best possible means to enable him to carry out efficiently and effectively his mandate and duties.

17. In doing so the nations of the world will gain, and the chances for peace and stability will increase. In our submission, the United Nations remains the only organization at our disposal capable of intervening between the two opposing groups. It may serve to avoid all possible head-on clashes between the two and it may cushion any forceful contacts between them.

18. At the same time, while peace and order are being precariously maintained through the use of the United Nations between the two camps, further efforts should continue towards a more permanent settlement. Such efforts may preferably take place within the United Nations while others may be pursued outside it as circumstances may require. In particular, contacts and negotiations between those who are endowed with the greatest power of destruction should be resumed and conducted in earnest and with genuine efforts to achieve tangible results. Such efforts may be particularly applied to the thorny and complex problem of disarmament, which remains the explosive issue of our time. Meanwhile a way should be found to dissociate the fortune of disarmament efforts from that of world peace. In other words, the lack of success in reaching the still elusive agreement on that subject should not cause the temperature of the world body to rise. For that purpose, an understanding, even a tacit one, should be arrived at whereby intermittent setbacks in disarmament negotiations should not be used for psychological gains to increase international tension and fears of war for the benefit of one or the other party.

19. The above observations may also apply to other problems which have a direct bearing on the present contest between the two camps. I have in mind particularly the question of economic aid, which at present is being used more for political effects than for purely economic purposes. Here again a mutual understanding should be reached whereby the needs of the underdeveloped countries for their economic and social development should not be exploited for the political benefit of one or the other group. The recipients themselves should come to realize that their long-range interests require that the aid they may receive should not involve them in political entanglements. In this domain as well, the United Nations may render significant services and may help ultimately in relieving political tension.

20. Our abiding faith in the United Nations is not purely academic or sentimental. In our national day-to-day life we look to the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace. Therefore, whenever difficulties arise we always seek the advice and good offices of this Organization.

21. Although the United Nations may be envisaged as performing important functions, the main duty and responsibilities still rest on the shoulders of its Member nations. While the struggle between the great goes on, the large majority cannot sit idly by, watching the tragedy roll on before their eyes. They also have an important duty to perform and a great stake in ensuring the welfare of the world. Their actions or omissions may either enhance or gravely affect the chances of world peace. Now, with the increased membership of our Organization, the role that smaller nations can play in world affairs, and particularly in

the Organization, cannot be insignificant. My delegation rejoices that many new nations from Africa and other parts of the world have joined our family of nations; and many more will do so in the near future. The fresh and new ideas they bring with them will certainly reinforce our efforts in the quest for international understanding and harmony. We welcome them wholeheartedly and we wish them great success in their new responsibility.

22. As we see it, the first duty of smaller nations is to refrain from doing anything that may worsen the present delicate international situation. All of us, I feel sure, deeply realize that we have absolutely no interest in witnessing a struggle between the great of the world. Even though we may not be directly involved in that struggle, we are bound to feel and to be affected by its repercussions. In my country we have a saying that whenever two elephants fight the grass is crushed under their feet. In this case, smaller nations may hardly be compared to grass but, somehow or other, the struggle between great nations is likely to produce adverse effects upon their existence. History abounds in examples and illustrations, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to bring them out in support of my contention.

23. On the positive side, small nations acting together, either within the framework of the United Nations or outside it, can and will make their weight felt. They have already been able to do so in the past; there is no reason why they should not be able to do it again in the future. In the performance of this task there is no need for any formal alliance; all nations of goodwill from all sides, may join in, irrespective of their political commitments, because the fundamental purpose of these joint efforts is not to set ourselves against anyone, but only to work together toward the common goal of world peace and understanding. All nations joining together in such efforts will be able to render services not only to themselves but, at certain junctures, to the great Powers as well. The immediate need in this respect is to develop among ourselves a conscience of our duty and the worthiness of the role we can play.

24. This, besides the United Nations, will be another bridge which may be thrown across the chasm separating the two camps. There are great hopes that it may play a worthy role in restoring international harmony and concord between nations. If during the few weeks we spend here together such a purpose can be realized, that in itself will represent a notable achievement for which our peoples and indeed the whole world will be grateful.

25. Mr. GOMULKA (Poland):^{1/} May I be allowed, Mr. President, to present to you my congratulations and to all Members of the General Assembly my sincere wishes for fruitful debates.

26. The participation of so many Heads of Government and leading statesmen of countries and nations in the deliberations of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session is undoubtedly an unusual event in the history of the United Nations. How can it be explained? It reflects above all the seriousness of the international situation, which, so far as the problem of the maintenance of peace is concerned, has deteriorated since the last session of the General Assembly.

^{1/}Mr. Gomulka spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

27. This event is also a manifestation of the fact that many countries including Poland, do attach great importance to the United Nations, to the purposes and functions it ought to perform in solving the paramount issue of our times, that of securing lasting peace.

28. This is the first time that I have had the honour of taking a direct part in the work of the General Assembly, and I wish to declare on behalf of my country that the Polish delegation will do its utmost to achieve the results expected of the present session both by the people of Poland and by all the peoples of the world. I am also deeply convinced that the interests of my country are consistent with those of all other nations on all the basic issues which we are here to solve, on all the problems so closely linked to preserving and strengthening lasting peace.

29. The same deep concern for the future development of the international situation, so that it may favour the cause of peace and the manifest desire to shape and further friendly relations between States of different social systems, has been displayed by all the socialist nations. That is why they have placed at the head of their delegations their State and political leaders. A large number of other countries have acted likewise.

30. All the more regrettable, therefore, are the discriminatory practices of the United States authorities, reminiscent of cold-war tendencies and aimed at delegations of various socialist countries as well as at the delegation of Cuba. It is also difficult to believe that various excesses against certain delegations could have taken place without the tacit consent of the authorities concerned. No one has any intention here of blaming the American people, for whom the Polish delegation and undoubtedly all other delegations harbour feelings of warm friendship. All those acts of petty chicanery cannot influence the attitude of the delegations against which they are directed or hinder the constructive work we are resolved to pursue at this session. Nevertheless, the question raised here as to whether in such circumstances the City of New York should continue to be the seat of the Headquarters of the United Nations seems fully justified.

31. The General Assembly has done well to admit into our ranks, at the very outset of our deliberations, a large number of States established on the ruins of the colonial system. This act symbolizes the recognition by the United Nations of the irreversible process of the liquidation of the colonial system. This is indeed a process which shapes our era. We trust that other countries of Africa, and in the first instance Algeria and nations of the eastern part of that continent, will soon regain their independence and the right to decide freely their own destinies, a right which is due to them.

32. The majority of the new Member States are countries of the African continent. For the first time in their history they enter the road of independent existence, gaining the possibility of using the vast riches of that continent for the benefit of their own people and of playing the part which is due to them in international relations. There may still be difficulties ahead on the road towards full emancipation from economic dependence on their former rulers and colonizers, on capitalist concerns. There is no doubt, however, that nothing and no one will be able to revive the colonial system either in its old or its new forms. Any attempt to put the clock back will meet with the resistance of

the newly liberated nations, which no longer stand alone. For on their side there are powerful forces. On their side are all those to whom the cause of peace and freedom is dear, countries which are building a new socialist order, nations which have experienced colonial oppression and exploitation.

33. The future of the new States is inseparably linked with the cause of peace. Only under conditions of peaceful co-operation of nations will the new countries be able to strengthen their sovereign existence and build an enduring basis for the independent development of the economy, of their culture, of their statehood. That is why we are convinced that their contributions to the solution of the most pressing problems of our day, such as disarmament, the liquidation of the colonial system and the most broadly conceived international co-operation in all fields of human activity, will be of the utmost value.

34. It is being suggested here frequently that assistance is to be rendered to the newly liberated nations and newly created States. Such assistance will be an equitable and necessary act of historical justice only if it corresponds to the interests of those peoples, only if it really favours the development of countries which, through no fault of their own, but because of the actions of others, have been kept in a state of backwardness. Such assistance can be rendered directly, within the framework of bilateral relations, as well as through the machinery of the United Nations.

35. But we should be on guard lest the motion of "assistance" and the United Nations flag be abused, as was true so recently in the Congo, with the intent of interfering in internal affairs in a way which by no means serves the strengthening of the political and economic sovereignty of this newly established African republic. It is contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations to cover up colonial interests with the flag of this Organization. This fact cannot be concealed by the "righteous indignation" of representatives of certain Powers in the face of the criticism, fully shared by the Polish delegation, of the Secretary-General's actions. In analysing the policy of the Secretary-General, one can only rely on its true meaning viewed objectively, on the evaluation of its effects. It not only failed to help the lawful Government of Prime Minister Lumumba, but, what is more, it was directed against him.

36. I could mention here, as an illustration of methods used by the colonialists, the unfounded accusation made by Belgian authorities against my Government concerning an alleged shipment of arms to the Congo destined for Premier Lumumba. Moreover, this mythical ship was supposed to have been dispatched a few days prior to the proclamation of the independence of the Congo. That is how fictitious evidence was offered as to the "communist plot" in the Congo. Even the Polish Government's official denial did not immediately stop this cheap insinuation.

37. We have also witnessed here the same methods being applied by those who defend, support and justify the colonizers. The method is insinuation, distortion and demagoguery. They try to find colonialism and imperialism in their antipodes, in the socialist States. For instance, could Mr. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, indicate which of the socialist countries exploits other nations, enriches itself by their labour, seizes their raw materials and plants, lives at their

expense? No such socialist State exists, nor can it exist. For the essence of colonialism is the subjection of other nations for the purpose of exploiting their labour and seizing their wealth.

38. There is no need to recall here how Belgium, for instance, used to obtain hundreds of millions of dollars of colonial profits every year from the Congo. Is there any need now, after the speeches of the representatives of Africa, to remind Mr. Diefenbaker of the labour camps in Angola and Mozambique, the reservations and inhuman racial policy of the Union of South Africa? In an attempt to justify colonialism, to divert the attention of public opinion from what is a shameful page of the history of the twentieth century, the Prime Minister of Canada assumes a hypocritical role of a defender of freedom of social nations.

39. Our countries, too, were exploited by foreign capital until our nations gained control of our lands. The nations of our region work now for their good. They enjoy true independence and are in no need to be protected by the colonizers and their defenders.

40. With your permission, I wish to address myself to the representatives of States newly admitted to our Organization, that they convey to their people and their Governments the warm congratulations and heartfelt wishes of the Polish people for successful development on the new road of their independent, national existence. They will meet, both on our part as well as on that of all peace-loving nations, with full support in their efforts for the strengthening of their independence and sovereignty.

41. While welcoming the happy event of the growth of our Organization which enhances its standing and effectiveness, I cannot help expressing our regrets and our protests because of the continued absence in this hall of the representatives of the great Chinese people. The time has come to put an end to the fiction according to which major problems of the contemporary world can be solved without the participation of the Chinese People's Republic.

