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**President:** Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN  
(Pakistan).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Thailand in exercise of the right of reply.
2. Mr. ANUMAN RAJADHON (Thailand): My delegation considers it a disgrace for any Member to abuse the valuable time of this Assembly by indulging in frequent polemical interventions. We all know that re-crimination and vituperation against each other are in no way conducive to international peace and security. However, the third intervention by the Cambodian representative this morning [1143rd meeting] has compelled my delegation once again to exercise the right of reply. We do so with the greatest reluctance and regret. It is really very dreary coming up here to deal with the untrue charges from Cambodia.
3. In order not to waste too much of the Assembly's time I shall not deal with the various excuses given by the Cambodian representative but shall confine myself to the two following points. First, the reference made to remote history concerning the territory of the ancient Khmer empire appears to me too futile and irrelevant to call for a reply. This Assembly is certainly not the proper forum in which to engage in historical debate. Secondly, with regard to the reference made by the representative of Thailand to the statements by the Cambodian Chief of State, it was inevitably and properly made with the sole purpose of illustrating the cause of the unfortunate relations between Thailand and Cambodia.
4. It appears to be typically Cambodian to use the pretext of an office to claim immunity from objective ex-

posure of facts, while personally engaging actively in an incessant campaign of vilification against others.

5. Mr. FREITAS (Togo) (translated from French): My delegation is happy and proud to extend to you, Mr. President, its heartfelt congratulations on your splendid election to the presidency of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. We are certain that under the guidance of a man of your culture, competence and vast experience of international affairs our work will proceed in an atmosphere of complete calm and with the maximum degree of efficiency.

6. Having ourselves been only recently admitted to membership of the United Nations, we are always very glad to see new independent States come to take their rightful place here. My delegation is therefore pleased to welcome Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Burundi and Rwanda. Like Togo, the two last-named States are former United Nations Trust Territories. The peoples of these States should be the first to be congratulated on their attainment of independence but we must also pay a tribute to the United Nations, which, together with the Administering Authority and through the operation of the Trusteeship System, has performed the difficult task of guiding them to independence. It gives us great pleasure to see that, as in the case of Togo, the hard work of the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee has been crowned with success.

7. When I spoke from this rostrum exactly a year ago [1026th meeting], I referred to the problems on which the attention of the Republic of Togo was mainly focused because they were crucial for the peace and stability of our world, and I described my delegation's attitude to each one of them. The maintenance of world peace, disarmament, decolonization and the economic and social progress of the under-developed countries: these are the matters with which we have been primarily concerned.

8. Since these same problems are still the greatest source of concern to the General Assembly at this session, my first impulse is to sum up all I have to say in a few words: namely, that my delegation's attitude to these problems has not changed. In the circumstances, however, repetition is undoubtedly both useful and beneficial.

9. As we have already said, and shall say again, there can be no real peace unless it is based on law and justice. Is the situation in South Africa, Angola, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and other places an example of law and justice or a manifestation of our genuine yearning for peace? Is it in the interests of peace that territories are annexed against the will of their inhabitants and that certain States Members of the United Nations entertain expansionist designs and promote, organize and support subversive activities in neighbouring sovereign States? Is it in the name or for the sake of peace that apartheid is still being practised in South Africa and that unspeakable acts of repression

are being committed in Angola? The United Nations has indeed good reason to be concerned at the state of conflict and tension in the world.

10. Today more than ever disarmament is a matter of imperative and urgent necessity. All the speakers who have come to this rostrum, even the leaders of the two blocs, are agreed on this. Disarmament is necessary in order to relax international tension and reduce the danger of a hot war. It is necessary in order that the fabulous sums now being devoted to armaments can be used for the greater good of mankind. It is only on the means of achieving disarmament that there is any disagreement, and that is due simply to mutual mistrust. In this respect, my delegation feels that the Joint Memorandum of the neutralist countries<sup>1/</sup> at the Geneva Conference<sup>2/</sup> deserves further serious consideration by the two sides and thorough study by the General Assembly. We feel that this memorandum may serve as a basis for agreement and negotiation.

11. This brings us to the question of the halting of nuclear tests, which in certain quarters is being linked with the conclusion of an agreement on general and complete disarmament. My delegation still does not share this point of view. We say once again that, in the interests of mankind, nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests must cease. They must cease because of the harmful effects of radioactive fall-out on living beings on our planet. To this end the General Assembly must reaffirm the position it took last year and request that the moratorium should be reimposed pending the conclusion of a treaty by the nuclear Powers at the earliest possible moment.

12. The United Nations can feel heartened by the settlement of the Laotian problem through the formation of a Government of national unity and thanks to the international agreement guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Laos.<sup>3/</sup> No doubt it can also feel satisfaction about the agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea [see document A/5170, annex], if only because the peaceful people of this area, the protection of whose interests has now become our sacred and collective trust, have been spared suffering and desolation. It must not, however, lose sight of the fact that there are still areas of dangerous tension in the world, such as Berlin with its wall, a permanent source of conflict, where the situation is most disquieting.

13. My delegation's position with regard to the German problem has not changed. We maintain that only the self-determination of the German people and really free elections to produce genuine spokesmen can bring peace and order back to this part of the world, and we hope that the allied Powers, which joined together for the very purpose of fighting for law and freedom, will not deny these rights to the German people.

14. Decolonization is, beyond question, another of the main factors of international peace and security. The Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [see resolution 1514 (XV)] makes it incumbent upon all the colonial Powers to grant independence to their colonies. My delegation takes this opportunity to express once again its satisfaction over the attainment of independence by the four new States

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961-December 1962, document DC/203, annex 1, sect. J.

<sup>2/</sup> Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, opened on 14 March 1962.

<sup>3/</sup> Declaration on the neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

admitted to membership of the United Nations at the beginning of this session, as also by Uganda and Algeria, which are about to join us. For the sake of the heroic Algerian people and of France, we particularly welcome the happy outcome of the armed conflict which had divided them for over seven years.

15. Unfortunately many instances of colonialism have yet to be liquidated. My delegation deplores the negative attitude of the colonial Powers which are still desperately trying to resist the current of decolonization, which is, however, irresistible. It is unthinkable that in this twentieth century African lands should still be consciously regarded as an extension of European metropolitan territories and that entire peoples should thus find themselves enslaved in their own countries. My delegation is therefore ready to support any draft resolution on decolonization which would recommend practical and realistic means appropriate for each case. The loyal and sincere co-operation of all Member States is, however, necessary to ensure that our joint decisions may lead to positive and tangible results.

16. Our attitude towards the inhuman acts of all kinds being committed in Africa and elsewhere is one of complete and unequivocal disapproval. Our position with regard to the situation in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is, as we have just said, perfectly clear. It is to be hoped that Portugal will understand the situation and, in its own interest, realize that the sword is powerless against the spirit, and that the white minorities in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will realize that they cannot dominate these countries any longer. My delegation counts on the effective co-operation of the United Kingdom with the United Nations so that the objectives set in our unanimously adopted resolution 1514 (XV) may be attained rapidly in these territories, in orderly and peaceful conditions.

17. With reference to South West Africa, my country had the honour to be appointed a member of the United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa. I must therefore dwell on this point at some length. In resolution 1702 (XVI) of 19 December 1961, the General Assembly "solemnly proclaims the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to independence and national sovereignty" and, to that end, "decides to establish a United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa...". Under paragraph 2 of this resolution the Special Committee was expressly entrusted with certain urgent tasks which would pave the way for the granting of complete freedom to the people of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa, naturally in co-operation and consultation with the Mandatory Power.

18. Following upon all the well-known difficulties, the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee were alone authorized by the South African Government to visit the Territory. The report of the Special Committee [A/5212], based on the report submitted to it by those two members, furnishes ample evidence of the unchanging nature of the situation in South West Africa. Paragraph 3 of the letter from the South African Government to the Special Committee reads as follows:

"The record will also show that where the South African Government was not prepared to adopt measures required by the United Nations, its attitude was dictated by its juridical position. The Government of

South Africa cannot now be a party to any proposal or action which could imply a departure therefrom." [A/5212, paragraph 9.]

This text, together with the statements made by that Government's spokesman from this rostrum a few days ago [1128th and 1129th meetings], constitutes the best corroboration of the report, which is a challenge to the conscience of the United Nations.

19. In the face of such an uncompromising and categorical stand, my delegation has no alternative but to endorse the Special Committee's conclusions, in particular the following passage:

"It is therefore imperative that the United Nations take a firm and resolute action on this question so that the South African Government willingly allows the United Nations to perform its legitimate supervisory function over the Mandated Territory." [Ibid., paragraph 81.]

20. As regards the Congo, my delegation is of the opinion that the Secretary-General's plan, with its provision for a federal system, preserves the national unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo. We shall therefore support it.

21. For us newly independent States, the economic and social progress of our under-developed countries is a *sine qua non* for international peace and security. For this reason the Republic of Togo attaches particular importance to the United Nations Development Decade, which seeks to establish an equilibrium between the highly industrialized and the underdeveloped countries. We feel that the first objective along this path should be the establishment of fair prices for the commodities produced by the under-developed countries. Although the United Nations Development Decade may be a bold programme, we think that, if applied with specific objectives in view, it will give a mighty impetus to the economic and social progress of the under-developed countries. We realize that in Africa this progress depends partly on the efforts of the African States themselves. This is the reason why my country lays stress on large-scale inter-African co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and technical fields, within the context of the African unity to which all African States aspire. It is by organizing ourselves that we shall help to accelerate the pace of our economic and social development.

22. With regard to the various United Nations organs, we said last year that they should be adapted to the new circumstances. We still think that it is important, in the interest of the United Nations itself, to ensure fair representation for all the continents, particularly in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

23. As far as the Security Council is concerned, as the present geographical distribution of the seats of the six non-permanent members is not based on any provision of the Charter, it should be easy to revise it, if not to increase the number of those seats allotted to the African and Malagasy States, which, while numbering only two in 1955, today account for nearly one-third of this Assembly.

24. Before I conclude, may I explain my delegation's position with regard to two questions of vital importance to the United Nations.

25. Following upon the difficulties resulting from the tragic death of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, our former Secretary-General, we unanimously elected an Acting Secretary-General, who within a relatively brief space

of time has been able to prove to us how effective is the system of having one single capable and competent Secretary-General. We feel that this system of administration must be maintained, not only for the sake of the effectiveness of the United Nations but for its very survival.

