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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

Address by Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite H.E. Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, to address the General Assembly.
2. Mr. Mohammad Ayub KHAN, President of Pakistan: Mr. President, for Pakistan it is a matter of special satisfaction and pride that this august Assembly of the nations of the world has honoured one of its distinguished citizens and devoted servants by electing you to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I am confident that, in conducting its proceedings, you will be guided by that impartiality, judicious spirit and high sense of duty for which you are known so well.
3. In 1945, when this Organization was established, its founders made a conscious attempt to eliminate from the new structure the weaknesses which had led to the failure of the League of Nations as an instrument of international peace and security. The Charter of the United Nations undoubtedly provided a firmer foundation for the Organization than the Covenant had done for its predecessor.
4. However, even at the time when the United Nations was being established, the victorious Powers were already showing signs of drifting apart. The built-in system of veto in the Security Council, the purely deliberative powers of the General Assembly, the greatly restricted jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and the merely exhortatory provisions relating to the other procedures of peaceful settlement were but the reflections of the political realities of 1945. This was the maximum area of agreement that could be reached between the great Powers.
5. The Charter envisages sanctions against aggression and a universal collective security system based on armed forces to be placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The capacity of the Security Council to act effectively was, however, predicated on the continuing solidarity of the great Powers in

the maintenance of international peace and security. The cold war has destroyed this solidarity. It has almost paralysed the capacity of the Security Council to take effective action. Inaction has been the rule, with certain notable exceptions, such as in regard to the Congo crisis. As a result, the system of universal collective security envisaged in the Charter remains a hope unfulfilled. Nations continue to place their faith in the arms race for their security and some of them have felt compelled for reasons of self-defence to become members of regional defence organizations.

6. The authority of the General Assembly has to some extent been strengthened by the Uniting for peace resolution [377 (V)] and by the admission of newly independent nations. Nevertheless, it remains a regrettable fact that the will of the Assembly can be thwarted by States which choose not to accept its resolutions.

7. In spite of these limitations, the Organization has a measure of success to its credit in resolving, or in bringing about, an adjustment of international situations constituting actual or potential threats to the peace. Many would assess the role of the United Nations in accelerating the historical process of the liberation of dependent peoples from the bondage of colonialism and the democratization of international relations as a result of their emergences as equal sovereign States, as perhaps its greatest achievement.

8. In the political field, the Organization has broken new ground by embarking upon peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the heart of Africa, that vibrant continent which has entered into such vigorous participation in international affairs. Now, for the first time in its history, the United Nations assumes executive authority in West Irian. This precedent may well turn out to be an event of significance for the future.

9. Without detracting from my admiration for the many achievements of the United Nations, particularly in the economic field, I must remind the distinguished representatives here assembled of the questions which remain on the agenda of the Security Council and of this Assembly as a challenge to their combined wisdom and collective statesmanship. Their number is legion. Disarmament, the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, apartheid, Palestine and Kashmir are but a few of these unresolved burning problems.

10. First and foremost, all the attempts of the United Nations for the last seventeen years to achieve disarmament—whether total or partial—have not yet succeeded. Mankind seems condemned to an existence in the shadow of nuclear annihilation—sudden, swift and complete.

11. I am a soldier. I shudder to reflect that carriers hover over this planet every instant, that invisible rockets from under the earth and the sea—and also perhaps from outer space—are ready at any moment to launch nuclear and thermo-nuclear death, in a war of extermination against humanity, at but a single word of command from those who hold awesome power, in their hands. This is the fate that threatens all of us. This fate is not ordained by God. It has been contrived by man. My reason bids me hope that the fatal command will not be given. But it is a melancholy fact that life is not always ordered by reason. History bears witness to the somber fact that power can sometimes fall into the hands of megalomaniacs. Even if this should not happen again, human nature is not infallible. The chance of nuclear war by miscalculation or accident, remains an ever-present danger to human existence.

12. In the existing conditions of the dizzy acceleration of the race in nuclear weapons, no country, great or small, can feel secure. We are appalled by this deadly competition in the production of nuclear weapons. As a nation, we add our voice to the demand for an end to nuclear testing. We are convinced that the cessation of nuclear testing is an essential step towards nuclear disarmament.

13. The Geneva negotiations have revealed that the elements of an agreement between the nuclear Powers on a permanent cessation of nuclear testing are now in existence. There is no reason to delay further a ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, without inspection, pending a reconciliation of the differences which prevent the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty that will also end underground explosions.

14. In regard to the question of general and complete disarmament, the Geneva negotiations have not made any substantial progress. This is all the more disappointing as agreement had been reached last year between the United States and the Soviet Union on principles within the framework of which disarmament negotiations were to take place.

15. I am not oblivious of the host of difficulties that must be surmounted, including those of inspection and control. I am aware that the barriers to their removal lie largely in the deep-seated distrust that conditions the approach of the East and the West to the imperative necessity of disarmament. I appeal to you not to be discouraged. When the survival of humanity itself is at stake, the quest for peace through disarmament cannot be abandoned.

16. An aspect of disarmament which is of deep concern to Pakistan is the clear and present danger of the spread of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their technology to States which do not now possess them. The General Assembly is aware of this danger. Permit me to observe that the mere adoption of resolutions against the dissemination of nuclear weapons and in favour of the establishment of a non-nuclear club, will not remove this danger. Unless the United Nations takes effective and urgent action in this direction, the race in nuclear armaments is bound to overtake other parts of the world in the immediate future.

17. This imminent peril demands that the General Assembly give urgent consideration to the conclusion of a treaty to outlaw the further spread of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their manufacture, whether by acquisition from the present nuclear

Powers or by any other means. The conclusion of such a treaty cannot wait until agreement is reached on other measures of disarmament.

18. The question of disarmament involves the question of man's physical survival. It is also a condition of his economic emancipation. Two years ago Pakistan was privileged to propose a study by the United Nations of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. In pursuance thereof, experts have submitted a report setting forth their unanimous conclusion that the "achievement of general and complete disarmament would be an unqualified blessing to all mankind".^{1/} This conclusion, I have no doubt, will have a far-reaching impact on the thinking of the Governments and peoples of the world.

19. The Acting Secretary-General has expressed the view that the present division of the world into rich and poor countries is much more real, much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive than the division of the world on ideological grounds. This indeed is a patent truth and the sooner the more powerful and more prosperous nations of the world recognize it, the better for the well-being of mankind.

20. Even if the most modest targets of the United Nations Development Decade are to be attained, improved access to world markets for the exports of developing countries must be assured. Without this, those countries could not reach the necessary stage of self-sustaining economic growth.

21. The prospects of improved access to export markets, however, are getting dimmer with the increasing trend towards the formation of common markets of continental proportions. It is indeed a grave prospect for developing countries like Pakistan. The time has come for the Western world to decide whether it will make a viable place for the developing countries, or whether it intends to turn itself into a powerful international cartel denying to our manufacturers access to their markets and forcing us to remain primary producers to feed their factories, dictating the terms of our trade and compelling us to pay several times more for their finished goods. If this were to happen it would amount to re-establishing imperialism of the worst kind, which may well lead to disastrous consequences.

22. Let me say unambiguously that just as you cannot have abject poverty alongside affluence within a country, so also you cannot expect friendly coexistence between those countries that are forced to remain backward and the ones that are overflowing with wealth.

23. The less developed countries of the world are facing a situation which is of crucial importance to their future. This challenge must be met. The time has come to convene an international economic and trade conference under the aegis of the United Nations, to examine the entire range of relations between the industrialized and the less developed countries in the light of the present historical trends.

24. The real problem of world trade cannot be solved by one group of countries acting alone, whether they belong to the European Common Market, the Commonwealth or those which took part in the Cairo Conference on the Problems of Economic Development. It will

^{1/} Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament: Report of the Secretary-General transmitting the study of his Consultative Group (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.IX.1), p. 52.

be necessary to approach these problems in a world perspective and to work through all the various organizations, such as the specialized agencies concerned, GATT and the regional economic organizations, to achieve a reasonable system of world trade which will satisfy the needs of developing nations.

25. One of the most important problems still remaining before the United Nations is that of carrying to its final conclusion the historical process of decolonization, now approaching its consummation.

