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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. UNDA MURILLO (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations.
2. Your profound knowledge of international law and politics, your long experience in this Organization and in the handling of the serious problems that beset the world, and your qualities as a man and a jurist, are a guarantee that this Assembly is in good hands.
3. The delegation of Guatemala is attending this regular session of the General Assembly with its old and unchanging attitude of support and respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and with unshakable faith in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.
4. My delegation trusts that understanding, respect and tolerance will gain ground in this Assembly, in order that the grave problems of a world in turmoil may find the just and adequate solution that peace, security and justice require for the well-being of mankind.
5. It is terrible to think of the results of another war, considering the tremendous advances that have been made in means of destruction. It would be the ruin of all material and spiritual values and of the cultural treasury that mankind has garnered through generations and centuries.
6. It is disquieting to observe the dizzy speed of one armaments race after another, ultimately producing nothing but economic and every other type of disaster.

The immense sums spent on armaments are absolutely unproductive, while the great problems of mankind remain: poverty, undernourishment and ignorance. Today the advances of science have made the solution of the problem imperative and vital.

7. This, therefore, is one of mankind's most pressing problems and we ask ourselves: in whose hands does the solution lie? It is logical to reply that it is the responsibility of the United Nations as an international forum, to direct the matter along the right lines, hedging it about with enough security and confidence to ensure that its solution will be viable. In the final analysis, however, the answer should come from those States whose economic capacity and scientific advancement have made them the repositories or large-scale possessors of destructive weapons; consequently, the responsibility lies with the Governments of the great Powers.

8. The first step in disarmament should be the effective, radical and drastic prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and of nuclear tests. That would be followed, as a logical and natural result, by disarmament, which would be carried out by degrees and under careful supervision. This is precisely the task of the United Nations. In accomplishing it, the United Nations would fulfil one of its highest and most cherished purposes and earn the eternal gratitude of mankind. In this regard, we find the plan referred to in the statement made by the head of the United States delegation on 20 September [1125th meeting] encouraging.

9. Once atomic weapons have been banned, it will be possible to place greater emphasis on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. In this way, the prospects science offers for the benefit of mankind are unlimited.

10. The Berlin wall: This term, or the more graphic expression "the wall of shame" used by the free world, refers to the cruel and dreadful separation of the two Germanies by means of barbed wire and an actual physical wall which prevent any communication between the Germans on either side. As though this were not enough, bayonets, bullets and death itself are used to prevent the inextinguishable yearning for freedom from manifesting itself in flight. Nevertheless, the exodus cannot be contained. It is an avalanche of desperate men who, forced to live in darkness, dramatically seek the light. Day after day, hundreds of persons, embarking on the most daring expeditions, manage to evade the stern vigilance of their gaolers and day after day, we near of the murder of those unfortunates who fail in the attempt.

11. It is common knowledge that since the end of the war there has been a constant flight of persons from the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany to the free West. Lack of freedom and the juridical insecurity that characterize the communist dictatorship, the total inter-

ference of the State and the political organizations in the private affairs of the individual, hostility to religion, and the measures of collectivization in all fields endanger the personal safety of the people and create an atmosphere which has rendered life in Eastern Germany unbearable. Despite the natural increase in the birth-rate, mass emigration has made Eastern Germany the only country in the world with a constantly decreasing population.

12. What are the causes of this dramatic German exodus? It is easy to explain: the Soviet zone in Germany is a totalitarian communist territory under a police régime; it is a Soviet military satellite; it is a Soviet political satellite; lastly, the sovietization, to which the German people are not resigned, has been carried out by force in all parts of the nation.

13. The Berlin wall, therefore, is the most eloquent demonstration of the failure of a system. It is also the most perfect demonstration of the fact that man is free by nature and cannot resign himself to a life in slavery.

14. Unfortunately, the phenomenon is not confined to this sector of mankind but appears in an equally dramatic form in other regions, where the exodus of the unfortunate beings who seek freedom in the face of countless penalties and incredible journeys is constant, vast and irrepressible.

15. The delegation of Guatemala can add but little to what has been said on previous occasions with regard to the tragic situation of its brother-nation of Cuba, now totally subjugated by the Soviet system; that beautiful island, a symbol of liberty, has become a hapless satellite. Of course, all this has been done under the pretext of liberating it from so-called United States economic imperialism, with the result that it is now subjected to the totalitarian and merciless imperialism of the Soviet Union. The situation of the Cubans is similar to the painful reality which we have just described in connexion with the East Germans, and in Cuba as in Eastern Germany every day sees a mass escape of citizens who, by any means that come to hand, seek to flee the slavery to which their country is subjected. It is monstrous that Cuba should have gone to the length of bargaining politically with the freedom of the Cuban prisoners and, with inordinate cynicism, placing a price on human lives.

16. Guatemala warned the American continent about what was happening and what would happen next, in an endeavour to prevent the tragedy which today looms over the Cuban people. It did so clearly and categorically, without mincing matters, at the time of the Seventh Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, held at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960. It has been doing so ever since, and indeed it had done so long before that, when it saw that in its own land the aggressive Soviet system was interfering through its Cuban pawn. It repeated its warning sharply and clearly at Punta del Este, Uruguay, at the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs and it is again repeating it today. Our words turned out to be prophetic; for today we are faced with an intolerable situation fraught with danger for the American continent.

17. The delegation of Guatemala is well aware that these words will call forth fresh insults from the Castro communists, within and outside this hall, hurled at my country's Government. But this does

not disturb us in the least, because Castro himself no longer counts in Cuba and it is not he who commands in that unfortunate island. The real masters there now are the occupation forces of the Soviet Union who, disguised as technicians, advisers and even sugarcane cutters, have disembarked during the past few months with their implements of war for the twofold purpose of repeating their Hungarian exploits if need be and of threatening the freedom of the American continent.

18. It gives us the greatest satisfaction to see that the assiduous work of the United Nations against the colonial systems has in a short time resulted in the emergence of new independent States, more and more of whose representatives are now participating in this General Assembly. Congratulations are due to the Organization, to the peoples of those countries and to the Administering Powers which, in one way or another, have come to understand that the colonial system is an anachronism and is indefensible and have co-operated in helping those people along the path to emancipation.

19. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that in some cases the independence attained does not meet all the requirements of sovereignty which the concept implies and can be used to disguise a new form of colonialism, with its consequent foreign subjugation, domination and exploitation.

20. In speaking of neo-colonialism—the disguised subjection of peoples—we cannot omit to mention its other aspect, which is even more sombre, more gloomy, more ominous and more brutal. I refer to the unfortunate peoples who groan beneath another kind of imperialism, having been thrown into servitude through the treachery of those who surrendered their countries to the Soviet subjugation. Peoples of illustrious cultural traditions have succumbed to force and are today galley slaves on a terrible ship of duress and desolation, where every attempt at rebellion and every hope of freedom is drowned in blood.

21. One of the finest and most forceful decisions of the United Nations aimed at the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism is resolution 1514 (XV), adopted at the fifteenth session of the Assembly, in which the world Organization, "Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples" and "Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter. . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity . . . of the human person" and in equal rights, considered that there was sufficient cause for recognizing that "the continued existence of colonialism. . . impedes the. . . development of dependent peoples", preventing them from freely disposing "of their natural wealth and resources". It further declared that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights", and that they must therefore be granted independence "without any conditions or reservations".

22. In connexion with Guatemala's unequivocal anti-colonialist stand which we have just outlined, we cannot fail to mention, as we have long done, the thorn in the flesh of the Guatemalan people, namely, Belize.

23. It is well known that our rights to that territory are indisputable and that the only relatively valid

legal element in the United Kingdom's claim disappeared when the Convention relative to the Boundary of British Honduras of 1869 became inoperative owing to the failure of one of the parties, the United Kingdom, to comply with its compensatory clause. While recognizing the indisputable character of Guatemala's rights over Belize, our civilized people, ardent supporters of the principles and purposes of the United Nations, have still agreed to full, frank and open discussion of the question, as witness the bipartite talks held at San Juan, Puerto Rico, in April 1962, which marked the beginning of the union with Guatemala of another Guatemalan population forcibly cut off from the main stream of Central American national life.

24. The Government of Guatemala is adamant in its position: it categorically rejected the unjust and degrading policy of apartheid imposed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa in its own territory and in the Mandated Territory of South West Africa to the detriment of the negro race and others of different origins. The Guatemalan people, having abolished slavery at the dawn of their independence, reject all discriminatory and enslaving practices.

25. My Government is also concerned about the plight of that Mandated Territory, and fully agrees with the recommendations contained in a recent report of the Committee on South West Africa, particularly with its highly important finding that the South African Government was unfit to continue to administer the Territory and that:

"... the best interest of all concerned and of international peace and security demand as a matter of great urgency that the General Assembly should undertake a study of the ways and means by which to terminate South African administration over the Mandated Territory of South West Africa and to have the administration assumed directly or indirectly by the United Nations so as to ensure the institution of the rule of law and such democratic processes, reforms and programmes of assistance as will enable the Mandated Territory to assume the full responsibilities of sovereignty and independence within the shortest possible time."^{1/}

26. As this evidently means that the Mandate should be revoked, at its sixteenth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 1702 (XVI) indicating the legal bases and procedures for United Nations action in this direction. Guatemala is willing to support such action by our world Organization.

27. Guatemala, a country which has been unable fully to enjoy its economic resources, is keenly interested in the efforts of the United Nations to promote economic and social development in the underdeveloped countries through international co-operation.

28. Accordingly, Guatemala and its sister-republics of Central America have made every effort and explored every possibility with a view to achieving the economic integration of their peoples and creating a Central American common market as one of the principal bases for the region's economic development.

29. Very satisfactory advances along these lines have been made in preparing joint legislation designed to

govern free trade, the equalization of import duties and charges and the standardization of tax incentives to industrial development, with very heartening results.

30. These Central American economic integration and free trade programmes are linked to efforts being carried out on a continental scale, including the Alliance for Progress.

31. Apart from their strictly economic activities, the republics of Central America have made notable advances towards integrating the Central American Isthmus, for example, by standardizing basic education and the practice of the liberal professions.

32. The legislative bodies and supreme courts of justice of our republics are co-operating in order to standardize legislation and legal practice in our countries.

33. Besides these aspects of integration political efforts are being made to fulfil the fervent hope that Central America will become united. In January 1960, the Government of Guatemala submitted to the peoples and Governments of Central America for their consideration the draft of a new Charter of the Organization of Central American States based on historical reality and the greatest aspiration of the Central American people. This draft not only provides for a regional organization but also constitutes an effective instrument for the reconstitution of the Republic of Central America.

34. I am pleased to announce that the Central American Ministers for Foreign Affairs will meet at Panama in November to draw up and sign the instrument which will enable us to restore our unity and to lay the foundations for the new Central American Nation long desired by our peoples.

35. Mr. President, it remains for me only to express the fervent hope of the delegation of Guatemala that the work of the seventeenth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly will be carried out in an atmosphere conducive to the fulfilment of its aims and principles so that it may be possible to maintain international peace and security, justice and respect, faith and the dignity of man in a broader concept of freedom. May the lost confidence among men and nations be restored and enable us to bring a ray of hope to suffering and anguished mankind.

36. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cuba has requested to exercise his right of reply.

37. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): In view of the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Guatemala, we think it is timely to point out what is already public knowledge: the connexion between the Guatemalan Government and the United Fruit Company. This connexion is so close, Mr. President, that you really do not know when the Government of Guatemala is referred to and when the fruit company is referred to. And this is not due to the fact that the Government of Guatemala runs the fruit company. This situation is clear proof of the United States neo-colonialism in a region where its chief victim is the brother people of Guatemala, and it sheds much light on the statements which the representative of the fruit company--excuse me, I mean the Government of Guatemala--has made against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba here this afternoon.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 12A (A/4926), para. 162.

38. We thought that instead of reiterating the fantastic accusations made against us by the representative of the United States, the Guatemalan Minister would have explained his President's statements regarding the agreement to make available to the mercenaries in the service of the United States bases in Guatemala for an attack on Cuba, in exchange for the support for its claim to Belize that his Government expected from the United States Government.

39. We reject the assertions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, and affirm that publicly avowed aggressors against the territory of a neighbouring country have no authority to speak in this hall.

40. We sincerely regret that the nationalization of the fields of the United Fruit Company carried out in Cuba by our Government should have provoked so angry a reaction from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala.

41. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Mexico who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

42. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I apologize to the Assembly for taking up its time, and I shall be as brief as possible.

43. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala referred in his statement to his country's claim to the territory of Belize. In the brotherly spirit of friendship which unites our two countries and Governments, I must on this occasion reiterate the rights of Mexico. These are based on well-known legal and historical grounds, and will be exercised as soon as any change occurs in the colony's structure. I wish also to refer to the respect shown by Mexico for the right of the people of Belize to self-determination, which it considers paramount.

44. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia): Mr President, I should like, first of all, to congratulate you on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation on your election to the high and responsible post of President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, which is faced with considerable and important tasks, to whose constructive and positive solution you can give a precious contribution owing to your long years of experience in the work of our Organization.