26. The question of the expenses relating to the Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo also seems to my delegation to be of paramount importance for the future of the United Nations, particularly in the light of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5161].<sup>4</sup> In our opinion it would be difficult to deny that these expenses, incurred under resolutions adopted by the General Assembly or by a United Nations organ as important as the Security Council, are expenses of the United Nations. My delegation therefore hopes that, in the light of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly will at this session speak out clearly on this serious problem.

27. In conclusion, and at the risk of repetition, my delegation wishes to express its profound conviction that international peace and security will not be truly guaranteed unless all of us, great and small, rich and poor, band together to wage war upon man's real enemies—poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance.

#### AGENDA ITEM 91

Measures to be adopted in connexion with the earthquake in Iran

##### REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/5250)

28. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now interrupt the general debate and take up the item which is listed as the first item on our agenda for this afternoon. The General Assembly will realize that this is a matter of urgency, and I am sure it would wish to give prompt consideration to the measures intended to assist the people of Iran in that great tragedy which has overtaken them. The report of the Third Committee on the measures to be adopted in connexion with the earthquake in Iran has been circulated as document A/5250.

*In accordance with rule 68 of the rules of procedure, the General Assembly decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.*

29. Mrs. SIVOMEY (Togo) [Rapporteur of the Third Committee] (translated from French): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Third Committee [A/5250] on item 91 of the agenda, entitled "Measures to be adopted in connexion with the earthquake in Iran".

30. In view of the urgency and importance of this question, the Third Committee decided to give it absolute priority. This agenda item was considered as expeditiously as possible so as not to delay any decision which the General Assembly may take in its desire to alleviate the suffering caused by the tragic and violent earthquake in the north-west of Iran on 2 September 1962.

31. The Third Committee has unanimously approved a draft resolution sponsored by nineteen countries (see document A/5250, paragraph 9) and, on behalf of the Committee, I now have the honour to commend it to the General Assembly for adoption.

<sup>4</sup> Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962; L.C.J. reports 1962, p. 151.

32. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of the report of the Third Committee [A/5250] has been unanimously recommended by that Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also unanimously adopts it?

*The draft resolution was adopted.*

33. Mr. ARAM (Iran): I am moved by the decision just taken by the General Assembly. This is a source of great satisfaction and gratitude for the Iranian Government and people. In thus extending your sympathy to the earthquake-stricken community of Iran, you have eloquently expressed your intent to share with us in the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction. You have endorsed a document which, when translated into action, will have an effective part to play in rebuilding a large area of Iran devastated by the recent earthquake. This, in our mind, is the interpretation of the noblest feelings of human nature. The work of the United Nations is, happily, in part, and that of the specialized agencies wholly, engaged in this noble pursuit. They have already accomplished much for the good of mankind, regardless of where it lives and how it is orientated. What the United Nations and its specialized agencies are doing represents more than a jurisdictional field. They illustrate an approach, the functional approach, to the problem of peace and security. I share this conviction and I hope in the years to come the lesson we learn from this aspect of the work of the United Nations will help us to extend the scope of our co-operation and to build a more harmonious world. I thank you again most whole-heartedly.

*Mr. Loridan (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

34. Mr. KAREFA-SMART (Sierra Leone): Almost exactly a year ago today my Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, from this rostrum acknowledged the congratulations of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly which had unanimously voted to admit Sierra Leone as the 100th Member of the United Nations [1018th meeting]. Although we took our seat at a time when there were heavy clouds of sadness and uncertainty caused by the death of the Secretary-General and the unsolved difficulties of the Congo, we are proud to remember that our admission brought a certain amount of relief, by breaking the deadlock which had existed over the admission of new Members. Now at this Assembly the family has grown by the addition of seven new Members. It is our turn to congratulate and to welcome the delegations of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Rwanda and Burundi, and we hope to have a special welcome for Algeria next week. Our hope is that as the universality of membership of this unique family becomes, each year, more and more a reality, the tensions and fears which constantly threaten world peace will be resolved and new energies will be released and devoted to the challenging task of building a truly international community of nations from which hatred, suspicion, fear, ambition and aggression will be banished forever.

35. Mr. President, you have our congratulations on being elected to pilot the ship of the United Nations for the coming year. We have great confidence in you because of the way in which you combine in your personal qualities of academic excellence, political experience

and wisdom, cultural appreciation and above all a warm heart. You are, in short, a good man, and we know you will make a good President.

36. I have already referred to the United Nations as a family of nations. It is in this context that my delegation wishes to make the following observations on some of the problems which confront us and the world. Within a family one expects to speak in a forthright manner, motivated not by the desire to make propaganda, but to seek solutions which will ensure that the family will continue to live and work in peace and prosperity, each Member being willing to place family interests above individual interests and willing to make what sacrifices may be necessary for the security and ultimate good of all.

37. The Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, has already demonstrated, if indeed there was any necessity for him to do so, that he possesses the qualities which anyone should have who is called upon to fill the crucial role of Secretary-General of the United Nations. My delegation sees no reason why he should not be given an early call to fill this post definitively, and we urge all delegations to support his candidature and to encourage him to put aside any doubts which he may have about our determination to resist any efforts to reduce the effectiveness of the United Nations or of its Secretary-General.

38. It is a matter of concern to my delegation that the finances of the Organization are in such a precarious state. Although our own national assessment might appear to some to be merely a drop in the bucket, I can assure fellow representatives that it represents a sum of money we could otherwise little afford to spare, in the light of the demands for economic and social development in our country. On our part, nevertheless, we are prepared to pay our dues and assessments promptly and willingly because we believe this to be the honourable thing to do. We expect all Members to fulfil their obligations equally honourably. In this connexion, we welcome the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [A/5151]<sup>5/</sup> on the obligation of all Members to pay their share of all expenses incurred by the Organization in pursuit of the purposes for which the Organization exists. In the opinion of my delegation all Member nations, great and small, should honour their obligations promptly as this is the only means by which this Organization, on which we all profess to place such high hopes, could be saved from bankruptcy and ultimate disintegration.

39. My delegation is disappointed that no final agreement has been reached on the negotiations for a general disarmament treaty and for a complete cessation of nuclear testing. We are, however, encouraged by the report that an agreement on nuclear tests is within sight, and we would co-sponsor and vote for any resolution which will call upon the negotiating sides to make final efforts beyond the realm of propaganda, bad faith and expediency, so that this first step toward saving all humanity from the holocaust of nuclear extinction will become a reality during this session of the General Assembly. The hopes of countless millions for peace and security will not, and should not, be dashed to the ground by stubborn unwillingness to compromise.

40. One can already begin to dream of the vast universal projects for the relief of human suffering, for economic and social improvement and for the restoration of human dignity in all parts of the world, which can be

readily implemented if even the smallest fraction of the phenomenal sums of money now devoted to arms and armaments were to be made available for these constructive purposes. I shall return to this hope later with a practical suggestion.

41. As each new Member is admitted to the United Nations, the remaining number of nations and peoples who continue to be subject to colonial rule is reduced. Unfortunately, however, it would appear that there is in certain quarters a hardening of the attitudes of those few nations who have not yet accepted the universal challenge to end colonial domination once and for all. On the continent of Africa, in spite of this Assembly's declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples, Spain and Portugal continue to shut their ears to the demands of the indigenous people of so-called Spanish and Portuguese Guinea, of Fernando Po, Angola and Mozambique for independence. Surprisingly, the Government of the United Kingdom, with an excellent record of preparing the people of former British colonies, including my own Sierra Leone, for independence, appears in the case of Southern Rhodesia to be hesitant to defend this fine record of theirs against the increasingly totalitarian policies and methods of the white minority who, claiming a totally false and undemocratic "self-government", continue to trample on the rights of the African majority. In South West Africa the Government of South Africa insists on flouting the authority of the United Nations by attempting to convert a mandate of the League of Nations into an imperial right to govern the indigenous people against their will.

42. My delegation is absolutely opposed to the policy of apartheid and pledges in advance its support of any resolutions and other actions of this Assembly which seek to persuade the Government of South Africa and, failing persuasion, to force it—as long as South Africa remains a Member of the United Nations—to abandon this policy and join the rest of the world in working towards the complete elimination of racial bias and prejudice in all its forms. We speak without hesitation on these matters because as long as any territory in Africa is denied its rightful independence, the continent cannot be at peace, and any turmoil in Africa is in itself a danger to peace and world security. We therefore urge continued efforts to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)] with no further delays.

43. Only a few days ago the representative of South Africa, in a statement from this rostrum [1128th meeting], implied that the admission of States such as my own to the United Nations has caused a deterioration in the "exclusive club" atmosphere of the United Nations. I suppose that the logical pursuit of the apartheid policy led the representative to long for the good old days of San Francisco when probably, according to him, there were so few blacks around. I only wish, in the name of my delegation, to assure the representative of South Africa that we will not dare to lift a finger to prevent him from walking out of the same open door through which we were admitted. We on our part feel very much at home here where most representatives speak the language we understand: of equality, of freedom and of justice.

44. Permit me at this juncture to pay tribute to the President of the United States and his Administration, and to the vast majority of the people of the United States, for the firm demonstration which we have seen during the past week of progress in the field of racial

equality and of the supremacy of the rule of law. At a time when we are forced to call the attention of this Assembly to failures in some parts of the world to uphold, by law and in practice, the human rights guaranteed by the Charter, my delegation thinks that it is altogether appropriate to note and to commend the significant landmark, which the recent events in Mississippi constitute, in the struggle of American people of African descent in this country to attain their full rights and privileges of citizenship.

45. The inability, or perhaps the unwillingness, of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union to reach agreement on a German peace treaty and on the fate of Berlin causes my delegation great concern. With the excellent record of mediation in these matters which is slowly being built by the United Nations, we urge that special attempts at reconciliation be made over the question of Germany, and that the great Powers be persuaded to give priority to the exercise of the right of self-determination by all the German people as a whole, in settling this vexed question, so that an honourable finish could at last be written to the dreadful history of the Second World War.

46. My delegation is pleased to note some progress in the solution of the Congo problem. We believe that a speedy end will be reached in the Congo, by the Congolese themselves, if only the great Powers refrain from overt and covert interference. We also agree that the integrity of the Congo Republic can best be maintained in a strong Federal relationship which at the same time safeguards the rights of the Provinces to internal autonomy in the appropriate fields mutually agreed upon by the Federal and Provincial governments. My delegation would like to put forward the practical proposal that, until an agreed national constitution has begun to work smoothly and the armed forces of the Congo have become integrated, the external payments now being made to the Katanga Government be paid into a trust fund held by the United Nations. Here again, only the Western Powers concerned can take the necessary legal action to implement such a proposal. With so much money freely available to finance any policy the Katanga authorities happen to decide upon unilaterally, any agreement reached at a conference table can be set aside with impunity.