26. It gives me deep satisfaction that this year the representatives of four new nations have taken their seats in this Assembly of sovereign States. I extend my greetings to the representatives of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago and wish them Godspeed in the great adventure of independence.

27. I salute the heroic people of Algeria whose sacrifices in their struggle for independence have been unparalleled. Their war of independence has ended in victory with honour, both for Algeria and for France.

28. I also extend my felicitations to the Government of the United Kingdom for implementing the right of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago to independence and Commonwealth status.

29. There still remain a number of Non-Self-Governing and other Territories where the process of decolonization has not yet been set in motion and the colonial Powers concerned refuse to implement the historic Declaration of the General Assembly on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. This Assembly will be giving its earnest attention to the present status of the implementation of the Declaration. I pledge Pakistan's continued and fullest support to all practical steps that may be proposed to bring the blessings of independence, in the shortest possible time, to the peoples of Africa and elsewhere still under colonial rule.

30. In this context, Pakistan feels constrained to express its profoundest regret that the inalienable right of self-determination continues to be denied to the people of Kashmir despite an international agreement to which the United Nations itself is a party.

31. The prolongation of alien rule against the wishes of those over whom it is exercised is incompatible with the Principles and Purposes of the United Nations Charter and an obstacle to the emergence of a world order toward which mankind must move.

32. Equally incompatible and obstructive are policies and practices based on racial discrimination which are pursued in certain Non-Self-Governing Territories and elsewhere and of which apartheid is a most glaring example. This Assembly must do all in its power, while there is still time, to avert the grave consequences which will inevitably follow if such policies are not abandoned.

33. The United Nations continues to be deeply involved in the Republic of the Congo. The honour, the prestige, and the resources of the Organization are all committed to the preservation of the political independence, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

34. In this context, it is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the memory of the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. No statesman strove so nobly,

so heroically and with such single-minded devotion to uphold the high principles of the United Nations as he did.

35. The Acting Secretary-General has presented a bold and realistic plan to end the secession of Katanga and the Congo crisis. It merits the sustained support of all Member States and more especially of those who are in a position to lend their weight to it so that prompt and decisive measures may be taken to end the agony of the Congolese people by the reunification and rehabilitation of their country.

36. The financial position of the United Nations is a cause of grave concern to us. We should be equally concerned about the ability of the Organization to carry to a successful conclusion its peace-keeping and security operations in the heart of Africa and in the Middle East.

37. Pakistan, in common with other small States of the world, has a vested interest in sustaining and strengthening the peace-making role of the United Nations. The great Powers may be able to do without the Organization. It is the small States, as the late Secretary-General said on a memorable occasion, that need its protection. They cannot afford to see it fail for lack of the necessary financial support. Neither can they contemplate with equanimity that the Organization which they have made their own should be mortgaged to one or another great Power, or that it should become dependent on its subsidies. The obligation of the poorest Member State to pay its assessed share is no less than that of the wealthiest one.

38. It is clear that the United Nations operations in the Congo and in the Middle East have been undertaken in accordance with the express and reiterated authority of both the Security Council and the General Assembly and that the expenditures incurred in consequence constitute, in the light of the recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161],^{2/} expenses of the Organization. As such they must be defrayed by Member States, as binding obligations.

39. The sixteenth session of the General Assembly opened in the shadow of the tragic death of the late Secretary-General while engaged on a mission of peace in the Congo. Crisis and disaster loomed on the horizon. If the present session has opened under less ominous circumstances, the credit must go to the collective wisdom of Member States and to the choice they made in the person of the Acting Secretary-General. During the year that has passed, he has proved himself fully equal to the challenge of his great office and has given proof of integrity and statesmanship of a very high order. His successful mediation in the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands over West Irian and his patient, courageous and constructive efforts to end the Congo crisis have demonstrated his stature.

40. Pakistan considers it a privilege to have been called upon to assist in the task of maintaining order and security in West Irian during the period of transition from Netherlands to Indonesian administration. We thank the two countries for the confidence that they have reposed in us and assure them of the faithful discharge of our duties.

^{2/} Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

41. In conclusion, I wish to say this: The world is in the throes of a political, economic and technological transformation of profound significance to its future. The historical epoch of imperialism and colonialism is passing away. The era of political hegemony of a concert of Powers has yielded place to a more democratic international order in which small States are able to play an important collective role in world affairs. The traditional institution of war as a means of attaining national ends has become meaningless in an age of thermo-nuclear weapons and space exploration. The centres of power today have shifted to countries with economies of continental proportions based on great home markets. Remote nations have become close neighbours. Independence is being increasingly superseded by interdependence.

42. While, therefore, the world is becoming one world, it is unfortunate that relations between States are becoming increasingly out of step with this transformation in the facts of international life. The United Nations, as an instrument of co-operation between nations, is proving inadequate as a means for the attainment of common ends. The promise of a system of universal collective security remains a distant goal. There is little sense of urgency in the efforts to establish a Peace Force to prevent aggression and threats to the peace. Nations are unwilling to subject their sovereignty to the supremacy of international law. The trend towards increasing disparity between rich and poor countries is not being reversed. No effective machinery exists for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Small nations continue to live in fear of their large neighbours. Thus, a response is lacking to the historical challenge of a world order which is the imperative of our times.

43. The increasing scales of destructive power of nuclear weapons have made the balance of terror between the two great Power blocs so delicate and precarious that neither State can now exert a decisive influence in world affairs. This power balance is a matter of concern to all the smaller countries which live under the lowering shadow of constant terror. Real and lasting security lies not in this kind of equilibrium, but in working for the achievement of a world order in which all countries, great and small, can live without fear. We believe that this world order can be attained through the United Nations. That is why we reiterate our faith in this Organization here today.

44. It has been rightly said that the principles of the Charter are, by far, greater than the Organization in which they are embodied, and the aims which they are to safeguard are holier than the policies of any single nation or people. The task before us, then, is to unite our efforts to make the United Nations a more perfect union of States and a true mirror of its principles, to the end that its aims may prevail over the policies of any single nation or group of nations. In this great task, may not the peoples of the world look to the solidarity of small Member States to transform the Organization into an instrument for the progressive realization of a true world order of peace, freedom and justice? There was the chorus for peace in the Suez crisis of 1956. There has been the vote for freedom in the decolonization of the world. There has been the voice of conscience when justice has been at stake.

45. Man has embarked upon the mission to reach out for distant planets. His greatest mission remains

here, on earth—this earth—to live in peace and be just to his fellowmen. If those things happen, thus shall suffering humanity attain that greater measure of peace for which it has yearned throughout the ages.

46. I thank you again, Mr. President, and all the representatives in the General Assembly who have given me this opportunity to address the Assembly today.

47. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the President of Pakistan for the words of wisdom that he has addressed to us. I am sure that the Assembly has listened to them with great attention and keen interest and will draw from them such guidance and benefit as they are capable of yielding.

48. I shall now, with the Acting Secretary-General, accompany H.E. the President of Pakistan from the hall. So that the work of the Assembly may not be interrupted while I am away, I request the representative of Australia to take the Chair.

Sir Garfield Barwick (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

49. M. HOLYOAKE (New Zealand): The Assembly is most fortunate in sitting under the Presidency of one of the greatest figures the Commonwealth and the international community has produced. On behalf of the people of New Zealand, I wish to offer him my warmest congratulations. But I must say that I feel an even greater sense of humility as I come to this rostrum to give my Government's views on what seem to us the main issues before this Assembly. We are all conscious that we are addressing ourselves to a President who is learned, wise and humane, and who is a stranger to cant and an enemy of humbug.

50. I also naturally feel it a very great honour to follow in this debate the distinguished President of Pakistan.

51. I also offer the Vice-President, the representative of Australia—New Zealand's nearest neighbour—my warm congratulations. I am delighted that he should be presiding while I address the Assembly.

52. As I try to answer the simple, direct question, "What does New Zealand expect from the United Nations?", I shall try to avoid cant and humbug by first asking myself the simple question whether what New Zealand is prepared to contribute to the United Nations is consistent with what we expect from it.