45. In the period since the previous session, our Organization, and the world as a whole, have been confronted by many unsettled international problems. We can note, however, with great satisfaction, that encouraging, new, positive elements and solutions have appeared.

46. In the period under review, the agreement on Algeria was reached. After many years of bitter struggle, the Algerian people have won their freedom and independence. It is with great pleasure that the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia welcome free and independent Algeria, and wish the Algerian people every success along the path of their unhindered independent development.

47. The peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia, dedicated to the policy of the peaceful settlement of disputes, have welcomed with much gratification the agreement between the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands on West Irian, an agreement which provides for the unification of West Irian with Indonesia and which was endorsed by the General Assembly last Friday [1127th meeting]. The Yugoslav

Government which has, since the very outset, supported the legitimate rights of Indonesia, expresses its appreciation for the patient and constructive efforts of the parties concerned and stresses, with pleasure, the significant contributions made by the Secretary-General, U Thant, to the solution of this problem.

48. The agreement on Laos opens up before the people of that country prospects of peace and stability.

49. These agreements show that, provided there is goodwill on the part of the parties concerned, and that mutual interests are respected, the greatest international problems can be successfully settled. Accordingly, these agreements constitute a new and strong confirmation of both the right of every nation to be master of its own fate and of the policy of negotiation and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

50. Among the positive tendencies, we should also mention the disarmament talks in Geneva, which have been taking place for the first time with active participation and constructive role of non-aligned countries.

51. The exchange of letters between the President of the United States of America and the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, stating their readiness to establish international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, as well as the unanimous recommendations of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee on scientific and technical co-operation in the use of outer space, open up the possibility of useful results in this new sphere of human endeavour. The United Nations should take measures to ensure that human advance into outer space should not become a new threat, but that it should contribute, on the contrary, to the well-being of mankind.

52. A positive contribution to the establishment of international relations, on a basis of equality, and to the removal of the dangerous gap which divides the world into developed and under-developed regions was made by the Conference on Problems of Economic Development, recently held in Cairo. The Cairo Declaration [A/5162] clearly states that the participating countries strive for co-operation among all countries, without discrimination, towards world economic progress. This bears out the fact that the developing countries wish to find solutions for the problems of their own development within the framework of the international economy. Therefore, one cannot deny that the efforts of the developing countries, as expressed in the Declaration, are in keeping with the United Nations Charter and that they offer a broad basis for the settlement of major economic problems.

53. Great changes have occurred of late in the world within the framework and on the basis of which individual countries, and the world as a whole, are seeking new ways, new solutions, for many political, economic, social, internal and international problems. We are witnessing the historic emancipation of many countries, thanks to which the membership of our Organization has increased to 108, and soon that number will be greater.

54. The Yugoslav delegation wishes to welcome the new Members of our Organization: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and the State of Trinidad and Tobago. We are confident that the increase in the number of independent countries will further diminish

ish the spheres of conflict between the major power alignments, and thereby encourage all tendencies towards the strengthening of peace and the promoting of peaceful co-operation among independent and equal peoples.

55. An immense progress has been achieved in the development of science, technology and the means of economic development.

56. Encouraged by such progress in the world, the overwhelming majority of mankind is becoming more and more aware of the fact that war between nations is not only an anachronism, but a crime against humanity. This awareness is becoming a tremendous moral force, capable of exerting a substantial influence on international relations.

57. Relying on these facts, as well as on the will of their peoples, the Governments of an increasing number of countries resolutely reject the thesis of the inevitability of war as being pusillanimous, offering no prospect, and contrary to the interests of world progress. They reaffirm their unshakable faith in the ability of the international community to organize its life without resorting to the use of force, which belongs to epochs long left behind by human history.

58. All these positive tendencies and the results achieved confirm the fact that the policy of active and peaceful coexistence, which is so resolutely supported by the non-aligned countries, and which found such powerful expression at the Belgrade Conference last year, is making further progress and acquiring a place and role of growing importance in international relations. At the same time, the policy of coexistence carries into effect the spirit and the principles of the Charter, leading thereby to the strengthening of our Organization and of its role in world affairs.

59. However, the period under review was also burdened by many negative elements in international relations.

60. The still unremoved consequences of the Second World War; the division of the world into blocs which are growing into ever stronger military, economic and political groupings and which, according to the logic and character of their mutual relations, inevitably give rise to periodic tensions in international relations, to the cold war, and are a constant danger of its turning into actual war; the persistence of colonial domination, along with the burdensome legacy of colonialism in newly liberated countries; the widening gap between advanced and developing countries; all these are also part of the present international situation.

61. The world in which we live is characterized by the existence of different social systems. We, like many others, do not consider that these differences constitute an insurmountable obstacle to a lasting peace, provided tendencies of domination and interference in the internal development of other peoples and countries are excluded.

62. Every nation should settle the problems of its political and economic social systems in accordance with its own conditions, needs and possibilities. Moreover, any attempt to impose, by force and from without, this or that system on a people is a direct threat to peace.

63. The Yugoslav Government has always abided by and carried out the principles of non-intervention and self-determination, and it is its firm desire that these principles should become guiding principles in the policies of all Governments. It is in this light that serious problems like that of Cuba and others can and should be settled. To fan the flames of this or other similar conflicts in a cold-war spirit only worsens the already-strained international situation and renders more difficult the attainment of peaceful solutions which are in the interests not only of the peoples of the countries concerned, but of the entire international community and the peace of the world.

64. While the disarmament talks have led to some useful results, they have still marked no real progress. Tribute has been paid to the constructive proposals of non-aligned countries in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, but rigid positions have been maintained and—a cause for particular concern—the armaments race not only continues, but is growing in intensity.

65. Neither have the talks on Berlin entered a less disquieting phase, although they have been going on for months and although the remaining differences are not of such a nature as to constitute a genuine obstacle to an agreement. It is therefore even more urgent that we should resolutely request the continuation of the pursuit, on an appropriate level, of a solution which would take into account the existing realities in Germany, so that this dangerous hotbed in the centre of Europe may be removed as soon as possible and the problem of Berlin settled in accordance with the interests of the German people and of peace in Europe and the world.

66. Colonialism, by putting up a desperate resistance at its remaining stronghold, not only seeks—vainly, of course—to check the irresistible course of history, but endangers peace in certain particularly sensitive areas. I have in mind, above all, the colonial war in Angola, the harsh colonial oppression in Mozambique, the disquieting situation in Southern Rhodesia, the policy of apartheid in South Africa. In reaffirming the undeniable right of colonial peoples to freedom and in emphasizing that it is in the interests of peace in the world that these vestiges of the past be removed as soon as possible, we resolutely support the demand that Angola, Mozambique and other dependent African territories acquire their independence without delay. In this respect the United Nations should lend them even more determined support in accordance with the historic anti-colonial Declaration adopted by the General Assembly two years ago. At the same time, we must stress the need for the greatest caution against various more or less concealed neo-colonialist attempts to deprive the newly-acquired freedom of some of these countries of genuine political and economical substance.

67. In the Congo there is still foreign interference. Together with other countries here, we have always stressed that only the unity of the people, territorial integrity, the elimination of foreign mercenaries, the non-interference on the part of foreign Powers can lead to, and provide the basis for, a solution in the interests of the people of the Congo and in the general interest. We consider that we should continue to insist on these points in accordance with the resolutions of our Organization, which are inspired by these aims.

68. I must emphasize here that the exercise of constant pressure from outside on a peace-loving country—this time on Cambodia—is an inadmissible and very disquieting practice. Any form of pressure on an independent country—the more so if it is brought to bear precisely because of its policy of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment, as in the case with Cambodia—not only runs contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, but seriously endangers peace and security.

69. In the sphere of international economic relations as well, negative elements and trends are still in evidence. They may even be said to be growing. The gap between the under-developed and the developed parts of the world is still widening dangerously. The negative tendencies which previously affected the world economy have been aggravated in recent years by the discriminatory policy of closed economic groupings. We are not, of course, opposed to regional economic integration which would lead to broader and higher forms of international economic co-operation and to an integration of the world economy. On the contrary, we should strive toward such a goal. However, it cannot be said that the present integration trends in Europe are leading towards such a goal. The World Economic Survey warns us that this tendency can become more pronounced in the future. It would be necessary, therefore, to analyse all the implications of the present processes of integration in order to find solutions guaranteeing a long-term prosperity of the world economy as a whole.

70. There are thus still many causes for concern, and no small ones at that. All this requires the greatest vigilance and utmost efforts on the parts of all forces which actively strive for the defence of peace and peaceful international co-operation.

71. Tremendous is the responsibility which rests on the statesmen of the leading nuclear Powers. The world expects of them, and rightly demands, that they not only make statements in favour of peace, but that they untiringly and patiently seek solutions particularly to the problems which might jeopardize the very future of mankind. Their meetings and conversations for the purpose of dispelling mutual misunderstanding and establishing confidence can be of exceptional importance. Certainly, among the many outstanding problems there are some which might be settled immediately. Such personal contacts can have only a favourable bearing on world developments. There is really no justification why this should not take place now, during this session. We say this also because we consider that international problems so fundamental as those of peace and war are the concern of all of us, of the entire international community, and that it is not the exclusive right of the big Powers to deal with them. It is the right of all, as well as the duty, to contribute to the extent of their capabilities, to the solution of these problems. The United Nations is, of course, the most appropriate place and framework for uniting our efforts towards that end.

72. If account is taken of the demands of the majority of countries represented here—and we think it will be—the seventeenth session of the General Assembly can play a considerable part in the settlement of burning international problems.

73. The Yugoslav delegation last year [1015th meeting] encouraged and welcomed the adoption of the agreed principles for negotiations on general

and complete disarmament, as well as the establishment of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, laying particular emphasis on the presence of non-aligned countries as a constructive factor in the discussion and settlement of this question of such vital importance to contemporary mankind.

74. However, the Yugoslav delegation also stressed on that occasion that an agreement on the principles and the existence of a negotiating body could not in itself guarantee a successful outcome of the talks, if there was not a genuine willingness to renounce policies "from positions of strength" and to end the armaments race, which is an essential feature and a logical consequence of such policies.

75. The detailed discussion of various aspects of disarmament which has taken place in the course of the Geneva talks has proved that it was not difficulties of an objective nature, of a technical or similar character, which stood in the way of the settlement of this problem—although such difficulties undoubtedly exist—but rather difficulties of a subjective nature. We are particularly strengthened in this belief by the conclusions unanimously adopted by the Consultative Group of Experts, who elaborated the well-known study on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament, where it is said that:

"All the problems and difficulties of transition connected with disarmament could be met by appropriate national and international measures. There should thus be no doubt that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use could be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions.^{2/}

76. The constructive efforts of the eight non-aligned countries, members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, found their clearest expression in the proposal contained in the eight-nation memorandum,^{3/} for a cessation of nuclear tests. This memorandum, together with the statement of agreed principles of 20 September 1961 [A/4379], represent, in our opinion, the two most constructive documents which have come out of the discussions and negotiations in the course of the last twelve months. It is to be deplored that the leading nuclear Powers still give a different interpretation to the suggestions contained in the eight-nation memorandum, thus delaying an agreement.

77. Supporting general and complete disarmament, the Yugoslav delegation considers that, in the field of nuclear disarmament, the question of nuclear tests has first priority. In other terms, as correctly stated by the representative of Brazil [1125th meeting], possibilities for progress in the field of general and complete disarmament are very slim if no result is achieved at least in reaching agreement on a nuclear cease-fire.

78. The Yugoslav delegation, consistently maintaining the position that it has always held, strongly supports the demands for a cessation of all tests of nuclear weapons without delay. It is against all types of nuclear explosions for military purposes—atmospheric, under water, high-altitude and underground. Arguments regarding the chronological order or total number

^{2/} E/3593/Rev.1 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1) para. 195.

^{3/} Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, sect. J.

or total strength of nuclear tests of this or that nuclear Power cannot provide a justification for delaying a final cessation of nuclear tests.

79. The Yugoslav delegation fully supports the eight-nation memorandum of 16 April 1962, and considers that the General Assembly should accept it as a basis for talks between the nuclear Powers.

80. We also consider that absolute priority should be given to the problem of the cessation of nuclear tests as the most urgent question on the agenda of the Assembly. We are deeply concerned over the nuclear threats which, as the greatest and most terrifying danger, loom over mankind, a danger which is increased by the continuation of nuclear tests. Therefore, we consider that the General Assembly must demand a cessation of tests without any delay. We start here from the fact that existing differences, which relate only to underground tests, can be overcome. In that respect, the memorandum of the eight non-aligned countries provides, in the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, a reasonable basis for an effective settlement of this problem, because it offers enough latitude for the discovery of a generally acceptable formula for an agreement on the prohibition of all types of nuclear tests, including underground tests. Furthermore, we are, in principle, in favour of establishing denuclearized zones and of all other measures of disarmament which can be attained by agreement.

81. Disarmament plays a decisive role in the strengthening of peace. But, at the same time, one should not forget that it also opens great prospects for the economic and social advancement of all countries. Studies dealing with this problem, including the above-mentioned study of the Group of Experts, leave a very deep impression and are a further reason for the leaders of the big Powers to consider their historic responsibilities before the peoples of their countries and mankind as a whole.