47. Too often from this platform the political aspects of the work of the United Nations are given preference of attention and comment. My delegation regards the United Nations as the greatest hope today for speedy, competent and unfettered development of our human and natural resources. The work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, in various forms of technical assistance, is already reaping results which are very highly appreciated by us in Sierra Leone. What we of the developing countries would like to call attention to, however, is the urgent need to accelerate the provision of capital and over-all development through international channels and organizations.

48. We therefore strongly support the establishment of a United Nations Capital Development Fund as recommended by the Committee set up by the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in resolution 1521 (XV). If the argument is true that the ultimate justification for the expenditure of very large amounts by great Powers for military purposes is that this ensures world peace, my delegation hopefully offers this practical suggestion: that the great Powers involved in the arms race should now divert to this fund an initial contribution equal to only 1 per cent of their individual

military budgets. Such a practical demonstration would be warmly applauded by countless millions in the developing countries and would go a great way towards a lasting solution of the fundamental problems of hunger, poverty and insecurity, which are in themselves real threats to peace.

49. My delegation believes that the role of the regional Economic Commissions is a necessary and an important one and we support the general trend towards decentralization of those activities of the United Nations which, being related to specific local needs, can best be carried out on a regional basis. The Economic Commission for Africa is now firmly established and is proving a useful instrument in unified economic planning for all of Africa.

50. We commend the work done during the past year in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The participation of my country's representative in this work underlines the universal importance of the new problems now being added to a world already full of unsolved problems by the opening vistas of outer space. If the ideological conflicts of both East and West are not permitted to invade this latest conquest of man there will be hope that all mankind will benefit from this vast treasury of new knowledge.

51. My delegation would like to express satisfaction at the agreement reached by the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands in their dispute over West New Guinea and would like to pay special tribute to the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, for the part he played in obtaining this agreement. We further hope that the United Nations presence during this transitional period will bring about the peaceful solution we all desire in that area. We now urge the Government of Indonesia to arrange for a plebiscite among the people of the territory as soon as possible, primarily in the interests of safeguarding the principle of self-determination in the name of which we have all won our cherished independence.

52. My delegation notes with great apprehension the storm-clouds which are developing on this side of the Atlantic over Cuba. Since we believe that there is universal agreement amongst us that each Member State has the sovereign right to choose its own form of government, we urge both the United States Government and the Soviet Union to refrain from interfering in Cuba's internal affairs and from armed intervention over Cuba. Any act on either side leading to warfare today is folly, but an unnecessary act unleashing nuclear warfare on the world should be branded as an unpardonable and criminal folly.

53. My delegation is pledged to support the Charter of the United Nations. But if changing conditions necessitate any changes in the organizational and procedural provisions of the Charter, we are not so afraid of change that we would not recommend a careful study of new proposals. Our only insistence will be that the human rights enshrined in the Charter be regarded as inviolate. In this connexion we welcome the proposals already made by our distinguished former President, Mr. Mongi Slim [A/5123], which are designed to make the meetings of the Assembly more efficient. But if it is necessary to go beyond procedural changes in order to make fair regional representation in the various organs of the Organization a reality, my delegation would be prepared for a bold but cautious exploration in this direction, and we would support the proposal that a special committee be appointed by this Assembly to review and make recommendations on all the proposals

already before us concerning the General Assembly and the organs of the United Nations.

54. Once again this year there is on our agenda the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China. We have already stated clearly that we cannot envisage this Organization fulfilling its universal role without the representatives of some 600 million of the world's population, and we shall always vote in favour of the representation of the People's Republic of China. We are not unmindful, however, of the problems caused by the *de facto* existence of the present Government in Formosa—which, it seems to us, regards itself as the Government of China in exile—or of the right of self-determination of the people of Formosa themselves; nor do we treat lightly the fears of some Member delegations that we have no assurances that the People's Republic of China either respects the Charter of the United Nations or will be prepared to act in conformity with its provisions. To my delegation, important as are these fears, they are irrelevant, and to introduce them into the debate on the right of admission is to do violence to the Charter itself. We believe that no country which, in the exercise of its sovereign right of choice, decides to gain or to regain admission to the United Nations, will do so without adequate deliberation on the provisions of the Charter. If we were to set up a tribunal to assess performance under the provisions of the Charter, accusing fingers might have, perforce, to be directed at Member States who already enjoy the privilege of membership. I can think of some half a dozen States which could not possibly qualify under the criteria by which the People's Republic of China is now prevented from occupying its rightful place amongst us.

55. In conclusion, my delegation wholeheartedly endorses the hopes already expressed by a previous speaker, that this seventeenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will go down in history as the "break-through" session.

56. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, as this is my first speech of the present session, allow me to congratulate you, on behalf of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, on your election to this high office.

57. Like the representatives of other countries who have already spoken, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic considers it necessary to express its views on the main aspects of the present-day international situation and to discuss the problems facing the United Nations in the light of its conviction that the main objective of the United Nations is the strengthening of peace and international security.

58. Seventeen years have passed since the end of the Second World War and the signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco. As everyone knows, the nations of the whole world put high hopes in the United Nations and expected it to take positive and effective action in the cause of peace. Unfortunately, however, the United Nations has clearly failed to fulfil such hopes. From the very first days of the practical functioning of the United Nations, it became clear that the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and other Western countries were ignoring the most important provisions of the Charter. Setting their voting machine in motion, they brought to nothing many highly important proposals intended to strengthen the security of nations. It is for this reason that the United Nations has so far been unable to solve such grave problems as disarmament,

the banning of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and various other burning questions. The peoples of all countries would like to have grounds for hoping that the present session of the General Assembly will take active steps to solve these problems, which are fraught with the danger of war.

59. The representatives of the socialist countries and also of many neutralist countries have, of course, striven and are still striving energetically at the United Nations for the adoption of real decisions designed to reduce international tension, avert war and increase the authority of the United Nations. By contrast, the aggressive NATO bloc, under the leadership of the United States of America, is trying to turn the United Nations into a dismal replica of the League of Nations. We must not tolerate such a thing. We must do everything in our power to ensure that all States, regardless of their social and political structure, may work together successfully within the United Nations in the interests of peace and the well being of nations. We must give a decisive rebuff to those who cast doubts on the only way in which mankind can be saved from catastrophe, namely, peaceful coexistence, which is resolutely supported by the whole of progressive mankind.

60. Lord Home, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking from this rostrum on 27 September 1962, said that peaceful coexistence was "political warfare backed by force", by which it was "the communist intention to impose their system on the rest of the world" [1134th meeting].

61. It is clear that the representative of the United Kingdom is vainly trying to discredit the idea of peaceful coexistence, which has been approved by the majority of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As far as the assertion about the "communist intention to impose their system on the rest of the world", is concerned, its propagandist nature has been unmasked on various occasions by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, the Head of the Soviet Government, emphasized once more from the lofty platform of the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace that "the policy of unleashing a world war to bring about the victory of the communist ideology is completely foreign to the Soviet Union".

62. Lord Home's statement shows that he, like the representatives of the other Western States, is only in agreement with the kind of world in which nations do not struggle against the arms race and against dependence on imperialistic monopolies, do not overthrow the infamous colonial system and do not demand changes designed to raise their material and cultural levels.

63. In his speech here on 20 September 1962, Mr. Stevenson, the representative of the United States of America, vainly tried, though not for the first time, to create the impression that the socialist countries are responsible for the heightening of international tension [1125th meeting]. He carefully avoided a realistic appraisal of the most important aspects of the international situation and deliberately kept silent about the fact that it was the United States itself which was violating the principles of the United Nations and creating, by its actions, a threat of the outbreak of a thermo-nuclear war. The United States Press, in typical propagandist manner, tried to represent the matter as though the statement of the United States representative was "conciliatory" and was designed to reduce international tension. This undisguised falsification is nevertheless obvious to all who have appraised the statement of the United States representative in an objective manner.

The representative of the United States has not made a single concrete proposal to solve the vexed international questions and has hence done nothing to create an atmosphere of co-operation at the present session.

64. The United States representative's utterance on Cuba was particularly startling. Mr. Stevenson said: "The Government of Cuba, with moral and material support from outside, carries on a campaign of subversion and vituperation against its neighbours in the Western Hemisphere." [1125th meeting.]

65. It is amazing that such words can be spoken at a time when the United States Government is carrying on an unbridled campaign against Cuba and is calling on the Latin American countries—as was demonstrated by the meetings of 2 and 3 October 1962 of the Foreign Ministers of the countries belonging to the Organization of American States—to take part in a new anti-Cuban conspiracy. The United States colonialists are dreaming of restoring their lost supremacy in Cuba and of turning Cuba into a sugar-supplying appendage of the United States economy.

66. It is impossible to disregard the statements made by President Kennedy and by members of the United States Congress to the effect that the United States would make an armed attack on Cuba if it seemed to it that Cuba might threaten its interests and cause what they call the "Marxist-Leninist Cuban régime" to penetrate to any other Latin American country. Who can possibly believe that the Cuban nation of 7 million inhabitants is a threat to its neighbours in the Western hemisphere, who amount to over 400 million people? The groundless commotion over Cuba's aggressive intentions is vital to the United States ruling circles so that they can mask their own aggressive intentions against revolutionary Cuba. It is clear from press reports that, in addition to the armed forces stationed at the Guantánamo military base, powerful United States naval forces are assembled near the coast of Cuba and are ready at any moment to take part in military action against Cuba. A list has been published of over twenty military bases in countries such as Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Haiti and Puerto Rico from which an attack on Cuba is planned. It is clear that the military preparations which have been made against Cuba are also directed against the national liberation movements of all Latin American countries.

67. Not mere words, but numerous indisputable facts bear out the assertion that the anti-Cuban campaign in the United States is not an isolated phenomenon but rather a reflection of the dangerous foreign policy of the United States consisting in the preparation of preventive wars against countries whose social system does not please United States ruling circles. It is permissible to ask who gave such people the right to prepare aggressive action against countries which refuse to bow down before the United States. Who gave them the right to encroach on the sovereignty of nations which spurn the American way of life? Nobody gave them any such right at all.

68. In the widely-known statement distributed by Tass on 12 September 1962, the Soviet Government drew the attention of the international community to the extremely dangerous and provocative nature of the aggressive propaganda being carried on in the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba. This statement was as follows:

"We have said, and we repeat, that if war is unleashed—if an aggressor attacks any State and that

State turns to us for aid—the Soviet Union has the means of providing aid from its territory to any peace-loving State, and not merely Cuba. And let no one doubt that the Soviet Union will give such aid, just as it was ready in 1956 to give military aid to Egypt at the time of the Anglo-Franco-Israel aggression in the Suez Canal area."

