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CONTENTS

President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (continued)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/5230) (concluded)

1. The PRESIDENT: I recognize the representative of Guinea for an explanation of vote.

2. Mr. DIALLO Telli (Guinea) (translated from French): A mistake occurred in connexion with the vote cast at the 1129th meeting by the Republic of Guinea concerning the adoption of the agenda. Guinea's position is so clear that we are confident that delegations will have automatically corrected the mistake. Nevertheless, we wish to give a public explanation for the record.

3. The error concerns the inclusion in the agenda of the question of Hungary. This question raises two different problems for the delegation of Guinea: first, a political problem of substance, whether or not the question should be included in the agenda; and secondly, a problem of legal procedure, or form, concerning the allocation of the item, once included in the agenda, to one of the working organs of the General Assembly.

4. As to the first question, the question of substance, the delegation of Guinea has for the last four years, and quite recently in the General Committee, taken a clear position. Our representative in the General Committee stated that:

"[Guinea] considered the question of Hungary a cold war subject. One of the fundamental aims of the non-aligned States, however, was to seek a relaxation of international tension. No doubt it was regrettable that relations between the United Nations and Hungary had not progressed since 1956, but normal relations would not be restored by including the question in the agenda in the same spirit as in the past. His delegation was therefore opposed to its inclusion."1/

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, General Committee, 148th meeting, para. 82.

On this essential point the position of the delegation of Guinea has not changed.

5. As to the question of form—the allocation of the item, once included in the agenda, to one of the working organs of the Assembly—traditionally the question of Hungary has always been considered directly by the plenary Assembly, and this year the Secretariat suggested that the same procedure should be followed. In view of the very heavy agenda for the plenary meetings, however, one delegation in the General Committee proposed that the item should be referred to the Special Political Committee. This is what the General Committee recommended. Guinea said that it would not participate in the vote concerning that question. As it considered that the item should not be included in the agenda at all, it cared little which particular organ of the Assembly was to discuss it.

6. These are the explanations which my delegation wished to give for the record.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

7. Mr. THIAM (Senegal) (translated from French): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the Presidency of our Assembly.

8. The election of an Asian, following that of an African, to the Presidency of this high international tribunal demonstrates, without a doubt, the importance of the non-aligned world and its increasing influence among twentieth-century mankind. Le poids du tiers-monde is the title of a recent book dealing with the problems of the under-developed countries. It is an indisputable fact, and it is the conclusion reached in that book, that the uncommitted world is now in the front line of history. But precisely because the uncommitted world is playing an increasing role in world affairs, because it is assuming ever-increasing responsibilities, it must be conscious of the new obligations which the situation imposes on it.

9. For two years now the post of Secretary-General and Presidency of the General Assembly have been entrusted to African-Asians. Does that betoken malice or confidence on the part of those who give us these heavy responsibilities? We cannot tell. We prefer to be optimistic and consider the honour as a sign of confidence. But if the great Powers, in giving us those responsibilities, had any ulterior motive and were saying to each other: "Let us get them with their backs to the wall", it would then be for us to prove that we young nations are highly conscious of our role in the world. Being neither able nor willing to produce and stock weapons of mass destruction, deliberately turning our backs on this deadly game of the nuclear Powers, preoccupied as we are by the demands of development, the uncommitted countries can and must play a bene-

ficent role in the world by seeking and proposing human solutions, that is, just and reasonable solutions to the problems of our time. To the philosophy of power we must oppose the philosophy of wisdom; to violence, conciliation and compromise, but with no compromise of principle. "The weight of the uncommitted world"—which is now a recognized fact—must be a moral weight. That is why, in the discussion of the important problems which are the subject of our present meetings, our contribution will be to reduce things to their true proportions, to give our debates a humane quality and to introduce serenity and calmness in this forum.

10. It is true that this session of the General Assembly opened in an apparent calm and one would be tempted to believe that in the past year we have made considerable progress in the solution of the problems of the day. But a brief examination of our agenda reveals that there is still fire under the embers. The problem of peace, or more specifically the problem of disarmament and peaceful coexistence, is far from solution. Nuclear tests have been resumed. The Berlin wall still stands as the most tangible sign of mankind's present tragic situation.

11. While some Powers have finally resolved their colonial problems, and others, let us hope, are about to resolve theirs, there are also some who refuse to admit even the principle of decolonization. The essential problem, however, which conditions the future of mankind, the development of the backward areas, has been more the subject of words than of positive action.

12. We have already defined more than once, in this hall, the general principles of our international policy. We shall not revert to them, but should merely like to state, as briefly and clearly as possible, our attitude towards certain problems, either because of their importance for world peace or because they concern us more or less directly. These problems are disarmament, peaceful coexistence, the building of Africa and decolonization.