82. In keeping with the consistent policy of my Government, which is strongly opposed to nuclear tests, regardless of who engages in them and regardless of the so-called reasons by which they are justified, the Yugoslav delegation will make its active contribution to the efforts aimed at reaching an agreement on this issue as soon as possible.

83. There are several items on the agenda of this session covering the most important problems of economic development. This, of course, is not by accident. We can say without any exaggeration that never in history has the challenge of economic growth and human progress been of such essential importance to mankind as today. In other terms, the need for joint resolute efforts has never been more urgent.

84. No lasting peace can prevail in a world in which industrially advanced countries spend every year on armaments almost the equivalent of what all the developing countries together manage to produce. Nor can we expect that the purposes of the Charter can be implemented when the trends of development and practical actions further widen the gap between the economically advanced and the developing countries.

85. In this context, the problem of the economic advancement of the developing countries, which represent more than one-half of mankind, is, we think, the main problem of the world economy today.

We consider, therefore, that our Organization should bend all its efforts towards their solution.

86. Our preoccupation is, accordingly, a matter of general importance and should be seriously considered if we wish to achieve the prosperity and peace so ardently desired by the peoples of the world.

87. Bearing in mind constantly the need for co-operation on a basis of equality and the mutual interdependence of all countries of the world the developing countries have the right to demand a more equitable distribution of wealth and the necessary international co-operation towards that end. This is essential not only to their own development, but also to the further progress and prosperity of the highly developed countries and of the entire international community. This, in addition to comprehensive national efforts within each individual country, is one of the necessary paths leading towards a more rapid progress in the developing countries. This would have a stabilizing effect on the international economy and on peaceful development in the world.

88. The developing countries do not desire more than mutually beneficial co-operation on an equal footing. They strive for the speediest possible development on a basis of equality and international trade free from pressure or discrimination. That is what the developing countries seek, and it was these preoccupations and apprehensions which led to the Cairo Conference, which brought together, in July of this year, representatives of thirty-six developing countries. That Conference indicated in its Declaration the paths to be followed for the settlement of a number of acute world economic problems.

89. The countries assembled at the Cairo Conference are fully aware of their systematic and planned mobilization of all national resources and the carrying out of such institutional changes within national economic structures as would make possible an accelerated economic growth. The results achieved in the implementation of national plans of development undoubtedly open up growing possibilities for international economic co-operation.

90. While endeavouring to intensify the mutual trade exchanges, the developing countries request the highly developed countries to adopt measures leading to an expansion of international trade on a basis of equality and non-discrimination. Members of economically integrated groupings are called upon to change their policies and adopt measures designed to increase their imports from developing countries and to facilitate their industrialization.

91. Unfortunately, there has so far been no favourable public response on their part. At the same time, opinions are voiced in the highly developed countries that a removal of trade barriers would result in such an increase of imports from developing countries as would lead to serious difficulties for, and the disruption of, their economies. I would not like for the moment to go into the question of whether this is really the essential point, or whether other well-known motives are involved. I should like only to say a few words about the views and misgivings voiced in highly developed countries. In our opinion, it is time for the highly developed countries also to take practical measures in order to adapt themselves to the great new changes that have taken place in the world in general and in the economic field in particular. So long as the highly developed countries are not ready to carry out structural changes in their econo-

mies, so long as they are not ready to make room for products from developing countries, one cannot expect them to achieve a reasonable rate of growth. Likewise, one cannot expect the developing countries to go on buying capital goods and machinery when they are not able to pay for them by the sale of their products. The developing countries are thus faced with a situation in which they are left behind in the rate of economic development and compelled to buy heavy equipment, capital goods and machinery at rising prices, while the prices of primary commodities which they are able to sell have either remained stagnant or suffered a decline. This is an untenable situation, fraught with great danger. It calls for urgent measures, first of all on the part of the highly developed countries. If the highly developed countries really wish to consider a long-term growth of the world economy, they have to carry out essential structural changes and a new orientation in their industry.

92. In their Declaration, the developing countries meeting at Cairo request the United Nations to take steps for the purpose of stabilizing international trade in primary products, measures against protectionism and similar policies practised by highly developed countries. In this connexion, they consider that general agreement on Tariffs and Trade should be adapted, in organizational and other respects, to the existing situation as soon as possible, and that its contracting parties should take "immediate and energetic" action towards the improvement of the terms of trade of developing countries. The International Monetary Fund should likewise find a more effective solution than it has so far for covering the balance-of-payments deficit of the developing countries.

93. As to the problems of international financing, the Cairo Declaration stresses that financing had not so far been able, either as regards its volume or its form, to meet the needs of developing countries. Financing should be adapted to the needs of national plans of development and serve the economic emancipation of developing countries, which can best be attained by appropriate means of public financing. The Conference recommends that the industrial countries should set apart one per cent of their national incomes for the investment requirements of developing countries. Savings obtained from disarmament should serve for the same purpose. The general purposes of financing could most successfully be achieved through the United Nations. It is therefore essential that the resources of the International Bank and of the Special Fund be increased and that the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) commence its operations without further delay. To that same end, it is requested that technical assistance—particularly that which is carried out through the United Nations—should be increased, improved and adapted to the new needs.

94. The United Nations has so far failed to take the necessary steps to enable it to take practical action towards accomplishing the purposes of the United Nations Development Decade. The Cairo Conference and its results are a significant contribution towards the achievement of those aims. That means that the goals set by the Cairo Conference are identical to those of the United Nations. The Conference has initiated activities which are to be carried out through our Organization and, to that end, it unanimously decided to submit the Declaration to this session of

the General Assembly for consideration as a separate item of the agenda.

95. Aware of the far-reaching effect of the measures proposed in the field of economic development, the Cairo Conference has requested that a world economic conference be convened early next year for the purpose of making an essential contribution to the removal of obstacles which stand in the way of international trade and development.

96. Almost fifteen years have elapsed since the Havana Conference, whose Charter, unfortunately, has never been put into effect. In the meantime fundamental changes have taken place in the world economy. One-half of mankind has embarked upon a course of independent economic development, and the central economic problem in highly developed countries has shifted more and more from the post-war problem of employment to the problems of economic growth. The new world economic problems with which we are faced call for a new approach to their solution. We cannot and should not continue the old routine and seek the solution of world economic problems through temporary adaptations. If we wish to achieve genuine and effective results, we must proceed in a planned and organized manner. The world economic conference should, in that respect, be a working forum; it should lend a new approach to the whole subject of international economic co-operation and propose concrete action. Our Organization can no longer remain a passive on-looker of world economic trends and problems. It should rather become an active factor and take urgent and practical measures.

97. I am confident that at this session the Assembly will devote serious attention to the significant economic problems on the agenda and take the steps required by the present situation towards their early solution.

98. In this statement I was not able to deal with all the problems in this field, but our delegation will have the opportunity, I hope, in subsequent interventions, to offer certain suggestions and submit proposals when specific questions are under discussion.

99. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the role and functions of our Organization under present conditions. Along with the world and international relations, the United Nations has itself developed. The Organization is more and more becoming a factor contributing to progressive development, to the maintenance of peace and to further co-operation among nations. The progress of the Organization in that direction will be more rapid if all its Members make greater use of it so that it may serve as a forum for attenuating and overcoming divisions between the blocs and other contradictions which divide the present world. Through the growth of its membership, and by acquiring a universal character, our Organization itself must undergo a constant evolution and become more and more democratic in its structure, expanding the fields of its useful activities and becoming capable of fulfilling the hopes and needs of all its Members. This is all the more so as there are also negative tendencies and attempts to diminish the importance and the role of the United Nations.

100. Of course, positive efforts aimed at solving international problems and strengthening peace and international co-operation can be made, and are in fact made, outside the United Nations also. All sincere efforts in that direction are valuable and should be welcomed. However, because the United Nations

reflects the world with increasing accuracy, and because of its growing ability to contribute to progressive changes, it is and it should be the place where all the positive contributions of countries to the collective efforts towards peace and international co-operation may find expression.

101. We may state with satisfaction that Secretary-General U Thant has greatly contributed to such a trend in the activities of our Organization, and we express our hope that he will continue to perform his functions successfully in the future as well.

102. The PRESIDENT: I have two requests to exercise the right of reply, one a request to speak at the end of the meeting and the other immediately; the latter is in fact a request to reply to a statement made by another representative in exercise of the right of reply. I would request the representative of Guatemala, who made the latter request, to wait until the end of the meeting so that both speakers and any others could then be heard. I take it that he is willing to do so.

103. Mr. ARAM (Iran): May I first, Mr. President, on behalf of my Government and myself, offer you warm congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. In so doing, I am confident that I also express the sentiments of all my countrymen, bound to yours by strong ties of amity and brotherhood. The close association of our two countries and the many thoughts and feelings we share in common make your election a source of great satisfaction to us. The increasing participation of Pakistan in the work of the United Nations and your wide knowledge and intimate association with international institutions well justify your election to this high office.

104. I should also like to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Mongi Slim, whose work over the past years has so well merited the admiration and respect of us all. His wisdom and patience have added new stature to the General Assembly and have set an example for us to follow in the work that lies ahead.

105. We are happy at this session to see the representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago in our midst, and we are confident that our association with these new States in the United Nations will be productive and will be marked by close co-operation.

106. Before making my statement I should like to convey to the Assembly a message of appreciation. This is to voice the gratitude of my Government and that of all my countrymen to the Governments and peoples of many lands who have generously given us aid and comfort in the earthquake disaster which befell Iran about three weeks ago. The immediate response from all parts of the world has been magnificent. We thank them all for their sympathy and generosity. We also extend our heart-felt thanks to the Acting-Secretary-General and the United Nations for their efforts on our behalf.

107. As we begin the work of the seventeenth session of the Assembly we observe that international tension has been much intensified. Happily, the United Nations has provided us with an opportunity to review the world's problems, to try to understand their cause, to discuss and evolve plans for their solution. We should, therefore, address ourselves to those problems in a spirit and in a frame of mind commensurate with the seriousness of the problems involved. We may not be able to make much headway in the solution

of major problems, but we should, at least, be able to introduce in our relations that degree of tolerance and understanding essential to a relaxation of world tension.

108. Since we last met a year ago, certain issues of international concern have been solved, but new crises have developed and, indeed, the dangers of some of the old issues have been sharpened.

109. Nevertheless, in this sombre climate in international relations, a number of heartening developments have taken place. I have in mind, particularly, the attainment of independence by Algeria and the peaceful settlement of the problems of Laos and of West Irian. The developments demonstrate that the machinery of peaceful settlement can be made to function successfully if it is accompanied by goodwill on the part of the negotiators and by a willingness to co-operate. We should draw a lesson from these events and never allow ourselves to be discouraged by the formidable aspect of these problems.

110. In July of this year, the world was at last able to hail the independence of Algeria, attained after nearly eight years of war and at a cost of tens of thousands of lives. The courage of the Algerian people and the trials they underwent during the war were equalled only by the nobility of their cause and the ideal for which they fought. They have given new significance to the struggle for national liberation and have lifted the goal of independence to a new height.

111. With the end of the war in Algeria and the country's attainment of independence, a major source of tension in Africa and a threat to international peace and security have been eliminated.

112. No one would dispute the decisive role that has been played in the successful solution of the Algerian problem by the present French Government and its leader, General de Gaulle, to whom we pay warm tribute. With a realistic and constructive approach to the problem he, unhesitatingly, recognized from the moment of his return to power, the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people and paved the way for their realization.

113. We extend our good wishes for the success and prosperity of the new Algerian State and we are confident that Algeria, strong in the experience it has acquired in recent years, will play a notable part in the family of nations. It is with happy expectations that we are looking forward to welcoming the representatives of Algeria among us.

114. Another encouraging development in recent months was the signing, at Geneva on 23 July, of the agreement on the neutrality of Laos. This marked the resolution of a stormy international problem, which for some time had been the cause of much tension in the area. The agreement on Laos came as a rebuttal of the arguments of pessimists and proved that negotiations undertaken in good faith can result in the settlement of difficult problems.

115. The settlement of the question of West Irian was yet another triumph for the concept of the amicable settlement of disputes. Here again a round of negotiations animated by the spirit of co-operation and conciliation bore fruit. I should like to take this opportunity to offer my congratulations on this settlement to the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands and to the countries and personalities who greatly contributed to this end. In this connexion

special credit and congratulations are also due the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

116. This satisfaction cannot, unfortunately, be expressed with regard to the Congo. It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of the Congo, because of its importance to the maintenance of peace in Africa, because of its financial implications and especially because of its repercussions on the future standing of the United Nations as an instrument of peace, is one of the most crucial issues before the United Nations.

117. We believe that the United Nations operation in the Congo has been useful and necessary and that it is justified in the light of the Organization's primary mission under the Charter—namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

118. We are happy to note that the federal plan evolved by the Secretary-General seems to be acceptable, in principle, to both the Central Government and the Katangese authorities. We hope that steps will soon be taken to implement this plan in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding.