69. The Soviet Government has clearly and unambiguously warned the hot-heads that actions which threaten the peace and security of the whole of mankind will not go unpunished, and that he who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind.

70. The Cuban nation has more than once affirmed its inflexible will and determination to defend its homeland and its revolution, its unshakable unity and its revolutionary Government headed by Fidel Castro. The Cuban nation is not alone at this difficult time; the whole of progressive mankind is on its side.

71. The Byelorussian people, too, is filled with determination to do all it can to defend the interests of the Cuban nation. The United Nations should not stand aloof at a time when, by the preparation of aggressive acts against Cuba, the United States is violating the very bases of international law and throwing down a challenge to the principles of peaceful coexistence, that is to say, to the principles on which the structure of the United Nations itself is based. The United Nations should roundly condemn such a policy.

72. It is impossible to ignore the aggression which the United States of America is likewise carrying out in another part of the world—in South Viet-Nam. Our delegation, like other delegations, has received a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, addressed to the President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, in which attention is drawn to the dangerous situation that has arisen as a result of United States military intervention in South Viet-Nam. It is pointed out in the note that at the present time over 10,000 United States officers and men, together with the armed forces of the Ngo-dinh-Diem Government, are carrying on an "undeclared war" against the people of South Viet-Nam. Hundreds of people are perishing every day as a result of the military operations, and thousands of inhabitants are doomed to torture in concentration camps known as "strategic villages".

73. Attempts to justify this scandalous state of affairs, for which the United States must bear the responsibility, have been made by the representatives of the Philippines (Mr. Peláez), Australia (Sir Garfield Barwick) and Malaya (Mr. Ismail Rahman). Twisting the facts, they talk about a so-called "invasion of South Viet-Nam from the north", but the objective observers, even in the United States, admit the absurdity of such assertions. Thus, The New York Times of 25 July 1962 contained an article by correspondent Bigart, who had spent half a year in South Viet-Nam and who stressed that the Viet Cong was not an alien organization but a movement supported by the mass of the people of South Viet-Nam. The interference by the United States in the internal affairs of South Viet-Nam with the aim of suppressing the national liberation movement must be roundly condemned.

74. The Byelorussian delegation considers that the United Nations should compel the United States Government to respect the principles of the Geneva agreements on Viet-Nam, cease its armed aggression in

South Viet-Nam and immediately withdraw its armed forces.

75. There is no more burning and urgent question at the present time than that of preserving peace. The efforts of all States and of all Members of the United Nations should be directed towards preventing the outbreak of war and banishing war for ever from human society. The only sure and reliable way to do this lies through general and complete disarmament. All people know that methods of preserving and strengthening peace have been proposed by the Soviet Union, which has consistently recognized, and continues to recognize, the necessity and possibility of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

76. For the Soviet State, which was born into the world at the same moment at which V. I. Lenin issued his decree on peace, the task of strengthening peace and ensuring the security of nations is not a question of tactics or diplomatic manoeuvring, as our enemies falsely assert, but is the backbone of its foreign policy. The Soviet people prize peace not only because they know full well the tragedy that war brings with it—in the words of the poet:

*In every humble dwelling, from the wall  
Looks down the face of one who gave his all.*

War is the last thing that the Soviet people want also because they are engaged in the gigantic creative task of building a Communist society. How could the people of Byelorussia want war, when every hour of peace brings them additional palpable benefits? The plans for the economic development of the Byelorussian SSR over the years 1960-1980 provide for more than a ninefold increase in industrial production. In the current Seven-Year Plan alone, the investment in capital construction in the Byelorussian SSR will be as great as in the whole of the previous forty years.

77. The representatives of many countries—including Brazil, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Burma, Cambodia and others—who spoke before me in this discussion rightly gave considerable attention to the Report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament<sup>6/</sup> which sat for nearly five months at Geneva. The importance of solving the problem of general and complete disarmament is clear and obvious to everyone, but it must be observed with some bitterness that international discussions on this problem have been going on for the past sixteen years without producing any positive results.

78. As everyone knows, the Soviet delegation came to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament with a detailed draft "Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control".<sup>7/</sup> It should be noted that almost all the delegations of the neutralist countries hailed the Soviet draft Treaty as a concrete, complete and all-embracing draft designed to bring about general and complete disarmament in the shortest possible time. Although the Soviet proposals provide for the retention, at all stages of disarmament, of the principle of the balance of power of States, the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and other Western States gave the Soviet draft Treaty a hostile reception. In his speech of 27 September 1962 [1134th meeting], Lord Home, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, tried to put the blame for the failure

<sup>6/</sup> Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961-December 1962, document DC/205.

<sup>7/</sup> Ibid., document DC/203, annex 1, section C.

of the disarmament talks on the Soviet Union, basing his arguments on the fact that the Soviet Union did not agree with the Western proposals for control. But how can anyone agree with these proposals, when their essence is not the setting-up of control over disarmament, but of control over armaments?

79. We consider that measures for control must go hand in hand with measures for disarmament. If you accept the Soviet proposals for disarmament, then the Soviet Union will agree to your proposals for control, as it has stated on many occasions. Moreover, we have ample grounds for asking Lord Home whether he does not think that his insistent calls for general inspection have exactly the same aim as the U-2 aircraft which are now in England. It is also clear from Lord Home's statement that the United Kingdom, like the other Western Powers, does not want the simultaneous discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests in all media. The implementation of the Western proposals would not affect underground explosions and thus would do nothing to halt the nuclear arms race. The statement of the United Kingdom representative is just another proof that the United Kingdom and the other NATO countries are persisting in a negative attitude on the questions of disarmament and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.

80. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union is taking further steps to meet the Western States half-way over questions of disarmament. The prime example of this is the Soviet Union's agreement to leave a strictly limited number of inter-continental and other rockets at the disposal of the Soviet Union and the United States during the first stage of disarmament, thus removing the slightest grounds for propagandist assertions about the possibility of one-sided military advantages. The latest Soviet proposals can and must be the basis for a solution of this most critical question of our time, provided that the Western Powers finally show some understanding of the interests of mankind.

81. Mr. Stevenson, in his statement of 20 September 1962 [1125th meeting], said that the arms race, gathering momentum every day, was the "biggest obstacle in the path" to peace. That is true. We agree. But why does the United States representative fail to say that it is precisely the United States which began the arms race and is daily and recklessly quickening its tempo? While under the Eisenhower Administration military appropriations in the United States averaged \$42-43,000 million a year, the United States military budget for the financial year 1963 has already reached \$51,640 million.

82. In other words, in two years the Kennedy Administration has increased military expenditure by approximately \$10,000 million. And if to this we add the funds which it is planned to expend on atomic energy work, the creation of strategic reserves and outer-space projects having direct military significance, then the total appropriation for military purposes in the 1962-63 financial year amounts to \$55,700 million. According to information in the United States Press, the United States plans to spend on military account, during the next twenty to twenty-five years, more than \$50,000 million annually.

83. It is common knowledge that at the basis of the arms race which the Western Powers are conducting lies the thirst of monopolies for profits and super-profits. As was stated in the newspaper The New York Times of 12 January 1962, the hundred largest American corporations received 76 per cent of all military

orders in 1961. The over-all profits of all corporations are expected to increase in 1962 to more than \$55,000 million. The main part of this increase comes from military orders.

84. The post-war arms race has led to the creation in the United States of America of a monstrous military-industrial machine. This machine, which every year absorbs tens of thousands of millions of dollars in military appropriations, has gradually come to control the country's financial and industrial life. Even former President Eisenhower noted this with some concern, in his farewell address of 17 January 1961. United States militarists, allied with businessmen, have more than once artificially created a war psychosis in the country, in the Government and in Congress.

85. Joseph Barry, the Paris correspondent of the New York Post, wrote last year in this connexion that if the Berlin crisis had not arisen it would have had to be invented, since the United States Government had committed itself to the thesis that more than anything else it needed a more powerful military machine, such as was justifiable only in circumstances of crisis.

86. Senator Flanders has in the Senate expressed the view that the arms race in the United States of America was forcing the country's pattern of life into that of a garrison State. Such is the unattractive picture presented by the militarization of the United States.

87. In reply to the historic decisions taken by the Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which laid down a genuine programme of peace and peaceful construction, the White House has worked out a new strategic concept, just as unrealistic as the previous one but fraught with the most fatal consequences for mankind.

88. By means of a stepped-up arms race, planned to continue for many years, the White House purposes not merely to preserve in the world the atmosphere of the "cold war" which is advantageous to it, but also to make it more difficult for the Soviet Union to carry out its vast plans for communist construction, which if executed would raise the Soviet Union to first place in the field of industrial production and would ensure for the Soviet people the highest standard of living in the world.

89. United States ruling circles cherish the idea that, by forcing the Soviet Union to incur additional defence expenditure, they will wreck its programme of economic assistance to the under-developed countries. The United States continues to rely on a policy of "positions of strength". As before, it nurses the secret but vain hope of gaining military advantage over the Soviet Union at some stage in the arms race and of wiping out the socialist camp by the use of military force.

90. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR hopes that the General Assembly will at its present session make a real contribution in the matter of the discontinuance of nuclear weapon testing. The Byelorussian people, like the peoples of all peace-loving countries, demands the signing of an agreement for the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests of every type and in every medium.

91. We are deeply convinced that the most recent proposals of the USSR for the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, coupled with the simultaneous imposition, in the agreement, of an obligation on the countries to continue nego-

tiations for the discontinuance of underground tests provide precisely that basis on which it will be fully possible for this question to be solved. Naturally, while negotiations on the discontinuance of underground tests are proceeding such tests should not be held. Clearly it now depends on the Western Powers alone whether the black clouds of nuclear explosions will continue to form over the earth or whether the world will once and for all be rid of atomic rumblings.

92. As we know, President Kennedy of the United States said in March 1962, during an interview with the American correspondent Alsop, that "in some circumstances [the United States] might take the initiative" in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union.

93. Later, the United States Government confirmed the reliability of that report, which in essence means that the United States Government considers itself entitled to strike a first nuclear blow against the Soviet Union and instigate a new war.

94. A. A. Gromyko, the Chairman of the Soviet delegation, in his interesting and thoughtful statement of 21 September 1962 [1127th meeting], assessed this militaristic statement when he said that Mr. Kennedy was following the dangerous course of his predecessors in making threats against the Soviet Union.