13. The prerequisite of peace is disarmament. Some may dispute this elemental truth by quoting the saying "If you want peace, prepare for war". In fact, the attitude of the great Powers is dictated by the strategy of dissuasion. To the balance of peace without terror they seem to prefer the balance of terror—perhaps because they think it more effective. They think that the only way to maintain peace is to produce and stockpile weapons of mass destruction. It is the system of armed peace. We shall not speak of the well-known controversies on the effectiveness of the strategy of dissuasion. We would only say that even if peace could be obtained in that way it would be a most costly peace, swallowing up the major part of the resources of mankind.

14. Would it not be better to establish peace by less costly means? If the great Powers are really conscious of their duties to the needy and wish to liberate sufficient resources to come to their assistance, the best solution would be for them to devote part of their military expenditure to organized assistance to the uncommitted world. Clearly the achievement of such a solution must depend upon disarmament. If, as we believe, peace can be consolidated through disarmament, why is every effort being made to establish peace by other means, including the mass accumulation of armaments? There lies the whole problem. Between a costly peace and an inexpensive peace, common sense requires us to choose the second—that is, peace through disarmament. Moreover, the great Powers are apparently agreed on the principle; but the fundamental element of confidence is lacking. Some Powers want disarmament but oppose inspection; others want disarmament with inspection. Common sense dictates that any agreement on disarmament must be accompanied by a strict system of inspection, on condition, of course, that inspection does not amount to espionage. On this point we fully endorse the statement made in March 1961 by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries:

> "Disarmament without inspection would be as unacceptable as inspection without disarmament. Disarmament and inspection are integral parts of the same question and must be negotiated together; and both must be made as complete and effective as is humanly possible." 2/

15. These clear principles must guide our search for any solution of the disarmament problem. We understand the suspicions of those who fear that inspection and control may be misused and that, instead of serving the cause of effective disarmament, they may on the contrary become a means of espionage. But it should not be impossible to organize genuine and effective inspection in conditions that would eliminate all risks for the country in which control or inspection are being carried out. Those are mere details on which it should be possible to reach agreement, given the sincere will to do so. If the great Powers are not able to arrive at such agreement through direct negotiations, then the uncommitted world should take unanimous positive action and should consider and propose reasonable solutions.

16. We would even say that as peace is indivisible in the world today, the young States are just as much interested in a solution as are the great Powers. We therefore have our word to say in any negotiations on disarmament. Whether the solution be sought within or without the United Nations, it directly concerns the uncommitted world.

17. We have read with interest the reports of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament; 3/ and we have followed that Committee's laborious efforts to find a solution. But we cannot refrain from reiterating here our regret that no French-speaking African country was represented in that Committee, and we consider that that omission might be rectified in the future.

18. Yet how can one speak optimistically of disarmament when it has not even proved possible to arrange for the discontinuance of nuclear tests? On this point also, our position is clear. We condemn all nuclear tests, whoever conducts them. Last year much was said about the denuclearization of Africa. Of course, we welcome any proposal aimed at limiting the nuclear testing zones in the world. But that is not the fundamental problem. Africans will not be protected by the mere fact of a decision that Africa should be a nuclear-free zone. The problem must be dealt with as a whole. The only resolution to which we could agree would be one condemning nuclear tests not only in Africa but also in Asia and any other part of the world.

19. The cessation of nuclear tests followed by general, progressive and controlled disarmament are the prerequisites of peace. It must be realized, however, that while disarmament would obviate the possibility of military conflict, it would not settle all dis-

2/ Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/190, para. 8.

3/ Ibid., documents DC/203 and DC/205.

putes. At present we are in the throes of an intense ideological conflict. But an ideological conflict is not fatal if neither side tries to impose its ideology by force. There must be ideological diversity if humanity is to progress. Peaceful coexistence merely means that the competition between East and West must be peaceful competition, each ideology striving for victory on its own merits and without pressure or violence.

20. If the Powers which have the major responsibilities in the world were to refuse to accept these ideas, based on common sense, we, the uncommitted nations, should endeavour to organize in order to ensure for ourselves the broadest possible protection. It cannot be too often reiterated that our greatest misfortune would be to be divided, split into two blocs, for in allowing this we should extend the cold war instead of restricting it, and so increase the chances of a hot war. We should first organize at the level of our respective continents and then at the level of the uncommitted world.

21. As far as Africa is concerned, you are aware of the efforts to achieve unity which have been going on for the past year. After lengthy controversy about its meaning, the form and the content of African unity, the different points of view seem to be coming very much closer. All Africans now recognize that in the immediate future African unity cannot mean the fusion of all components into a single State organization. It could not even mean, again in the near future, a huge federal-type organization, because that would imply some degree of supernationality, which it would be impossible to achieve, in present circumstances, at the level of the continent or even of a major portion of it.

22. It is now generally realized, however, that African unity is a unity of aspirations, a community of views, which is reflected in a concerted policy and in consolidated action on the part of all the independent African States, based on respect for their sovereignty. On these bases, the existing groups—the Monrovia group and the Casablanca group—can and must come together before long and act in concert if the perils threatening us are to be avoided. African unity many not be the only prerequisite for peace, but it can help to create a favourable trend and reduce the danger of conflict. We think that our Asian brothers should be working in the same direction. Here you have "the weight of the uncommitted world"; needless to say there will be obstacles in our path.