119. While I am speaking of African problems, I should like to voice my regret at the conditions in which millions of Africans are still living under colonial domination, despite the great movement towards the liberation of the colonized peoples. It is our sincere hope that the Governments concerned will adopt realistic attitudes towards, and show a greater understanding of, the human aspirations of our time.

120. We have been equally concerned with the causes of international tension in other parts of the world. In this connexion one is readily reminded of the problem of Berlin. The solution of this problem, in the interests of the German people and world peace, as well as the solution of most current international differences, is, we believe, to be found in respect for solemn undertakings and international agreements.

121. In a sense the problem of Berlin is an example of cases in which efforts towards international co-operation and peaceful collaboration fail to come to fruition because of mistrust and incomprehension. But nowhere is this more in evidence than in the discussion of disarmament. Indeed, the question of disarmament overrides all other questions in the present world situation. There is no vital question, whether of national independence or of economic development, which is not directly or indirectly affected by the current arms race.

122. The climate of fear and mistrust prevailing among the principal nuclear Powers has doomed the efforts of the recent disarmament conference to the futility which has marked all earlier occasions. This means that we shall continue to witness an interminable and infernal series of nuclear tests with all their baleful consequences. It also means that the door will remain open for others to join the atomic arms race until nuclear weapons are as commonplace as conventional artillery is today. In point of fact, at no time has the arms race been so intensively pursued as at present, and at no time has nuclear testing been undertaken on so enormous a scale.

123. The nuclear Powers are, indeed, under greater moral compulsion to seek an immediate solution to the cessation of nuclear testing. The conclusion of

an agreement which effectively prohibits such testing not only would in itself be a much needed undertaking, but would also serve the cause of general and complete disarmament.

124. While the ultimate responsibility in the matter of disarmament rests with the major Powers, it is none the less true that in a question which affects the stability and peace of all the world and the repercussions of which may shape the fate of mankind, no State, large or small, can be excluded.

125. It must not be forgotten that today, seventeen years after the end of the last world war, the world is spending roughly \$330 million a day on arms. The Secretary-General's recent report on the social and economic consequences of disarmament notes that the \$120 billion that the world is spending annually on arms corresponds "to about one-half the total resources set aside each year for gross capital formation throughout the world". The figure is, the report further states, "at least two-thirds of—and according to some estimates may be of the same order of magnitude as—the entire national income of all the under-developed countries".^{4/}

126. We share the view that the important factor in disarmament negotiations is not mere participation in such discussions, but the attitude and approach of the major negotiators. It is encouraging to note that in the recent round of negotiations in Geneva the United States has taken a flexible position on the all-important question of control and inspection. It is this kind of attitude which holds the key to any future agreement on disarmament. No progress can be made if negotiators are cramped by conventions and hampered by suspicion.

127. The difficulties that have beset these negotiations should serve to underline the lesson that problems can be solved if they are tackled before they become too complicated. In this connexion, attention should be called to the question of outer space. Unless machinery for the control and regulation of the uses of outer space is set up now, the arms race may easily be extended to outer space, in which case the difficulty of reaching agreement on disarmament will be heightened and the danger of annihilation by nuclear war greatly intensified.

128. Although the exploration of outer space has become a new and important field of human activity directed towards a variety of goals, the cosmos is still not subject to the rule of law. There is not even an international agreement regulating the most elementary legal problems relating to outer space, such as, for example, the definition of the boundary of the atmosphere.

129. We note with regret that the United Nations has not yet succeeded in developing a system of regulations ensuring that space is used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The United Nations can and should facilitate the creation of international scientific centres where scientists of all countries can play their part in this great human endeavour. Any international regulation of outer space must be directed towards the fundamental objective of giving effect to the notion that space is an international public domain and thus incapable of national appropriation in any form whatever.

^{4/} E/3593/Rev.1 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1), para. 8.

130. The primary responsibility for the peaceful uses of outer space undeniably rests with the two great Powers whose astounding achievements have rightly made them the acknowledged leaders in this field: the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

131. Achievements in outer space serve to remind us even more forcibly of the immense possibilities that are continually opening up for man to use his scientific and technical knowledge and skills to good ends.

132. When we consider how much constructive work still needs to be done to rid the world of poverty and disease, we wonder anew at man's tendency to apply his skill and knowledge towards destructive ends. Will the years ahead see an increase in international tension, with the ever-increasing threat of destruction, or will they be years of progress towards man's hope for peace and prosperity?

133. The nineteen-sixties have been designated by the United Nations as the Development Decade. The "Proposals for action" contained in the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Development Decade^{5/} point the way toward the goal of self-sustained growth in the less developed countries of the world. But a great effort is needed if these proposals are to be put into action effectively.

134. Let me, as an example of what the developing countries are experiencing today, cite the case of my own country. In Iran, great efforts are being concentrated on the execution of economic and social projects. These measures, coupled with a vigorously pursued programme of land reform, are designed to ensure social justice and to provide better standards of living, better education and improved standards of health for all our people.

135. In order to carry out these projects we have allocated our resources very carefully and we have made substantial cuts in our non-development expenditures. But as in certain other developing countries, we in Iran have reached the stage in the execution of our development programme in which we need long-term capital on easy terms.

136. Since the early days of the United Nations, the establishment of a capital development fund, under various names, has been recommended. The present economic conditions should give a further stimulus to the consideration of establishing such an agency. In this connexion, I would like to cite a recent statement of the President of the World Bank, who said:

"It is going to be harder and harder to keep development projects and programmes moving ahead in an orderly fashion and at an orderly pace unless the aid mixture has a larger component of funds of a grant basis."

137. Another point which I would like to bring to your attention is the price that we, the developing countries, receive for our commodities. Our earnings from this source have been fluctuating, and in recent years the fluctuation has been steadily downward. The Commission on International Commodity Trade has found that the average price of primary commodities has declined to its lowest level since 1950. At the same time we have been paying higher prices for the manufactured goods that we import.

138. We wish to receive a reasonable price for our raw materials and minerals, be they cotton or petroleum. If we do not enjoy better terms of trade, our economic development is bound to suffer. We appreciate the attempts made by the United Nations to remedy this situation. The various degrees of success of the United Nations studies and conferences on wheat, sugar, coffee, and other commodities are a source of satisfaction. But the United Nations must multiply its efforts to improve the terms of trade of the raw material and mineral exporting countries.

139. In the field of economic development, as in the political sphere, the Secretary-General has demonstrated his great ability in giving voice to our beliefs and aspirations. I would like here to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General. The wisdom and skill with which he has handled the various issues of international concern assure us that the United Nations Secretariat is in the hands of an able and courageous leader. For most of us who have staked so much on the prestige and authority of the United Nations, this development is a source of both gratification and confidence. I hope that he will be given the opportunity to continue his valued and much needed services, and we assure him of our fullest support.

140. Now I would like to say a few words about the United Nations itself. On this occasion we see its membership larger than ever; indeed, there is growth in almost every direction. New responsibilities have been assumed.

141. Yet, despite this trend, the United Nations has never been more criticized than recently. But not all the critics attack the United Nations on the grounds of its alleged weaknesses. Some are critical because in their view the Organization has overstepped the confines of the Charter.

142. There is no use denying that the United Nations has given us no cause for unbounded joy, but I am inclined to attribute this to external factors rather than to any fundamental defect in the machinery or in the basic concept of the United Nations. The United Nations still represents the only human institution which contains the elements necessary for an effective world authority. Until there is a fundamental change in international relations, our task should be one of patient and sustained co-operation, within the bounds of whatever security the United Nations provides and whatever hopes it gives us to cling to. In the meantime, we could undertake certain reforms in order to make the peace-making machinery of the United Nations more effective.

143. This brings me to the question of the reform of the United Nations. The Charter was formulated seventeen years ago in different circumstances. Many things have changed since then. Although the United Nations has proved itself remarkably flexible and has adapted itself to new circumstances without formal change, the desirability of reforming the United Nations is generally recognized. The new methods which have been tested by the United Nations in the last few years, the difficulties encountered in various circumstances, and the profound changes which have taken place in the membership of the Organization all point to the value and the need for such reform. But any fundamental changes must necessarily await substantial abatement of the cold war. With this in view, I intend to touch briefly upon some of the

changes which, in our view, demand immediate consideration.

144. You may agree with me, Mr. President, that small and medium Powers can legitimately expect the United Nations, which is now approaching the end of the second decade of its development, to have its own permanent international force, however small in number and embryonic in concept. The use of the United Nations force in varying forms in the Middle East, in the Congo, and shortly in West Irian is ample evidence that such a force should now be permanently possessed by the United Nations.

145. It would also be useful to revitalize the procedures of pacific settlement of international disputes, both in the Assembly and in the Security Council. Reference has often been made to the need for enlarging the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. This is but a logical consequence of the enlargement of the membership of the Organization, and I hope that it will be given due attention.

146. But let me say that even unrevised, the Charter of the United Nations, if scrupulously and consistently adhered to, would provide Member States with adequate rules for living together in peace and harmony. Speaking of Iran, I would like once again to reaffirm our belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter and to renew the pledge of our support to the Organization. We have never failed to meet our obligations under the Charter. We have supported the peaceful operations of the Organization without reservations or limitations. We have contributed to the expense of the United Nations in so far as our national resources have allowed. In this connexion, I want particularly to mention Iran's decision to subscribe to the United Nations bonds to the value of half a million dollars. This decision has been taken not under normal conditions, but at a time when the country is experiencing a period of economic austerity.

147. We have always been conscious of our obligations and our duty to live in harmony and friendship with our neighbours, and to settle our differences, if any, through amicable means. Indeed, the cultivation of a good neighbour policy has always been one of the main objectives of the foreign policy of Iran. The recent assurances given to the Soviet Union are a further proof of our good intentions towards our neighbours. Even if, on occasion, we have found that our efforts would help to bring about a better understanding between our neighbours, we did not fail to play our part. As an example, His Imperial Majesty, the Shahinshah, recently embarked upon the task of mediating between our two brothers, Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is our fervent hope that the efforts so whole-heartedly undertaken will bear fruit.

148. In closing, I would like to reaffirm the profound resolve of Iran in the noble ideals of the United Nations and express the hope, Mr. President, that the seventeenth session of the General Assembly under your wise guidance will play a worthy role in furthering the cause of peace and international concord.

149. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, I should like, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, to congratulate you on your election to your high office and express the hope that under your guidance the seventeenth session of the General Assembly will yield positive results.

150. During the past year, further great victories have been won by the peoples in the struggle for peace, freedom, independence and equality. As a result of the general growth of its economy, science and culture, there has been a particularly marked increase in the strength of the world socialist system and in its influence on world development. One of the great achievements of Soviet science and technology was the group flight of the Soviet astronauts Nikolaev and Popovich, which marked a new phase in the conquest of outer space.

151. A significant factor in promoting peace is the increased participation of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in international affairs.

152. The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow, the "World Without the Bomb" Conference at Accra and a number of other peace meetings held during the past year show that the peoples of the world have one burning desire which the Governments of all countries and the United Nations must make every effort to satisfy: removal of the threat of nuclear war.

153. Mankind's efforts to achieve social progress are, however, encountering stubborn resistance from the forces of the old world, which are doing everything possible to impede it and to turn technical and scientific achievements against mankind. They are feverishly developing armaments from which they derive fantastic profits, installing military bases everywhere and equipping them with weapons of mass destruction. These forces are fostering and creating new and dangerous sources of tension and, in their endeavour to aggravate the international situation as much as possible, they do not even hesitate openly to advocate preventive thermo-nuclear war.

154. At this moment we are witnessing wide-spread persecution of the Republic of Cuba. The United States—which is a founder Member of the United Nations and a member of the Security Council—is flagrantly violating its obligations by openly pursuing an aggressive policy against Cuba, causing justified apprehension on the part of peace-loving countries.

155. Now that its economic blockade has failed to bring the heroic people of Cuba to their knees, it is stepping up preparations for a military attack on that country.

156. On Friday, we heard a statement from this rostrum to the effect that the United States would not attack Cuba [1127th meeting]. At that very time, however, the United States Congress adopted a decision which bristles with threats against Cuba. Consequently, the statement of the United States delegation does not convince us. Quite the contrary. We well remember the United States representative gave the same assurances in the United Nations on the very eve of the aggression against Cuba in April 1961.

157. Today in the United States preparations are being made to call up reservists, attacks on Cuba from the United States territory are being organized and many United States leaders are busily looking for pretexts for attacking Cuba, are even urging piracy in international waters and, by incredibly blatant pressure and threats, are forcing other countries to support them in their aggressive activities against Cuba.

158. Why is the development of Cuba arousing such anger and hatred in the ruling circles of the United States? Can it be that the United States, a nuclear Power, is threatened by an attack on the part of Cuba, with its six million inhabitants? The complete absurdity of such an assertion is self-evident.

159. The United States Government will not reconcile itself to the fact that the Cuban people, under the leadership of their revolutionary Government headed by Fidel Castro, have overthrown the mercenary and tyrannical Batista régime, freed themselves from colonial dependence and made it impossible for foreign monopolies to pump out their national wealth and enjoy the fruits of their labour. The United States Government will not reconcile itself to the fact that the Cuban people have become the masters of their own country, are striving to overcome the disastrous consequences of their economic, social and cultural bondage, are building a truly new and free life and are pursuing a consistent policy of peace and friendly co-operation with all countries. As a sovereign State, Cuba has every right to see that it is fully equipped to defend the results of the creative labour of its people against United States threats and aggression.