42. If on this obvious question the United Nations meets with the firm resistance of the Western Powers, particularly the United States, this is so because they are inclined to employ the United Nations as an instrument of the cold war waged against the Chinese People's Republic and all socialist States, because they intend to use the United Nations for their own purposes and do not intend to reconcile themselves to the idea that the United Nations should reflect faithfully the existing relationship of forces in the world and should implement the concept of peaceful co-existence in practice. Such attempts, so contrary to the United Nations Charter and its principal purposes, create the greatest danger to our Organization. At the same time, when we object to these attempts, when we express our anxiety to eliminate this danger, world, and in particular American public opinion is being intimidated by raising the spectre of an alleged crisis in the United Nations.

43. The United Nations, if it is to play its proper part in shaping world affairs, has to serve the interests of all nations; it cannot oppose the aspirations of peoples towards achieving complete freedom from colonial dependence. That is how, in our view, one should interpret Premier Khrushchev's idea concerning the transformation of the executive organ of the United

Nations into a body of three persons representing the three major groups of States within our Organization.

44. The executive organ so constituted should provide safeguards for equitable and impartial interpretation and implementation of the United Nations decisions. No such safeguards are provided for within the present structure. This structural change in the Secretariat is of particular importance in connexion with the problem of police forces and of the forces which are to be established in the process of implementing complete and general disarmament. The Polish delegation gives its support to this suggestion which aims at improving the situation within and at strengthening the United Nations. The responsibilities confronting the Assembly are greater than ever before.

45. A year ago the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union presented from this rostrum a most consistent proposal, the implementation of which could secure enduring peace to all nations: a plan for general and complete disarmament. On 20 November last year, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a historic resolution [1378 (XIV)] incorporating this idea. Nations were entitled to expect practical steps to follow this resolution which opened a new era in relations between nations, between East and West, an era of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition for the benefit of mankind. The year that has passed since has frustrated these hopes.

46. The much desired relaxation of tension between East and West did not materialize. The Summit Conference was wrecked by the provocative actions of cold-war forces, culminating in the flight of the spying plane over the territory of the Soviet Union. The armaments race, so threatening to the cause of peace, continues, consuming enormous material resources unproductively.

47. In various parts of the world colonialists, old and new alike, are fanning the flames of new conflicts, trying to maintain the dependence of nations who rid themselves of the colonial dependence and are determined to make their own decisions as to their future destinies.

48. The situation in the Federal Republic of Germany constitutes a particular threat to the peace of Europe and that of the world. The rearmament of the Bundeswehr and the revisionist campaign by German revanchists has reached new heights. In this situation, in view of the breakdown of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, the Soviet Union, with the support of other socialist countries, has again placed the problem of complete and general disarmament before the General Assembly.

49. We represent here our nations and their deep-rooted desire for peace. We should do our utmost to resume disarmament negotiations in a better atmosphere and move towards the implementation of complete and general disarmament. I should like to express my sincere satisfaction that President Eisenhower, like the leaders of socialist countries, acknowledges that:

"Men everywhere want to disarm. They want their wealth and their labour spent not on war but for food, for clothing, for shelter, for medicines, for schools." [868th meeting, para. 74.]

I could also subscribe to the following words expressed by President Eisenhower after the cold-war elements had caused the failure of the Paris Summit Conference:

"All of us know that, whether started deliberately or accidentally, global war would leave civilization in a shambles... In a nuclear war there can be no victors, only losers."

50. From these statements one could draw but one and only one logical conclusion: all nuclear arms and all weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated as speedily as possible and we should all join in serious efforts and show maximum goodwill in order to implement the Soviet proposal on complete and general disarmament. Why then did the Western Powers, contrary to the peaceful intentions of their nations and aware of the dangers of nuclear war, cause the breakdown of the work of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament?

51. The very reason for the failure of disarmament negotiations which have been conducted hitherto lays in the dangerous and fallacious theory that peace can be only an outcome of the so-called balance of terror between the East and the West, that is, between socialism and capitalism. This theory determines the policy of the Western Powers.

52. "Recognition of this mutual destructive capability is the basic reality of our present relations." That is how President Eisenhower defined some months ago the essence of the United States policy towards the Soviet Union.

53. The theory of peace based on strength is by no means a contemporary invention. It is a repetition of the old Roman principle, *si vis pacem para bellum*. The whole history of mankind up to our times has shown that the policy based on the principle, "if you desire peace prepare for war", has never secured nations a peaceful life, but has always led to war.

54. The United Nations, the supreme goal of which is to preserve nations from the horrors of a new war which would result in an unprecedented catastrophe, is bound to be aware that the policy of the so-called balance of terror as preached and practised by the Western Powers leads inevitably to a new conflict. This is no communist propaganda; it is the truth in all its dangerous implications, clearly seen by communists. All Heads of all States and leaders of all nations should also be aware of it.

55. The disarmament negotiations conducted hitherto could not produce any results because the representatives of the Western Powers were guided by the concept of the balance of terror, so detrimental to the cause of peace. From it derives, logically and consistently, the attitude of the West. It amounts in reality not to controlled disarmament, but only to the control of the existing armaments on both sides.

56. The Western Powers have rejected all specific disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and supported by other socialist States, proposals which envisaged the gradual reduction and later complete elimination of armaments under effective international control. Instead of controlled disarmament, the Western Powers have put forward the plan of control over armaments, or, in other words, of control without disarmament. This attitude cannot be accepted. It is not only that control of armaments fails to create conditions for disarmament; it encourages at the same

time the armaments race and, therefore, increases the danger of war.

57. We have heard the statements by the United States on its readiness to subject itself to all forms of international inspection on the condition that it will be effective and reciprocal. It is my deepest conviction that should such an inspection really be capable of safeguarding peace, all socialist countries would open wide to it their entire territory. But military experts of both sides are fully aware of the fact that even if inspectors were stationed at every existing launching site of weapons of mass destruction, this would not only fail to reduce the danger of a surprise attack but would even increase such danger, for at any moment launching-pads could be set into motion, time could be gained, and the adversary caught unawares. Control without disarmament therefore cannot eliminate mutual distrust among States; it can only increase it.

58. Against this background I would like to say a few words on the proposal for a universal plebiscite which was put forward from this rostrum a few days ago, a plebiscite in which every individual in the world could freely express himself on whether he wants to avail himself of the right to govern his own country.

59. There are various concepts of government by the people, that is, of democracy. It finds its fullest expression under conditions when work establishments become national property, that is, under conditions of socialism. This rostrum is not the place for arguing with those who think that the system based upon private ownership of means and tools of production is superior. Leaving aside, therefore, the question of the form of government, I favour the idea of asking the opinion of all peoples on problems most closely linked with their right to govern their own countries and to decide their own destinies. In accordance with this right, I would like the United Nations to support the idea of a universal plebiscite in which nations would answer the following questions: Do you want your country to possess nuclear weapons? Do you want launching sites for missiles to be situated on the territory of your country? Are you in favour of eliminating all weapons of mass destruction? Are you in favour of general and complete disarmament?

60. If all Governments would agree to the holding of such a plebiscite and would comply with the desires of peoples expressed in it, then, in conformity with the will of nations, the basic problem of our times—the elimination of the threat of war—would have been solved. For there can be no doubt as to what would be the answer of the peoples of the world to the questions put before them. The Government of the Polish People's Republic, and I am sure of all socialist States, is ready to agree immediately to the holding of such a plebiscite if the Western Governments would do likewise.

61. Nuclear arms in their latest development infringe upon the very principles of democracy. Solemn declarations by the United States that these weapons will be applied only in case of retaliation, that is, in case of an enemy attack, do not diminish the threat of war. Even if we were to assume that those pledges would not be broken—and there is no guarantee that this could not happen—nuclear war could be brought about by miscalculation, by false data and wrong assessment or by a desire to prevent an attack which in reality was not being prepared for. The decision on retaliation

has to be taken at a moment's notice, and then it can turn out that a supposed retaliation became in reality an attack. War can break out in spite of the will of both sides, and there can be no return. Against such errors, control and inspection constitute no safeguards. Exact knowledge as to the location of forces on both sides can only incite the potential aggressor to embark upon an attack in the hope that surprise action would give him an advantage over his adversary.

62. In this situation, the life and death of hundreds of millions of people depend on a few individuals empowered to order retaliatory steps. Not the peoples, not parliaments, not even the governments, nor the councils of military blocs, but only a few individuals are vested with the right to set in motion the machinery of mass destruction—individuals who, like all human beings, can easily make mistakes and be swayed by false alarm or succumb to hysteria.

63. In these circumstances, what is left of the sovereignty of States which do not possess atomic weapons—and rightly so—or which rather formally belong to the so-called atomic club and at the same time are members of the military blocs? Although they belong, for instance, to the North Atlantic Treaty they have no voice whatsoever in the most important issue—the question of the life or death of their citizens. The lives of millions in these countries are in the hands of an individual representing the leading Power of this bloc, the United States, an individual who keeps his finger on the small button which can bring about a nuclear catastrophe.

64. It is being said that in the United States only the President can give orders to push this ominous button. Without going into details as to the personal responsibility and powers in this respect in the United States and in the Soviet Union, let us assume that in the USSR the right to give such an order has been vested in the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is immaterial, for the sake of argument, whether President Eisenhower or Premier Khrushchev really have this right. The point is that with the actual state of readiness of nuclear weapons neither can the decision on their retaliatory application be taken collectively nor can there be 100 per cent certainty that the decision, if taken, would be the correct one. Indeed, it must be taken in less than an hour. Missiles with solid fuel do not leave more than ten-minutes' time.

65. This is the situation in which the nations of the world now find themselves. In the world, divided as it is today into two opposing social systems—socialism and capitalism—a struggle is being waged on various issues of greater or lesser importance. Anti-communism is blinding certain groups, certain leaders and statesmen and is preventing them from seeing that among all major questions the greatest and the most important for all the nations is the question of the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, of disarmament and of the creation of conditions which make for enduring peace.

66. The problem of choosing between communism or capitalism does not concern inter-State relations. This is an ideological and social problem. Therefore, the question of the superiority of one or another social system has to be decided by the people, who themselves will express their opinion as to which social system best represents their interests and guarantees to them a better, freer and happier life. He who de-

sires peace and a "détente", who identifies the future of the world with the progress of economy, culture and freedom of the individual, should discard the policy of anti-communism and choose the peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their social systems.

67. As long as the Western Powers do not take such an attitude, disarmament negotiations will not produce positive results. The socialist States approach the disarmament negotiations with a sincere desire to reach an agreement. Their representatives will certainly do everything within their power to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. It is, however, important that the composition of the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament be extended by the inclusion of five new States, in accordance with the principle of geographical distribution. In this respect, we support the proposal of the Soviet Union on that subject [A/4509].

68. The main source of conflict between East and West and the greatest danger spot of the "cold war" continues to be the situation in Germany. One can have no doubts whatsoever that a military conflict in that part of Europe would inevitably degenerate into a world conflagration. It is not the division of Germany which is the basic reason of this peril to peace. The basic reason is, first and foremost, the revival of German militarism in the Federal Republic of Germany. For the third time in our century, imperialist forces in Germany are making an attempt to dominate Europe. This time they are acting together with their Atlantic allies under the slogan: "the defence of the West against danger from the East".