23. But if we make peace our paramount consideration, if we deliberately refuse to play the game of either of the opposing blocs, if we have the support of the peoples of all countries, who all, regardless of the continent in which they live, long for peace and well-being, we may be able to start an irresistible trend which will stop the armaments race and make it easier to secure peace by outlawing weapons of mass destruction. That presupposes that the countries of the uncommitted world will agree first to play the game among themselves; and this is where I want to examine our conscience.

24. It is an unfortunate fact that, even within the uncommitted world, there are still some sources of conflict. Some African or Asian States dream of becoming military Powers, when they cannot even provide their peoples with a reasonable living. We have not yet clearly defined the rules of international morality which would place our relations on a basis of confidence, friendship and solidarity. Many of us encourage subversive groups, just to annoy our neighbours. We fight imperialism abroad, but we do nothing to abolish it at home.

25. More than once—and we will return to this point—we have seen States of the uncommitted world with designs upon their neighbours, which they actually tried to annex. In many cases, they have not hesitated to ask the great Powers to help them achieve their ends. All this must emphatically be denounced, as we said before.

26. The only capital at the disposal of the uncommitted world is moral capital. It must conduct itself in an exemplary manner if it wishes to acquire influence and to keep it in the world. Our policy of non-alignment, of which we speak so often, is questioned by those who watch our doings, perhaps because we do not always suit our actions to our words, or because we do not keep strictly to one line of conduct. We must rethink all our political concepts in the light of the fundamental imperative of peace, and we must make what modest sacrifices we can to further the cause of peace. Any criticisms and suggestions that we may make to the great Powers will have point and weight only in so far as they consider our conduct exemplary.

27. This self-criticism enables me to speak with freedom about the second problem which affects all of us, that of decolonization. Some observers have said that in Africa the colonial problem is still a major concern of Governments. They say that the Africans are more interested in that than in peace. The controversies about giving decolonization priority over peace that occurred at the Belgrade Conference [1] last year may have given a false impression.

28. It is true that the disappearance of colonialism would contribute to peace, which is perhaps why the Africans attach so much importance to decolonization. It is also true that in Africa there are colonial Powers which far from having decolonized, have not even accepted the principle of the liberation of the colonized peoples. All this has provoked very violent reactions among Africans, and is still doing so; but they should not be taken too seriously. Our attitude to the colonial problem has always been fairly flexible.

29. It is a fact that in recent years some progress has been made with decolonization in Africa. There are more States Members of our Organization every year, and Africa is becoming increasingly important numerically in the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome the representatives of Rwanda and Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, who will soon be followed by those of Algeria and Uganda. There are some European Powers who have already taken the path towards decolonization. There are even some who have decolonized all the African countries which used to be under their domination.

30. This is the time to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. In accordance with the undertakings that it gave immediately after the war, France has restored full sovereignty to nearly all the African countries that used to be its colonies. Whatever difficulties there may have been from time to time over decolonization, France deserves our friendship, our respect and our esteem. From this rostrum, we can assure France and General de Gaulle, its amazing leader, of our warmest sympathy and of our admiration for the courage with which it has settled the colonial problem, particularly in Algeria, where it was ex-

[1] Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries.

tremely complex and painful. Today all the French-speaking countries represented in this Assembly are establishing fresh relations with France.

31. These relations will be all the more fruitful as they are based on free consent and mutual respect. We have always felt that a prepared and organized independence, acquired through negotiation, with mutual respect for the interest of the two parties, is the most fruitful. Those colonial Powers which still refuse to decolonize should ponder France's example. Its influence and its prestige, far from being restricted to France proper, have grown. The links that bind us have been strengthened. Because of its national character, its culture which is our common heritage also, because of the great ideals it represents, France is now on the path traced for it by Destiny, the path of a people, of a nation, that is indispensable to the world because it has a feeling for what is human and universal.

32. We hope that the rest of Africa will soon be decolonized and that, in particular, the United Kingdom will shortly reach an equitable solution of the disturbing problem of the Rhodesias.

33. We must still consider the case of the Powers which resist decolonization. Our attitude to them is still as uncompromising as ever. Last year my delegation demanded the expulsion of Portugal from the United Nations. This year the twelve States of the African and Malagasy Union will unanimously and persistently demand the expulsion not only of Portugal, but of South Africa. If in the best interest of the colonized people, independence is to be prepared and organized, the colonial Power must at least accept this in principle; but Portugal rejects the very principle of decolonization. In doing so, Portugal openly violates the principles of the United Nations Charter. A member of an organization must either accept its rules and regulations or resign. We shall demand the expulsion of South Africa for the same reasons. The United Nations is a universal organization founded on respect for peoples and races. A State which does not accept these principles has no place among us.