160. On behalf of the Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I have the honour to salute from this rostrum the heroic Cuban people and their Government. Czechoslovakia is one of the States which are developing friendly relations and close co-operation with Cuba. Such co-operation is fully in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and we shall continue to develop it, whether or not some people approve.

162. We categorically condemn the irresponsible imperialist policy being pursued against Cuba. It should also be condemned by all States which are guided in their policies by the principles of the Charter. If the United Nations were to condone such a policy, if it failed to oppose violation of the sovereign rights of States and interference in their internal affairs and if it did not support the right of peoples freely to choose their social systems, its end would be inevitable.

163. In the interests of peace and in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the plots directed against the freedom and security of Cuba must cease and the United States must abandon this policy and re-establish normal relations with the Republic of Cuba.

164. We also feel it necessary to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the dangerous situation resulting from United States aggressive actions in South Viet-Nam. It is well known that in the territory of South Viet-Nam regular United States Army troops, with headquarters at Saigon and equipped with the latest weapons, are engaged in operations aimed at the extermination of the people of South Viet-Nam. United States armed forces are taking part in these operations and in the construction of concentration camps into which the population of entire regions is herded.

165. If the United States armed action against Cuba has reached the stage of active preparation, in South Viet-Nam it is in full swing. The United States is trying by fire and sword to crush the movement of the heroic people of South Viet-Nam for the liberation and re-unification of their country. It is flouting the

Geneva Truce Agreements on Indo-China and assuming the function of an international police force, is openly defending the puppet régime of Ngo Dinh Diem, which is hated by the people.

166. The main reason for the present world tension is this behaviour of the United States, which wants to suppress by armed force the peoples' desire for freedom and true independence.

167. In his statement, the United States representative once again indulged in gross slander of the socialist countries. It is quite unnecessary to refute this lie from the "cold war" arsenal. It is, however, time the United States stopped trying to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of Eastern Europe and time it faced the facts and finally realized that the peoples of these countries have severed all ties with capitalism and freely chosen the goal of building socialism, an endeavour in which they are achieving increasing successes and thereby making a significant contribution to the cause of world peace.

168. The most urgent task of our times is to remove the danger of thermo-nuclear war by bringing about general and complete disarmament. Despite the untiring efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries, however, the negotiations concerning this problem have yielded no practical results. This also applies to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, which was established at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1722 II (XVI)] and of which Czechoslovakia is a member.

169. At the beginning of the Committee's work, the USSR Government submitted a practical, clearly worded draft "Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control",^{6/} thus at the very outset laying the right foundation for business-like and fruitful negotiations. This draft treaty solves a fundamental problem—removal of the danger of thermo-nuclear war by the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons during the first stage and the elimination of the nuclear weapons themselves during the second stage.

170. Later in the negotiations the USSR Government, in its efforts to help to reach agreement, submitted further proposals which took into account the views of the Western countries.

171. The goodwill of the USSR and the other socialist countries, however, did not meet with understanding on the part of the Western Powers which demand not disarmament but the establishment of control over continuing armament. Their policy is predicated on the continuing existence of nuclear weapons and they therefore will not agree to measures which might effectively ensure the final elimination of such weapons in the nearest future.

172. This is confirmed by the negative reaction of the Western Powers to the practical and radical measures proposed in the USSR draft and by the draft submitted by the United States delegation.^{7/} Not only does the United States draft openly call for the preservation of nuclear weapons during the entire process of disarmament but it does not even preclude the existence of such weapons, and consequently the possibility of unleashing a nuclear world war, after the end of the process.

^{6/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex I, sect. C.

^{7/} Ibid., section F.

173. Thus, in the actions of the Western Powers there has always been a profound contradiction between words and deeds. On the one hand, at the conference table their delegations have expatiated on their readiness to disarm but, on the other hand, they have submitted drafts which cannot lead to disarmament. At the same time the United States and the other NATO countries continued to intensify the arms race. This was most clearly manifested in the United States Government's decision to conduct high-altitude nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

174. The spring meeting of the NATO Council was devoted to the question of a further increase in armaments, particularly nuclear weapons, and this was also the aim of the increased military allocations in the budgets of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and other members of Western military groupings.

175. This being so, the General Assembly must give thorough consideration to the question of disarmament and seek a solution to this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

176. The way to such a solution is indicated in the new proposal made here by the USSR delegation during the general debate, in which the USSR Government again made great concessions in order to meet the position of the Western Powers.

177. This proposal was that, during the first stage of the process of the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons, as a special exception, the Soviet Union and the United States should be allowed to retain a specified number of inter-continental, anti-aircraft and anti-missile missiles.

178. In our view, there is now nothing to prevent agreement on the elimination of the means of delivering nuclear weapons and of military bases in foreign territories during the first stage. This offers new prospects for progress in the disarmament negotiations.

179. In this connexion, we consider it important for the General Assembly at its seventeenth session to concern itself seriously with the economic programme for disarmament, as the USSR Government has proposed [A/5233]. Much has already been said about the untold benefits that general and complete disarmament would bring to mankind. It would not only provide a stable basis for the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States, but would also bring many advantages to all countries by releasing vast economic resources for rapid development in all spheres, and particularly for a substantial expansion of assistance to the economically less developed countries.

180. Although the question of the cessation of nuclear tests has long been ripe for solution, here again no progress was achieved in the past year. The responsibility for this rests entirely upon the Western Powers, which not only did nothing to promote agreement, but on the contrary made it more difficult. After all, the United States Government has carried out over seventy nuclear weapons tests since September 1961.

181. In these circumstances, the USSR Government had no choice but to take the necessary measures to strengthen and consolidate the defence capacity and security of the USSR and the other socialist countries and by the same token to strengthen universal peace.

182. In order to justify their negative stand on an agreement on the cessation of all nuclear tests, the Western Powers continue to insist on the need for international control. In the present circumstances, however, reliable control over the observance of the relevant agreement can be ensured by using the means of control which are available to the individual States. The joint memorandum^{B/} of the eight non-aligned States, which we regard as a suitable basis for the conclusion of an agreement, also proceeds on this assumption.

183. Accordingly, an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests should not encounter any technical obstacles with regard to control; all that is needed to eliminate nuclear weapons is goodwill on the part of the Western Powers.

184. There can be no doubt that the present serious international situation could be improved even before the attainment of general and complete disarmament by taking certain specific measures which would strengthen mutual confidence among States and would create favourable conditions for general and complete disarmament.

185. The urgency of such measures was already confirmed at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, when the overwhelming majority of member States advocated the establishment of a denuclearized zone in Africa. At the very beginning of the present general debate [1125th meeting] the Brazilian delegation proposed that a similar zone should be established in Latin America.

186. It would be particularly desirable to take similar measures in Europe, where two world wars have broken out in the recent past and where considerable armed forces are now concentrated.

187. The proposal of the Polish People's Republic, which was fully supported by the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to establish a zone free from nuclear weapons in Central Europe,^{2/} and the proposal for signing a non-aggression pact by the countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the parties to NATO, as well as other proposals, are particularly significant in this connexion.

188. In our opinion, an exceptionally timely proposal is the one submitted here by the USSR delegation [A/5232] to the effect that the seventeenth session of the General Assembly should consider the question of "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war" and should adopt a resolution providing for effective means of attaining this objective.

189. At a time when enormous stockpiles of the most destructive weapons have been accumulated in the world, incitement to preventive nuclear war by leading United States officials represents a direct threat to international peace.

190. Incitement to making the first nuclear strike constitutes a gross violation of the obligation of States Members of the United Nations to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations. Accordingly, the United Nations is in duty bound resolutely to condemn such incitement.

191. Much would be done to neutralize the dangers arising out of propaganda for a preventive nuclear war if all States possessing nuclear weapons were to

^{B/} Ibid., section J.

^{2/} Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference, document ENDC/C.1/1.

undertake not to be the first to use them. In our opinion, no State which does not pursue aggressive aims can refuse to make such a commitment.

192. The other measures proposed in the resolutions submitted by the USSR would also be an important contribution to efforts directed towards averting a so-called preventive nuclear war. Above all, we regard as extremely important the provision under which the General Assembly would condemn as one of the most dangerous forms of war propaganda statements calling for military revenge and for a revision of the national frontiers established in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

193. The Czechoslovak delegation feels obliged to dwell in some detail on the question of the serious threat to peace constituted by the militarism and revanchism of Western Germany and also by the entirely abnormal situation in West Berlin.

194. Whereas all the principles of the Potsdam Agreement have been consistently applied in the territory of the German Democratic Republic and whereas that country is the first really democratic and peace-loving State in the history of Germany, Western Germany has evolved in quite a different direction. With the assistance of the Western Powers, the rule of monopolists, militarist and revanchists has been revived and established in the Federal Republic of Germany.

195. Whenever we have drawn attention to this fact, the representatives of the Western Powers have assured us that there is no cause for alarm and that the Federal Republic of Germany is under the control of NATO; but what are the real facts of the matter?

196. Before Western Germany became a member of NATO, representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany had declared that the Germans would never take up arms again. But after its admission to NATO they changed their tune and are constantly making requests for more arms. Appetite grows with eating, as they say.

197. And now the militarists are feverishly creating a professional, fully armed, aggressive West German army of 380,000 men. In the near future, this army will be increased to half a million, and then to 750,000 men. This army is not "under the control" of its Atlantic allies, but on the contrary, increasing numbers of former "Bundeswehr" officers are occupying key positions in NATO and are using them to further the imperialistic interests of the West German monopolies. Why, twenty generals and admirals, including many war criminals, now hold positions on the NATO staff. The "Bundeswehr" has set up key outposts—supply bases and air force bases—in a number of Western States. Through the North Atlantic Treaty, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has obtained from the Western Powers what Hitler's Germany was unable to obtain even by war. At the present time, it is concentrating on obtaining control over nuclear weapons under the North Atlantic Treaty.

198. We have not the slightest doubt concerning the real intentions behind these demands of the West German Government.

199. The experience acquired by the peoples at great cost during two world wars caused by aggressive German imperialism and militarism shows most convincingly what would be the consequences of allowing nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of the "Bundeswehr". This is becoming plain to many

people in the West, who express their justified anxiety lest the Federal Republic of Germany, through aggressive action taken at its own risk, should involve its allies in a war with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

200. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is opposing all efforts to relax international tension and, in particular, general and complete disarmament. It had not accepted the outcome of the Second World War and is trying to change that situation. To this day, it has not repudiated the shameful Munich Agreement, refuses to recognize the frontiers lawfully determined by the Potsdam Agreement, advances revanchist claims and does not hesitate to threaten its neighbours.

201. Hatred against the peoples of other countries is once again being fomented among the population of the Federal Republic of Germany. The idea of revenge for the Second World War is being particularly fostered by revanchist organizations, whose activities are being financed on an increasingly generous scale by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

202. Of late, the Federal Government has been trying to disguise its revanchist claims by such slogans as "the right to a fatherland" and "the right to self-determination".

203. Minister Seehofer again claimed this "right" in connexion with the so-called "Sudeten German days" at Frankfurt-am-Main in June this year, precisely on the twentieth anniversary of the barbarous annihilation of the village of Lidice by the German nazis. The same Seehofer, as well as a number of other leading officials of the Federal Republic of Germany, has stated on a number of occasions that the German land to which they lay claim embraces the territories of Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union and other States.

204. They use the "right to self-determination" as a disguise for the aggressive aims of their policy, particularly their ambition to annex the German Democratic Republic and to change the frontiers of Europe. The West German militarists have not the slightest grounds for claiming that right. The Germans exercised their right to self-determination long ago, when they created two States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. This is a fact which no one can deny.

205. The ruling circles of Western Germany are trying to impose their own aggressive policy against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist States upon the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are exerting pressure on these countries and, on the basis of the so-called Hallstein doctrine, are trying to dictate to them with which States they may or may not maintain or develop diplomatic and economic relations. At the same time, they actively support other imperialists and colonialists in suppressing national liberation movements. The service rendered to the Western Powers by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany at the time of their aggression in the Near and Middle East will be well remembered. Its participation in the financing of the colonialist war in Algeria is generally known. We are all aware that it supplied the Portuguese colonialists with arms for the extermination of the population of Angola and that West German aircraft were provided for transporting arms to Katanga. There is no need to question whose

side the West German Government took in the disputes on Goa and West Irian or to inquire what its attitude is towards the complete abolition of colonialism.

206. It is not surprising that the lines along which the Federal Republic of Germany is developing have aroused justified apprehension throughout the world. After all, the armed conflict on which the West German militarists are relying would involve mankind in a world-wide thermo-nuclear war, which would bring untold suffering to all nations.

207. This danger considerably complicates the already quite abnormal situation prevailing in West Berlin. The Western Powers have turned that city into a NATO military base and are keeping NATO armed forces there under cover of the occupation system. The existence of that "front line city" offers opportunities for fascist lawlessness and a revanchist campaign against socialist countries, and the situation is such that this wide-spread provocative activity may easily lead to a new world conflict.