95. There is a wise Arab proverb which says: "Before you strike someone on the back of the head, look at the head." The warning given by the Head of the Soviet Government to the "knights of the big stick" must be borne in mind. N. S. Khrushchev, speaking on 19 May 1962 at a meeting at Sofia, rightly said:

"We cannot fail to take into account the statement made by Mr. Kennedy, since it brings us to a new point in the relations between our countries . . . Is it wise to threaten someone who is at least equal to you in strength? To press the button and take 'the initiative in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union' would be tantamount to committing suicide. Anyone who dared to start such a military conflict would receive a crushing retaliatory blow, in which all the most modern means of war were employed. The Socialist camp, including the Soviet Union, possesses all these means in adequate quantities."

96. From an acknowledgement of the admissibility of a preventive war it is only a step to actual aggression. The leaders of the United States Government understand that their preparations for a preventive blow against the Soviet Union are condemned by all honourable people throughout the world. That is precisely why the United States Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, in his statement at the University of Michigan on 16 June 1962, hypocritically called for the drafting of a new code for the conduct of nuclear war. He proposes that agreement should be reached on the use of nuclear weapons only against important military objectives. But is it not clear that McNamara's proposals are completely absurd? These proposals by atomic madmen, which divert the efforts of mankind from a fundamental solution of the question of war and from general and complete disarmament are designed to prepare people's minds for the unleashing of atomic war, for death in the flames of a military conflagration.

97. In such circumstances, the adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution on "Condemnation of propaganda favouring preventive nuclear war", the draft of which has been submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/5232], would be a highly constructive step.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports this draft resolution and calls upon the General Assembly to take the necessary measures for the cessation of propaganda favouring preventive war, which is in direct conflict with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

98. For the overwhelming majority of the world's people, the possibility of reaching an agreement on disarmament is a possibility of liberation from poverty and ignorance. Economic experts have calculated that during the first fifty years of the twentieth century expenditure on armaments amounted to more than \$4 million million. Great benefits could be derived from general and complete disarmament by all countries, the industrially developed as well as the industrially less developed. If, for example, 20 per cent of the sums spent annually for military purposes throughout the world were devoted to assistance to the under-developed countries during the next twenty-five years in those countries it would be possible to construct power stations with a total output of 230 million kilowatts, to establish metallurgical works producing 185 million tons of steel a year, to irrigate more than 100 million hectares of land and to execute many other useful and important projects.

99. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR welcomes the draft "Declaration concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament", which [A/5233] has been submitted for consideration at the present session by the Chairman of the Soviet delegation. We believe that the adoption of this declaration would help to expedite the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament and would make it possible to employ the resources released by disarmament in the most effective way.

100. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR shares the view of many other delegations in regard to the importance of the question of a peaceful settlement with Germany, since failure to solve this problem during the past seventeen years constitutes one of the greatest obstacles to the restoration of normal relations between a number of the most powerful States and is a prime source of menace to peace in Europe and throughout the world. It is entirely abnormal that a German peace treaty should not yet have been signed and that a military occupation régime, artificially maintained for NATO's aggressive purposes, should be perpetuated in West Berlin.

101. The Byelorussian people is vitally interested in a peaceful settlement of the German question. Unlike some of the speakers who have preceded me here—such as the Guatemalan representative, for example—our people knows what the Second World War was and does not wish any other people to experience anything like it. During that war, in the struggle with the German-fascist invaders, more than 2 million people out of the Republic's total population of 10 million were killed. The material losses sustained during the war amounted to more than half of Byelorussia's national wealth.

102. One of the principal sources of international tension is West German militarism and revenge-seeking, the growth of which the United States and other aggressive countries are fostering by every possible means. According to facts quoted in the magazine *U.S. News & World Report* in its issue of 23 April 1962, the United States alone—not counting other Western countries—has in the post-war period given the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin \$5,200 million in

so-called "aid". Not only have the Western Powers violated the Potsdam Agreements on the demilitarization and denazification of Germany, but they are also actively contributing to the resurgence of militarism and revenge-seeking in West Germany. At the present time, the key posts in the administration of the Federal Republic of Germany are held by former followers of Hitler. West German generals have assumed key positions in the armed forces of NATO. According to a statement in the French weekly Vie Ouvrière, there were 230 representatives of West Germany in the executive organs of NATO in 1959, 650 in 1960, and 1,350 in 1961. Thus, in two years their number has increased almost sixfold. These are the people who are now in command of NATO!

103. The official policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has become a policy of revenge. That Government does not conceal its intention of taking over the German Democratic Republic, the latter having come into being against the wishes of the imperialists, just as against the wishes of the imperialists dozens of new sovereign States have arisen in Africa and Asia. The Federal Republic of Germany makes no secret of its designs on the territory of other States. It rejects all proposals for the signing of a German peace treaty, and announces its flat rejection of the "Rapacki plan" for the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe.

104. The Federal Republic of Germany already has at its disposal an army of almost half a million men. The demand by the leaders of the West German Government that the Federal Republic of Germany be supplied with atomic weapons is well known to all. The ruling circles of the United States, France and the United Kingdom are obligingly equipping these revenge-seekers with the most modern means of war. "Let us put Germany, so to speak, in the saddle; you will see that she can ride"—thus spoke Bismarck in his time. We are now witnessing how the allies of the Federal Republic of Germany in NATO are presenting their backs so that the West German militarists can climb into the saddle more easily. And when this has been achieved, who can guarantee that the revengeful German rider, holding the atomic stick, will not first gallop off towards London and Paris, as he has already done more than once in the course of his career? No one can give such a guarantee.

105. According to what the Associated Press agency stated on 13 December 1961, Eleanor Roosevelt said:

"I am horrified at the thought that we might give atomic weapons to West Germany. We created her economically, and 80 per cent of the officials there are former Nazis."

106. Within the Federal Republic of Germany, a psychological manipulation of the people is being vigorously carried out with a view to preparing them for a new war. More than one thousand militaristic organizations are preaching revenge and calling for a new war. At the same time, those in the Federal Republic of Germany who struggle against fascism and militarism are being persecuted by every possible means. More than 200,000 people in that country have been subjected to repression and persecution for political reasons, and 14,000 of them—fighters against militarism and preparations for an atomic war—have been sentenced for their activities. As before, the Governments of the NATO countries continue senselessly to cling to the military occupation régime in West Berlin, trying to keep that city as a NATO bridge-head for aggression against the

Soviet Union. All the world well knows that West Berlin has been converted by the NATO bloc into a centre of provocation and aggression against the German Democratic Republic and the other countries of the socialist camp. For those who wish to acquaint themselves with the details of the prevailing situation in West Berlin, we recommend reading of the Book of Facts on West Berlin, published in Moscow in 1962.

107. West Berlin has become a nest of spying and subversion conducted by agencies of the Western Powers. Fascists and political adventurers of every description deliberately provoke armed conflict between the nuclear Powers. What is astonishing is that there are persons ready to defend this rabble and to shed tears because the Government of the German Democratic Republic has firmly closed its frontiers against their acts of provocation. One such active defender is Lord Home, who has told us of his "emotions" on seeing the so-called "Berlin walls". We should indeed feel upset, but not for the reason which causes the United Kingdom representative to shed his crocodile tears. The blood spilt from time to time along the frontiers of the peaceful German State is spilt through the fault of those who are preventing the solution of the German problem. Those really responsible for the tense situation along the border with West Berlin are the Western Powers, including the United Kingdom, and no hypocritical sighing about the so-called "Berlin wall" will alter that fact.

108. The Soviet Government, which is deeply concerned for the maintenance of peace, has been and is repeatedly stressing the urgent need for a peaceful settlement in regard to Germany. To reject the Soviet proposals for a German settlement is to display stark madness, for the signing of a peace treaty constitutes the only chance of eliminating dangerous tension in Central Europe and thus of safeguarding world peace. Furthermore, a peaceful settlement of the German question can be achieved without detriment to the interests or prestige of any country or group of countries. The signing of a German peace treaty, the termination of the occupation régime in West Berlin on the basis of such a treaty, the withdrawal of the troops of the NATO military bloc from West Berlin, the recognition of the two German States and their admission to membership in the United Nations would create the necessary conditions for the normalization of the international situation.

109. The Government of the Byelorussian SSR wholeheartedly supports the proposals of the Soviet Government concerning a peaceful settlement with Germany and, if the Western Powers fail to display the necessary realism and due understanding of the urgent need for a solution of this problem, is ready to join the Soviet Union and other interested countries in signing a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.

110. Nearly two years have elapsed since the General Assembly, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted at its fifteenth session the historic Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. That was a great victory for progressive mankind as a whole. In the meantime the heroic Algerian people, whose seven years of struggle for freedom and independence have borne remarkable fruit, has embarked upon the road of independent development. The Byelorussian delegation is glad to welcome the admission of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to membership in the United Nations, and we fully support the Security Council's re-

commendation on this question. We also salute the admission to membership in the United Nations of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

111. As was to be expected, however, the colonial Powers continue to sabotage the Declaration, with the result that the question of its implementation is today as pressing as ever. The colonizers are stubbornly hanging on to the shreds of their colonial empires. More than seventy territories, with a total population of approximately 50 million, are still under the colonial yoke. On the great continent of Africa we still find twenty-four colonial territories, in which 36 million Africans are living under the most cruel colonial oppression. The United Nations is in duty bound to help all the peoples still fettered by colonial thralldom to attain their freedom and independence. We think in the first place of the long-suffering peoples of Angola and Mozambique that are defending their human rights from encroachment at the hands of the Portuguese colonizers, and of the other peoples whose heroism we salute and whose success in their struggle for early national liberation we earnestly desire.

112. The Byelorussian people is concerned over the continuing abnormal situation in the Congo. We join the numerous countries which demand the immediate ending of imperialist interference in Congolese affairs and of the attempts to dismember the country and turn its richest parts into raw-material-producing appendages of imperialist monopolies.

113. Lord Home has tried to convince us that the crux of the Congolese problem is a "reconciliation of interests between the provinces and the centre" [1134th meeting]. In that case, why is the character of such a "reconciliation" being determined in Washington, Brussels and London? The crisis in the Congo is the work not of the Congolese but of the Governments of the United States, Belgium and the United Kingdom, which are defending the interests of the monopolies that exploit the Congo's wealth. If you really care for the Congolese people's interests, stop interfering in its internal affairs and give it the chance to solve its problems on its own.