34. While on the subject of decolonization, I should like to say a few words about West New Guinea. Although the United Nations has approved it, we cannot pretend that we are not astonished at the recent concluded agreement on West New Guinea (A/5170, annex). We are just as much opposed to abdications which fail to solve the colonial problem as we are to an obstinate refusal to decolonize. We have always said that we were in favour of self-determination for West New Guinea; but if there is to be real self-determination, certain forms must be respected and certain conditions must be imposed. When one country is claimed by another, self-determination should precede the transfer of that country to the State that claims it; but when, as in the case of West New Guinea, the country is handed over to Indonesia, we feel that there is no self-determination, whatever precautions have been taken, even if there is an interim period under the United Nations. The most surprising thing is that such an operation, which is nothing but a disguised annexation, should be carried out under cover of the United Nations. We must say that we find this incomprehensible.

35. Certain precedents are dangerous, and certain principles must remain sacrosanct if we wish our Organization to be respected and to enjoy the unanimous confidence of all peoples. At a time when the authority and prestige of the United Nations are under attack, we should avoid giving ammunition to the Organization's opponents.

36. The Conference of Heads of State of the Afro-Malagasy Union, held some weeks ago at Libreville, took a very definite stand on this problem. The Libreville Conference held that self-determination should be exercised during the transitional period and not after West New Guinea has been placed under Indonesian administration. We have no objection to an association or even a merger of West New Guinea with Indonesia. That is not the problem. But where the defence of principles is concerned, our Organization must stand firm if it wishes to maintain its prestige.

37. Finally, while on the subject of colonial problems, I would like to say a few words about the Congo. Two years ago, in this hall, we defended a federal solution to the Congolese problem. We continue to believe that the territorial integrity of the Congo must be maintained and that the Katangese secession must be ended. The integrity of the Congo is, however, fully compatible with a federal system under which the provinces would have an adequate measure of autonomy. We are therefore glad that a United Nations plan based on a federal arrangement has now been put forward. We shall support this plan unreservedly, and we ask our Congolese brothers to accept it in their own interests and in the interests of peace in Africa.

38. These are our views on the problems which have engaged our particular attention. I have tried to be brief and specific, confining myself to setting out positions of principle. My delegation reserves its right to speak on particular questions during the course of the session as the various items on the agenda are taken up. We shall make clear our position, which remains unchanged, on the admission of China to the United Nations. We support the admission of continental China, on condition of course, as we have always stated, that it does not imperil the existence of Nationalist China unless that country should decide otherwise. We consider that divided countries should be the subject of a general discussion and that certain clear principles should be established as a result of such a discussion. Where special circumstances preclude self-determination, other solutions should be found which will permit the peaceful consolidation of the existing situation.

39. The overwhelming majority of us Africans are convinced of the fruitlessness of certain struggles between spheres of influence. At the dawn of the interplanetary era, all of us who live on the planet Earth must undergo a change of outlook. We must create a movement of universal solidarity transcending peoples, races and continents. Today all political problems of any importance are indivisible. To believe that one part of humanity can live in peace and tranquillity and the other in disorder and chaos is an illusion. To suppose that the wealthy section of mankind can remain indifferent to the misery of the remainder is to deceive oneself. We are all irremediably involved in the same adventure. The duty of universal solidarity is basic to the twentieth-century world. The United Nations has shown its awareness of this in trying to translate the principle of solidarity into positive action.

40. We have studied with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Development Decade. Basing himself on evidence derived from the careful study of international relations during the last

ten years, the Secretary-General states that during the period it "came to be generally recognized that the progress of under-developed countries is one of the most important problems of the world economy, and the principle of partnership of the developed and under-developed countries in solving this problem was accepted". 5/

41. Indeed, it must be recognized that there has always been some kind of association between developed and under-developed countries. During the colonial period the countries of Africa and Asia lived in close association, economically speaking, with the metropolitan countries. Even after acceding to independence, the under-developed countries very often remain linked with the highly industrialized Powers in zones of solidarity. But our task today is to ensure that such associations do not continue to be what they were in the past—that is to say, a union of horse and rider. The principle of international solidarity means that any association between developed and under-developed countries should be based on the need for general and balanced development.

42. It is true that, some time ago, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on "concerted action for economic development of economically less developed countries" [resolution 1515 (XV)]. However, acceptance of this principle by the great Powers is not in itself sufficient to solve the problem. Specific action is needed. We know that, as the Secretary-General's report states, actual aid rendered has "increased steadily year by year and constituted a slowly rising proportion of the national incomes" of the wealthier countries. But it can never be said too often that, before there is any talk of assistance, the under-developed countries should be equitably remunerated for the raw materials they export. In the words of the report:

> "Primary commodity prices were at a high level in the early part of the last decade, but as it went on they tended to grow progressively weaker. The proceeds which under-developed countries derived from export sales of primary commodities or of manufactured goods clearly failed to develop the dynamic growth which would be necessary to finance their economic development at acceptable growth rates. This was all the more disappointing since international trade, as a whole, showed sufficient dynamism to serve as a basis for financing economic development, if only the share of under-developed countries in the trade total could have been maintained." 6/

43. These facts set out in the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Development Decade confirm that, while assistance is necessary and indeed indispensable for the under-developed countries, the first need is to alter the terms of international trade so as to guarantee a fair return to the countries producing primary commodities—which means, in general, the under-developed countries. We in Senegal are ready to attend any conference called to study this fundamental problem.