208. West Berlin was recently the scene of a provocative anti-Czechoslovak revenge-seeking manifestation against which our Government sharply protested.

209. The conversion of West Berlin into a free city would remove the existing danger and would create the best conditions both for the strengthening of peace and for the peaceful existence of West Berlin's population. Nothing would prevent the people of West Berlin from developing peaceful relations with the outside world or selecting their own social system. These rights would be secured to them under international guarantees. It would of course be essential to respect the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, on the territory of which West Berlin is situated and which has displayed exceptional readiness to go half-way in the matter of solving the problem of communications.

210. The Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic greatly appreciate the patience of the Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic and their tireless efforts to reach an agreed solution for the problem of eliminating the traces of the Second World War.

211. It is time for the countries of the West at long last to heed the lessons of the past and sign a peace treaty with Germany along with the socialist countries. The Western countries should come to their senses and realize that they are unable to control the West German militarists and are being dragged along in the wake of their aggressive policies. They should stop encouraging the West German militarists and revenge seekers. We well remember what such a policy led to at the time of Munich, the inglorious anniversary of which fell just a few days ago.

212. Our attitude is not the result of hate for the German people; of this, the comprehensive and fruitful links of friendship forged by us with the German Democratic Republic are the best proof.

213. The interests of peace demand the final elimination of the traces of the Second World War by the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the conversion of West Berlin, on this basis, into a free demilitarized city.

214. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as the only country which is a neighbour of both German States, has an interest in the rapid and peaceful settlement of the German question. We should be

happy if all the States whose armed forces fought against Hitlerite Germany took part in the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. But if the Western countries do not wish to sign a peace treaty, then the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will be among those who sign such a treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

215. Recent experience has shown that very complex international problems can and must, also, be solved by negotiation. The agreements concluded this year on Laos and West Irian constitute effective proof of this.

216. One of the principal tasks, on which the United Nations has already been working for a number of years, is that of the liquidation of the colonial system.

217. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Antonin Novotny, declared in June 1962:

"The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is entirely and under all circumstances on the side of the peoples which are struggling to free themselves from colonial slavery and of those which have already freed themselves and are now beginning to build up their countries. We salute all the peoples which today are living in freedom and deciding their own destiny; and we desire that they should march towards their future together with all the peoples which are advancing on the road of progress and peace".^{10/}

218. The Czechoslovak people has followed with deep sympathy, and supported, the seven-year struggle of the Algerian people for its independence. We sincerely rejoice at the victory of the Algerian people, and wish it every success in the building-up of its country. We are convinced that there will develop, between that country and ours, friendly and mutually beneficial ties and many-sided collaboration.

219. The Czechoslovak Government likewise views with satisfaction the emergence of the new States—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—which recently secured their independence, and it welcomes their admission to membership in the United Nations.

220. The righteous struggle of friendly Indonesia for the liberation of West Irian has already yielded concrete results, and we hope that the Indonesian people will bring this struggle to a victorious conclusion.

221. Although in their struggle for national liberation the peoples have achieved important successes, the process of the liquidation of colonialism is still by no means at an end.

222. The colonialists are on various pretexts deferring the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and evading the obligations placed upon them by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Brutal colonial repression continues in Angola, Guiana, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Oman, and in the Spanish and other colonies.

223. The General Assembly should insist on the immediate implementation of the Declaration.

224. The danger of neo-colonialism remains a serious problem. The colonizers are trying to maintain and re-establish their positions in those countries of Africa,

^{10/} See *Rudé Právo*, 2 June 1962.

Asia and Latin America whose people have already freed themselves from direct colonial rule. For this purpose they are using, for the most part, agreements on so-called military aid and co-operation, which they continue to foist upon the States of these areas. The General Assembly should condemn such a practice, since it contravenes the United Nations Charter.

225. Neo-colonialism hides, in the main, behind the mask of economic aid. Concerning the purpose of this aid, United States Senator Humphrey stated, in the Senate on 15 June 1962,^{11/} that it " . . . is not merely an economic program; it is a political program. Foreign aid is a part of the national security policy of the United States. Foreign aid helps other countries. . . but its essential purpose is to help the United States."

226. Recently, on the occasion of the approval by the United States Congress of the programme of so-called aid for the year 1962/63, official spokesmen said a great deal about the connexion between this aid and the United States foreign policy, and stressed the importance of such aid in the "cold war".

227. The large profits rolling into the United States every year are proof that this "aid" is far from being as generous and disinterested as the head of the United States delegation has depicted it to us here.

228. The complete liquidation of colonialism is inconceivable without the swift and sound economic development of the newly-created countries.

229. Since the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, we in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have been carrying on useful discussions with delegations from many African and other countries. We agreed with all our guests that only mutual respect for State sovereignty and mutually advantageous economic co-operation could serve as a firm basis for peaceful and friendly relations between peoples, that the granting of aid must be guided by the basic needs of the under-developed countries, and that such aid must be subject to no political or military conditions.

230. Proceeding from these principles, Czechoslovakia is helping, so far as it can, the under-developed countries to develop their own resources, with industrialization primarily in view, and to train skilled workers.

231. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is not concerned with the export of capital to wring profits from under-developed countries. Czechoslovak long-term credits in the form of deliveries of machinery and equipment for the development of key branches of industry are granted at low rates of interest and are repaid by deliveries of raw materials and finished goods from the under-developed countries. The object is mutually advantageous economic co-operation. The Czechoslovak Government, like the Governments of the other socialist countries, consistently supports the policy of establishing the most extensive economic links with all countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

232. This policy was reaffirmed in the "Basic principles for the international socialist division of labour"^{12/} which were adopted at the meeting of re-

presentatives of States Members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance in June 1962. From these principles it can clearly be seen that the international socialist division of labour is established with due regard to the "world" division of labour. The principles adopted provide for the creation, in the future, of conditions for equitable economic co-operation between all countries of the world, and reject the tendency towards the establishment of organized discriminatory groups.

233. In contrast to this, closed politico-economic groups, in which the leading role belongs to the West German monopolists, are being set up in Western Europe as the economic basis of military pacts. Such "integration" leads to greater domination over the workers international capitalist monopolies, to the dictating of orders by the stronger to the weaker partners, to the conversion of the economically under-developed members of such groups into mere subsidiaries for the supply of raw materials, and to the intensification of discrimination against other countries remaining outside the "common market".

234. It is time for the United Nations to make a detailed study of the harmful effects of such "integration", and to promote the removal of every obstacle to the all-round development of world trade and to extensive international economic collaboration. The time has come to convene an international conference on trade, as proposed by the Soviet Union [A/5219].

235. Such a conference should work out principles for the development of trade on the basis of equality and the absence of discrimination, and should set up an international trade organization embracing all countries of the world.

236. The United Nations should promote the peaceful coexistence of all States and their mutual co-operation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. These principles are reflected in the Charter of the United Nations and in a number of other important international documents, and impose obligations on all members of the international community. One reason why implementation of these principles has been hindered is the fact that, so far, they have not been properly worked out. Since one duty of the United Nations is to promote the development of international law and its codification, the General Assembly should set to work on the codification of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

237. Unfortunately, the United Nations is very backward in discharging its duties in the matter of the establishment and development of peaceful coexistence. The main reason for this is that the profound changes which in recent years have taken place in the world, and have fundamentally modified the balance of forces in a sense favourable to peace, are not reflected in the Organization. Although the membership of the United Nations has considerably increased, the structure of a number of its organs and the filling of posts in it do not reflect the existence of the three main groups of States. For this reason the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in the interest of strengthening the United Nations, will continue to strive for uniform representation of the three main groups of States in the United Nations organs and posts.

238. It is absolutely inadmissible and absurd that for thirteen years, as a result of the United States obstruction, the place of China in the United Nations

^{11/} United States of America, Congressional Record, vol. 108, No. 98, Washington D. C., 15 June 1962, p. 9878.

^{12/} See Pravda, No. 160 (16016), 9 June 1962.

has been occupied by people who represent no one. Without the participation of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations cannot perform its functions. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek puppets from all its organs, are long overdue.

239. It is in the interests of the United Nations that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as other States, should become Members of the Organization.

240. The prestige of the United Nations is being harmed by the fact that the United States is using it as a cover for the military occupation of South Korea. It is essential to end this situation, which is a constant source of tension in that part of the world. We therefore support the Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from South Korea.

241. Much has recently been said about the financial crisis of the United Nations. In this connexion, the Western Powers are trying to make all Member States bear the cost of armed aggression in Egypt and the Congo. But it is a generally recognized principle of the international community that losses and expenses incurred in respect of illegal activities are borne by those responsible for such activities. Accordingly, the expenses of the so-called "United Nations campaigns" in Egypt and the Congo must be borne by the aggressors, and not by other Member States which opposed the aggression.

242. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic denounces all such attempts, and resolutely opposes the inclusion of the expenses for these campaigns in the regular budget of the United Nations. In all seriousness, we draw attention to the fact that such a step might result in a direct threat to the Organization's continued existence.

243. With regard to the solution of the Congo problem we still believe it to be essential, in the interests of the Congolese people and of the strengthening of international peace, that the United Nations should reject all plans for partitioning the Congo, which directly conflict with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and that it should take decisive measures against all violators of the Congo's unity.

244. The Czechoslovak people is completely absorbed in the creative and constructive work which has led its socialist country to unprecedented prosperity. At the present time, in connexion with preparations for the twelfth congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a general, State-wide open debate is taking place in our country. Such a discussion would be unthinkable in a capitalistic society. But our people is thus making maximum use of the achievements of its socialist democracy, and is discussing the prospects for the further development of our socialist society.

245. It is therefore natural for us to be deeply interested in the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. "We are a peaceful country" stated Antonin Novotny, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on 1 May 1962, "and that is why we desire peace for all peoples and hope that they can build their lives in conditions of peace."^{13/}

246. In the future, as hitherto, we shall continue to pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is the basis of our foreign policy. We shall bend all our efforts to the task of averting the danger of war and securing the triumph of peace for all time.

247. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of the United Kingdom who has asked to exercise his right of reply.

248. Mr. CROWE (United Kingdom): I very much regret that in the course of his interesting speech the representative of Guatemala referred to his Government's claim to the territory of British Honduras. The United Kingdom Government has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the territory of British Honduras and I wish formally to reserve its right on this question.

249. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Guatemala who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

250. Mr. SANTISO GALVEZ (Guatemala) (translated from Spanish): My delegation wishes to make a very brief statement.

251. In view of the statement made by the delegation of Mexico with regard to the Guatemalan territory of Belize, my delegation wishes to say that Guatemala has not the least doubt concerning its exclusive rights to the whole of that territory, and places on record that the reservation made by Guatemala this afternoon refers specifically to exclusive rights to the whole territory, which is held illegally by the United Kingdom.

252. For more than a hundred years, the Republic of Guatemala alone, absolutely alone, has been claiming from the United Kingdom the restoration to Guatemala of the entire territory of Belize which for incontrovertible, historical and juridical reasons is genuinely Guatemalan territory.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)*

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE [A/5230]

253. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now deal with the adoption of the agenda, the allocation of items and the organization of the session. In this connexion, the Assembly has before it the first report of the General Committee [A/5230]. I suggest that we examine first the section dealing with the Organization of the session; section III. If there is no objection, I shall take it that that part of the report is approved.

It was so decided.

254. The PRESIDENT: We shall now examine the question of the adoption of the agenda and the allocation of items. We shall follow the customary procedure, that is to say we shall examine first the inclusion of items in the agenda and then consider the allocation of those items to the General Assembly in plenary meeting or to the various committees. I suggest that the Assembly take into account the decisions of the General Committee, as set forth in paragraphs 4 to 7 inclusive, when considering the recommendations of the Committee on the inclusion of the relevant items in the agenda. If this pro-

^{13/} See Rudé Právo, 2 May 1962.

*Resumed from the 1125th meeting.

cedure is agreeable to the Assembly I shall invite representatives to examine the agenda recommended for adoption by the General Committee and I should also like to submit that in accordance with established practice the Assembly should examine the items on the agenda in groups, as given in section I of the General Committee's report.

255. I should perhaps remind the General Assembly that we are not at the stage dealing with the merits or the substance of the items except to the extent that it may be helpful in determining whether the General Assembly will or will not approve the inclusion of these items in the agenda.

256. I now invite representatives to turn to section I of the General Committee's report. I would point out that items 1 to 6 have already been dealt with by the General Assembly.

257. The PRESIDENT: We come now to item 7 relating to the notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. In this connexion we are only required to take note of the notification submitted by the Acting Secretary-General [A/5224]. In the absence of any objection, I shall consider that the General Assembly takes note of this notification by the Acting Secretary-General.

It was so decided.

258. The PRESIDENT: We now come to item 8, the adoption of the agenda, and item 9, the general debate. I consider these two items as adopted.

It was so decided.

259. The PRESIDENT: I now submit to the General Assembly items 10 to 19 inclusive. They concern either reports or elections. If there are no observations, I shall take it that these items are approved for inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly.