69. Poland—which was the first victim of Nazi aggression and which lost, during the Second World War, six million of its inhabitants and 38 per cent of its national wealth—has, more than any other country, the right and duty to voice from this rostrum a warning against the mounting danger of West German militarism for the peace and security of nations. If anybody had any doubts as to the reality of this threat, the course of events in recent years, and especially in 1960, has left no illusion whatsoever in this respect.

70. The provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, on the basis of which German militarism was to have been uprooted, were disregarded and violated. Limitations envisaged in the subsequent agreements of the Western Powers concerning the armaments of the Federal Republic of Germany are being done away with step by step.

71. Ten years ago the Bonn Government and the Governments of the Western Powers offered assurances that there would be no West German army. Today we are faced with the Bundeswehr, several hundred thousand strong, which is equipped with the latest weapons and to be expanded in the near future.

72. Under the protocol signed in Paris in 1954, the equipment of the Bundeswehr was limited to conventional arms only, with the exclusion of atomic, biological, chemical and other modern weapons. This obligation was entered into by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western Powers. Today the Federal Republic of Germany engages in mass production for the Bundeswehr of rockets and guided missiles of various types, thousand-ton submarines and large naval vessels, long-range bombers and other types of armaments. The armaments industry of West Germany rebuilt by the same concerns

which used to finance Hitler, has become not only a partner but a competitor in the armaments industry of the Western Powers.

73. Three years ago the Western Powers and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany solemnly declared that the Bundeswehr would never be equipped with atomic weapons. Today the Bundeswehr has at its disposal weapons for carrying nuclear warheads, while the Government and the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany, in their resolutions, as well as the General Staff of the Bundeswehr in a recently published memorandum categorically demand that nuclear weapons at least of the same effectiveness as the weapons of the enemy be put at their disposal. Without those weapons—blackmail the Bundeswehr generals—the free world will have no choice but to surrender to international communism. Characteristically enough, this memorandum bears the signature of Admiral Ruge, the very same man who, twenty-one years ago, issued orders to shell the Polish coast, thus opening the hostilities of the Second World War.

74. Considering all this, one is bound to ask what value there is in assurances that the United States will not deliver to the Bundeswehr nuclear warheads or other types of nuclear weapons.

75. International agreements between the Powers of the anti-Nazi coalition concluded after the war have outlawed in Germany propaganda of war and revanche as well as the activities of militarist and fascist organizations. Today we witness in the Federal Republic of Germany war and revanchist propaganda, racist and fascist excesses, as well as repeated demonstrations by militarists and forces preaching revenge.

76. The Federal Republic of Germany is the only country in Europe which officially, in documents of its Government, in the statements of its leaders, and in published maps, advances territorial claims against Poland, Czechoslovakia and other European countries.

77. Until recently, public opinion in the West was being assured that the revisionist campaign was waged by small irresponsible groups of little importance. But in July this year Chancellor Adenauer declared publicly that former East Prussia, which constitutes an integral part of the Polish People's Republic, would be restored to Germany if it stood faithfully and firmly by its allies. In August this year Vice-Chancellor Erhardt, in an inflammatory and bellicose speech, with even greater audacity claimed Polish Upper Silesia. At the same time the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herr Luebke, also publicly claimed the Polish Western territories, which constitute one third of Poland and are inhabited by more than one fourth of its population, a population which is exclusively Polish. The present frontiers of Poland, established at Potsdam as a result of an agreement between the victorious Powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, Herr Luebke thought fit to describe as an illegality on the basis of which no lasting peace could be built.

78. German militarism has always violated law and international treaties whenever they constituted an obstacle to its aggressive schemes. Similarly, today the Federal Republic of Germany refuses to recognize the Potsdam Agreement, concluded in accordance with international law by the Powers of anti-Nazi coalition

after Germany had signed the act of unconditional surrender.

79. The State leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany have unleashed a revisionist campaign under a slogan invented by them namely the "Right to fatherland" for the Germans resettled from Polish territory and from other countries. This revisionist "Right to fatherland" they try to identify with the right of peoples to self-determination, thus distorting its very meaning. For on Polish territory there is no German population.

80. German imperialism, whose heirs are the spokesmen of West German revisionism, has repeatedly trampled over and destroyed the independence of entire nations. The Nazi occupants have exterminated and tortured to death more Polish citizens than the number of Germans resettled from Polish territory on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement.

81. Facts indicate that revisionism has become an official programme of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, a programme which that State propagates in an ever more persistent way, while rebuilding its military power. The demand for nuclear weapons by the general staff of the Bundeswehr aims at the implementation of that programme.

82. It is nothing but cynicism when official spokesmen of the Bonn Government make solemn proclamations that this programme is expected to be realized solely by peaceful means, without the use of force. I think it is easier for Chancellor Adenauer to determine the sex of angels than to answer the question of how he intends to cut Poland's throat without using a knife. Poland's frontiers are sufficiently guaranteed. There is no problem of frontiers; there is only the problem of peace.

83. The remilitarization of Germany and its policy constitute a serious danger to peace. On behalf of the Polish people I wish today to utter from this rostrum a solemn warning. The Atlantic policy of the allies of the Federal Republic of Germany, with the United States of America at their head, carries with it dangers of incalculable consequences. The Western Powers return to Locarno and Munich under a new guise. They are equipping the Bundeswehr with modern weapons, training its atomic units, offering their own territory for Germany military bases, and developing Germany's military potential—all this to use as an argument for their policy from the "position of strength" directed against the socialist countries. Revived German militarism is the real and greatest peril endangering peace in Europe. It can lead Western Germany's Atlantic allies further than they themselves perhaps would like to go.

84. It is time to reverse those processes in Western Germany. It is necessary to turn the page of the last world war and sign a peace treaty with Germany. The present state of affairs favours German revisionism and militarism. The moment has come to enter upon the road of constructive solutions in the interests of peace.

85. First of all, one has to recognize facts. One has to recognize the existence of the two German States. One has to do away with the fictitious notion of the non-existence of the German Democratic Republic—a State which is developing and gaining in strength, which has liquidated on its territory all sources of aggressive German imperialism, which has renounced all terri-

torial claims and which is conducting a policy of peace evidenced by its plan for the disarmament of both parts of Germany addressed recently to the Secretary-General.

86. It is on this and on a broader platform that Poland is linked with the German Democratic Republic by friendly co-operation, which is a telling proof that Poles and Germans can live together in peace and harmony. I am convinced that the time will come when the people of Poland will live in peace and friendship with the whole German nation.

87. It is high time that those States signatories of the Potsdam Agreement which have not done so up until now confirmed the final character of the present Polish frontiers as an irrevocable fact and recognized as final all the existing frontiers of Germany. The time has come when all interested States should finally conclude a peace treaty with both German States. Such a treaty also would solve the abnormal situation in West Berlin and dispel the illusory but dangerous hopes of the forces of revanche and would contribute to the stabilization of peace.

88. I should like to hope that this problem will be solved jointly with the Western Powers and with other States concerned. Failing this we would have to conclude, together with Powers ready to do so, a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

89. The stabilization of peace in Europe will create ever better conditions for a rapprochement and co-operation of the two German States and will facilitate the peaceful solution of the German problem, which should be the responsibility of the German people themselves.

90. In turn I wish to deal with specific proposals which the Polish delegation intends to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly at the present session.

91. It is of the utmost importance that mankind be fully aware of the dangers inherent in modern warfare. We have no right to conceal from the nations the truth about the real effects of nuclear arms and of weapons of mass destruction. On the contrary, we are in duty bound to spread this truth in order to make it easier for all nations to join their efforts in the struggle against the threat of war and for general and complete disarmament.

92. It is the view of the Polish delegation that, under the auspices of the United Nations, a special committee should be set up to study and to report, on the basis of available scientific data, on the effects of the use of nuclear weapons on human life and health, on the world economy and on the cultural heritage of mankind. The committee should be composed of eminent scientists from various countries. Its report should be widely circulated by all Governments among citizens of their respective countries.

93. We have listened with great interest to the proposal submitted by the President of Ghana [869th meeting] concerning the establishment of a committee of experts to study the possibilities which would be offered by the utilization for peaceful purposes of all those sources of energy and technology which are now used for armaments.

94. Should both these proposals be accepted the United Nations would have presented to mankind a scientific-

cally prepared outline of the basic issue of our time. This would constitute yet another important incentive for the intensification of our efforts for the cause of general and complete disarmament.

95. Negotiations with a view to achieving this goal cannot be conducted in an atmosphere of tension poisoned by cold war moves. For there should be no illusion that, without specific steps being taken the international climate would improve per se and could favour the conducting of disarmament negotiations. Such positive steps ought to be taken without further delay with a view to relieving international tension, reducing mutual distrust and arresting the absurd armaments race, thus facilitating entry upon the road leading towards complete, general and controlled disarmament.

96. In order to solve those great problems we should begin with issues which are less difficult and more ripe for solution. First of all, we should settle finally the already advanced and all too ripe problem of the cessation of nuclear tests. The United Nations should ask the States concerned to overcome the remaining differences and to conclude the relevant agreement within a given period of time. If the prescribed time-limit were not kept, the problem should be brought before a special session of the General Assembly. It should be understood that until such a decision is taken by the General Assembly no nuclear tests will be conducted. That is the first step.

97. The Government of the Polish People's Republic considers as urgent and indispensable the necessity to put an end simultaneously to the spreading of the arms race and, especially, of nuclear and missile weapons, to new countries and to prevent new "faits accomplis" in this field. May I recall that the Polish delegation raised this problem at the last session of the General Assembly. Our voice has not remained without response.

98. First, we should call upon the States possessing nuclear weapons not to transfer them to other States or to help them in starting their own production of those weapons. All States which do not as yet possess nuclear weapons should be asked not to accept them from other States and not to manufacture or prepare for the manufacture of those weapons either on their own territory or on the territory of other States.

99. Second, we should call upon States on whose territories there are no installations for missile launching to refrain from establishing them. They should also abstain in the future from building their own launching installations and not allow the building of such installations on their own territories by other States. A particular threat to world peace and especially to the security of the countries most directly concerned are foreign military bases. This has been clearly demonstrated by the events of the year that has passed. Without the agreement of nations and even without the knowledge of their Governments, ostensibly defensive foreign bases can be transformed into bases for aggression. Thus sovereign States can be drawn into aggressive acts against other countries and, therefore, be exposed to all the resulting consequences.

100. Third, the United Nations should therefore call upon all States not to establish any new military bases on the territories of other States or permit the establishment of new foreign military bases on their own territories.

101. The Polish delegation reserves its right to submit to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session the relevant proposals concerning the questions I have just mentioned.