44. Let us speak now of assistance. There is really little left to be said on this important question. That fact was pointed out only recently: the latest meeting of experts on aid to under-developed countries drew up a report covering 15,000 pages and filling twenty volumes. This voluminous documentation is certainly very valuable. The under-privileged peoples, however, would prefer to hear much less talk about themselves and to see more concrete action taken on their behalf. The under-developed section of the world is in many respects comparable to the sick men described by Molière at whose bedside doctors in pointed caps gathered to exchange learned cabbalistic formulae, leaving the patients to languish and die. Statistics, calculations and discussions have been multiplied ad infinitum; it is now time to act. This was the conclusion reached in a recent study on the problems of the under-developed world.

45. What we need now are deeds—positive and concrete acts. It has been established that the total resources of the under-developed countries, wisely used, would make it possible to solve the problem of under-development without detriment to the highly developed countries. In the voluminous report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Development Decade, I find the following eloquent figures:

> "A flow of capital representing 1 per cent of the incomes of the developed countries adds about 10 per cent to the national incomes of the under-developed countries, and about 100 per cent to their present net capital formation." 7/

The problem of the development of backward regions is therefore not insoluble, particularly having regard to the efforts which the under-developed countries are making themselves, with the use of their own resources and assets, to escape from their tragic plight.

46. The under-developed countries are open to criticism. We ourselves have just undertaken an exhaustive self-examination. Those countries cannot, however, be accused of failing to make real efforts towards their own economic development. Furthermore, when one bears in mind the large expenditure on armaments of certain Powers, can any serious reproaches be levelled against nations which manufacture no bombs or guns?

47. I shall end at the point where I began. Disarmament is not only the prerequisite for peace but also the surest means of creating a balanced world, based upon a rational distribution of the world's wealth. Let us therefore build peace through disarmament. This is the prime necessity of our time.

48. Mr. GREEN (Canada): In the first place, Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join with others in offering you congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your outstanding qualifications and wide experience in diplomacy, in international law and in United Nations affairs will, I know, prove to be of great value at this important session. Your appointment is a well-deserved tribute to you and also to your country, Pakistan. Last week the people of Canada were delighted to receive President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan as a distinguished and highly respected visitor. His visit served to re-emphasize the excellent relations which Pakistan and Canada have always enjoyed.

49. I also wish to extend a very warm welcome to the four new Members that were admitted to the United Nations last week. In Rwanda and Burundi the United Nations played an important role in bringing about the transition from Trusteeship to independence. Canada had the honour of serving on one of the United Nations commissions during the preparatory period. Aided by a common bond of language, we now look forward to

5/ The United Nations Development Decade. Proposals for Action (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 62.II.B.2), chap. I, A.

6/ Ibid.

7/ Ibid.

developing with these two countries the same close relationship which links Canada to other French-speaking countries of Africa.

Mr. Diallo Telli (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

50. The achievement of independence by Jamaica and by Trinidad and Tobago is an event of special significance and interest for Canada, not only because of our Commonwealth relationship and association, but also because of the historic ties which have existed for centuries between Canadians and the peoples of the West Indies. I am confident that these good neighbours of ours—the first new Members, incidentally, from the Western Hemisphere—have a valuable contribution to make to the United Nations.

51. Last year when I spoke in the general debate the United Nations was facing many grave issues some of which actually threatened its survival. The atmosphere in the Assembly, as those representatives present today who were also here a year ago will remember, was one of tension and anxiety. The whole future was uncertain—the future of this Organization and the future of the world. May I suggest that the events of the past twelve months have not dispelled all the difficulties, but neither have they fulfilled the pessimistic prophecies of a year ago. We are living in a world in which it pays to be optimistic. I do not believe that the pessimists will ever settle the problems which are facing the world, and I believe that clearly, at this session of the Assembly, we have a good deal more reason for hope than we had a year ago.

52. Here I should like to point out that there have been some gains in the complex international endeavour to strengthen the peace. For example, at the beginning of 1962 the situation in Laos seemed far from settled. But by July, international agreements providing for a unified, independent and neutral Laos had been signed at Geneva by the fourteen nations attending the Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question. Those nations included Governments which do not recognize each other but which shared a common determination to face reality and find a solution. The result was a positive step towards peace and stability in South East Asia.

53. Canada was one of the signatories of the Laos Agreements, and as a member of the International Commission, together with India, whose representative, Mr. Avtar Singh, was Chairman, and Poland, Canada was charged with the task of seeing that the agreements are carried out. We intend to fulfil these responsibilities with fairness and with diligence. I emphasize, however, that ultimate success in Laos will depend on the continuing support and co-operation of all Governments concerned. I think that we can make Laos an example for the settlement of problems in other parts of the world. A significant factor in the successful negotiations on Laos was the business-like procedure involved. In particular, the device of co-chairmanship proved its worth, and the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union deserve much of the credit for the result. I pay tribute to them today for their work as co-chairmen of that conference.