53. At the outset I should like to say that above all the people of New Zealand expect peace among the nations, peace with justice and under the rule of law. But today we all know that we have only a precarious peace. We are desperately concerned about the predicament into which we human beings are rushing at ever-increasing speed. We do not like living under the balance of terror—in a world there the arms race is spiralling day by day.

54. We draw only cold comfort from what has been done at Geneva in this last year, and still less comfort from all that has been left undone there in comparison with the rapid pace at which developments have occurred elsewhere in the world. But we still be-

lieve that the United Nations offers more hope of getting us out of the predicament than does any other secular institution. I shall say more on disarmament and nuclear tests a little later in my speech.

55. What do the people of New Zealand expect? We expect conditions in which mankind can develop in freedom, unfettered by poverty, ignorance and disease. These are words to which I and my fellow Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth subscribed a few days ago at our conference in London. New Zealanders believe—to put it in our own language—in a fair deal, not just for ourselves but for all men. In New Zealand we have established a society without discrimination, where the dignity and the worth of every human being is recognized. We cannot rest content with any national or world order that is not based on similar recognition of the worth of every human being and on similar efforts to realize it in practice. We New Zealanders do not like living in a world where hundreds of millions of people are hungry and where the gulf between rich and poor, between the industrialized nations and the agricultural nations, appears to be increasing. We have supported and shall continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to do something effective about this situation, which we regard as intolerable.

56. The people of New Zealand expect the United Nations to be a medium for conciliation and for fruitful co-operation. We do not like living in a world where our basic human problems, already desperate enough, are complicated by the sterilities and inhumanities of the cold war. To be realistic, we balance the hopeful signs such as the recent settlements in West New Guinea and Laos against the more menacing portents from Berlin and Cuba. But we feel the menace in some of the opening salvos fired already in this general debate in the Assembly, and we await, with some perturbation, the tests still to come over the Congo and over the financial affairs of this Organization.

57. We well realize that war and peace hang upon these great political problems. We feel deep concern about them, but we do realize the limitations of the small Powers. Here, I must say that we, the people of New Zealand, are dismayed at a state of affairs where a government, a political system, has to resort to building a wall to contain its unwilling citizens. It is a curious world indeed.

58. We are also amazed and alarmed at such a large-scale introduction of armaments and technicians by the Soviet Union recently into Cuba. Perhaps we in New Zealand do not know enough about Cuba. We will not in any way pronounce upon its internal affairs, but we do know that world peace depends upon the two super-Powers showing almost super-human responsibility and restraint. We think that this recent act by the Soviet Union shows a lack of restraint and a lack of proper responsibility in this respect. It does not seem to us to square with the protestations of the representatives of the Soviet Union from this rostrum. To us, wherever the words come from, when they do not mean what they say, we regard them as cant and humbug.

59. But I should like to return to my theme. The people of New Zealand expect the United Nations to be organized so that it can help to produce common solutions for our common world problems. Many of our economic and other problems are on an international scale. They transcend national boundaries,

and we all know that despite its limitations on the political side, the United Nations is capable of producing something more than the lowest common area of agreement. From time to time, it rises magnificently to the challenge of the occasion. In spite of that, we in New Zealand have a sense of foreboding about the Organization of the United Nations.

60. We fear that two developments are threatening to reduce the capacity of the United Nations to aid in the task of producing common solutions for our common problems. I refer to the undermining of the financial base of the Organization and the threat to the international character of the Secretariat.

61. We feel it would be tragic if this Organization, the instrument of such high purposes, should founder because it could not pay its way. It is scarcely conceivable to us that this could happen, especially that the United Nations should founder on financial difficulties incurred in the pursuit of its fundamental aim, its most fundamental aim, the preservation of peace. Yet, the cold, hard fact remains that this is a very real danger confronting us at this very moment.

62. It is puzzling and disturbing to the people of my country, a staunch supporter of this Organization from the outset, to find itself in the minority which has paid its full share of the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. By far the greatest cost, of course, arises in the Congo, and that land is very remote from my country. We have no trade with the Congo, nor any material contact or interest in it. Why then, should we pay our assessed share to keep the peace there? Why should we have bought \$1 million worth of bonds? We have done so in the firm belief that peace, and the maintenance of peace, is the first and foremost concern of this Organization, in the belief that peace anywhere is the common concern of everyone. This is our faith and our belief; but when others default, especially the great Powers who have special security responsibilities under the Charter, the great Powers for whom there is no excuse of domestic financial difficulty or shortage of overseas exchange, then it becomes a problem for a small country such as mine—and I presume for others—to understand and determine the limits of principle and, indeed, the limits of patience.

63. Our second fear is for the independence of the Secretariat and its consequent efficiency. I would remind the Assembly that the Charter states that the Secretary-General and his staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or other authority external to the Organization. Every Member State has undertaken to respect the exclusively international character of the Secretary-General and his staff. We in New Zealand have been distressed and alarmed at the attempts which have been made to destroy the international character and the international loyalty of the Secretariat by seeking to carry into it the ideological patterns and the political leanings of some of the Governments in this Organization.

64. These notions of a "troika" and of a world rigidly divided into three groups are utterly alien to us and alien to the more adult concept of the United Nations as outlined in the Charter, to which we have all subscribed. We believe that if there is any determined attempt to graft these ideas on to the Organization, they will destroy it because they are foreign to it. Some may see the world in terms of three simple groupings, but why should we, especially the smaller

nations, look at the world through someone else's glasses, with their dark and curiously ground lenses?

65. Perhaps some of us fondly imagined that the battle for the independence of the Secretariat was won last year. It now appears it was simply a single battle, and that the campaign continues. We, the smaller nations whose stake in the United Nations is the greatest, must be vigilant to prevent any weakening of the Secretariat, not only at the highest level, but at any and all levels. If the United Nations is to protect the smaller nations, it must have at its centre only those who are willing and able to work in the interest of all Member States of the United Nations.

66. There is yet another factor which could bring the United Nations to disaster, and that is impatience and intolerance, an impatience which is expressed this year in calls for extreme measures to settle some of our rather complex problems. I recognize that the impatience of the pressures for extreme solutions is often the reflection of moral passion, of a burning desire to see justice done to one's fellow-man. We recognize that this is positive and it can be creative. (I need hardly say here that I do not have in mind the solutions invariably proposed by those countries that try to turn this moral passion to cold war purposes.) The problem is to find means of expressing this justified passion within the limits and the objectives of the Charter of our Organization.

67. We believe that the Charter of the United Nations does provide a framework large enough and sound enough to contain and channel this great force of moral passion. Because this issue arises within the context of decolonization and because my delegation will not be authorized to subscribe to extreme measures during this Assembly, I think I owe it to my fellow representatives to amplify the New Zealand position. I do this in the belief that because of New Zealand's record in Western Samoa and its other smaller territories, as well as our record of lack of racial or other discrimination within our country, you will not ascribe our attitude to any basic lack of sympathy or any silly notions of superiority. I believe earnestly that our national record would give the lie to any such thought.

68. The primary roles in the process of Western decolonization are held by the two direct participants—those who have been administering the territory and the people of the territory who will soon be administering themselves. Those are the two vitally interested sections. But there is a third force in this process: international opinion, a very vital and a very powerful force. It finds its main expression in this world Organization, justified by the Charter itself. Experience has shown over the years that the transfer of power is achieved most successfully and with the greatest long-term benefit to the people involved when there is full understanding and co-operation between the two direct participants. The role of the United Nations, as we see it, is to ensure that the forces making for international change are resolved in an orderly and peaceful manner.

69. Comparatively few territories still remain dependent—at any rate, dependent on the West. They remain mainly because they are the most difficult, whether because of their small size, racial tensions, economic imbalance or lack of political development. I know of course that when there are so few left, the inclination is to call for extreme measures to dispose

of the problem immediately. It seems the simple thing to do.

70. This, however, is to step right outside the United Nations framework. The goals of peace and self-determination are placed side by side in the Charter. Where decolonization has so far been achieved successfully it has been by reliance on these twin principles of progress and order. The United Nations tradition of orderly, pragmatic progress now faces its most difficult tests. As I have said, the temptation is to short-circuit the issue by imposing or inviting violent attempts at solutions. But we believe the greater challenge to us is to consider each case on its merits and to work out where United Nations guidance, and pressure too if necessary, can be most effectively employed.