Items 10 and 19 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

260. The PRESIDENT: As to item 20, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the Assembly has already decided to include it in the agenda.

261. I now put to the Assembly the question of the inclusion of items 21 to 24 inclusive.

Items 21 to 24 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

262. The PRESIDENT: Item 25 relates to the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the absence of any observations, I will take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

Item 25 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

263. The PRESIDENT: Are there any objections to the inclusion of items 26 and 27? If not, I will take it that the Assembly agrees to their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 26 and 27 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

264. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to item 28. As will be seen from paragraph 6 of the General Committee's report, the Committee recommends the inclusion of two items as sub-items of one

agenda item bearing the general heading "The Korean question". In the absence of any comments, I will take it that the Assembly decides to the inclusion of that item.

Item 28 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

265. The PRESIDENT: Item 29 relates to the situation in Angola. If there are no comments, I will take it that the Assembly decides to include the item in the agenda.

Item 29 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

266. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to item 30, dealing with the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. In the absence of any objection, I take it that item 30 is included in the agenda.

Item 30 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

267. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the next item, item 31, concerning the report on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East, the representative of Jordan raised a question in the General Committee as to the title of the head of the Agency. I understand that this matter will be taken up in the Committee to which this item will be referred. In the absence of any objection, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of item 31 in the agenda.

Item 31 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

268. The PRESIDENT: Item 32 relates to the United Nations Emergency Force. In the absence of any comment, I take it that the Assembly agrees to its inclusion in the agenda.

Item 32 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

269. The PRESIDENT: Items 33 to 35 inclusive deal with economic matters. In the absence of any comment, I take it that the Assembly agrees to their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 33 to 35 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

270. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to items 36 and 37. The General Committee, in paragraph 7 of its report, recommends the amended title relating to international trade and development under item 36 as follows: "Question of holding an international conference on trade problems." Item 37 has been renumbered as a separate item. If there is no objection to this recommendation, I shall presume that the Assembly approves the inclusion of these two items in the agenda.

Items 36 and 37 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

271. The PRESIDENT: Items 38 to 41 inclusive also relates to economic matters. In the absence of any comments, I take it that the Assembly agrees to their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 38 to 41 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

272. The PRESIDENT: Items 42 to 48 inclusive deal with social and humanitarian questions. If there are no comments, I take it that the Assembly is in favour of their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 42 to 48 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

273. The PRESIDENT: Items 49 to 53 inclusive deal with matters which fall within the purview of the Fourth Committee. In the absence of any objection, I take it that they are approved for inclusion in the agenda.

Items 49 to 53 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

274. The PRESIDENT: Item 54 is entitled "Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV): report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese administration". In the absence of any comment, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of this item.

Item 54 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

275. The PRESIDENT: Item 55 has to do with elections. I presume the Assembly approves its inclusion in the agenda.

Item 55 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

276. The PRESIDENT: Item 56 concerns the question of Southern Rhodesia. In the absence of any comment, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of the item in the agenda.

Item 56 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

277. The PRESIDENT: Item 57 refers to the question of South West Africa. In the absence of any objection, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of that item in the agenda.

Item 57 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

278. The PRESIDENT: Items 58 and 59 also relate to trusteeship matters. If there are no objections, I take it that these two items are approved for inclusion in the agenda.

Items 58 and 59 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

279. The PRESIDENT: Items 60 to 72 inclusive relate to administrative and budgetary questions. In the absence of any comment, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of these items in the agenda.

Items 60 to 72 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

280. The PRESIDENT: We now come to items 73 to 76 inclusive relating to legal questions. In the absence of any comments, I take it that the Assembly approves their inclusion in the agenda.

Items 73 to 76 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

281. The PRESIDENT: We now come to item 77, the urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. Since there are no comments, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of that item in the agenda.

Item 77 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

282. The PRESIDENT: Item 78 deals with the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1746 (XVI) relating to Rwanda and Burundi. In the absence of any objection, I take it that the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of the item in the agenda.

Item 78 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

283. The PRESIDENT: Item 79 concerns the question of Oman. In the absence of any comment I presume the Assembly agrees to the inclusion of the item.

Item 79 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

284. The PRESIDENT: Items 80 to 83 arise out of resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council. I take it that the Assembly would wish to include these items in the agenda.

Items 80 to 83 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

285. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to item 84, the Cairo Declaration of Developing Countries. In the absence of any objection, item 84 will be included in the agenda.

Item 84 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

286. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to item 85, the question of Hungary.

287. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): My delegation is against the inclusion of this item in the agenda. The General Assembly has nearly 100 items on the agenda, including such fundamental problems affecting the future of mankind as general and complete disarmament, the final liquidation of the colonial system, the development of international economic and cultural co-operation, the universality of the United Nations—to mention but a few of the most important issues. The agenda has resulted from the joint efforts of the Member States. The United States has also made its contribution to it by proposing the inclusion of a single item, the so-called question of Hungary, which has for several years been a burden upon the work of the world Organization. I wonder whether the United States is not capable of contributing more than this. This, the only item proposed by the United States, is, as everybody knows, in reality a typical cold war question.

288. Feeling the absurdity of this situation, the representative of the United States endeavoured the other day to convince the General Committee that his country does not pursue cold war policies. Moreover, he stressed the necessity of a new look at the so-called question of Hungary. We admit that we also expected a new look from the United States. We expected that in the spirit of peaceful co-existence the United States would at last relieve the United Nations of this burden. A further reaching and even more encouraging principle was explained in the speech of the United States representative in the General debate. He said:

" . . . I think we must all beware of the resolution which invokes high principle in support of unrealistic action and does nothing to advance a practical solution. If this becomes common practice, we would risk destroying the influence of our Organization; for the value of its recommendations would depreciate like inflated currency." [1125th plenary meeting, para. 67.]

289. I hardly believe there is anybody in the Assembly now who could deny that it would be difficult to denounce the United States tactics in the so-called question of Hungary more precisely than do the above-quoted words of the United States representative. If the General Assembly has on its agenda any unrealistic action that not only does not improve but even empisons the situation, such as the United States proposal, renewed year after year, on the so-called question of Hungary. All of us, including

the United States delegation, are convinced of the uselessness and harmfulness of the debate. What then is the point of this stern insistence on a debate which has been useless from the beginning?

290. The answer is to be found in the cynical practice by which the United States tried to employ the Hungarian People's Republic as a trump card in the cold war game. The methods used by the United States in the so-called question of Hungary are strikingly revealed by the way in which Mr. Stevenson last Friday in the General Assembly tried to make use of my country when the United States plans of aggression against Cuba had been exposed. At the same time this step of the United States has been prompted also by the desire to promote certain interests of party politics in this country, although in other cases the United States representative blamed the practice which was designed not to solve the problems before the Assembly but, in his words "to gratify emotions back home".

291. But what other reason could there be for introducing the United States memorandum [A/5164] for discussion? Is the United States really interested in the alleged plight of the Hungarian people? Does the memorandum have any coherence at all with Hungary? No objective observer can assert that. The authors of this paper either do not know anything about the real situation in my country or stubbornly shut their eyes to the truth and live in a world of their poor imagination, and therefore cannot provoke any interest.

292. Though the discussion of this question is outside the competence of the world Organization—and I do not wish at this stage of the debate to go into the merits of the matter and open a discussion on the allegations of the memorandum—I can state that certain phenomena really are absent from the life of socialist Hungary, such as unemployment or all forms of racial and religious discrimination. On the other hand, there are in Hungary, in the framework of an over-all development, accomplished "medicare", social insurance covering the whole population, and so forth. Even the big American newspapers, which can hardly be accused of sympathizing with communism, often publish reports on the increasing well-being of the Hungarian People, and on the full exercise of human rights in Hungary.

293. In the light of these undeniable facts, it is incomprehensible that the United States delegation should stubbornly cling to this untenable fad of cold war policy. All of us must realize that only joint efforts could break this deadlock. We are ready any time, as we have been several times in the past, to settle our outstanding issues, but the United States should once and for all give up its attempts at direct or indirect interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary. Any such attempt, including the memorandum in question, is apt only to prevent the normalization of inter-State relations, to empoison the international atmosphere further and to undermine the prestige not only of the United States but of the United Nations as well. In addition to being a hackneyed repetition of the slanders refuted in previous years, the memorandum has absolutely nothing to say. But if the debate is again forced upon us, we shall have something to say.

294. Even if it looks like a repetition, for reasons of principle we deem it necessary to state that the inclusion of the so-called question of Hungary in the agenda is unlawful and at variance with the Charter.

The situation in Hungary is beyond the competence of the United Nations, and its discussion constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign Member State. The Charter is based upon the principle of sovereignty of Member States. This means, however, that the sovereignty of a small country is no less inviolable than that of a great Power.

295. Being conscious that we speak the truth, we invite every delegation here, in the interest of lessening international tensions and strengthening peaceful international co-operation, to prevent the General Assembly from again becoming a forum of typical cold war practice. Therefore, all those who vote for the inclusion of the item in the agenda, whatever the excuse they offer, cast their votes for the cold war. I invite the representatives of those countries which stand for international co-operation, peaceful coexistence and peace to vote against the proposal. Their votes will testify that they take a stand against poisoning the international atmosphere, a stand for friendship among peoples and for the efficient functioning of the United Nations.

296. Mr. SEMENOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The delegation of the Soviet Union has already expounded before the General Committee [148th meeting] its reasons for opposing the inclusion of the so-called "question of Hungary" in the agenda of this General Assembly session.

297. The objections which we heard there have only strengthened our conviction that our attitude is correct. The so-called "question of Hungary" is and always has been a misshapen, still-born offspring of the cold war. The discussion of the "question of Hungary" foisted upon the United Nations represents an attempt at crude interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, and a clear violation of the United Nations Charter.

298. The discussion of this question is of interest only to those who do not desire a relaxation of international tension and who, disregarding the prestige of the United Nations, are trying to inflame the atmosphere in the Organization.

299. The real situation is the following. There exists an independent, sovereign, socialist Hungarian People's Republic, with its own Government and Parliament. The Hungarian People's Republic is rapidly developing along the lines of socialism; and those countries which are now establishing themselves as independent nations and States could undoubtedly, if they wished, find much of interest and value to them in the economic, cultural and social development of Hungary.

300. All States can derive benefit from international co-operation in political, economic and cultural matters with the Hungarian People's Republic, which consistently defends the causes of peace and of the people's anti-colonial struggle.

301. It is common knowledge that the remarkable and talented people of Hungary has written many a brilliant and glorious page in the history of Western and Central Europe and in the general history of mankind. Suffice it to recall that it was the Hungarian people, which in 1919, in terribly difficult circumstances, raised the immortal banner of the Hungarian Socialist Republic and that it was the Hungarian people which made, to the cause of new social construction and to the international life of our times,

a contribution far exceeding in importance the numerical strength of the Hungarian nation. Of course, the significance of a given nation in world history and international life by no means always corresponds to its size. There have been cases when a much more important part has been played in history by a small nation than by a large one. Everything depends on what that nation is fighting for, what cause it is defending. The small become great when they participate in a great cause. And the sovereign rights of a small State must be respected no less than the sovereign rights of a large one. Great events must be measured with a large scale. In 1919, the Hungarian Socialist Republic was crushed by a combination of Hungarian, German and world counter-revolutionary forces. Thereafter, everything was done to the end that the newly won freedom of the Hungarian workers should be trampled under the hob nailed boots of the soldiery, that the flower of the Hungarian working class should be physically annihilated, and that tens of thousands of innocent people should perish in jails. But times have changed, and the imperialist forces of aggression will be unable to drown in blood the peoples' aspirations to enlightenment, progress and knowledge, just as they will be unable to drown in blood the anti-colonial national-liberation movement of the countries which have been oppressed and dispossessed by colonialism and whose cause is consistently defended by the Hungarian People's Republic.

302. We firmly and sincerely adhere to the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of all States, great and small—to the policy of peaceful coexistence. We urge other States to observe the relevant principles of the United Nations no less strictly.

303. The Soviet delegation subscribes to the questions just raised in the statement of the distinguished representative of the Hungarian People's Republic. When the distinguished representative of the United States of America proposes the inclusion of the item entitled "The question of Hungary" in the agenda of this General Assembly session, the question arises: why is this done? Can it promote the furthering of international co-operation and the peaceful coexistence of States with different social structures? No, it cannot. Can it improve relations between States, and particularly relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union? No, it cannot. Yet we are in favour of such improvement.

304. Mr. Stevenson has urged us here to engage in quiet diplomacy and in businesslike consideration of urgent questions. But even before this session of the General Assembly was convened, the United States had proposed the inclusion of the so-called "question of Hungary" in the agenda. The representatives of the United States say to us here: "Let us not fight the 'cold war' in the United Nations." Yet they pursue this "cold war" here themselves. They say: "Let us not use the rostrum of the United Nations for propaganda, but let us do useful work." Yet at the same time they request the inclusion in the session's agenda of the fabricated and non-existent question of Hungary, purely for purposes of clamorous propaganda and demagogic attacks against the lofty ideas of socialism.