54. There is, furthermore, another area in which there has been some progress. After a year of inactivity, steps forward were also taken in the field of disarmament. The United States and the Soviet Union reached accord on a Joint Statement of Agreed Principles and laid it before the General Assembly on 20 September 1961.[8] This was followed by another advance which I think should be considered a major advance—the establishment of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee which began its deliberations in March of this year in Geneva.

55. This Committee has two important advantages over previous disarmament forums. First, following the precedent of the Laos Conference, it has the United States and the Soviet Union as permanent Co-Chairmen, and they meet together frequently to arrange agendas and try to resolve differences. I do not suppose that ever before have Americans and Russians spoken together on so many occasions and for such a long time as these Co-Chairmen have been doing in Geneva. And, of course, these great Powers are the key to the whole problem of disarmament. If there is to be a settlement, it must be reached primarily between those two great nations. Secondly, the Committee has as members eight non-aligned nations: Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the United Arab Republic. By their impartial and constructive approach to the intricate problems of disarmament, these eight nations have helped to advance the work of the Conference. In the opinion of the Canadian delegation, these eight nations have made a magnificent contribution to that Conference.

56. For the first time since nations began to debate this all-important question of disarmament, the two major Powers have put forward comprehensive treaty proposals. The Committee has been examining these proposals for the past five months. One thing shown conclusively is that the dangers caused by the vast array of modern armaments cannot be removed at one stroke or by adopting some simple formula. To reach agreement on general and complete disarmament requires the greatest effort and the most painstaking negotiation.

57. The fundamental problem, of course, is the distrust and suspicion which have sharply and tragically divided the world since the end of the Second World War. Negotiating Governments must make greater efforts to overcome this distrust and suspicion.

58. The Committee in Geneva should play its part in this transformation. The Canadian delegation at Geneva has repeatedly emphasized that there are common elements in existing proposals which can be developed into significant measures of disarmament. What is required is a renewed endeavour to achieve acceptable compromises.

59. Canada welcomes the announced intention of the Soviet Union to modify its proposals for eliminating nuclear weapons vehicles. In our view, this may help to remove the block to negotiations in Geneva which was created by the incompatible positions of the two sides on this particular question. Of course, we must reserve our final opinion on this modified Soviet position until we see the detailed amendments to the Soviet draft treaty; and, in addition, agreement on this key disarmament question will inevitably require careful examination in Geneva of all the related factors.

60. Early in the Geneva Conference, a committee of the whole was set up to deal with measures which could be put into effect quickly and would help to relieve international tension and create mutual confidence pending agreement on general and complete disarmament.

[8] Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

Among the subjects which this committee has before it are, first, measures to prevent further dissemination of nuclear weapons, and, secondly, reduction of the possibility of war by accident, miscalculation or failure of communications. In order to stop the arms race from spreading to outer space, Canada has proposed in that committee that immediate action should be taken to prevent the placing of weapons of mass destruction in orbit. We urge that, when the Disarmament Committee resumes its work, redoubled efforts be made to reach agreement on the important questions which are before this collateral measures committee.

61. This Assembly should bring to bear the full force of world opinion to ensure more rapid progress in disarmament. To achieve this we must, first of all, here in New York, avoid propaganda exchanges on the question of disarmament. The whole issue could become a propaganda battle here in the Assembly, and that would be a tragedy. We must also assess the possibilities for compromise on important points which are still in dispute. Finally, we must recommend as forcefully as possible—and, I would hope, with one voice—that the Disarmament Committee in Geneva renew its efforts at the earliest possible moment.

62. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers, meeting in London just a few days ago, recorded their unanimous conviction in this sense. That statement by the Commonwealth Conference was very significant, because there you had fifteen nations representing all the continents of the world. And this, in the words of their communiqué, is what they had to say about disarmament:

> "The Prime Ministers agreed that the need for disarmament had been intensified by the steady development of ever more powerful weapons. They reaffirmed the principles laid down in their Statement on disarmament of 17 March 1961 and expressed their conviction that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva should continue its efforts towards a treaty for general and complete disarmament in accordance with these principles. They noted that discussions on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests had also been taking place in Geneva and expressed the hope that these efforts would be successful in bringing into being an effective treaty to eradicate this source of fear and danger to mankind."

63. The Eighteen-Nation Committee is responsible for detailed negotiations, and only through its continued efforts in Geneva can progress toward disarmament be realized. That is why we must, as the representative of Norway stated here at the 1126th meeting, "give encouragement and guidance to the negotiating nations in Geneva". I point out that all Members of the United Nations have a fundamental obligation to assist in every way in ensuring that agreement on this vital subject is reached without delay. The world simply cannot afford the risk of failure.