71. We agree with previous speakers that the problems of Africa are of the first priority. At the same time, as we reach the final stages of Western decolonization, we should remember that there are people who are still subjected to another system of foreign domination. In New Zealand, we are far removed from the continents of both Africa and Europe, but there is an equal sympathy in New Zealand for the desire of the peoples of both continents to achieve their full freedom and independence. So long as self-determination is denied or threatened anywhere, there is a danger to us all.

72. Fundamental to all the far-ranging and useful activities of the United Nations is the overriding consideration that the United Nations Organization exists to prevent war or, to put it positively, to preserve the peace. That is a factor that we in New Zealand never lose sight of. Above all, knowing that even the smallest conflict may spread and knowing what major war involves for all mankind, we must spare no effort to remove the means of making war. In the field of disarmament, the main impetus must still come from the two major nuclear Powers. But this does not mean that the rest of us can do nothing about it.

73. I have to report that in New Zealand there is a deep and increasing anxiety for real progress in disarmament. This anxiety has been heightened recently by the competitive series of nuclear tests and by the fearsome spectacle we recently had of an artificial aurora produced by American high altitude tests held four and a half thousand miles away in the Pacific. We in New Zealand have always believed that the United Nations has an active and critical role to play in bringing world opinion to bear upon the two nuclear giants. We hope that this role can be brought to bear in a constructive manner so that any decisions which are taken here will not have the effect of making the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva even more difficult.

74. But we realize that the longer we wait the greater become the difficulties. Additional nuclear Powers may soon emerge to disturb such precarious balance as now exists, to widen the possibility of mishap and to extend the risk that the losing side in a conventional armed conflict will then reach for its nuclear weapons. There can be no illusion about the horrible prospect for all mankind if we fail to achieve disarmament. We, the people of New Zealand, urge that every effort be made to ensure first of all that a test-ban treaty be signed in the very near future. As the President of Pakistan said a few minutes ago

when he addressed the Assembly, I say that we shall only delude ourselves if we seek or even if we achieve paper declarations about banning nuclear weapons. They are no real solution. They grasp at the shadows and let the substance slip away. I do not think they create any very great confidence in the world, nor do they build any real foundation for further measures of genuine disarmament. But a treaty could do so, an agreed treaty that provides as much verification as is needed to give confidence. This, we believe, is almost within our grasp today.

75. My Government has noted with gratification the recent evidence that technical developments may bring a solution much nearer. Previous speakers have said that improvement in the means of detecting and identifying nuclear tests held at great distances remove the problem of on-site verification of all tests except those conducted underground. This brings us a step nearer to a test-ban treaty, which would be a small but important beginning of disarmament, just as a moratorium, pending a treaty, would certainly be a very welcome beginning.

76. Man's growing knowledge and wealth give him the power to destroy the world and at the same time to reach the stars. At the same time, this wealth and knowledge and strength give to mankind the means of remodelling its own condition, of abolishing disease and hunger, poverty and ignorance.

77. New Zealand welcomes the decision to designate the 1960's as the Development Decade. We know that the objectives of the Decade can be achieved with the means already at our disposal. It is a question of applying them in the right way and to the proper ends.

78. The United Nations Organization itself has growing resources of skill and experience which can be put to the service of economic and social development throughout the world. The United Nations is in a key position since it can identify aims, it can review progress, and it can map out future lines of action on a world scale. But to act effectively, we believe that it must have a clear and a durable mandate from all Member States. The richer, industrialized nations have a particular role to play. First, they can maintain and indeed increase the resources of the United Nations Organization. Then they can assist the developing countries directly—and I know they are doing this. But the greatest contribution they can make is to permit an unfettered increase in the external trade of developing countries. True, aid is still essential; but we all prefer trade to aid.

79. The success of the Development Decade demands teamwork from the United Nations—from the wealthy countries and from the developing countries as well. Technical advice, external capital and trade earnings are all essential ingredients in the recipe for success; but the decision to use these together with domestic resources lies with the developing countries themselves. Without the will to face up to all the implications of development, nothing is possible.

80. My country, New Zealand, resembles most of the developing countries in its dependence upon the land. Our land is not naturally fertile. We can produce only a very small variety of agricultural products for export. Yet through research and the application of skill, investment of capital and, of course, hard work by everyone in our country, we have achieved living standards which can be regarded as high.

We have used a good part of our income to develop national health and education services, housing, land settlement, industrialization, public administration and so on. These are matters which the United Nations is going to concern itself with during the Development Decade. New Zealand's experience in these fields may be of use to other countries. It will always be readily available to them.

81. In spite of our relatively high per caput income, New Zealand's economy is highly vulnerable. As I said, it is based on what we earn by selling a very narrow range of agricultural products in world markets. We have this in common with many other small, developing countries. We are at present faced with declining terms of trade, as are so many others. This is caused in large part by agricultural protectionism and by subsidized exports of the richer, more industrialized nations. The prices of our imports keep rising while the prices of our exports keep falling. Like many others, we are in the position of having to run faster and faster just to be able to stand in the same position in the race.

82. New Zealand believes that the goals set for the objectives of the Development Decade cannot be achieved unless action is taken to liberalize international trade and to restore and improve the terms of trade of primary producing countries. The extent to which developing countries can finance their own development depends largely on the conditions and terms of their external trade. This in turn depends on the trade policies in the stronger, industrialized nations. They therefore have a vital part to play in seeing that producers of agricultural countries get a fair deal.

83. We in New Zealand see economic regionalism as a growing factor in our lives, and not always a beneficial one. It is a process which must affect traditional trade patterns. But we should be dismayed if its growth involved the restriction of access to markets instead of the creation of new opportunities for third countries to trade. Economic regionalism should be organized in a way that makes growth and expansion possible for other countries. It should contribute to the larger aim of increasing the scope of human progress and well-being throughout the world.

84. In common with a large number of other countries represented here, New Zealand is deeply concerned that the economic policies of all regional groupings should take into account the vital interests of smaller and more vulnerable countries. New Zealand is a developing country, and therefore a net importer of capital. This limits our scope, of course, for granting direct capital aid, though we are one of the few countries which have regularly given capital for unrestricted use by the recipient countries. We are short of capital, but we are fortunate in being able to share with other developing countries those skills which have contributed to our own development. Already, under the Colombo Plan and other international agencies, we are doing what we can to channel the benefits of our own experience to those who can profit from them. Sometimes our skills and our experience, being more recently acquired, have been found by developing countries to be more useful than those of the larger and more industrially developed countries. New Zealand will always be happy to co-operate in examining how that transfer of skills, which is one of the major objectives of the Develop-

ment Decade, can be facilitated and expanded. We will do all we can as a small nation.

85. Every Member of this Organization knows that the tasks ahead of us during the Development Decade are immense. But at least we have the basic machinery ready for action and if we all have the will to mobilize our resources, the goal of balanced economic and social growth is within our grasp. Our success in this great task will be measured by our determination; our determination will reflect our faith in the United Nations and indeed in the brotherhood of man.

86. Before concluding, I wish to extend my wholehearted welcome and congratulations to the new nations of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Rwanda and Burundi as Members of the United Nations. Soon, we know, they will be joined by two more African States, Algeria and Uganda, and before long by several other States. I welcome the progress being made in Asia, in Africa, and now in the Caribbean, in the achievement of self-determination and self-government. I naturally extend a specially warm welcome to the two fellow-members of the Commonwealth. In our multiracial Commonwealth, we are free and equal partners. We co-operate in an atmosphere of goodwill. We place no restraints upon our members. On the contrary, we treasure the special individuality of each. I think it is interesting to comment that our Commonwealth cuts right across all groupings throughout the world. It is a continuing proof, a daily proof, of the fallacy of any concept that would apportion the many nations of the world into three separate blocs.

87. The United Nations is moving steadily but inexorably, into every worthwhile field of human endeavour. Steadily, inexorably, the great truth is finding expression that all our human problems are interconnected and interdependent and can only be solved adequately by co-operative action on an international scale and by all nations striving for the common good of mankind. We New Zealanders will do our best to accept the implications and the responsibilities of this great truth, and we pledge ourselves—I pledge my Government and my people—to do our best to act upon it.

88. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian); Our delegation associates itself with the congratulations that have been expressed from this rostrum on the occasion of the election of the distinguished representative of Pakistan to the high office of President of the General Assembly's seventeenth session.

89. The minute of silence with which every regular session of the United Nations General Assembly traditionally opens is, of course, too short to allow our minds to range over all the many complicated problems of international life. But at least it serves to remind us of the immense responsibility with which the peoples have invested the United Nations as an instrument of peace and security.

90. The situation which has arisen in the world may be assessed in different ways, just as there can be different approaches to appraising the actions of various forces and States on the international scene. However, the essential criterion of such assessment, the real test of the objectives of their policy and their actions, is the attainment of the social development of all mankind and its salvation from nuclear war. From that point of view the socialist States, which

include the Ukraine, represent "a shield which reliably defends the cause of world progress".^{3/}

91. The Government of the Ukraine sincerely welcomes every event in international life which heralds the inexorable approach of the day when all peoples without exception, having destroyed forever the shameful system of colonialism, will take their places in the ranks of the free nations. The process of decolonization which is taking place before our eyes shows that historic necessity is, despite everything, driving steadily forward, and that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)], is a genuine reflection of the peoples' aspirations and of the requirements of life itself. We are not alarmed, like some, but rejoice at the increase in the membership of the United Nations. The swelling of the Organization's ranks reflects both the just principles of life and, in the last analysis, the steady expansion of the forces which are defending the cause of peace and human progress.

92. We cannot fail to perceive the main trend of mankind's development, whereby, with a steady overcoming of the most complex contradictions in social and international life, disputes are being solved and the triumph of progressive principles is being ensured. Here, of course, there can be no conflict between the maintenance of peace and progressive changes throughout the world. We cannot agree with those who say that "change [should not be] sought at the expense of peace, which is needed above all". Viewed in the correct historical perspective, the matter may be put as follows: promoting progressive changes in the world means promoting the strengthening of peace. This may be exemplified by Africa and Asia, Algeria, Cuba and West Irian. Dangerous conflicts always arise in places where old, reactionary and outdated forces try to raise obstacles in the path of new, growing and progressive forces and attempt to stand in the way of changes necessitated by life itself. Since peace is indeed above all else indispensable to the peoples, it is the duty of States Members of the United Nations conscientiously to remove obstacles from the path of progressive changes which can no longer be put off.

93. The achievements of peace and progress are clearly reflected in today's triumphs of the human mind. In our times, man is blazing the trail to the stars and his bold thought is penetrating the most secret mysteries of nature. Delegates to the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will surely understand our feelings if I tell them of the rejoicing which recently swept through the whole of the Ukraine when its son of the stars, Pavel Popovich, together with Andrian Nikolaev, coursed throughout space for several days. Penetration of the cosmos by courageous sons of Earth symbolizes for us the unconquerable power of the mind which, when directed towards the well-being of mankind, is capable of extraordinary and even fabulous exploits.

94. The world is indeed witnessing a wealth of events which give grounds for an optimistic view of the future. At the same time, it is impossible to ignore, with naïve simplicity or light-heartedness, certain circumstances which are highly dangerous from the

^{3/} N. S. Khrushchev, "Urgent problems of the development of the world socialist system," *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 9, p. 17.

standpoint of creating the fundamental condition for mankind's active life, namely peace on earth.

95. The other day we heard here a statement by the representative of the United States of America. Mr. Stevenson appealed to participants in the Assembly to conduct "quiet diplomacy" [1125th meeting] and asserted that the General Assembly could not work fruitfully if it proceeded in the manner of "a protest demonstration in a public square" and if the quality of its debates was "debased by propaganda or by speeches". He warned us, admittedly in somewhat nebulous terms, against "the resolution which invokes high principle in support of unrealistic action and does nothing to advance a practical solution". While recognizing that "indignation and outrage have been powerful enemies of injustice since the beginning of history", Mr. Stevenson called upon the General Assembly to exercise rational impartiality, which would in practice border upon static indifference—as though the agenda of the seventeenth session, which as we know is replete with international problems requiring urgent solution, were nothing but a routine list of book-keeping entries.

96. The American Press, radio and television have referred to this statement almost as a sort of carefully-weighed gesture of conciliation, or even as a kind of lifebelt with which the United States seeks to rescue the world from the gulf of the "cold war".

97. Is this really so? Does Mr. Stevenson's speech, outwardly so smooth and so peace-making in its intent, really reflect the nature of the policy of the United States as a policy of peaceful coexistence? Unfortunately, no.

98. Almost at the very time when the United States representative to the United Nations was expounding from this rostrum, with a calm obviously designed for effect, the views of the United States Government on international problems and on the tasks of the United Nations, at Washington, as we know, decisions were being taken which prescribed the use of any means, including armed force, to settle accounts with Cuba. After that, according to the New York Journal-American of 22 September 1962, the Fibron landing unit under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Brewster was sent on a three-month tour of combat duty to the Caribbean. It consisted of a Marine battalion of 1,600 men prepared to reach Cuba in a few hours, of helicopters, tanks and special naval vessels. The whole unit comprised 3,200 men. The newspaper further stated that Lieutenant Colonel Brewster and his Marines would perhaps be the first American troops to land on Fidel Castro's territory, if the Cuban crisis entered the "hot stage". But since this entry of the "hot stage" does not depend on peace-loving Cuba, which harbours no such intentions, the word "if" is used here simply in order to preserve a fictitious and entirely superficial vagueness. Some people are not in the least disturbed by the fact that oral attacks against Cuba are really also directed against the United Nations, against its Charter which provides that nations should live in peace with one another, and against the sovereign right of peoples to choose their own way of life. But since international law is not on the side of the United States, there is dragged into the light of day the rubbish, covered with the dust of ages, which goes by the name of the Monroe Doctrine. To the same end, wild inventions, lacking any kind of verisimilitude, are

thought up to serve as pretexts for aggression against Cuba.

99. And why is all this happening? The consideration here is not even that "change [should not be] sought at the expense of peace", as Mr. Stevenson put it; for the change has already taken place. The Cuban people has already chosen its path towards development and, with the support of its many friends, has strength and courage enough to uphold its right to freedom and independence. The point here is that the social and political changes that have taken place in the life of this courageous people are not to the liking of the ruling circles of the United States, which consider themselves entitled to put an end to these developments by crude, unreasoning and arbitrary force!

100. As we can see, the behaviour of the United States in regard to little Cuba is in striking contrast with the words of the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, who called upon all nations to "stay their hands in pursuit of national ambitions" and to settle problems through the "impartial ... instrument of quiet diplomacy". Is this not so?

101. The United States perpetrated another arbitrary act the other day, this time against the Soviet Union. It has become known that the Puerto Rican authorities confiscated over 9,000 tons of sugar which was being sent to the USSR from Cuba on the British vessel, Streatham Hill. Such acts by the United States border on piracy on the high seas, and merit the most resolute condemnation.

102. Quite recently it has become known that certain circles are nurturing plans whereby the United States shall cease giving aid to countries trading with Cuba. Does this not represent crude pressure upon these countries? What can be the outcome of this dictatorial and arbitrary policy?

103. It can produce only one result—further conflict in the trade lanes to Cuba, further dislocation of international trade, and, finally, further aggravation of tension in the world, although this tension is already too great. The economic blockade of revolutionary Cuba, organized by the United States of America, will meet with crushing and shameful failure. Cuba has friends, and they have extended to it a helping hand. The friends of the Cuban people will not be intimidated by American threats!

104. Now let us turn to another part of our planet—to South Viet-Nam. There, the United States Government, crudely violating the sovereignty and independence of Viet-Nam, is conducting an "undeclared war" in which 10,000 American officers and men are taking part. As pointed out in the note [of 19 September 1962] from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, the United States Government has created in that area of the world a hotbed of dangerous, even highly dangerous tension, which threatens the peace and security of the peoples of Indo-China and South-East Asia. In February 1962, a United States Command was set up at Saigon, to head not only the United States armed forces in South Viet-Nam and their puppets, but also United States armed forces in neighbouring Thailand. Is there any need to stress that what is in process here is the expansion of United States armed intervention in this region, carefully planned and organized

in the Pentagon? But, if we follow Mr. Stevenson's advice, this should cause no anxiety to representatives in the General Assembly. We are invited to make unctious speeches, to avoid sharp corners and to conceal the truth from the peoples, while the United States of America flouts the United Nations Charter, fosters tension in various parts of the world, and creates a threat of thermo-nuclear war.