114. That the colonialist forces have not yet been smashed is confirmed by the irresponsible statement made by the South African representative from this rostrum on 24 September 1962 [1128th meeting], in which he again defended the barbarous practice of apartheid. It is noteworthy that, while making his racist declarations and attacking the authority of the United Nations, Mr. Louw sang the praises of the Western countries, from which he expects further support for South Africa's racials.

115. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR demands that the colonial Powers put an immediate end to armed action and to acts of repression against the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence, withdraw all their troops, recall their military missions, disband all their military units and dismantle their military bases in the dependent territories. The main task of the United Nations, in the business of eradicating colonialism once and for all, now consists in devising and taking specific, urgent steps for the implementation of the Declaration which it adopted. The total elimination of colonialism would make an important contribution to the maintenance of peace and would constitute a major step towards the easing of international tension.

116. It is impossible to regard as normal the fact that for twelve years now the representatives of the 650-million strong Chinese people, the representatives of the great People's Republic of China which on 1 October, literally a few days ago, celebrated its thirteenth anniversary, have not been admitted to the United Nations. The Organization ought to remember that almost one person in four, on this earth, is a citizen of the People's Republic of China. For twelve years now a Chiang Kai-shek marionette from the United States puppet-show has allegedly on behalf of the Chinese people, been voting in the United Nations.

117. In the meantime there has been a considerable expansion in the membership of the United Nations, which now consists of more than 100 States. Yet great China, whose social and political order is not to Washington's liking, still cannot take its seat in this hall. It is the urgent and direct duty of the United Nations to re-establish legality and justice, to eject Chiang Kai-shek's men—those United States puppets—from its ranks, and to restore to the Chinese people's representatives their lawful place.

118. The presence of United States troops in South Korea constitutes a major threat to peace in the Far East. Nine years have already elapsed since the signing of the Armistice Agreement in 1953, and the Chinese people's volunteer forces were long ago removed from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea is clearly a *sine qua non* for the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. Once the United States troops' withdrawal from South Korea has been secured, the Korean people will be well able to settle its domestic affairs peacefully and on its own.

119. The complete renunciation of the "cold war" in international relations would open up unprecedented prospects of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between all countries. This would exert a stabilizing influence on the economic development of the highly industrialized countries of Western Europe and of the United States of America, and would accelerate the economic development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

120. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wholeheartedly supports the Soviet Government's proposal [A/5219] for the holding in 1963 of an international conference on trade problems. We also welcome the Cairo Declaration<sup>2/</sup> [A/5162] which advocates the calling of an international trade conference.

121. Closed trade blocs in effect become neo-colonialism's tools, and instruments of the Western countries' economic war against the neutralist and socialist States. Trade must pave the way for international understanding and not serve to fan the flames of the "cold war".

122. We must trade, not fight. The normalization and further expansion of international trade, and the removal of restrictions and discrimination from the world markets, would be greatly promoted by a representative International Trade Organization embracing all countries. The establishment of such an organization would lead not only to an expansion of mutually advantageous trade, but also to a better political climate in the world.

<sup>2/</sup> The Conference on the Problems of Economic Development was held at Cairo, 9-18 July 1962.

123. The continuing inability of the United Nations to exert an effective influence for the solution of many important international problems, including that of general and complete disarmament, confirms the need for a fundamental reorganization of the United Nations Secretariat. Another argument in favour of such a reorganization is the unsatisfactory state of the finances of the United Nations. The facts of life have called for the establishment of a United Nations structure which would ensure equal representation, within its organs, for the three main forces in the modern world: the socialist countries, the neutralist countries and the Western States members of military blocs. Only with such a structure will the Organization's activities reflect the general interests of peace and international co-operation, instead of the narrow interests of a single group of States.

124. I would point out, in conclusion, that the United Nations is still not the kind of international organization for peace and security which it ought to be under its own Charter and which the peace-loving peoples wish it to become. All the peoples of the world now clearly realize that responsibility for today's international tension lies with the Western countries led by the United States of America. These refuse to take account of the historic changes which have occurred in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America since the Second World War.

125. In such circumstances the task of the United Nations is to redouble its efforts for the strengthening of peace, to urge all countries to be guided in their international relations by a policy of peaceful coexistence and not of "cold war", and to promote the earliest possible solution of the disarmament problem.

126. The Byelorussian people, like every other people in the world, demands of the United Nations that its activities shall be fully consonant with the lofty purposes and principles enshrined in its Charter. May I express the hope that the Organization will fulfil its duty towards mankind as a whole and make its contribution to the strengthening of world peace. The peoples expect from the United Nations not words, but constructive deeds.

127. Mr. ODUBER (Costa Rica) (translated from Spanish): It is a great pleasure for me to come to the rostrum at this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, presided over by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who has for many years been associated with very important United Nations activities and who is of outstanding personal merit. I am sure that he will provide us with the best and wisest guidance in our debates.

128. Costa Rica cordially welcomes the newly independent States of Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. It hopes to establish close links of friendship and collaboration with them.

129. My country likewise wishes to record its admiration and respect for U Thant's exceptional efforts during the short period in which he has acted as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We trust that the United Nations will continue to have the benefit of his exceptional qualities of statesmanship.

130. At this time of crisis and tension in the international community, my delegation comes to the present session of the General Assembly resolved to reaffirm its adherence to the principles and standards of the United Nations. We frankly declare that we do not consider the United Nations the perfect organization of

which idealists dreamed and for which the peoples of the earth are still longing. The United Nations is trying to be the rectification of the past. Any rectification implies a slow process which cannot be hurried, especially when it depends on open debate and consent gradually granted by the peoples. We acknowledge, however, that the United Nations constitutes one of the advanced stages on the long road to the affirmation of justice and peaceful coexistence between States. Today it represents the last bulwark of civilization. Beyond it all hope perishes and we are faced with the possibility of a return to barbarism. We are confident that the United Nations will make the best use of its adequate internal resources in order to bring about a gradual improvement in its standards and structure which will make of it a great community of nations and peoples collectively dedicated to the task of establishing decent living conditions for all mankind.

131. We feel that the time has come to make a careful revision of the United Nations Charter, with a view to promoting this improvement. The trend of world events, the emergence of so many sovereign nations in almost every continent, the advance of technology and of social consciousness and the progress in the political organization of peoples, these are factors which demand the convening of a conference which would make a careful study of the achievements of the United Nations and its capacity to cope with the many responsibilities which are being thrust upon it as a result of new situations more complex than the original ones which gave it birth.

132. Perhaps the great Powers which during the Second World War bore the brunt of the struggle against the danger which threatened mankind are now prepared to see a broader implementation of the ideal principle of an organization in which the equality of the States is given its exact meaning, with the abolition of certain prerogatives which are a continual source of resentment and discrimination harmful to the principle of sovereignty inherent in every politically organized people. In pursuance of this aim it is essential that the composition of the various organs of the United Nations should be revised, in order to give the new Member States more opportunity to serve on them.

133. Costa Rica is resolved to put up a stubborn fight to prevent the revision of the Charter being postponed indefinitely.

134. Faced with the sombre panorama of mistrust and tension which darkens the world, we must deplore the fact that the great Powers have not yet managed to reach agreement or understanding on disarmament and in particular on the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The small nations of the earth are awaiting these agreements as one of the most important achievements of man on his long road of constant betterment. So eagerly do they hope for this that they regard all man's other achievements as failures until such time as the great Powers convert their weapons into instruments of production and place their scientific mastery of nuclear energy in the service of peace and human welfare. Until this happens the international atmosphere will continue to be heavy with danger and man will continue to wait in the darkness of mistrust for his own final destruction.

135. In stating this ethical and theoretical problem we do not wish in any way to blind ourselves to the harsh facts. We are fully aware of the dangers which threaten our conception of liberty and of the obligations which these dangers entail in the face of philosophies of gov-

ernment which in essence deny liberty and advocate domination of the world by force. We must strengthen our determination to overcome these facts without involving ourselves in the tragedy of war.

136. We realize, too, that the role of the small countries in this great controversy between the great nations is very small. This, however, does not exonerate us from the grave duty of adopting a firmer attitude and proclaiming ethical values in the face of the contriving and double-dealing born of struggles for power. As a guarantee of the sincerity of this moral attitude the small nations should proclaim their firm resolve to reduce their own armed forces and military expenditure. An immediate consequence of this resolve would be to release scanty resources which could be used to promote economic development and social welfare. Furthermore, we should in all sincerity acknowledge that even in an emergency threatening the security of these small nations their armies would never be able to provide effective defence. Unfortunately experience shows that the armies of small countries have on more than one occasion contributed to the destruction of popular liberty.

137. We have listened to the highly scientific discussions between the great Powers on the possible harmful effects of nuclear experiments and the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons in war. These discussions strike a tragic note in the hearts of the people. In the face of this doubt on the part of the experts, the people, in their simple wisdom, feel that the safest course is not to try to overcome their doubts. As small countries we assume the role of prompters of ethical behaviour for the great actors who appear on the stage during these preludes to the great tragedy.

138. The less developed countries of the world applaud the remarkable progress which the powerful nations have achieved in the exploration of the universe as an exploit of the human mind and as a possible source of technological advance which will eventually be of benefit to mankind. Nevertheless, they experience a feeling of frustration and neglect when they realize that while fabulous sums of money are spent on a prestige contest between nations which is perverting a genuine desire to extend the frontiers of man into space, three-quarters of the world's population are not receiving any of the benefits of modern science and technology. While the most costly efforts are made to reach the moon, we have not managed to reach the man on earth with all the benefits of our technological development.

139. We acknowledge the praiseworthy efforts the United Nations has been making to raise the peoples out of poverty. There is, however, an urgent need to intensify these efforts by giving the United Nations the necessary resources and further improving its social agencies in order to satisfy the demands of the peoples more quickly and efficiently. For many of these peoples in the initial stages of economic development, to prolong their present state of privation would be tantamount to hastening the breakdown of their faith in the principles which gave birth to this world Organization; it would be cheating their hopes and discrediting democracy; it would be denying human freedom its possibilities. We cannot fail to acknowledge the generous efforts, whether the altruistic unilateral efforts which some nations have undertaken for the benefit of others or the multilateral and co-operative efforts which, like the "Alliance for Progress" on the American continent, are being made to develop the economies of the nations which are striving for prosperity. That is why today we

applaud the Economic and Social Council and those who are endeavouring to set in motion the United Nations Development Decade, through which the collaboration of the economically strong States will help to overcome the difficulties of the developing States.