102. I should like to draw attention to yet another aspect of military bases on foreign territories. Their existence already within their present dimensions constitutes a real limitation to the sovereignty of the interested nations and a serious threat to their security. Problems of such basic importance ought to be decided by the whole nation. Every citizen should express his opinion, cast his vote on an issue upon which may well depend his life. The existence of the foreign military bases is a problem which, above all, should be made dependent on the decision of peoples as expressed by way of a referendum. This right should be claimed by all nations.

103. Among the steps to be taken with a view to assuring successful negotiations on complete and general disarmament, measures aimed at arresting and reducing armaments at the meeting-ground of the two opposing military groups are of great import. This concerns especially areas in which complex and dangerous political situations prevail, fraught as they are with possibilities of incidents with incalculable consequences. I have particularly in mind the area of Central Europe.

104. As you will no doubt recall, the Polish Government already proposed from this rostrum, in 1957 [697th meeting], and later directly to the States concerned, the establishment in Central Europe of an atom-free zone. Within it, States would undertake to refrain from the manufacture, maintenance, storage and introduction for their own purposes of all types of nuclear weapons and no installations or equipment for servicing those weapons, including launching-pads, should be located in their territories. The proposed area was to comprise Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Our proposals envisaged also an obligation on the part of the Powers concerned not to use nuclear and missile weapons against the zone.

105. In our desire to meet the views of some Governments and of a part of Western public opinion, we expressed our readiness to divide the implementation of our plan into two stages. The first stage envisaged prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons in the above-mentioned countries and an obligation to discontinue nuclear armament. The second stage provided for the reduction of conventional forces simultaneously with the complete denuclearization of Central Europe. Both in the first and in the second version of our plan we envisaged the establishment of an effective and broad system of ground and aerial control and inspection.

106. Had the proposal of the Polish Government been adopted and implemented at that time, the situation in Central Europe would by now have been radically changed. Instead of an increase in armaments and threats, instead of an aggravation of the German problem, we would have had, no doubt, an atmosphere of relaxation and a well-founded feeling of security. Besides, we would have gained precious experience in the implementation of disarmament plans and the functioning of a control system. However, in spite of broad support from public opinion and from various political quarters in Europe—and not only in Europe

—the Polish initiative met, first of all, with resistance on the part of the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.

107. I wish to draw your attention to the fact that ideas for creating an atom-free zone in the Balkan area have been put forward by the Government of the Romanian People's Republic, and quite recently by the Government of the People's Republic of China with relation to the Far East and the region of the Pacific. We have also heard the President of Ghana make an analogous proposal with regard to Africa.

108. The denuclearization of Central Europe would be of great practical importance. First of all, it would reduce the risk of the outbreak of nuclear-missile war in this sensitive area and consequently, also, the danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction on a global scale. It would contribute to a "détente" and to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the implementation of complete and general disarmament. The Polish Government maintains its proposal for the creation of a denuclearized zone in Central Europe.

109. The initiative taken some time ago by the British Prime Minister concerning a non-aggression pact between the opposing military groups existing in Europe has been met with interest on our part. Should such a pact include Central Europe, this would contribute effectively towards increasing security especially if it coincided with the establishment of a denuclearized zone.

110. The specific proposals which I have had the honour to submit to you aim at the relaxation of international tension, at the elimination of danger spots and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the solution of basic problems of peace. It is not our purpose to substitute them for general and complete disarmament. On the contrary, they aim at paving the way toward the implementation of this noble idea.

111. Poland gives its full support to the Soviet disarmament proposals submitted at this session. We favour their discussion at the plenary meetings of our Assembly.

112. I have presented to the Assembly on behalf of the Polish people our considered views concerning the major problems of the international situation.

113. The people of Poland have experienced the scourge of war to the fullest possible extent and have linked their destinies with socialism, which defends in a most consistent way the cause of peace and of the sovereignty of peoples. Our daily toil serves these noble goals.

114. We are proud that we form part of the socialist camp forging a better future for humanity. We feel ourselves close to all those who desire peace and who work for it, irrespective of their political convictions and beliefs, irrespective of the social systems they have chosen.

115. Peaceful coexistence is a historical necessity. The more quickly this truth is grasped by all and proper conclusions are drawn from it, the better for humanity, the easier it will become to solve problems now confronting nations and the sooner we shall be able to make human life on earth completely free from fear and want.

116. The United Nations must become an instrument of peaceful coexistence and co-operation of all States,

with the exclusion of the use of force and the threat to use it, and must envisage ever close economic, cultural and scientific ties between all countries irrespective of their social systems. The Organization ought to serve exclusively constructive solutions corresponding to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Service to all nations, service to the common and supreme good of humanity, Peace—that is what people of all countries of this globe expect from the United Nations. This is also what the people of Poland expect from it. It is in this spirit that the Government of the Polish People's Republic will continue to develop its constructive share in the work of the United Nations.

117. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): May I be permitted, Mr. President, to join the other representatives who have spoken before me in expressing my satisfaction at your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly at this session, which is more important than others because of the grave nature of the questions which are to be discussed, the special situation that the world is facing and the unaccustomed presence of prominent Heads of State. We are sure that your well-known ability and thorough knowledge of United Nations procedure will help to bring our deliberations to a successful issue.

118. An auspicious event marked the opening of this fifteenth session and has already given it special historical significance, namely the admission to the United Nations of fourteen new States, the Republics of Cameroun, Togo, Malagasy, Somalia, the Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, the Niger, the Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Chad, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon and Cyprus and the Central African Republic.

119. This unusual event, characterized not only by the great number of admissions to the United Nations but also by the fact that the new Members are new States which have recently attained sovereignty and independence, reflects two great achievements: first, the universalization of the United Nations, as the logical and necessary outcome of the universal operation of international law and, secondly, the triumph of the natural and inalienable right of peoples to self-determination when they have attained the necessary maturity and competence to exercise efficiently the full measure of sovereignty which devolves on States.

120. When we recall that during the preceding stage of their evolution several of the new States appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly because they were the object of serious concern and the cause of conflict on questions of principle or between nations, it makes us still more happy to see their representatives seated side by side with us today so that we may all work in concert to find solutions to the disturbing problems that concern the whole world.

121. A number of those who have spoken before me have pointed out that, fifteen years after its establishment, the United Nations still has not managed to accomplish once and for all one of the essential purposes described in the preamble of the Charter signed at San Francisco, which is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

122. It is undeniably true that the fear of a third world war, more destructive than any other and than all previous wars together, has not been finally removed. Nevertheless, while we cannot claim that the present

situation is satisfactory, neither can we describe it as one giving cause for pessimism and even less as a tragic situation.

123. The very fact that representatives of ninety-six States are meeting together here is indicative of a high degree of tolerance and, of course, of the same faith in the ability of the United Nations to achieve the purposes for which it was established. It matters little, and it should not discourage us, that our criteria for achieving the ideals of the Charter are conflicting. Rather should our overriding concern be the possibility of achieving continual unanimity in the solution of our great problems, since it is not natural for men coming from different continents, of different races, religions, cultures and civilizations, who reflect different economic or political interests, historical or present, to think in the same way.

124. If nations behave in the international community in the same way as individuals in national communities, we must recognize that the universal coexistence of nations of such varied origins and upbringing, whose ideological, political and economic criteria are also different, can only be firmly established on the three classic foundation stones: namely, international law or internationally recognized principles, international tribunals or organs to decide disputes between nations, and international forces to prevent abnormal situations, to rectify them and to enforce international judgements.

125. Here I would remind you of what I had occasion to maintain from this same rostrum some years ago, following an eminent authority, that the crisis through which the world is passing is caused by the deep imbalance between the increasingly rapid scientific and technological progress achieved within a few decades and the comparatively slow juridical, political and moral evolution of mankind. The fact is that, while not overlooking the considerable efforts the United Nations has made to develop international law, there can be no denying that this is a very slight advance compared with the progress in science and its application. That progress in the atomic field alone has given some nations an extraordinary potential for aggression that, even if it is not used, hangs threateningly over all the other nations which in the meantime, in their attempts at prevention or control, have not even been able to define what constitutes international aggression or to decide whether it can or should be defined.

126. With regard to international tribunals, the United Nations should strive to make their jurisdiction compulsory for all nations and all juridical disputes. Reference of a dispute to such a tribunal cannot continue to be optional or voluntary. In this connexion it is discouraging to note what little use is made of the Permanent Court of Arbitration set up by The Hague Convention of 1907 and the failure of a great many States to make the declarations called for in Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. We consider that the best proof of international good faith and a sincere desire to live in harmony with other nations is prior acceptance of international jurisdiction, and to this end we urge States which have not yet done so to take the necessary action under Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. It does not derogate from the sovereignty of States, large or small to submit to the Court's judgement, to recognize its ju-

risdiction. On the contrary, it is only in periods of retrogression and barbarism that the strongest can take the law into their own hands and enforce it to their own advantage.

127. The existence of permanent international forces is a logical corollary of the operation of an international law ensuring good order and of international authorities to prevent or suppress conflicts. It is all the more necessary in view of the imbalance that we have noted between the powerful means for aggression provided by increasingly rapid scientific and technological progress and the weak and inadequate measures for prevention and control provided by a slow and difficult advance in the juridical and moral order.

128. The existence of permanent international forces is essential in order to put any plan for disarmament, which all the nations here assembled certainly desire, into effect and to make it possible for expenditure on national defence to be reduced in the budgets of all countries.

129. In appraising the results achieved by the United Nations since the Charter was signed at San Francisco, we feel that, although we have not finally removed the fear of a third world war, it would be equally incorrect to assert that we have failed in that attempt. The difficulties of a cold war, which do in fact exist, can in no way be compared with the damage, destruction and tragic consequences of a real war. Moreover, there is still the possibility of a future understanding between the Powers which hold in their hands the power to start a war or to renounce it definitely as an instrument for satisfying their ambitions. Neither can we overlook the effective way in which, during the fifteen years of its existence, the United Nations has acted to prevent and to suppress a number of international conflicts. It is common knowledge that its actions have not met with the same approval from all the nations represented here. Nor should we expect that to be the case, for the administration of justice, be it good or bad, cannot please all the parties. The essential point is to respect it as the expression of the will of the majority and of loyalty to the principle of peaceful coexistence of nations.

130. The fruitful work performed by the United Nations is more apparent in the international co-operation given to the solution of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems than in the attainment of its political aims, namely the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the difference between doing good and preventing evil from being done. The first requires action, driving force and constructive efforts; the second consists in exerting a calming influence and halting any action. But the lack of visible evidence in no wise detracts from the importance of the effective political work done by the United Nations to preserve the peace, which is the most valued possession and an essential condition for the attainment of the happiness of all peoples and harmony among all nations.

131. With respect to disarmament, the delegation of Paraguay considers that, taking into account the facts of the situation, it is a question that should be the subject of negotiation between a limited number of countries rather than one for general discussion among all the Members of the United Nations.