305. What motive other than propaganda can there be for the inclusion of this item? That there can be none is quite clear from the statement of Sir Leslie Munro, who has never been to Hungary and has obviously had no reports from it, but who is none the

less receiving a United Nations salary of \$12,000 a year (which, incidentally, is partly paid from the contributions of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic). And Sir Leslie receives his salary simply for being subjected, once a year in New York, to well-deserved public punishment for his one and only, meagre and absurd report on the so-called "question of Hungary". Is this not ludicrous? Do those who today will vote in favour of including this item in the agenda not realize the ridiculous situation in which they are placing themselves? Have they no sense of reality, no sense of responsibility, to the peoples of the world, for their action?

306. The so-called "question of Hungary" is an old dead rat, which some people apparently like to drag around. But this occupation can advantage no one.

307. It is gratifying to note that delegations in ever-increasing numbers are coming to understand the purposes for which this question is dragged into these precincts. Last year, less than one half of the Members of the United Nations voted in favour of the resolution initiated by the United States on the question. The sooner the United Nations can muster the resolve to cast aside the provocative questions, such as that of Hungary, which are foisted upon it by the United States of America, the better it will be for the Organization itself and for the cause of world peace.

308. The Soviet delegation will vote against the inclusion of the "Question of Hungary" in the agenda of the General Assembly's seventeenth session. It urges all delegations which prize the cause of peace to act likewise, so as not to be deflected from such really important and urgent problems of international life as general and complete disarmament, an economic programme for disarmament, the improvement of international trade, the condemnation of preventive nuclear war, and the final liquidation of colonialism.

309. Mr. YOST (United States of America): The Soviet representative seeks to overturn the General Committee's recommendation that the question of Hungary be included in the agenda. Ever since this item was first brought before the Assembly in 1956, the Soviet Union and its colleagues have opposed its inclusion, and every time the Assembly has decided to inscribe it. Let me point out that last year, in fact, the inclusion of the item was opposed only by the Soviet bloc and a handful of others.

310. The reasons for which my delegation requested the inclusion of the item this year were made clear in our explanatory memorandum [A/5164] and, more recently, when the General Committee considered the matter [148th meeting]. There is therefore no need to take time now for a lengthy reiteration of our views, except to emphasize that they arise not from the cold war but from the concern of this Assembly for human rights and human freedom. We believe that human rights and human freedom are as precious in Eastern Europe as anywhere else in the world.

311. As the United Nations representative of Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, informed the General Committee last week [148th meeting, para. 73] the Hungarian Government has consistently refused to co-operate with the United Nations and has refused to comply with its resolutions. Large numbers of Soviet troops remain on Hungarian territory despite assurances that they would be withdrawn. Large numbers of political prisoners remain in prison because of their participation in

the uprising of 1956, despite the numerous appeals from all quarters of the globe that they be released.

312. In our view, questions of this sort are not, as the Soviet delegation would have it, a dead rat. This question is very much alive and will remain unfinished business of the General Assembly until the Hungarian Government shows the will and the desire to comply with the wishes of the Assembly as overwhelmingly expressed in repeated resolutions. Until that time, we have no choice but to debate the question of Hungary once again. We hope that on this occasion the debate will be more fruitful and may lead to concrete results which could assist in normalizing the situation in Hungary.

313. For these reasons, we will support the inclusion of this item, as recommended by the General Committee.

314. Mr. SOSROWARDOJO (Indonesia): My delegation considers the item "Question of Hungary" to be a subject that would only lead to further discussions in the framework of the cold war. Indonesia believes that one of the fundamental aims of the non-aligned countries is to strive for the lessening of international tensions. A discussion by the Assembly of the question of Hungary would, on the contrary, my delegation believes, be conducive to further sharpening the atmosphere of the cold war and thus aggravating international tensions. My delegation entertains some doubt as to whether a debate on this problem by the Assembly would result in anything that would really be to the benefit of the Hungarian people themselves. That is why my delegation is not in favour of including the item in the agenda.

315. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the proposal to include item 85 in the agenda.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

The Federation of Malaya, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Federation of Malaya, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador.

Against: Ghana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Laos, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Niger, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Syria, Tanganyika, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia.

Abstaining: Finland, Greece, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Yemen, Afghanistan, Burma, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus.

Present and not voting: Guinea, India, Congo (Leopoldville).

Item 85 was placed on the agenda by 43 votes to 34, with 19 abstentions.

316. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Yugoslavia for an explanation of vote.

317. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) (translated from French): As the delegation of Yugoslavia—a country bordering on Hungary—has often stated in the course of earlier sessions of the General Assembly, it is a well-known fact that the consideration of this question by the United Nations can serve no useful purpose.

318. The Yugoslav delegation considers that the inclusion and consideration of this item can only be harmful to the positive development of the situation in Hungary, a development which is desired by the Hungarian people and is in the interest of international peace and security.

319. For this reason, my delegation voted against the inclusion of the question of Hungary in the agenda of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly.

320. The PRESIDENT: Item 86 relates to the improvement of the methods of work of the General Assembly. In the absence of any objection, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of that item in the agenda.

Item 86 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

321. The PRESIDENT: Item 87 deals with the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

322. Mr. LOUW (South Africa): Once again I object to this item being placed on the agenda. The policy followed by South Africa with regard to any domestic matter is our affair. It is no concern either of the United Nations or of those Member States which have requested the inclusion of the item in the agenda. South Africa will continue to object. The fact that the General Assembly had repeatedly placed this item on the agenda does not justify its being done again. The fact that an illegal action has been committed a number of times does not make it legal by a process of repetition. A year or two ago one of the representatives to the Assembly made the remark that article 2, paragraph 7 was a dead letter. He was right, but only in a limited sense.

323. For the forty-seven delegations which are seeking to interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs, article 2, paragraph 7, no longer exists. But when the United Nations attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of any of those countries, the delegation concerned immediately claims the protection of article 2, paragraph 7. One recalls the case of India in the Kashmir affair. Then there is the case of the USSR as regards Hungary, which we have just been discussing. Both were then strong supporters of article 2, paragraph 7.

324. As regards the charge of discrimination, contained in the item now before the Assembly, I could name a number of countries where discrimination in various forms, including racial discrimination, is openly practised and where, as I said this morning, only recently racial clashes have taken place.

325. Since the Union of South Africa was established fifty-two years ago there has not been a single instance in the history of our country where groups of Whites have made an organized attack on non-Whites. That sort of thing does not happen in South Africa. But when South Africa embarks upon a policy of separate development of its different peoples, each in their own areas, and when South Africa goes even fur-

ther and introduces a system of self-government for the different Bantu nations, this is also attacked in the United Nations in spite of the fact that the Bantu people themselves have accepted this policy.

326. Again, the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 2, are callously ignored. In an attempt to get past Article 2, paragraph 7, South Africa's accusers resort to the argument that the guarantee contained in that article, that is, non-interference in domestic affairs, has been superseded by Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter relating to fundamental human rights and freedoms.

327. This morning again the representative of India had very much to say about fundamental human rights. It is once more necessary to remind delegations, especially the large number of new delegations, that the founders of the United Nations, when drawing up the Charter at San Francisco, had rightly foreseen that attempts would be made to circumvent the expressed provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, by making use of Articles 55 and 56 relating to fundamental human rights. In order to forestall such attempts, the plenary session of the founding conference at San Francisco unanimously adopted a resolution which, incidentally, was strongly supported by Mr. John Foster Dulles, then the representative of the United States at that conference, read as follows:

"Nothing contained in Chapter IX—that is, the Chapter which includes Articles 55 and 56—can be construed as giving authority to the Organization to intervene in the domestic affairs of Member States."

328. I think it is necessary to repeat that unanimous decision of the plenary session of the founding conference. This decision was that:

"Nothing contained in Chapter IX—the Chapter which includes Articles 55 and 56—can be construed as giving authority to the Organization to intervene in the domestic affairs of Member States."

329. As I have done in the past, I once more challenge the sponsors of this item. May I say that I particularly challenge the representative of India who spoke on this matter this morning [1128th meeting]. I once more challenge the sponsors of this item, and those delegations that intend to support it, to try and explain their disregard of the clear and unqualified condition imposed by the founders of the United Nations, namely, that Article 2, paragraph 7, could not be circumvented or evaded by making use of Articles 55 and 56 relating to fundamental human rights.

330. May I in passing ask the following question: How many of the countries sponsoring this item are to the same extent as South Africa carrying out the objectives set out in Articles 55 and 56, namely, to promote "higher standards of living, full employment", health, economic and social progress, cultural and educational progress? I suggest that the less some of those delegations talk about Articles 55 and 56, the better.

331. There is developing in the United Nations another form of discrimination, namely, discrimination by one group of States against others. Such action is a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7. It is also not only a violation of that Article but it is in conflict with the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter which the Member States carrying on those practices profess to honour. I refer to one of the principles set out in Chapter I of the Charter, namely,

that the United Nations is "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. . .". Then, there is the injunction, contained in the Preamble of the Charter, namely "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. . .".

332. In conclusion, I wish to remind the representatives that last year when I attended the meetings of the Special Political Committee, when this item was discussed, I made it clear that I was doing so only for the purpose of clearing up misconceptions and in order to reply to unfounded allegations, that my participation in the discussion did not imply recognition of the right to discuss South Africa's domestic affairs. It was clear from the beginning of those discussions that most of the representatives were determined to make use of my presence at the Committee table in order to hurl vituperations and accusations at my country, and what was worse, to insult me personally. I patiently listened to those accusations and personal insults for more than two weeks and at the end of the discussions I replied to most of the important allegations. I can hardly conceive of any fresh allegations being made this year. In any case, I am not prepared once again to be the target of insults and vituperations.

333. In the circumstances, the South African delegation will not participate when this item is discussed in the Special Political Committee. However, if that Committee should send draft resolutions to be considered by the General Assembly, then the South African delegation will be represented to deal with such resolutions.

334. I firmly object to this item being placed on the agenda.

335. Mr. LALL (India): One would have thought that the representative of South Africa was speaking on an item against the Government of India. One thing is clear from his statement: he wants to show his anger and displeasure with the Government of India for its consistent stand—a stand taken from the very beginning of this Organization's work—against the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. We regret that we should have to oppose the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. There would be a simple way to change the situation—that is, for the Government of South Africa to practise just that tolerance enjoined by the Charter which the representative of South Africa himself mentioned in his statement of a few moments ago.

336. I would request the Assembly to take note of the fact that the representative of South Africa is opposed to my Government and delegation because we oppose the racist policies of his Government. We leave it to the Assembly to decide for itself whether it will regard India's opposition to those racist policies which fan hatred and create an atmosphere of strife in international affairs as consistent with the Charter.

337. The PRESIDENT: A formal objection has been raised to the inclusion of this item in the agenda. I shall therefore put the inclusion of the item to the vote.

338. Mr. LOUW (South Africa) (from the floor): I said at the beginning of my statement that I objected to the inclusion of this item but that I would leave it at that. I did not ask for a vote.

339. The PRESIDENT: Is it correct to understand that the representative of South Africa does not wish to

press a vote his objection to the inclusion of this item?

340. Mr. LOUW (South Africa) (from the floor): That understanding is correct.

Item 87 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

341. The PRESIDENT: The next item, item 88, concerns the question of boundaries between Venezuela and the territory of British Guiana. If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of that item in the agenda.

Item 88 was placed on the agenda without discussion.

342. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has already dealt with item 89 [1125th meeting], "Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning New Guinea (West Irian)". We shall therefore proceed to the next items, 90 and 91, which concern, respectively, the question of general and complete disarmament and measures to be adopted in connexion with the earthquake in Iran. If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly approves the inclusion of the items in the agenda.

Items 90 and 91 were placed on the agenda without discussion.

343. The PRESIDENT: Are there any observations on the last item, item 92, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations"?

344. Mr. LIU (China): The position of my delegation on this proposal has been made clear in the General Committee [148th meeting, paras. 104, 105, and 106]. The proposal is identical in every respect with the Soviet proposal at the last session—and this includes the misleading wording of the title itself, which, contrary to United Nations usage, is calculated to pre-judge the issue.

345. This Soviet proposal was thoroughly discussed and clearly rejected by the General Assembly only nine months ago [1080th meeting]. No purpose whatsoever will be served by reopening this question—except perhaps the Soviet purpose of disrupting the proceedings of the General Assembly and destroying the effectiveness of this Organization.

346. I feel constrained, therefore, to register once again, and in most emphatic terms, my delegation's objection to the Soviet proposal. In deference, however, to the recommendation of the General Committee, I shall not press for a vote.

Item 92 was placed on the agenda.

347. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to the allocation of the items which it has already decided to include in the agenda. It might expedite the work of the Committees if we considered first the inclusion of those items which the General Committee has recommended, in section II of its report [A/5230], for allocation to the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees and then those recommended for allocation to plenary meetings, to the First Committee and to the Special Political Committee.

The General Committee's recommendations regarding the allocations of items to the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Committees were adopted.

The General Committee's recommendations regarding the allocations of items to plenary meetings, to the First Committee and to the Special Political Committee were adopted.

348. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Assembly for having borne patiently with me until the conclusion of our business so that the Committees may start their work as soon as their meetings can be scheduled.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.