140. But we must have the courage to admit that we are far from having reached a rate of development to match the dizzy rise in popular needs. This disparity between what is being done and the needs of the peoples cannot be overcome until there is a complete revision of the terms of trade between the under-developed countries and the highly industrialized nations. Neither loans nor credits nor grants, however generous they may be, can offset the effect of a pernicious system of trade whereby wealth is accumulated in a few privileged countries and other less fortunate countries are drained of their wealth. According to a survey prepared by United Nations' experts, in 1959 Latin America received \$1,700 million less than it would have received if there had been a stable price structure.

141. It should be the task of the United Nations to take effective steps to promote this complete revision of the terms of trade so as to meet the desperate situation of the peoples and the threat to their liberty. In this connexion it is appropriate to mention two items of special significance and interest on the agenda of the seventeenth session; the question of holding an international conference on trade problems [item 36] and international measures to assist in offsetting fluctuations in commodity prices [item 37]. In recent years the United Nations has managed to marshal opinion in favour of the protection of the primary products which are essential for the economic and social progress of the less developed States. My country has the honour of having been one of the first to stress the urgent, compelling necessity of action at the highest international level to remedy the plight of the countries whose economies depend on primary products and which are consequently at a disadvantage in relation to the highly developed industrial countries. An example of what the United Nations can and should do in this direction is the recent United Nations Coffee Conference, at which the producing and importing countries succeeded in concluding the International Coffee Agreement for 1962, which provides for world marketing of this product on a basis which will guarantee social justice and economic progress to the peoples of the exporting countries.

142. Costa Rica realizes that the efforts of the United Nations to promote social progress and raise the level of living within a broader concept of freedom depend upon the countries concerned carrying out effective reforms in their socio-economic structures so that these benefits are basically extended to the mass of the people and that in this way a true and profound social justice is achieved. It is to be hoped that before long the pressure of progressive movements and the moral authority of the United Nations will break down the barriers erected by old political structures against the aspirations of the peoples to a better life.

143. As successors to a revolutionary tradition for the liberty of our people, we continue to pledge our firm support for the aspirations to political self-determination of all the peoples of the earth who have not yet acquired complete sovereignty and independence. We shall continue to offer our full quota, modest as it is, so that the United Nations may yet further accelerate this magnificent process which has enabled it to bring so many sovereign nations into being.

144. In the great process of decolonization we have seen with sorrow how useless differences have arisen, cheating man of the peace for which he craves and the liberty to which he aspires. We must also voice our alarm for in the diffuse atmosphere created by these internal differences, and in the dazzle of victory in the face of colonialism, there is a danger that other and new forms of colonialism may imperceptibly creep in. We admit that certain colonial Powers have failed to fulfill their historic duty and the responsibility which the United Nations itself laid upon them, namely that of preparing the people under their administration for the moment of self-government. Nevertheless, we do not raise our hands in holy horror at the spectacle of blundering and even tragedy presented by some nations which have recently acquired sovereignty. We are confident that they will outgrow these phases before very long and will avoid fresh ideological or political involvement which would nullify all the sacrifices they have made for independence. The United Nations has a fresh responsibility in that matter and is fulfilling it, although that entails the sacrifice of its best officers.

145. The vast majority of men and women who inhabit the earth are far from having reached full enjoyment of their social, economic and cultural rights. There are political and social conditions prevailing in the world which oppress human freedom and dignity in open defiance of the principles of the United Nations.

146. We should be inclined to accept the argument that in the political and economic fields there are various formulas and ways of achieving the objectives of freedom, justice and well-being which are the essence and the *raison d'être* of the United Nations. We agree that all nations cannot advance towards the achievement of these objectives at the same rate. What we cannot accept, without contradicting our democratic position and the principles and standards of the United Nations, is that the methods and instruments should be the supremacy of brute force and the supposed infallibility of the ideologies.

147. The less developed countries are developing fast and are trying to advance rapidly in order to break the fetters of social injustice, eagerly seeking the political institutions best suited to their traditions and history. This is the stage through which we are going today in Latin America, which is seeking freedom as it has done always in its revolutionary movements.

148. The American Revolution was a magnificent encouragement to our States in the dawn of independence. In the present century, to quote two cases, the Mexican and Bolivian revolutions have pointed the way to social progress within a democratic framework guaranteeing human dignity and freedom, which are an essential part of our political tradition and one that we can never relinquish. Unfortunately these illustrious examples of our democratic revolution have been betrayed in some cases. There are political forces bent on discrediting and destroying representative democracy, denying the freedom and dignity of their citizens, on the pretext of carrying out a profound economic and social transformation in our continent.

149. It is lamentable, too, that, forgetting the history of freedom, which is part and parcel of the man of America, this freedom and his entire destiny should be jeopardized by extra-continental ties.

150. The democratic revolution, which has scarcely begun in Latin America, needs the understanding and good will of all who profess the democratic creed, but

it also requires from its leaders in every country the moral stand taken by the Mexicans and Bolivians—to quote these two examples once again—in order to prevent our destinies being handed over to the cold game of foreign policy of the imperialist Powers.

151. The small countries, and the powerful ones as well, are under an obligation to history and to the peoples to guarantee the integrity of human rights as a prerequisite for peace. This obligation is not being fulfilled satisfactorily, and never will be until we provide the United Nations with the strength and the appropriate means to give full support to the peoples in their struggle for betterment and in their age-long efforts to secure freedom.

152. The struggle for the peace and prosperity of the nations obliges all of us who are Members of the United Nations to do our utmost to find solutions for the fundamental problems at the root of the present tension and fear in the world. We are aware of the magnitude of the obstacles which must be overcome if we are to reach the desired goal. Nevertheless, we think that we should continue our efforts to find areas of agreement which will enable man, free from the threat of war, to release all his energies and capacities and to devote them to building a free and prosperous world with wider frontiers. To that end we feel that it is imperative to work steadfastly within the framework of the United Nations, with special respect for the ideas of others. In this connexion I should like to stress the following words of U Thant in his speech on "Education for Peace" given at Carleton University, Ottawa, in May 1962: "We need to try and understand each other's point of view. We also need to realize that it is no longer true to say that there are two sides to every question; in fact, there are many sides". Costa Rica trusts that this wise and constructive thought may guide the work of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, so that effective progress may be achieved in the noble and vital task of preserving world peace.

*Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.*

153. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay): My delegation heartily welcomes the election of Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan to preside over this august Assembly. We are confident that his outstanding personal qualities, his devotion to the cause of peace and justice and his great experience in international affairs will make our deliberations fruitful.

154. When the sixteenth session of the General Assembly opened a year ago, the United Nations, and with it the cause of peace, had just suffered a tragic loss in the person of Dag Hammarskjöld, one of its most capable and brilliant crusaders.

155. That was the time, fraught with uncertainty, when we elected U Thant and entrusted to him not only the tremendous office of Secretary-General but our most fervent hopes for his devotion to the task of preserving international peace and security. The year which has passed since then has shown the wisdom of that election, which was a just and unanimous choice. With these words my delegation pays its tribute of gratitude to our Secretary-General.

156. In his Introduction to the annual report on the work of the Organization [A/5201/Add.1], the Secretary-General referred to the problem of the so-called "crisis of confidence" which, according to those who put forward the idea, the United Nations is said to be undergoing; at the same time, however, U Thant did

not hesitate to bring all the weight of his robust personality and the prestige of his high office to bear in making a categorical assertion of optimism and faith, an optimism and faith which my delegation loyally and sincerely shares.

157. My country believes—and once again I quote the Secretary-General—that "the 'crisis of confidence',<sup>12</sup> indeed there is such a crisis, is a passing phase" and that "the United Nations will survive this 'crisis' and emerge stronger than before as a force for peace".

158. The Charter imposes common tasks on all the Members of our Organization because our aspirations for peace, well-being, progress and mutual and sincere understanding are, and should be, common. The United Nations will be able to withstand fresh "crisis of confidence" and be strengthened in the fulfilment of its noble aims to the extent that its Members decrease or intensify their co-operation.

159. There is a popular saying that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. In the same way we may say that peace and tranquility among the Members of the United Nations depend on the peace and tranquility of each and every one of its Members.

160. Paraguay is pleased to come to this Assembly presenting a sound economic and social structure, stabilized and strengthened by hard sacrifice. Having gone through a great deal of misunderstanding both at home and abroad, we have finally arrived at an era of great and positive achievements which consolidate the unity of our people in our joint efforts to raise the level of living as high as possible and to achieve our own political, cultural and social aspirations.

161. Looking back upon the years which have passed since the creation of the United Nations, we find irrefutable evidence of the growing vigour of our Organization and we proclaim our faith in its future. It would be a long and superfluous task to cite numerous examples, but I cannot refrain from mentioning one which is among the glories of this era. I refer to the appearance on the international scene and in the United Nations itself of new independent and sovereign States composed of ancient peoples which have recently been liberated from the colonial yoke that oppressed them. Their emergence is a continuous and encouraging process.

162. My delegation welcomes the admission of four new Members at this session: two African States—Rwanda and Burundi—and two States in the Western Hemisphere—Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. To these States, and to their representatives here present, I address a most cordial and brotherly welcome.

163. Anticipating the formal decision which will be adopted within a few days, for it has already been adopted in sentiment, I also welcome with the same fraternal joy the admission of Algeria to the free and sovereign nations of the world assembled in our Organization.

164. The continuous process of decolonization of the regions of the world in which dominated and dominating countries still exist is drawing to its inexorable end. Encouraged by the United Nations in their struggle for liberation, these peoples which are seeking their sovereignty have found in this Assembly a friendly forum in which to proclaim their hopes and aspirations.

165. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to those Committees established by our Organization to which specific tasks in this field have been assigned; in par-

ticular to the Committee usually known as the Committee of Seventeen,<sup>10</sup> whose extensive, complex and fundamental work we appreciated in its true dimensions.

166. The common effort to eradicate colonialism has in recent years seen definite evidence of a new conception and a new spirit for the solution of some of the graver problems which might at any time jeopardize international peace and security. Our fervent desire is that this new spirit may be extended to all cases and to other peoples.

167. We have witnessed the end of the struggle in Algeria and the signing of the Evian agreement, negotiated with sincerity and mutual understanding between the leaders of a people called to a great destiny, as are the Algerian people, and the representatives of the wise, determined leader of France, General de Gaulle. This agreement, made in good faith and put into effect, has healed the wounds of a long and cruel war and has opened the way for sincere co-operation between the former adversaries, co-operation between equally sovereign and independent States.

168. We have seen this same spirit prevail in the settlement of another of those conflicts which have for years been causing us grave concern: I refer to the question of West New Guinea or West Irian. The peaceful settlement which has been reached and which this Assembly has witnessed has closed a lamentable chapter in the history of relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands and has created a basis for better mutual understanding.