64. In the disarmament talks at Geneva and in this General Assembly, it has been made very clear that the problem of nuclear weapon tests is of the gravest concern to all Members of the United Nations. My Government maintains its firm opposition to all nuclear weapon testing, for two reasons. First, we are convinced that continued testing poses an ever increasing danger to human health; of this I shall say more presently. Secondly, the ultimate security of mankind is weakened, not strengthened, by further testing. No matter what considerations may lead the major Powers to undertake nuclear tests, their effect can only be to accelerate and to make even more perilous the race in nuclear armaments. The Powers concerned must not ignore the fact that the arms race itself gives rise to fears which, in turn, become a factor in intensifying competition in armaments.

65. I believe that these fundamental points are not in dispute. But the tests have still not been stopped. The proposals submitted by the eight uncommitted countries in Geneva and the new technical data advanced recently by the United States and the United Kingdom have opened new opportunities for agreement.

66. The Canadian Government strongly supports the proposal, originally made by the Mexican representative in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, that a target date, 1 January 1963, I wish it could have been earlier, should be set for the cessation of all tests. This date has been accepted in principle by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. As a minimum first step, agreement could be reached immediately on the final cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. To have a comprehensive treaty, of course underground tests must be included. The question barring agreement on such a treaty is whether the parties shall be obliged to permit inspections on their territories when other means of determining whether there has been an underground nuclear explosion fail to give a definite answer. This is a difficult problem, involving dangers to the security of the nations concerned, but the dangers which result from the lack of a solution are immeasurably greater.

67. If the great Powers cannot reach agreement on this issue, prospects for general and complete disarmament will be dim indeed. They can and must resolve their differences in this field if they are to fulfil their obligations to mankind. The General Assembly should clearly express itself in this sense.

68. I revert now to the hazards to human health created by nuclear testing. The second comprehensive report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation brings out the danger very clearly in the following statement, and I quote from this scientific report:

> "As there are no effective measures to prevent the occurrence of harmful effects of global radio-active contamination from nuclear explosions, the achievement of a final cessation of nuclear tests would benefit present and future generations of mankind." [A/5216, chapter VII, para. 52.]

That is the objective language of a scientific report tabled just a few months ago. The dangers involved are immediate. They affect us now and, what is even more important, they will affect future generations.

69. In order to assess these dangers properly, the Assembly must continue to insist on a co-operative world-wide study. Last year's resolution on the subject reaffirmed the desirability of continuing full international co-operation through the Scientific Committee. The latest report of the Committee constitutes an authoritative and up-to-date assessment of the exposure of mankind to radiation and of its harmful effects.

70. In its resolution of last year (1629 (XVI)) the General Assembly called for a study of a world-wide synoptic reporting scheme of atmospheric radiation levels. I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made by the World Meterological Organization in pre-

paring such a scheme. It is our hope that its implementation on a world-wide basis will soon be initiated.

71. Now I come to another question. Disarmament deserves high priority in our deliberations because it seeks to remove the means of waging war. The Acting Secretary-General has emphasized in his annual report [A/5201] the need to eradicate the basic causes of war: poverty, famine and disease. The economic and social work of the United Nations goes along so quietly that it does not always receive the public attention it deserves. And yet success in raising living standards in the less developed areas and in expanding and stabilizing world trade may, in the long run, determine the question of war or peace.

72. The role of the United Nations in providing an effective framework for economic and social development is well established. There will, I am sure, be no disagreement over the importance of the various assistance programmes. These essential activities must be adequately supported. In the Development Decade we should strive to make increasingly effective use of existing institutions. For its part, the Canadian Government will continue to support these United Nations efforts and at the same time to maintain our bilateral aid programmes.

73. The promotion of sound trading conditions is at least as important as the provision of aid. In fact, the recent Commonwealth Conference considered that question and they had this to say: "Improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial aid." That was the unanimous opinion of all the countries represented.

74. Canada has sought in the United Nations and outside to promote international arrangements and institutions—for example, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—which would encourage the expansion of trade on a multilateral and non-discriminatory basis. This will be our attitude in examining the Economic and Social Council's recommendation for a Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. 9/

75. Such a conference will provide one opportunity for a discussion on strengthening the world trading system. While some problems can be dealt with only in a world-wide forum, other aspects of trade can be examined usefully by countries whose trading systems, and hence trading problems, are most alike. For example, at the recent Commonwealth meeting Canada proposed an early conference of a group of countries to discuss their common trading problems. Such a conference would in fact help to prepare the way for wider, non-discriminatory tariff negotiations on a most-favoured-nation basis.

76. I should like to say a few words now about the Commonwealth and emerging nations. In London we welcomed four countries that have joined this family of free and independent nations within the last year: Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. This brought the number of nations participating fully in the Commonwealth Conference to a total of fifteen. All but four, these are the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, have become independent since the Second World War and in each case they have chosen of their own free will to become members of the Commonwealth. In addition, there were representatives present from other territories, such as Uganda, Kenya and British Guiana which will shortly obtain independence and will in all probability choose to join the Commonwealth and of course the United Nations. I believe Uganda will be gaining independence within a matter of weeks.