132. Here, interpreting the obvious wishes of the vast majority of the peoples of the world, we can only ex-

press our fervent desire that an agreement may be reached proscribing atomic warfare and that atomic energy may be used solely for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

133. An agreement on disarmament and the exclusive use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes would have two immediate results. First, it would end the cold war which is responsible for the armaments race between the great nations; secondly, it would make it possible for enormous resources to be devoted to the assistance of the less developed countries, in order to raise the level of living of all their peoples and thus to obtain greater well-being and tranquillity.

134. In this matter the two great world Powers can be certain that they are being watched with anxiety and hope by all the other nations

135. With regard to outer space, its ownership and use, the delegation of Paraguay thinks that this should be the subject of a special conference.

136. Here it is worth pointing out once again that scientific and technological progress has been so rapid in recent years that the conversion into reality of something which seemed to be only a figment of the imagination has not given the jurists time to find a common approach or to establish any rules. We can, however, declare that in any case outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only.

137. On the agenda of this session of the Assembly there are various items relating to the economic development of the under-developed countries and to technical assistance programmes. My delegation is of the opinion that on this occasion we should consider the severe disequilibrium facing countries producing raw materials, the prices of which are constantly falling while those of the goods, machinery and parts that they have to buy from the industrial nations are constantly rising.

138. In considering, for example, the specific case of Paraguay, I am sure that I am referring to the position of all the countries represented here whose economies are based on agriculture and cattle breeding. I shall refer to only eight of our export commodities, taking for purposes of comparison present prices and those of ten years ago. In 1950 a ton of tannin or quebracho extract exported by us represented \$156; today, in 1960, it represents only \$90. In 1950, a ton of cotton fibre exported was worth \$949; today, only \$400. In 1950, a ton of tobacco exported was worth \$62; today, it fetches only \$27. In 1950, a ton of cowhides brought in \$762; today, only \$205. In 1950, a ton of cedar logs yielded \$120; today, only \$45. In 1950, a ton of coconut oil exported brought us in \$400; today, it brings in only \$310. In 1950, a ton of tung oil was exported for \$415; today, it is exported for less than \$300. In 1950, a ton of petit-grain oil exported was worth \$700; today, less than \$300. The conclusion to be drawn is that in 1960 the Paraguayan people are working and producing two and a half times more than in 1950 in order to obtain the same nominal value in money. But as the price of the manufactured goods that we have to obtain from industrial countries has increased considerably, sometimes by more than 100 per cent, instead of declining with the fall in the price of raw materials, the purchasing power of our agricultural and cattle-breeding economy has in less than ten years been reduced to less than a quarter of what it was.

139. My delegation considers that one of the main causes of economic under-development, and consequently of the low level of living and the backwardness of peoples, is the uneven and unfair prices paid for the produce of their labour.

140. The agricultural and cattle-breeding nations too have the right not only to maintain but also to raise their levels of living, and technical assistance which causes us to produce more in order to earn less would defeat its own purpose. This would indeed be the worst type of servitude, for it would retain all the outward signs of freedom. We consider that agriculture, cattle breeding and industry ought not to be stages in history through which all nations must of necessity pass in order to reach their highest level of living, but different occupations which should exist side by side at the same time, as a result of the division of labour between nations.

141. The General Assembly and its economic organs should study the problem of the prices of raw materials and industrial products with a view to ensuring that the raising or the maintenance of the level of living of the industrial economies is not effected at the cost of a lowering of the level of living of countries with agricultural and cattle-breeding economies.

142. In this discouraging picture, the economically under-developed countries are drifting and losing faith in the principles on which our economic system is based; the only freedom they have is, as they say, freedom to die of starvation in a long-drawn-out agony. This painful and sad struggle of the under-developed countries leads to a real and certain loss of faith in destinies and ideals, weakening and dispelling to an ever greater degree their hopes of a better world.

143. It is not possible to continue along the path that we have followed without rebelling against an economic destiny which can no longer be accepted. Our peoples aspire to better living conditions and ask for financial and technical assistance which our States cannot provide. Their legitimate aspirations are thwarted by natural limitations, artificial obstacles and injustices which hamper and delay economic progress.

144. It is worth stopping to formulate some considerations and suggestions in view of the close relationship between economic and political development, or, in other words, of the fact that the efforts to raise levels of living also strengthen political stability both at the domestic and the international level, and that is the basis of peace for each State and of international peace.

145. Unless the level of living is raised there is little likelihood that contentment and tranquillity will reign among States, and if the economic position of the State and the individual is not strengthened foreign doctrines will often thrive, seemingly inexplicably, and will spread rapidly, sowing disagreement, chaos and insecurity.

146. The under-developed countries are struggling desperately to raise their level of living and to strengthen their economies, but they see with dismay that their efforts are in vain because of the decline in the international prices of raw materials or because they come up against inexplicable obstacles in the bureaucracy of some international organizations when they ask for financing for works or projects of conspicuous economic or social interest.

147. These negative factors—relating to markets, prices, international financing and the increase in the cost of machinery and equipment—produce imbalances which seriously endanger international peace and tranquillity.

148. If the under-developed countries which are aimlessly drifting are not speedily provided with adequate resources which will enable them to obtain greater and better returns for their efforts, they will lose faith and confidence in international co-operation and will no longer feel the precious incentive that today inspires so many nations, which see the United Nations and the regional organs as beacons lighting their way in the international sphere.

149. At the regional level, I may mention Operation Pan America, an initiative of the eminent statesman, Juscelino Kubitschek, President of Brazil, which was submitted to the Organization of American States as one of the most concrete and effective plans to put an end to the under-development of Latin America.

150. Paraguay acknowledges and is grateful for the efforts of international organizations, some of them United Nations bodies, which have co-operated in its economic development and in raising its level of living. In a spirit of international co-operation, however, I should like to make a few observations which I might summarize in five points.

151. First, assistance to under-developed countries should not only be increased but should take into account the whole complex of their economic problems. Paraguay, for example, has been through the difficult experience of acquiring and maintaining monetary stability by means of exchange, currency and fiscal measures, but without the resources needed for it to increase production, in particular export production, the foreign exchange earnings from which constitute the very basis of monetary stability.

152. Second, assistance to under-developed countries should not be made subject to the rigid banking rules of the traditional system of credit. It is only natural and logical that the under-developed countries are those which can offer the fewest guarantees to the banker. To treat them like any other customer would be tantamount to deciding in advance that once again it would be the wealthy countries, with greater potentialities, greater opportunities and a higher and better level of living, which would continue to benefit from international credit and that the under-developed countries would forever remain under-developed, in order that the bank or international institution providing assistance might not suffer any set-back and might continue to be able to collect interest and amortization regularly. To prevent rich countries from getting richer and poor countries from getting poorer, to avoid the disproportion between the wealth of nations and the living standards of peoples, the United Nations should act effectively, fairly and appropriately, so that it does not squander its resources or become a capital investment corporation.

153. Third, international collaboration should play a more important part in the development of the under-developed countries. It should facilitate the building up of the economic infrastructure on a long-term basis so that economic progress would be greater and more attractive to private capital, which will always be governed by self-interest. This international collaboration

may be collective or it may include regional projects with wide economic and social repercussions.

154. Fourth, the administrative procedure in international finance and credit organizations should be more rapid and should not be hampered by an elaborate and cumbersome administrative machinery which may unnecessarily delay the execution of projects.

155. Fifth, there should be an understanding of the problems of the State planning the project and no attempt should be made to impose rules, systems or special procedures on the under-developed borrowing countries.

156. The agenda of the Assembly also includes questions relating to technical assistance. I should like to say how valuable and useful United Nations technical assistance has been to Paraguay and to express publicly, in the Assembly, the gratitude of the people and Government of my country. We should like to continue these programmes and, if possible, to adapt them to an increasing extent to our needs in order to secure the maximum benefit at the lowest possible cost.

157. When we had the honour and the pleasure of a visit from the Secretary-General in August of last year, we discussed all our technical assistance problems and we may say with satisfaction that the fruits of those discussions are becoming evident and that we are obtaining better results. In that connexion, I should like to make two suggestions in the light of our experience.

158. First, no minimum cost should be fixed for Special Fund projects lest they exclude small or under-developed countries. The effect of the high minimum cost is that only the large and economically advanced countries are in a position to benefit from Special Fund projects. We think it would be better to decide the type or category of project which can be undertaken and not to establish a high minimum cost.

159. Secondly, the technical assistance programme should give greater scope and importance to certain types of industrial development in under-developed countries and should provide special facilities for carrying out studies on the processing of primary commodities, their initial processing or their conversion into manufactured goods.

160. At this juncture, I should like to refer to the work accomplished by the Trusteeship Council. In 1958, at the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, Paraguay was selected to membership of that Council for a three-year period. My country has therefore been participating in the Council's work for the past two years, i.e., during four regular sessions of the Council.

161. We assumed our responsibilities as a member of the Council with the unanimous support of the Latin American group, which did, and still does, us great honour. Accordingly, in view of Paraguay's own policy with regard to Trust Territories and in view of the commitment made by the Governments and peoples of free America, our primary concern was and will continue to be the preparation of those peoples which are not yet self-governing for the rapid attainment of freedom, either through self-government or through independence and full sovereignty. We believe that we have thus been fulfilling the primary responsibility which we assumed.

162. In the course of our work in the Council, we have been happy to witness the accession to independence of the Togolese Republic, which became a distinguished Member of the United Nations a few days ago. We also witnessed the birth of two other independent countries: Cameroun and Somalia. Conscious of the overwhelming significance of the movement towards the emancipation of Africa, Paraguay sent a special mission to attend the ceremonies in celebration of the independence of Cameroun. Before this Assembly I should like once again to convey to the Government and people of Cameroun the satisfaction and pleasure it gave Paraguay to witness Cameroun's admission to membership of the United Nations.

163. Somalia, too, became an independent nation after a period of trusteeship. There again Paraguay made its contribution to the task so successfully carried out by the Somali people and the Government of Italy. And when the date for the independence of the Republic of Somalia was fixed, it was made perfectly plain in the Trusteeship Council that the "miracle of Somalia" was a result of the ability and perseverance of the Somali people in training and organizing themselves in an orderly way for the attainment of freedom and independence.

164. Similarly, Paraguay co-operated in the preparation and training for self-government or independence of the Territories of Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika, which are still under trusteeship. Paraguay was elected to serve on the visiting mission which went to that area, and our representative, together with the representatives of New Zealand, the United Arab Republic and the United States, under the chairmanship of the latter, visited Ruanda-Urundi from 2 March to 1 April of this year and Tanganyika from 1 to 22 April. The relevant report was submitted to the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-sixth regular session.

165. As the representative of Paraguay, I feel it my duty to state, as clearly as possible, that we have worked and shall continue to work resolutely and unremittingly to give our full support to the Trusteeship Council and to the United Nations so that the peoples still under trusteeship may attain self-government or independence as soon as possible.

166. The best way that any nation can contribute to the fulfilment by the United Nations of the purposes of the Charter is by strengthening its own well-being and its own development. For that reason I venture to give you a brief summary of what is being done in my country.