169. Nevertheless, although some very serious problems have begun to disappear, others even more serious have arisen. The problem of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests is certainly on the priority list of our concerns. This is a problem which by its very nature is of concern to all the peoples of the world, for they are living in an agony of uncertainty and peril under the daily threat of the most terrible of catastrophes.

170. For a brief period, the suspension of nuclear tests brought relief to all mankind. But then came that dark hour when, despite the cries of despair of people everywhere, the Soviet Union violated the moratorium agreed upon by the great Powers and resumed nuclear testing about a year ago. The echoes of those explosions reverberated throughout the world, striking terror into the hearts of people in all parts of the globe. There could be no mistaking the meaning and the implications of those tests. Behind the arrogance there lay an intention to intimidate others in order to reap the harvest of terror, namely, the triumph of a doctrine unacceptable to the vast majority of nations.

171. In view of the threat to the human race from nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and the anguish which holds all peoples in thrall, my delegation does not hesitate to declare emphatically and categorically that it is opposed to the continuance of that destructive and perilous undertaking.

172. We believe that the time has come to put an end to such tests once and for all. We have heard the words of one of the great Powers which possess the secret of nuclear fission and they were words of hope. That is how I understood the statement of the United States representative at the meeting held on 20 September

<sup>10</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples.

[1125th meeting] and I am pleased to quote it. Mr. Stevenson said: "... we in this country want to cease testing nuclear weapons. If other nuclear Powers are also willing to make an agreement to cease, the testing will cease."

173. We resolutely join with those who have spoken before us in expressing the hope that that objective which is not the aim of the United States alone but of the whole world, will soon be realized.

174. We, the representatives of countries at different stages of economic development, we who are working to raise the level of living of our peoples and devoting all our available resources, limited as they are, and all our best and unremitting efforts to accelerating our growth and consolidating our economic infrastructure — we are witnessing another deplorable phenomenon.

175. I refer to the vast arms race in which the great Powers are engaged, a race which devours fantastic sums that should be spent in the interest of human welfare rather than in the production of weapons of destruction. A mere fraction of the money invested in armaments could speed the progress of vast masses of people and promote their general development.

176. There has been very little progress in the year since this Assembly adopted the resolution <sup>11/</sup> laying down the broad lines for achieving disarmament and ensuring for the world a future free from the fear of imminent disaster. We are familiar with the various positions and we can see no grounds for the Soviet Union's stubborn refusal to agree to procedures of international inspection which would guarantee the security of both sides, if its avowed intentions are in good faith.

177. If we look at the situation from that point of view, we are forced to conclude that the Soviet Union is not really trying to bring the arms race to an end. It is the fact that the Soviet Union is a great military Power which gives support and encouragement to the expansion of communism, a doctrine which we vigorously reject. In this second half of the twentieth century, we are seeing how the Soviet Union is ruthlessly establishing a vast empire and helping to create and perpetuate the very problems with which we are at present concerned. There is much evidence to substantiate that charge. Although it would take a long time to enumerate all the instances, and we are all familiar with them, a few examples should be mentioned because they are so obvious.

178. Germany is one such instance. It is an artificially divided country and one of the two States resulting from that division is the Federal Republic of Germany, a democratic, consolidated and powerful State whose progress is a magnificent example of how a people can recover and develop when it is free to act for itself. Side by side with it there is the other Germany, so-called East Germany, which in our opinion is not really a State but a piece of German territory in which the inhabitants are totally subjugated by the Soviet Union. This East Germany, which possesses neither its own identity nor its own voice, which has been torn off and sacrificed, should be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination so that it may return to the great German fatherland and, unified and sovereign, independent and free, become what it should always have been, an integral part of the great Federal Republic of Germany.

179. What we have said about Germany applies to Berlin. Side by side with a free and democratic West Berlin, there is East Berlin, which is so different beneath the Soviet yoke that it has been necessary to erect a wall to seal it off. That wall is a monument to the shamelessness of those who built it and when I think that it was erected to prevent the Berliners of East Berlin from exercising their free will, my admiration and sympathy go out to the countless thousands of Germans who decided individually to exercise their right of self-determination, even at the risk of their lives, and to seek refuge in West Berlin and in the Federal Republic of Germany.

180. I have cited Germany as a typical example. I have also said that it is not the only one. What is more, here on our American continent, in the context of a political, social, juridical and economic system based on an identity of principles and objectives, the Soviet Union has introduced its Trojan horse; it has taken possession of the sovereignty of a Latin American nation and is holding it by virtue of its military power and tyranny, usurping the powers of self-determination which belong to the people alone and seeking to implant principles alien to the culture and civilization of our America.

181. That event, which is tantamount to aggression against all the nations of the American continent, is no more than a normal and logical episode in the imperialist totalitarianism of international communism.

182. The countries of America, whose Ministers for Foreign Affairs met informally in Washington on 2 and 3 October, expressed the hope that this situation will soon be resolved so that this problem will not be one of the items on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly.

183. I should now like to refer to the vast changes which have taken place in the United Nations since its inception, changes brought about by the admission of new States, in particular Asian and African States, which only yesterday were dependent territories and are now sovereign like the other Members.

184. The change in the membership of the United Nations has been a very marked one, and I might add, for the greater good of the Organization, for it has made it necessary to adopt new approaches in many areas of activity specified in the Charter.

185. There has been talk in some quarters of the possibility that a system of what might be called "weighted voting" might eventually be adopted in the Assembly. On that point I should like to say flatly that our views concerning the right of each Member State are identical with what has been clearly established in the Charter, namely, that each Member State shall have and shall continue to have one vote. I might add that we were glad to read the clear opinion expressed by the Secretary-General on this point in his Introduction to the Annual Report on the work of the Organization, of which I spoke earlier.

186. As I said just now, the drastic changes in the membership of the United Nations compel us to adopt new approaches, generally speaking in connexion with the composition of the Councils, especially the Security Council.

187. The number and influence of the countries of Africa and Asia has grown considerably and our Organization has been enriched by the contribution of those new States to such an extent that the Councils, and, I repeat, especially the Security Council, cannot

<sup>11/</sup> Resolution 1649 (XVI).

remain as at present constituted because the political and social interests of the Afro-Asian States should be duly represented.

188. In expressing these ideas, I should like to add that we cannot and must not close our eyes to the consequences of a historical process which is of the greatest significance and that we should therefore consider the problems resulting from current developments.

189. My comments concerning the Councils and principal organs of the United Nations apply also, for the same basic reasons, to the composition of what the Charter calls "the principal judicial organ of the United Nations", namely, the International Court of Justice.

190. My delegation does not propose to offer possible solutions for this problem, but it felt it a duty, and of course a right, to express its concern and its ideas on this question in the hope that they might help in some way towards the formulation and solution of the problems in question.

191. There are many very important items on our agenda. My delegation will state its views on them in due course, when they are discussed in the organs to which they have been allocated.

192. I should not fail to state, however, that at the appropriate time the delegation of Paraguay intends to uphold the right of the Republic of China to participate in our work as a Member of the United Nations and to serve on its organs. The People's Republic of China, which seeks to replace it in our Organization, is not qualified to do so, has not complied with the resolutions of the General Assembly on the Korean question and has not shown that it accepts the basic principles on which the United Nations is founded.

193. In conclusion, I should like to express my best wishes for the success of this Assembly's deliberations.

#### Statement by the President

194. The PRESIDENT: As I indicated yesterday, I shall now give the Assembly an idea of the work planned for next week.

195. So far as the general debate is concerned, seventy-one delegations have so far participated and twenty-four more are inscribed on the list of speakers. Apart from the general debate, as Members are aware, the President of Cuba will address the Assembly on Monday morning, and the President of Guinea on Tuesday afternoon. It is possible that there will not be time on Monday morning, after the address of the President of Cuba, to hear all the representatives whose names are inscribed for that meeting. If that is the case, representatives who do not speak on Monday morning will be listed for Tuesday morning. We have a very long list of speakers for the meeting Tuesday afternoon, in addition to the address of the President of Guinea. The same procedure will be applied in that case.

196. The general debate will not be continued on Thursday afternoon because the Assembly will be occupied at that time with elections of members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. I have been approached by a number of delegations with requests to expedite these elections. At present there does not appear to be much

chance that the elections can be held sooner than Thursday afternoon. If a possibility should arise, I shall be willing to consider it, in deference to the wishes of so many delegations.

197. I should like to make this comment. My observation of the proceedings so far has indicated that the Assembly could have concluded the general debate this week if the lists had been better co-ordinated. Of course, that cannot be done by the Secretariat because the wishes of the delegations with regard to the day and time when they wish to speak must be taken into account. As representatives are aware, we did not have plenary meetings on Monday and Tuesday afternoons—we could have had them, but did not do so because there were no speakers. Yesterday there was an hour which we could have used, but which we did not use for lack of speakers.

198. I trust that the indications I have given will help Members to arrange their own schedules. We shall now also have to meet the contingency that Committees will be sitting. After next week it might become necessary for the First Committee to sit simultaneously with the plenary Assembly—not always, but certainly on many occasions. As Members are aware, there is a very long list of items to be discussed in plenary meetings. The result, in effect, is that the First Committee will be sitting in three sections: plenary, First Committee and Special Political Committee. Thus, as I have said, there may have to be simultaneous meetings.

199. With regard to the item inscribed on the agenda for the meeting on Monday afternoon, the admission of new Members—which, of course, means the admission of Algeria—there is, as expected, a very long list of speakers. I fully appreciate the reasons, the sentiments, the emotions that impel Members to take part in congratulating Algeria on its becoming a Member of this Organization. On the other hand, I do hope that several delegations which have inscribed their names may find it possible to follow the practice on previous occasions and to join with other delegations in expressing their joy at the admission of Algeria. We have to balance emotional and sentimental considerations with the very heavy demands on our time in connexion with the problems that should engage our attention. I leave it to Members to make whatever they may feel would be a good adjustment between these considerations.

200. I might make one final observation. As the season advances, the mornings will become more and more difficult from the point of view of weather. I trust that the result will not be that it becomes difficult to continue to follow our now fairly well established system of punctual meetings. Rather, I hope that representatives will devote a few more minutes to the journey to the United Nations in the morning, starting earlier so that they may arrive here on time. That is what I am beginning to do. And if it has pleased the Assembly to choose so old and frail a man as I to be its principal servant, I trust that those who are much younger and more robust than I will take due care to enable me to carry out the responsibility that they laid on my shoulders when they expressed the wish, on the very first day, that meetings should begin at 10.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*