105. The conscience of the world was quite recently shaken by a statement from the President of the United States of America to the effect that in certain circumstances the United States might take the initiative in a nuclear conflict.

106. The Ukrainian Government condemns the doctrine of preventive nuclear war as aggressive, irreconcilably contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter and to the interests of the maintenance of peace, and incompatible with the honour and conscience of mankind. The Ukrainian delegation resolutely advocates the condemnation by the United Nations of propaganda for a preventive nuclear war. Nothing, absolutely nothing, should prevent the States which possess nuclear weapons from undertaking, as an initial step towards the banning of nuclear weapons, the solemn obligation not to be the first to use them. A weighty pronouncement by the United Nations, in the form of approval of the USSR draft resolution [A/5232], would have far-reaching beneficial consequences and would undoubtedly dispel the anxiety engendered among the peoples by propaganda for a preventive nuclear war.

107. We also cannot ignore the fact that the arms race whipped up by the Governments of the United States and other NATO countries is being accompanied by psychological conditioning of the American people. Sages, politicians and the prophets of doom in propaganda agencies preach a doctrine of despair and inevitability, asserting that the arms race cannot be stopped and that nuclear catastrophe cannot be averted. Before our eyes, the America of skyscrapers is being invited to bury itself as deep as possible underground, in concrete caves, as if shelters worthy of prehistoric man were capable of replacing so genuine and reliable an anti-atomic device as peace. Nonetheless, these people can never take the Americans back to the time when the oceans served as a kind of gigantic, impassable moat of water around their continent, around their home. Given the modern potential of rocket weapons, the seas and oceans which in former times effectively separated one continent from another have, as it were, contracted. A nuclear missile war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, and even the countries not taking a direct part in the armed conflict or not involved in the military conflagration would be affected by its consequences.

108. The peoples hope and believe that the lightning of nuclear war will not flash over the shores of rivers, seas and oceans. They need peace in order to labour, to rejoice, to live. The highway to a lasting peace is general and complete disarmament, and the world is ready for general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, the world cannot afford not to disarm.

109. Unfortunately, as has already been pointed out from this rostrum by the USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrei Andreevich Gromyko [1127th meeting], the negotiating machinery for general and complete disarmament, namely the Eighteen-Nation Committee, is still idling. The report of the Eighteen-Nation

Committee to the General Assembly [A/5200] is remarkably laconic, for apart from references to certain documents and a description of the Committee's procedure it contains nothing of substance on the problem of general and complete disarmament. Last year we duly considered the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations.^{4/} These principles were regarded as a small step, but a step in the right direction. Yet through the fault of the Western Powers the Eighteen-Nation Committee has not taken the really radical steps which would have led to the preparation and signature of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

110. While refraining at the present time from an exhaustive appraisal of the documents of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, the Ukrainian delegation would lay particular stress on the fact that the core of the Soviet plan^{5/} for general and complete disarmament is the prohibition and complete abolition of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the core of the Western outline^{6/} for a treaty is the establishment of control over armaments—in other words, treaty sanction for the arms race.

111. The Soviet Union has introduced amendments into its draft treaty. These amendments provide that, when the means of delivering nuclear weapons are destroyed at the first stage, the United States and, of course, the Soviet Union will retain such means of defence against violation of the treaty as a strictly limited and agreed number of intercontinental missiles and certain other types of missile. This new initiative bears witness to the sincere desire of the Soviet Government to find a common language with the Western Powers and to work out the agreement on general and complete disarmament which the peoples have so long awaited.

112. It is essential for disarmament problems to be discussed in the General Assembly, and we may hope that the participation of all States Members of the United Nations in this discussion will be fruitful.

113. The Government of the Ukraine has instructed its delegation once again to express its deep concern at the reappearance of a dangerous source of war in the very centre of Europe, not far from the western frontiers of the Soviet Union.

114. West Germany's frenzied accumulation of material means of waging war and the intensive psychological preparation of the West German population for revenge have become a source of constant military danger for the peoples of Europe, including the Ukrainian people.

115. We cannot observe with indifference the sabre-rattling to the West of the Elbe, we cannot watch impassively the thirst and persistence with which the German militarists and revenge-seekers are striving to obtain atomic weapons. They are trying under any pretext to put their finger on the atomic trigger, on the basis either of NATO's conversion into "a fourth nuclear Power" or of "nuclear partnership" with the United States (and perhaps with France too)—in short, on any suitable basis.

^{4/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879, para. 3.

^{5/} See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, section C.

^{6/} Ibid., section F.

116. We in the Ukraine, of course, took note of the military parades at Mourmelon and the processions on the banks of the Rhine in connexion with the visit of the President of France to West Germany. We were not surprised that there were groups of people, specially hired to form a crowd which had gathered spontaneously, looking like members of an operatic chorus—always, it seemed, dying of boredom and thinking only of how not to miss the next tram. They, so we are told, sang "Deutschland über Alles" with greater gusto than the "Marseillaise". They sang laudatory hymns in honour of the alliance between French reaction and the West German militarists and revenge-seekers—an alliance claiming the right to dictate to Europe, an alliance in which tomorrow certain peoples of Europe would be called upon to act as toy soldiers of a General and a Chancellor lost in dreams of greatness. But if the General's dreams of his role as the arbiter of Europe are empty ones, the old lion of Cologne is methodically occupying the strongest positions in the so-called "Europe of the fatherlands".

117. At the moment one thing is clear: these processions and parades give encouragement to the revenge-seekers and militarists of Bonn. But they, like all aggressors, scorn the principles of the national sovereignty, and integrity of the frontiers of other States. Chancellor Adenauer, stating the policy of the Federal Government, has declared that "the Oder-Neisse line is not the eastern frontier of Germany".^{2/}

118. But while the revenge-seekers in Bonn proclaim that they do not recognize the post-war frontiers, the "provocateurs" in West Berlin systematically violate them, stirring up border conflicts—which involves the danger of an explosion. From August 1961 to the end of May 1962 alone, on the borders of the German Democratic Republic running through West Berlin, 202 cases of damage to frontier installations occurred and fire was opened seventy-eight times, from the West Berlin side, on the frontier posts of the German Democratic Republic. In the period from June to August, the number of incidents increased still further. This is not a harmless game with tin soldiers. This is playing with fire.

119. Recent events in West Berlin confirm that the occupation régime in this city has become a cover for revenge-seekers and militarists, who are organizing every kind of subversive activity against the Soviet Union and other peace-loving States. The present dangerous situation in West Berlin is a direct result of the policy of the "front-line city" which the occupying Powers, the Federal Republic of Germany and the West Berlin City Senate follow both jointly and separately.

120. West Berlin has been turned into a vast protective camp for numerous espionage and sabotage centres and for militarist and revenge-seeking organizations, into a loudspeaker emitting shameless propaganda for hatred and war. Developments in West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany are in fact following the same course as in Hitler's Germany at the time of its preparation for aggression. And if matters today depended only on the West German militarists, thirsting for revenge, mankind would already have been plunged into a new, bloody and destructive war.

121. However, the militarists and revenge-seekers should always remember that the frontier of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin forms a powerful line of defence against the NATO military base in West Berlin, against those who are preparing for war and are avid for conflict.

122. I wish to emphasize that the Ukrainian people, like all the peoples of the socialist countries, regards the borders of the German Democratic Republic as its own and is therefore ready to defend them in company with the others. The German Democratic Republic is a peace-loving State in the centre of Europe. It has never threatened anyone, and is threatening no one. Peace in Europe, and indeed throughout the world, is greatly indebted to the calm and restrained policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

123. There is only one way in which a radical improvement in the situation can be brought about—the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the normalization of the position in West Berlin on the basis of that treaty.

124. It is the duty of all States which fought against Hitler's Germany to draw a line under the Second World War, and to do away with all the traces of it. This corresponds to the vital interests of all peoples and all States.