167. In the last five years, Paraguay has taken on an entirely different aspect. With the help of the International Monetary Fund and the United States Treasury Department, the Government has succeeded in stabilizing the currency, the guarani, and has progressed from a system of controls, licences, quotas and differential exchanges for imports and exports to a system of free exchange, total freedom of foreign trade, abolition of economic quotas and controls, freedom to hold and dispose of foreign currencies.

168. In a gigantic effort to solve the problems arising from its geographical situation, Paraguay has in the last two years acquired twenty-three ships suitable for river traffic, which are being built in the shipyards of Spain and Japan and will be delivered within the next few months. It has also built extensive international highways, which now link its capital with the

road networks of Brazil and Argentina, and it is continuing the construction of another 780-kilometre highway which crosses the Paraguayan Chaco and will soon reach the border with Bolivia. In order to appreciate the magnitude of this effort, it should be remembered that twenty years ago there was not one metre of road or highway in the whole of Paraguay.

169. Asuncion, our capital and the founding city of other cities of America, had to wait for over four centuries before it had the essential services of running water and public sanitation which were installed recently, just over a year ago.

170. Schools are being built and equipped at the rate of one a week. Airports, bridges, buildings and public works are being constructed; two additional university departments have been opened, as well as a Catholic University independent of the National University; the National University has been given full autonomy; attention is being given to public health and malaria has been completely eradicated; the Paraguayan worker enjoys social security benefits, which give him peace of mind and which are operating normally; programmes of immigration, settlement and repatriation are under way.

171. I should now like to digress. I am unhappily obliged to refer to two statements made by the Prime Minister of Cuba.

172. The first was to the effect that the United States likes to have the support of military governments imposed by force like that of Paraguay and others which he mentioned.

173. I do not wish to refer to, or discuss, any foreign Government, but I must confess that it is really paradoxical for the Government of Cuba to speak of governments imposed by force in America or in any other part of the world. Nevertheless, I shall not refer to that Government; I shall, however, describe the characteristics of the Government of Paraguay and if any similarity should emerge from my description, it will be—as they say in the films—purely coincidental.

174. The Government of Paraguay is the result of free elections and not of any military coup which happened to be successful and has no intention of calling for elections; it is, I repeat, a Government created by free and popular elections.

175. The Government of Paraguay is a democratic Government because it is supported by the majority party, the oldest political party in Paraguay, founded in 1887; it is the party with the largest membership; it is the party of the poor and of the peasants, the party which had spent its whole life, up to a few years ago, in the plains. It is the best organized: when its opinion is sought, it does not hold a plebiscite in the streets at which everybody shouts at the signal of the leader; the people come with their ballot papers and cast their votes.

176. In Paraguay, there is a separation of powers: our judiciary is completely independent of the executive and often takes issue with decisions of lower executive authorities and corrects them in a sensible way.

177. There have never been any special courts or special laws passed with retroactive effect for any offence, nor have there been any executions. I remember only one execution in Paraguay and it took place

forty years ago, when I was a little boy: that of two common criminals, Gastón Gabin and Cipriano León, who had combined to kill the father of the former. Since then, never at any time has there been a single execution in Paraguay ordered either by the public authorities or by the regular courts, and it is even less conceivable that there should be a special court empowered, on the basis of special *ex post facto* legislation, to order the execution of Paraguayans.

178. The legislative branch in Paraguay is independent of the executive and the executive branch is not dominated by the military, as has sometimes been said. I think that if we count all the military men in our public service and our diplomatic corps, we shall find no more than two.

179. Our University is completely autonomous. Countries which can have an autonomous university are privileged indeed. The Government does not interfere in the appointment of teachers or in their salaries or in the establishment of the curricula. Our University is so autonomous that it allocates its own funds, appoints its teachers, imposes its own sanctions, discipline, etc.

180. Here I should mention that for the last four or five years Paraguay has not had a single strike of students or workers or of any other kind and that strikes in my country are not put down with armies or bayonets.

181. There is freedom of the Press in Paraguay. In the last ten years, to which I am referring, no newspaper has ever been shut down. There is no censorship of the Press. Foreign newspapers are allowed to circulate freely and say what they wish and that is how we find out what is being said by a certain Press in America which makes a specialty of distorting the truth and then circulating it in good faith to the whole world.

182. There are no concentration camps in Paraguay; no political prisoners in the jails. Last year, the opposition was invited by the President of the Republic, the Minister of the Interior and the head of the Partido Colorado to take part in the elections held in March of this year, to publish its own papers freely and to serve on the electoral court. What was the result? Three invasions were immediately turned back, without any need for the intervention of the army or the police, since Paraguayan citizens of every political affiliation co-operated in repelling the invaders. And what did we find in the invaders' equipment but the "Manual of Guerrilla Warfare" by Ché Guevara, that is, instructions sent from Cuba. In deference to the Assembly, I must say that I am not officially naming the Government of Cuba in this connexion. But the truth is that what we found were guerrilla warfare manuals by a certain Ché Guevara, who is, I believe, a foreign major: instructions sent from Cuba, the statement of the participants in the invasion that they had received funds from Cuba as also the promise that they would receive arms as soon as the invasion made some headway or after the initial successes. The countries which have accredited missions in Paraguay have witnessed these things and are witnessing them daily. Indeed, they have recently been confirmed by the Vice-President of the Council of Government of Uruguay during a visit he recently made to Paraguay, accompanied by three ministers and over 270 other people. Attempts were even made to prevent his coming. It was said that there

was fighting in the capital, that tanks were being used—and we have not a single tank—that aircraft were in action, that the Government had fled, and a whole series of other lies. When the delegation arrived and saw that our people were quietly at work and that all they wanted was to be left in peace, they were indignant and their reaction was reflected in the Uruguayan newspapers for many months.

183. Another assertion made yesterday afternoon in an attempt to include us in or link us with a specific bloc of States is that the Paraguayan telephone company is a United States monopoly. Now there is no foreign company in Paraguay holding a public monopoly. The telephone company has never belonged as a concession or a monopoly to any public or private capital of the United States. There is no public service in Paraguay in the hands of foreign capital and the only United States holdings in the country are three private companies and a rather large branch of a bank.

184. I see no advantage in all the countries represented here being linked with one block or another. In fact, we may be giving a very bad impression to the new States that were admitted to membership early in the session.

185. Paraguay is simply and solely dedicated to the great principles guiding our regional organization, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations. In connexion with the Organization of American States, Paraguay is eagerly looking forward to the time when all the African States, old or new, will be grouped together, like the nations of America, in an organization of African States.

186. America has gained nothing but advantages and benefits from its regional organization: legal, economic, social, cultural and above all political advantages, which tend to promote peace and security on the continent. The regional organization is extremely useful and the Charter of the United Nations provides expressly for such organizations.

187. I have no authority to give advice to the African States, but perhaps they too will be impressed by the clear foresight of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator of America, when more than a century and a half ago he initiated the idea of grouping all the American States in a single organization in order to preserve the peace of the continent.

188. I shall conclude by expressing the fervent desire of my country, Paraguay, that this Assembly, in which the delegations have been augmented by the participation of eminent Heads of State, should reach conclusions and obtain results so positive and so well conceived that they will be remembered with satisfaction and honoured by posterity.

Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice President, took the Chair.

189. Mr. UNDA MURILLO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to convey to you the congratulations of my Government on your well deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

190. The brilliant and constructive work which the Irish delegation has accomplished in this world Organization, and the unquestionable personal qualifications and the energy and unanimity which have always been characteristic of your decisions, are excellent

auguries for the successful outcome of the important labours of this Assembly.

191. At the opening meetings of this great world Assembly year after year for the last fifteen years, we who have been responsible for the conduct of the international policy of each country have expressed, almost in the same words, the desires of our people for the full observance of human rights, respect for the integrity and independence of nations, and the eradication of ignorance, fear and misery; in a word, we have expressed the desire to live in peace with justice and freedom. At these opening meetings year after year we have, on behalf of our Governments and peoples, expressed with unquestionable sincerity the most profound faith in the world Organization and the most staunch support for the lofty principles and ideals which guide it, always in the hope that its high purposes and aims will be achieved for the benefit of all mankind. Today, on behalf of the Government and people of Guatemala, I once again reaffirm those ideas and feelings.

192. I believe though that the moment has come to say something more and to call a spade a spade. A harsh reality has begun to appear on the horizon for all peoples. On the one hand, we find the world divided into two large antagonistic ideological groups without any solutions having been found up to now to ensure their peaceful and lasting coexistence. On the other hand, we see that the great scientific and technical advances of the present era, far from serving legitimate desires for peace, security and economic and social betterment, tend to be used for purposes of threat and intimidation and as ways of solving disputes which rightfully should be resolved only by the principles and rules of international law.

193. This harsh reality has lately tended to acquire a dramatic character in America, the so-called continent of peace. Peoples who ever since the beginning of the second quarter of the past century have, with the staunchest possible faith in their destiny, been making great efforts to build up an ordered system of juridical bonds so that they might be able to continue to live together in peace, have now begun to experience intervention in their internal affairs by an extra-continental Power. This endangers not only their peaceful relations, but also their traditional institutions that give effect to legal systems for the defence of freedom and the moral dignity of man, which in America constitute the highest good.

194. After the First World War, when, with the advent of the totalitarian systems, the conflict of ideologies began, the American peoples kept faith with their traditional principles and unhesitatingly took the side of those who were defending the freedom and dignity of man, so that the threats of intervention by extra-continental Powers were never carried out. However, after the Second World War, when the gigantic conflict of ideologies now taking place in the world began to grow more acute, the American people no longer received mere threats of intervention, but were subjected to the effects of a co-ordinated plan of violence and subversion aimed at changing their democratic institutions into a totalitarian, materialistic and atheistic system, a system which attempts to establish dominance not only over nations but also over the innermost thoughts of their citizens.

195. No one can be unaware of the fact that international communism, with important bases of operation on the island of Cuba, is attempting to establish its influence over the other peoples of the American hemisphere. No one can be unaware of the fact that the Soviet Union has offered Cuba all kinds of military assistance, and that it is rendering such assistance, as well as economic and technical co-operation, with the perverse intention of destroying the liberties and fundamental freedoms of the other American peoples.

196. This is the ominous reality which is beginning to confront the American peoples. This is the dramatic ideological division of the world, viewed from the standpoint of the American continent.

197. Guatemala's position in this regard has been perfectly clear and well-defined. As my country is aware of its responsibilities, respects its international commitments and is faithful to the ideals of the United Nations Charter and to the great principles that enable nations to live together in peace, it has always endeavoured to maintain the most cordial relations with all countries of the world, and especially with its sister nations of the American continent. That is why, when the present Cuban régime came into power, Guatemala on various occasions reaffirmed its policy of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of that island and did not allow its territory to be used for any kind of activity directed against that Government; it did this in the hope that relations between the two countries would continue on the traditional plane of friendship and mutual respect that is proper to and characteristic of the American peoples. We can only regret however, that the Cuban Government has not appreciated this friendly attitude on the part of Guatemala. Quite the contrary, it has responded with all kinds of unfriendly acts; it has made calumnious attacks against the Guatemalan Government; and it has fomented agitation and subversion by small communist groups on our national territory which have led to disturbances that were, however, rapidly brought under control. I must place on record the fact that in due course Guatemala informed the Council of the Organization of American States of these regrettable acts and repeatedly sent vigorous protests and warnings to the Cuban Government. Having obtained no positive results, it was obliged to recall its diplomatic representatives from Cuba.