125. A most important achievement in the cause of ensuring peace and progress is the successful fight of the people for their liberation from the chains of colonialism. Among the notable events of recent times, the victory of the Algerian people stands out sharply. In an unbelievably grim and heroic struggle, it has hewn its way to independence. The victory of Algeria is yet one more proof that the aspiration of oppressed peoples to a free life is stronger than all the weapons of death in the armoury of the colonizers.

126. The people and Government of the Ukraine warmly congratulate the Algerian people on its great victory and wish it success in the building and fruitful development of an independent Algerian Republic, which will obviously soon become a Member of the United Nations.

127. We also welcome the peoples of Burundi, Rwanda, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, which have achieved national independence and are now represented in the United Nations.

128. As early as 1946, in the Security Council, the Government of the Ukraine demanded that the colonizers' aggression against Indonesia should cease. Today we are particularly happy to share in the joy of Indonesian people with regard to the complete accomplishment of the territory's liberation from the colonizers and the reuniting of West Irian with free Indonesia.

129. But the just cause of the colonial peoples has not yet finally triumphed. Many millions of people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania are still under the yoke of British, Portuguese, American and other colonizers. They await the help of the United Nations in their struggle.

130. The granting of independence to many peoples continues to be delayed by the colonizers under the thoroughly and fundamentally false racialist pretext of the alleged inferiority of coloured peoples. It is still affirmed that the granting of independence to colonies without what the colonizers regard as the

^{2/} *Pommersche Zeitung*, 31 March 1962.

necessary period of preparation will reduce the newly-formed States to chaos and will turn them into centres for international conflicts. It has become fashionable in this regard to refer to the example of the so-called hasty granting of independence to the Republic of the Congo.

131. But there is nothing more fallacious and hypocritical than that argument, if such it can be termed. The continuing tragedy of the Congo is simply a glaring example of crude interference by the colonizers and imperialists in the domestic affairs of new independent States. The cause of the tragedy of the Congolese people lies not in its unpreparedness for independence, but in the imperialist monopolies greedily sucking up the riches of the Congo. It is no secret that the Katangan secessionists can continue their treacherous policy of splitting the country's unity only because they are backed by powerful international monopolies and Governments of Western Powers, to which the interests of the Congolese people mean nothing but their own greedy desires. Independence, equality and the freedom of peoples have never menaced, and cannot menace, international peace. The whole history of colonialism, on the other hand, is indissolubly linked with wars and bloodshed.

132. Now that they are compelled to refrain from the most odious forms of colonial oppression, the colonizers are trying to fall back on the next line of defence, which consists in various types of inequality, dependence and subjugation of some countries by others. The imperialists are trying, and sometimes not without success, to replace the old "classical" colonialism with a new colonialism which, while not opposing, and sometimes even gladly recognizing, the formal proclamation of the independence of this or that country, at the same time entangles the country in various kinds of inequitable agreement. In form these are international documents, concluded between sovereign States, and they even speak of "High Contracting Parties". But in substance, as the former President of Guatemala, Mr. Arevalo, put it, one of the parties to such an agreement is the shark and the other is the sardine, destined to be the victim of one of the "High Contracting Parties"—namely, the shark.

133. In former times, when colonialism was on the attack, swallowing up one country after another, the establishment of inequitable relations was the last step before full enslavement. Now, when colonialism is retreating and falling apart, such relations are becoming the "reserve position" of the colonizers, on which they fall back to maintain their imperialistic domination and economic enslavement of the peoples of other countries.

134. The Charter of the United Nations prescribes the obligation to develop international relations and co-operation on the basis of equal rights for all States and peoples. The Declaration on the granting of independence demands the speedy end of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The preliminary implementing of the principle of self-determination of peoples is incompatible with the practice of imposing inequitable agreements and establishing inequitable relations among States. The principles underlying the equality of all States and all peoples must become the immutable foundation of international relations.

135. Our delegation noted the statement made yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama,

in which he described the Treaty of 1903 between Panama and the United States as "humiliating, injurious, unjust and inequitable" [A/PV.1130] and recalled that it had been concluded at a time "when colonies and the occupation of small countries by powerful ones were common . . . in the world".

136. The General Assembly of the United Nations has every reason to condemn the practice of concluding inequitable treaties, to declare lawful the attempt of States to free themselves from obligations arising from treaties of that kind, and to call on States to renounce all forms and methods of establishing unequal international relations. The delegation of the Ukraine would, I should like to say, be among those giving active support to a proposal made in the General Assembly, in that sense.

137. The actual circumstances permitting the imperialists to impose inequitable relations consist, as a rule, in the economic backwardness of former colonial and dependent countries. It is therefore understandable, that the peoples and Governments of these countries should wish to create a sound, independent and developing national economy able to ensure a steady increase in the well-being of the population and the constant strengthening of national independence.

138. In this connexion, attention must be drawn to the truly enormous possibilities which would be opened up for the under-developed countries if the problem of general and complete disarmament were successfully solved. The arms race swallows up incalculable resources. It has been estimated that the total sum spent on military expenditure by all countries is roughly equal to the annual income of all the under-developed countries, with a total population of 1,300 million people. The freeing of resources by disarmament would allow the rate of development to be increased to such an extent that within the next two or three decades it would be possible, basically, to close the present gap between the level of development of the economically advanced and that of the economically backward countries.

139. The delegation of the Ukraine therefore supports the Soviet Union's submission of the item entitled "economic programme for disarmament" [A/5233], and considers that the Soviet draft Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament [*ibid.*] deserves the most careful examination by the General Assembly at its present session.

140. The people and Government of the Ukraine have always attached great importance to the United Nations, in whose purposes and principles the aspirations of all peace-loving peoples are embodied. These are the high objectives of peace, of the peaceful coexistence of States, and of the strengthening of co-operation between them. These are the democratic and generally accepted principles of equal rights and of respect for the sovereignty of all States, large and small, and the principles of economic co-operation and progress.

141. The Ukraine has therefore always wished the United Nations to become an effective instrument of peace. We do not agree with those who would like the United Nations to be solely a forum for debates, and we are even more opposed to the United Nations being regarded as a sort of safety-valve for the release of "national emotions". No; we desire that the actions

of the Security Council and the recommendations of the General Assembly should really contribute to the solution of the international problems which divide the world.

142. The influx of new States into the United Nations considerably strengthens the Organization and expands its possibilities, changes the situation in it for the better, and creates the necessary basis for the more effective functioning of its organs.

143. There are still, of course, many shortcomings in the work of the United Nations. And precisely for this reason we are concerned that the changes in the membership of the Organization should be reflected in the Secretariat of the United Nations—in its structure, which should reflect the present balance of forces in the world. To say, as is often said from this rostrum, that such changes would mean the death of the United Nations is to state what is not true and to make a profound mistake.

144. The reorganization of the United Nations on the basis of the equal and equitable representation, in its organs, of the three main groups of States now in existence—the socialist countries, the neutralist countries, and the countries belonging to the Western military blocs—is an urgent necessity, dictated by the desirability of still further strengthening this international forum of the peoples.

145. The present session is called upon to make an outstanding contribution to the solution of numerous international problems. Many speeches which we have heard here have been very impassioned, and we can sense in them a genuine concern for the solution of the questions under consideration.

146. The position in the world today can leave no one indifferent to the events which are unfolding around us. But the passion which has marked the speeches of delegates in the Assembly in no way conflicts with the need to be reasonable and judicious in the discussion of the concrete questions awaiting solution.

147. A feeling of responsibility for the fate of mankind should be prominent both here in the United Nations and in the relations between States, so that wise solutions can be found for the questions and problems to which life gives rise.

148. In this connexion, satisfaction is sure to be felt regarding the well-known agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union, under which the Government of Iran will not give any foreign State the right to have rocket-missile bases of any kind on Iranian territory and will never allow Iran to become a means of aggression against the territory of the Soviet Union. This agreement is positive in its significance.

149. Whatever important question we settle here, in one way or another it touches on the problem of peace. To settle the fundamental questions of the contemporary world in such a way as to help strengthen the cause of peace—that is the most important task facing the United Nations today.

150. In recalling this, we should like to refer to the words of the Head of the Government of the Soviet Union, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, who, speaking at the World Congress on General Disarmament and Peace, on 10 July 1962 said:

"The ominous situation dictates the need for creating a truly world-wide anti-war union of peoples expressing the will of all social strata and of all the

nations of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania. Only one aim can determine the programme and the whole activity of this genuinely world-wide union of different peace-loving forces—to bar the way to a thermonuclear war, and to place the war-mongering maniacs in a state of siege."^{2/}

151. It is the duty of the United Nations to be in the van of the forces defending the cause of peace and promoting the solution of acute international problems in the interests of peace and progress. It only remains to wish the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly success in this field of honour.

152. Mr. ESCOBAR SERRANO (El Salvador) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of El Salvador, which I have the honour to head, wishes first of all to reiterate its warm congratulations to the President on being chosen to guide the work of this Assembly at its seventeenth regular session. It is also pleased to extend its heartiest welcome to the new Members of the United Nations, the States of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Rwanda and Burundi. On this happy occasion, the Salvadorian people and Government greet these States and their worthy representatives in this Assembly and trust that independence will enable them to strengthen their democratic institutions and to attain the development and prosperity which they deserve.

153. Since its inception, that is, in the last seventeen years, the membership of the United Nations has more than doubled. We think that it would be difficult to say whether or not the founders of this Organization foresaw the emergence of so many countries in so short a time. History has no record of so extraordinary an event; rather, it speaks of the decline or disappearance of empires and States. We therefore regard the appearance of so many new nations, whose influence is already being felt in this Assembly, as a unique feature of the world of today.

154. We do not doubt that the increasing number of countries associated in our Organization will strengthen it in its struggle to maintain peace, increase its power to ensure that nations, large and small, duly respect each other, and, above all, provide new hope that with the co-operation of the United Nations conflicts which give rise to anxiety and uncertainty because they threaten the future of mankind will be settled.

155. The main objectives which the authors of the Charter had in mind coincide with the goals set by the advocates of pacifism in the past and present centuries, and although it is true that men seem to us to have changed and the world to be different, there is no denying that the same concepts prevail and the ideal is the same: namely, peace and friendship among nations, international morality, and co-operation in every technical, economic and cultural field.

156. Notwithstanding the negative attitude of the pessimists, my delegation believes that, despite differences of opinion, if we men meet together to discuss them in good faith it will always be possible for us to settle our conflicts. Fortunately for the human race, solidarity among men and States does not mean uniformity; each has his own opinion on the questions that affect us all. We see this every day in the Assembly and it explains the long and difficult road which the United Nations has travelled. Grave con-

^{2/} *Pravda*, 11 July 1962.

flicts which have jeopardized peace have been settled in the end. The most diverse views have been expressed from this rostrum; at times, sharp words and threatening phrases have been heard here and sometimes speakers have gone so far that their words have wounded their opponents. In the end, however, tempers have cooled and peaceful voices, urging understanding and brotherhood among States, have been heeded.

157. An entire chapter would be needed to do justice to the role and influence of this Organization in its struggle to improve the conditions of the less fortunate States from the economic, cultural and technical point of view. El Salvador and many other countries have benefited from co-operation of this kind extended by the United Nations, and my Government has proved itself worthy of this act of solidarity by transforming its economic and social structure and arranging its finances in accordance with the methods counselled by experts of the United Nations specialized agencies, at the same time not losing sight of our own particular characteristics and the extent of our resources.

158. My country, in keeping with its Government's standards of conduct and its goals of promoting human and social dignity, has not failed to face the factors which cause unrest and lead to agitation. As the President of El Salvador said recently, upon taking office, these goals will be sought "without any shirking, thoroughly and completely, on the basis of law and economic incentives, encouraging the social role of wealth in practical and equitable ways and developing programmes of governmental action designed to raise the level of living of the most needy classes".

159. "We are endeavouring", he said, "to carry out a thorough revision of our culture and our public ethics in order to determine in what direction we are going, to breach certain obscure ideas that have become enshrined as scientific truths and to discover whether the symbols which we respect as the sources of humanism are trustworthy guides for our civic conscience or merely sectarian strongholds of philosophies alien to our republican and democratic tradition."

160. The Salvadorian State is seeking "a formula of balance between savings and investments in the private sector and is convinced of the need to improve remuneration and services for the working and rural classes; this will have to be reflected in its fiscal policy, which will include a careful and complete revision of the tax structure to bring it into line with objectives and realities in keeping with a solution satisfactory to all social groups".

161. With these and other measures, we are resolutely facing the perils which menace our democratic institutions and confronting those who seek to replace them with others which are alien to our tradition. We are facing subversive propaganda and activities which threaten—and recently attempted—to disturb law and order in El Salvador. We are therefore on our guard against the communist movement, which is active in our country. We know that it receives, respects and carries out orders and instructions which apparently come from a brother country not far away from us, but we are convinced that the real source of communist disturbance and contamination lies outside our continent.

162. We wish to denounce here this inadmissible interference, which constitutes a grave threat not only

to El Salvador but also to the other countries of America.

163. The Salvadorian nation has republican and democratic roots which draw their nourishment from deep within the spirit of our people. It holds the principles of self-determination and non-intervention to be the necessary basis for peaceful coexistence among States, but for that very reason it defends its democratic creed and resolutely opposes any kind of totalitarianism, whether of the right or of the left, which some may seek to impose upon it.

164. Consequently, it is natural that we should be determined to prevent Marxist-Leninist propaganda, which is expressly denounced in our Political Constitution, by every possible means. As our Chief of State has said, "we are not disturbed by the harassments of communism, nor does its so-called revolutionary justice strike into our hearts. We certainly condemn its methods and repudiate its policy, because we consider it a mockery and an offence to the dignity of the peoples of America. The anti-communist struggle which we envisage is sustained by new doctrinal elements; we shall struggle against communism with weapons of socio-economic reform, dignifying man as citizen and worker and the family as the foundation of nationhood. We do not preach extermination or hatred; the moral seed which we are sowing is that of faith and hope in the higher destiny of our country."

165. In the Central American region El Salvador is concerned with the economic, social, cultural and political reconstruction of the five States of the Isthmus, which emerged to independent life united in 1821 and whose unity was shattered in 1839 with the breaking of the federal agreement of the Republic of Central America.

166. Since then there have been many efforts to rebuild that unity, all to no avail, but we are persisting in that endeavour. In 1951 the Charter of San Salvador was signed, establishing the Organization of Central American States with headquarters at San Salvador, its task being to co-ordinate the efforts of the five Central American countries in that direction. The process of integration of Central America had already made considerable progress and we are on the eve of holding an important meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers at Panama City which, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala so aptly said, will consider the restructure of the Organization of Central American States as another step towards reconstructing the political unity of the Isthmus.

167. In this connexion we are pleased to add that ever since its inception the Central American regional organization has viewed with interest and favour the possibility that the sister Republic of Panama, geographically an integral part of the Isthmus, may enter the Organization of our States.

168. El Salvador, like every country in the world, keeps a constant watch on the development of the serious problems which threaten international peace and security. The small nations, like the great Powers, view with concern the mounting tensions which threaten to lead to a catastrophe which could destroy everything that man's intelligence and energy have built in the course of thousands of years. We do not believe, however—for it is inconceivable—that another total war will come. We are nourished in this hope by the efforts of the statesmen responsible for the future of their peoples who are striving to resolve

their differences without resorting to violent and irreparable decisions. For many months we have seen them discussing the difficult problem of general disarmament, the serious risks of the armaments race, the Berlin crisis, the problems of South-East Asia, the Cuban situation and many other problems which threaten peace. My delegation pays a tribute to those efforts and believes that history will record with gratitude and admiration the names of all the political leaders who are now devoting their efforts to avoiding war and preserving international order and security.

169. At all events, whatever fate the future may hold in store for us, we wish to state as members of the community of nations making up the free world that

we shall remain faithful to our spiritual values and our democratic and Christian traditions and that we shall never renounce the liberties which we enjoy today.

170. In keeping with these ideas, the delegation of El Salvador is resolved to support all proposals and measures which may be thought necessary to promote the just and peaceful solution of the problems which disturb the world. It is confident that during this session of the General Assembly satisfactory results will be achieved in accordance with the principles advocated by the Charter of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.