198. There is, however, something even more serious. The Cuban Government, already publicly moving within the Soviet orbit, continues to intervene openly in the internal affairs of Guatemala and affords assistance to those who are preparing aggression against it.

199. We have proof that the communist ex-President, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, is receiving all kinds of economic and military aid from the Cuban Government in preparing an invasion force to overthrow the present Guatemalan Government. Fortunately, the Guatemalan Government can count on the unanimous support and unstinting efforts of all social classes in the country and is prepared to repel any attempt at aggression. During the recent celebrations which took place in Sierra Maestra in Cuba in commemoration of 26 July, the communist ex-President of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, was seated on the dais together with the Cuban leaders and on that occasion said, amid the applause of the highest officials in that Government and directing his remarks to the assembled crowd, that he would soon be in the Guatemalan Government

Palace speaking to his beloved people. The thousand men who are being trained in Camaguey province by Cuban communist leaders to invade my country are a living proof of the truth of these words. I make this public denunciation in order to place on record what may happen later. If this is not intervention, I should like to ask what is.

200. At the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of the American Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which was held at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960, there was issued the Declaration of San José, and when signing the extremely important resolution which was then adopted, the Guatemalan delegation had the following statement included in the Final Act:

"The Delegation of Guatemala, in voting in favour of the Declaration of San José, Costa Rica, does so in an eminently American spirit, although it is convinced that the action of the Government of the Republic of Cuba in adopting a policy disposed toward the Soviet Union and contrary to the inter-American system is jeopardizing the peace and the security of America, and that the American states would have been justified in assuming a stronger attitude in order to protect the interests of the hemisphere, in compliance with the Charter, agreements, and resolutions of the Organization of American States."

201. In acting in this way, my country believed that it had a sacred duty to defend the great achievements of the inter-American system on behalf of legality, liberty, security and justice in America, for it is convinced that only under such conditions should economic and social development designed to raise the levels of living of our peoples be pursued.

202. Guatemala considers that the regional organizations have their proper place and that the authority they exercise in resolving problems which do not exceed their sphere of action is binding on all their members. It therefore does not accept the argument put forward by some members of the present Cuban régime that the resolutions adopted by the Organization of American States are "soggy scraps of paper", and I should like once again, before this great world Assembly, to place on record our strongest possible condemnation of the attempt by the Soviet Union to interfere in American affairs.

203. The present Government of Guatemala is a popularly elected, constitutional government which provides complete safeguards to persons and property without discrimination of any kind. It raises its voice in protest today not only because it has been the victim of the first aggression perpetrated by the Cuban régime, but also because, in compliance with its duty of continental solidarity, it wishes to warn of the danger confronting its sister nations of the continent. If, moreover, the present state of affairs should continue after all the resources of our regional machinery have been exhausted, it hopes that the United Nations will bring its moral force to bear in order to maintain peace and justice and to prevent totalitarian aggression and the enslavement of the millions of human beings who still live a free life in America. This hope of my country is based on its profound faith in the United Nations, whose efforts to check aggression are still too fresh in the memory of all of us for me to have to recall them.

204. In one of the statements made last week, mention was made of the case of Guatemala, and yesterday

[872nd meeting], the Cuban Prime Minister, Mr. Fidel Castro, in his brief five-hour speech, again mentioned the case of Guatemala, the implication being that my country has been the victim of aggression by a Power of the continent. I must state plainly that this is absolutely false.

205. It was the people of Guatemala who in June 1954 fought a battle of liberation to overthrow a communist-type government dominated by an anarchistic group of leaders which had destroyed all fundamental freedoms. And, since we are speaking of freedom, the Government and people of Guatemala, through me and before the world, raise their voices to send to the valiant Hungarian people, vilely massacred by the soldiers and tanks of the hammer and sickle, the expression of our sympathy and hope.

206. Yesterday, we were aggrieved and pained to note that Mr. Fidel Castro, who spoke to us, as I have already said, for five hours on imperialism, disarmament, monopolies, war-mongers and so many other important problems which afflict mankind, failed to mention one, and only one, of these problems: that of the millions of human beings who are at present groaning and suffering under communist Governments.

207. I should also like to place on record that the love of freedom and justice prevails in Guatemala and impels us to improve the economic and social lot of our peoples within a developing régime which is based on the rule of law and which guarantees to everyone peace and security of person and property. I should like to place on record that Washington, Bolívar and San Martín, great fighters all for American freedom, also drank from these crystal-clear waters. We of Guatemala do not wish to imbibe the mineral water which was so joyfully offered to us in this hall by the Soviet Union representative, a mineral water that enslaves and poisons.

208. My country wishes to place on record that it most decidedly supports the action which the United Nations is carrying out in the Republic of the Congo in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on 14^{2/} and 22 July^{3/} and 9 August 1960,^{4/} and by the Assembly at its emergency session [resolution 1474 (ES-IV)] a few days ago.

209. I should like to take this opportunity to express Guatemala's gratitude to the Secretary-General for the prompt and impartial way in which he has directed the work of re-establishing and maintaining law and order throughout that young Republic. This effort, by excluding direct and unilateral action by States, will, if it is supplemented by the programme of assistance suggested by the Secretary-General himself, redound to the benefit of international peace and security and the future and well-being of the inhabitants of that region.

210. I must state that Guatemala maintains unchanged its position in regard to the problem of colonialism and will always give its support to every effort to settle such problems within the United Nations and in accordance with the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System as set out and defined in Article 1 and Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations—or, in other words, with due regard, among other things, to

the furtherance of international peace and security and to the promotion of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence and—something very important—to the encouragement of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and the encouragement of recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world. Guatemala is convinced that only by faithful compliance with those objectives and purposes will the peoples who have already attained independence, or are shortly to do so, be able successfully to consolidate their own institutions and achieve the happiness and prosperity of their citizens.

211. It was with these principles in mind and in a spirit of international co-operation, that Guatemala took part in the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and that it is now participating in the Committee on South West Africa.

212. I regard it as a duty to reaffirm before the Assembly that the Guatemalan delegation, in carrying out the honourable tasks which also devolve upon it as a member of the Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources, will continue to take as its sole guide the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental interests and the social, economic and cultural betterment of all peoples.

213. My country has viewed with the greatest satisfaction the recent admission to this Organization of fourteen States which have just embarked on an independent life. I should like on behalf of the people and the Government of Guatemala, to take this opportunity to convey to these new Members a cordial welcome and to express every wish for the progress and welfare of their inhabitants.

214. We regret that the United Nations has not yet found a formula whereby such nations as Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam could be reunified and admitted to the Organization as befits peoples united by common aspirations and an identity of origin, language and customs. These nations should be allowed to decide their own destiny by means of a free plebiscite supervised by the United Nations.

215. As a partisan of international peace and harmony, Guatemala would welcome a relaxation of the tension which exists in certain regions, particularly the Middle East and Africa, where co-operation among the various races would be of considerable importance for the development of nations that have been called upon to play an important part in the world's future.

216. In view of the constantly increasing number of Members of the United Nations, Guatemala considers that amendments are called for in the Charter, particularly with regard to the number of members in the various Councils, so that the new States might be adequately represented.

217. Guatemala is not, however, in favour of altering the structure of the Secretariat in the way proposed by the Soviet Union, that is to say, by the appointment of three persons to head it representing, respectively, the Soviet bloc, the Western bloc, and the so-called neutral Powers. It considers that the Secretariat, as the executive organ of the United Nations, should be

^{2/}Official Records of the Security Council, Fifteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1960, document S/4387.

^{3/}Ibid., document S/4405.

^{4/}Ibid., document S/4426.

capable of speedy and effective action, since it was intended to take action whenever world peace was imperilled. Under the proposed collective structure, however, any decision would be weakened unless unanimity was reached, and thus the veto, which has so many times paralysed effective action by the Security Council, would be extended to the Secretariat.

218. As it has already done on innumerable occasions before this Assembly, Guatemala reserves all its rights with regard to the territory of Belize and places on record its most vigorous protest against the injustice committed by a large and powerful nation, a principal Member of the world Organization, against another country, a small and weak one, in occupying a large part of that country's territory by force of arms in violation of the principles of international law. Guatemala once more comes before this Organization to ask its moral support and its co-operation in redressing that injustice, and it does so in the certainty that one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations is to prevent large and powerful States from depriving small and weak States of their rights by force.

219. The panorama offered to us by certain branches of human activity in the contemporary world is truly awe-inspiring. During the course of the present century the increased effectiveness of human efforts in the scientific and technical fields has enabled man increasingly to dominate the forces of nature and has thus proved that this is the century of science and technology. Since, however, such efforts cannot, for obvious reasons, be exerted by all States in the same degree, the need for broader and more intense international co-operation is becoming steadily more imperative in order that all peoples may have equal possibilities of making progress and raising their level of living and of thus being able to contribute towards the maintenance of international peace and security.

220. Hence, it should be a source of satisfaction that the item entitled "Economic development of under-developed countries" appears in the agenda of the present session. We are certain that if measures are taken for the economic expansion of the under-developed countries, not only will happiness be brought to many millions of human beings, but a contribution will be made towards solving many political problems which are a direct cause of the frictions which endanger international peace and security.

221. As a form of co-operation along these lines, the Central American Republics are making great efforts to integrate their economies. The old bilateral treaties on free trade and economic integration have now been augmented by a new international instrument which gives effect to an economic association set up by Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras and which provides for the establishment of a common market, a customs union and a development and assistance fund. Moreover, some Central American countries, including Guatemala, have already approved an agreement on the equalization of import duties. We are certain that financial aid given in accordance with the principles of co-operation to which I have just referred would be a very important factor in furthering the successful outcome of these efforts and would hasten the improvement and transformation of this under-developed region of the continent.

222. The ultimate aim of this effort at integrating the economies of the Central American countries is the achievement of the fondest desire of the people of Central America, namely, political integration. It was to this end, and in the spirit of the San Francisco Charter, that the Charter of San Salvador setting up the regional organization known as the Organization of Central American States was signed in 1951.

223. Guatemala has considered that this regional organization should undergo some structural changes so that it might become a more functional and effective instrument for the attainment of its aims and purposes; it has accordingly drafted a new instrument which is at present under consideration by the illustrious Governments of its sister Republics of the Isthmus.

224. In conclusion, permit me to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Guatemala, the most earnest hopes for the success of the labours of this fifteenth session of the General Assembly, which, we are sure, will redound to the benefit of the whole international community.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

225. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of the United States, Nicaragua and Cuba have asked for the floor in that order to exercise the right of reply. Following the order in which the requests were received, I call first on the representative of the United States.

226. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): I have asked to speak briefly under the right of reply to the intervention made here yesterday afternoon and evening by the Prime Minister of Cuba.

227. As we all know, most of that speech consisted of charges against the United States. Although confronted with charges of a provocative character, we do not intend to reply in kind, but only in the quiet and constructive tones which Mr. Lodge used in the Security Council on this same subject and to which this Assembly is entitled.

228. This is particularly true when dealing with our sister Republic and neighbour, Cuba, with whom our traditional ties of friendship have been so intimate and so strong. The relations between the Cuban Government and people and the Government and people of the United States have been friendly, cordial and close, and when the present Government of Cuba came into power there was widespread sympathy all over the United States for the aims and ideals, including particularly those of land reform, which the new Government professed, and the United States Government promptly recognized that new Government.

229. I shall not attempt to deal now with the numerous charges which were laid against us yesterday. Most of these charges, which are not new, have already been answered by the United States both in the Security Council and in the Organization of American States, both of which bodies have rejected them. In order that the new Members of the United Nations and others who were not present on those occasions may have the correct facts, however, the United States will make available a document within the next few days dealing fully with the issues involved.

230. At this point I would add just one other word. The United States has constantly sought a constructive approach to the complaints of the Cuban Government. During the past month the United States has urged utilization of the ad hoc committee created by the

Organization of American States to clarify facts and extend good offices. This Committee was created by the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960.

231. As we have said before, the record of our relations with Cuba is an open book. We are prepared to co-operate with this Committee of which I have spoken and we have urged Cuba's co-operation. So far, Cuba has ignored the efforts of the Organization of American States to deal with the question. We remain confident, however, today, in spite of attacks which seek to divide us, that the Cuban people and the American people will remain close in mutual esteem and respect, for the simple reason that they are bound by common ideals and aspirations as well as by the links of history, geography and economic well-being.

232. Mr. DEBAYLE (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): I have come to this rostrum in the exercise of my right of reply, compelled to do so by the reference made to my country and my Government by the Prime Minister of Cuba in his statement of yesterday afternoon. The Prime Minister of Cuba said: "In Nicaragua there is now no longer a government of force but a kind of monarchy which is almost as constitutional as the United Kingdom's, in which power is handed down from father to son" [872nd meeting, para. 73].

233. I was gratified to hear from the lips of the Prime Minister of Cuba that he recognized that there was not a government of force in Nicaragua, for this is indeed the truth. As for its being a constitutional monarchy like that of the United Kingdom, in which the succession passes from father to son, I venture to disagree with the Prime Minister of Cuba and should like to enlighten this august Assembly on this point.

234. Since its attainment of independence in 1821, Nicaragua has had two historic political parties which at one time or another have held power—the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. In the last elections, held three years ago, the candidates for the Presidency of the Republic were Mr. Edmundo Amador for the Conservative Party and Mr. Luis A. Somoza for the Liberal Party. Mr. Somoza was elected by a considerable majority, having received a large measure of support from the women voters who were voting in Nicaragua for the first time. The losing candidate, of the Conservative Party, now holds, in accordance with the Nicaraguan Constitution, the position of Senator of the Republic. The Nicaraguan Constitution also provides that minority parties are entitled to be represented in the various branches of government. Evidence of this is the presence in our delegation of the Conservative Party deputy, Dr. Agapito Fernández García.

235. Prompted by true principles of democracy President Somoza, immediately after taking office, sent to the National Congress a constitutional reform bill under which the re-election of the President would be prohibited and, what is more, no relative of the President to the fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity could be a candidate to succeed him. This bill was passed by the National Congress and is now a constitutional law of the Republic.

236. The Liberal Government of Nicaragua, which has the country's democratization and the people's rights constantly at heart, guarantees the absolute

freedom of the Press—and this is acknowledged even by our adversaries—in which the opposition debates problems with a freedom equal to that reigning in this temple of peace itself. Moreover, in an effort to strengthen representative democracy, Nicaragua proposed at the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Chile that observers from the Organization of American States should be present during the next presidential election, in order to testify to its fairness, honesty and freedom.

237. I would conclude by adding that Nicaragua has enacted social legislation giving ample protection to workers, such as the Labour Code and a Social Security Act which extends benefits to the medical sphere and covers the country's workers from maternity to old age and death.

238. At the present juncture, following a comprehensive and realistic study, a land reform bill has been submitted to the National Congress.

239. The political, economic and social problems of Nicaragua concern the Nicaraguan people alone, and only we, the Nicaraguans, are called upon to resolve them.

240. We follow the political development of our sister nations in the continent with a relative's interest and concern, but at the same time with respect, and we adhere to the principle of not interfering in the problems of others.

241. Mr. BISBE ALBERNI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): I have asked for the floor in the exercise of my right of reply, so as to answer certain assertions made with regard to the statement delivered yesterday by our Prime Minister, Fidel Castro.

242. The representative of Paraguay objected to our Prime Minister's application of the word "tyrannical" to the Paraguayan system of government by force. It is not my intention to enter into a lengthy discussion in order to prove that the Paraguayan Government is of that nature. There was, however, something manifestly ironical in the picture painted for us, by the Paraguayan representative, of a Paraguay which, in my view, does not at present exist. The mantle of democracy does not sit well on the Paraguay of Stroessner; what suits it better is a comparison with the mournful Paraguay of Francia, which our José Martí described.

243. The men of America and of all the world's countries represented in this Assembly know that the angelic picture of Stroessner's Paraguay, painted here, does not reflect reality. There is only one opinion about the Paraguay of today: the opinion of America happens to be that of the world, and it is very difficult to conceal or obscure the truth. It is a piece of savage irony to speak of Paraguayan democracy. Democracy? How can we describe as democratic a régime of force which is piling up, day after day, crimes, tortures and violations of human rights that are well known to all the peoples of America and the world?

244. Another puerile picture which it has been sought to offer us here is that of a democratic régime in Nicaragua. In that country there is in fact a dynastic tyranny, for the first of the Somozas has now been succeeded by another Somoza. That is the position in Nicaragua. But it must be emphasized that these dictatorships—and Latin American dictatorships in general—owe their existence to their approval by the

Government of the United States of America. As Prime Minister Castro very rightly pointed out yesterday, the men in command in the United States prefer to rely on dictatorship in Latin America, since that is the course which best facilitates the management of their monopolistic interests and the exploitation of our under-developed peoples.

245. But I repeat, it is not my purpose to demonstrate primarily to this Assembly, which is well acquainted with Latin American problems and the problems of the world, that there is a dictatorship in Paraguay and a dictatorship in Nicaragua. I refer to them only because the representatives of those dictatorships have taken the floor to answer us. I asked to speak mainly in order to refute, flatly, a statement which was made at today's meeting and which is absolutely false.

246. The statement—and it came from the representative of Guatemala—was to the effect that 2,000 soldiers were being trained in the province of Camagüey in preparation for an invasion of Guatemala. How long will there be attempts to hoodwink people with this fairy-tale? The revolutionary Government of Cuba has stated, and restated, that it adheres uncompromisingly to the principle of non-intervention. Seeing that the great danger confronting Cuba itself at the present moment is the possibility of intervention, it would be absurd if our country were to intervene in the affairs of another. What is more, we are ardent and dedicated defenders of the principle of non-intervention. The Guatemalan representative may rest assured—there are no 2,000 soldiers being trained in Camagüey for an invasion of Guatemala.

247. Furthermore, we believe—and we have become tired of repeating it—that revolutions are not exported. It is the Paraguayan people that must resolve the problem of the existing dictatorship in Paraguay, and the Nicaraguan people that must resolve the problem of the existing dictatorship in Nicaragua. The same applies to the other peoples of America who live under tyrannical régimes. It is they who from within, in their own circumstances and relying on their own resources, have to solve that problem.

248. What Cuba does export is its example—the example of a group of men who stood up to a powerful dictatorship that possessed a fully equipped army and was supplied, by representatives of the United States Government, with all the arms it needed. It seemed a fantasy, a product of the imagination.

249. It is true, quite true, that Castro found himself with only twelve men in the Sierra Maestra. The experts said at the time that it was impossible for him to defeat an army. But to that group of twelve men, others continued to be added. Why? Because they had the support of a people. It was not only the twelve men that were in the Sierra Maestra with Castro at the outset who overthrew the powerful dictatorship of Batista. If they had not had the support of the Cuban people, that would have been impossible.

250. This is why I say we are exporting our example, the example of a heroic people that proved capable of making every conceivable sacrifice in order to smash the Batista dictatorship.

251. That is the fact of the matter, and the point which we must stress: revolutions are not exported; they must be made by the peoples themselves; but we

are setting an example to all the peoples of Latin America. This is what grieves the United States Government, a Government which has been blind to American realities because it has supported dictatorships while at the same time boasting that it represents, for the world, the spirit of democracy. It is impossible both to support dictatorships in America and to represent democracy, and it is impossible to make pacts with the Franco régime in Europe and to represent democracy in the eyes of the world.

252. These are the contradictions that exist; these are the contradictions which must be taken into account. We export our example of struggle; we export our example of sacrifice. The Cuban revolution is like a spur which is acting upon the spirit of the American peoples. I recall that Socrates was compared to a gadfly which went about stinging the citizens, awakening and arousing them. This is the role of the Cuban revolution; it is awakening the peoples of America, it is arousing the consciousness of America; and that is what is causing concern. That is why the United States, wants to destroy the Cuban revolution—not because of a specific ideological position, which was described very clearly yesterday, but because that revolution affects United States interests and makes all our peoples ready for the struggle ahead. Prime Minister Castro stated yesterday, with complete clarity, that the ideological line of the Cuban revolution is reflected in the principles of the Declaration of Havana.

253. From the very outset, however, attempts were made to attach to us the label of communism. It is well known that, whenever a people fights for social reform, the representatives and supporters of the status quo at once proclaim "They are communists; they are opening a front for communism". But people can no longer be fooled by this, either in America, in Africa, or in any other part of the world.

254. I have wished to make this matter absolutely clear in reply to the statement of the representative of Guatemala. Let no one say that Cuba wants to export revolutions or that it purposes to prepare or dispatch expeditions to invade other countries of our continent. Such things are of no interest to us, and no nation of America need fear any invasion of that sort. Cuba is carrying through its own revolution; it is achieving its own transformation. Is its example having an influence? That is something else, something which we cannot avoid.

255. With regard to the reply of the United States representative and the announcement of a United States document on the Cuban question, my answer is simply that I confirm each and every word spoken by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in the formidable accusation which he delivered against the United States. Those words of his represent our best document on the unjustified acts of aggression by the United States Government against our country.

256. With this I shall conclude my remarks; but I wish to point out that, although today we have dealt with isolated cases, the Cuban delegation reserves the right to prepare a full answer, in the light of all the criticism which may be advanced and all the attacks which may be made in the course of this general debate—a complete answer to those who challenge the statements of Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

The meeting rose at 7.00 p.m.