77. The Commonwealth of today is an inspiring example of the friendly association of nations of diverse races, cultures, creeds and political institutions. Its members may be divided in their approach to some questions, but they are solidly united in their dedication to the cause of peace and to the promotion of better understanding.

78. Great credit for this outstanding achievement in international co-operation and for the successful launching of these new nations must be given to the United Kingdom. All other nations of the Commonwealth, including Canada—although it is a long time ago in our case—were at one time colonies, and in their progress to nationhood the United Kingdom has given generously and wisely of its aid and guidance.

79. This being the case, I find it very hard to understand the bitter and sometimes unfair attacks which, from time to time, are made against the United Kingdom on the subject of colonialism. We all know that there are difficulties to be overcome in some territories, but surely the United Kingdom's record of past accomplishment in this field justifies confidence in its intention to guide these peoples to independence.

Mr. Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) resumed the Chair.

80. Unhappily, from this very rostrum and in debates in many other United Nations bodies, the Soviet Union has painted quite another picture of these colonial developments. Soviet spokesmen have chosen to disregard peaceful evolution in the Commonwealth where freedom and independence have become a living reality for 600 million people since the Second World War.

81. Canada's own part in developing the Commonwealth prompts us to reject the Soviet Union's criticisms and its claim to be the champion of freedom and independence for subject peoples. Sometimes I marvel at the nerve of Soviet Union representatives in making that claim.

82. We urge that the United Nations should view the Soviet attacks in proper perspective. In 1960, the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Diefenbaker, reminded the General Assembly [871st meeting] about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire. Many millions there cannot today exercise the right of self-determination which the Soviet Government demands for others.

83. This denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms casts grave doubt on the Soviet Union's whole position on colonialism. When the United Nations is examining situations in many other areas of the world, it should not ignore the areas under Soviet rule. The Charter principles on human rights and self-determination are clearly intended to be universal in their application.

84. I have been dealing with some of the main issues before this Assembly. I turn now to a set of problems which vitally affect the future of this Organization. Of fundamental importance are the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, in the Congo and now in West New Guinea. Canada contributes men and resources to all these operations and regard this contribution as a prime responsibility of membership.

9/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 917 (XXXIV).

85. In the Congo, the United Nations has assumed its heaviest responsibility. The Secretary-General's programme for national reconciliation there has been favourably received by the parties principally concerned and Canada is encouraged to hope that this plan will go forward smoothly. The elements of success in this difficult situation are a willingness on the part of the Congolese themselves to resolve their difficulties and a readiness on the part of all other States to support the programme.

86. In this connexion, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers had this to say—and, coming from that Conference, I think it was important. I quote from the communiqué:

"They took note, in particular, of the proposals relating to the Congo which were recently put forward by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, and they expressed the hope that these would prove to be the basis for a speedy and constructive settlement."

87. The task which the United Nations undertook in the Congo was one which it simply could not shirk. Members of this Assembly need hardly be reminded, however, that one consequence has been a financial crisis verging on bankruptcy. Canada has supported ad hoc measures for meeting immediate financial needs but we have also consistently sought to place the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations on a solid foundation. We have urged that the basis should be collective responsibility.

88. For this reason, the Canadian Government welcomed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on 20 July 1962 which confirmed that the costs incurred for the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo Force were "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter.[10] This authoritative opinion should be endorsed by the General Assembly and should form the basis for financing peace-keeping operations. After all, advisory opinions of the Court ought to be fully respected in the interests of establishing international rules of order. Basing ourselves on the principle of collective responsibility, we must find a formula for apportioning peace-keeping costs because this Organization has to be in a position to fulfil its Charter purposes.

89. It is equally clear that the chief executive of this Organization should have whole-hearted support in the discharge of his responsibilities. Our Secretary-General has shown great courage, great patience and great wisdom during the course of his interim term of office which, it is well to remember, began at a time when confusion reigned in United Nations affairs. During the past year he has given leadership which has restored confidence in the Organization.

90. The underlying need in United Nations affairs is for stability. In these turbulent times, Governments require a steady base for international co-operation and for quiet diplomacy. Most people of the world look hopefully to the United Nations to point the way and provide the means to these ends. A significant element in achieving stability and a capacity to act effectively is to develop orderly procedures. Our former President, Mr. Mongi Slim, has made some interesting and useful suggestions for improving Assembly procedures [A/5122]. I welcome the decision to inscribe an item on this subject, and I hope some solution will be worked out. The greatly increased membership of the Assembly and the length of recent sessions give added urgency to the need for the most efficient working methods. The speed and the efficiency with which we carry out our work is an important factor in determining the degree of public support for the United Nations.

91. In conclusion, may I express my firm conviction that the United Nations has emerged from the uncertainty which clouded the sixteenth session. Confidence and stability are being restored. The atmosphere in the present Assembly is favourable for constructive work.

92. We now have an opportunity to respond to the improved situation by dealing firmly with the main issues before us. We must take encouragement from the recent progress, however gradual, toward peace. We must maintain a steady United Nations course in that direction, conscious of the undercurrents of danger in our troubled world but confident that we can control them.

93. We live in an age in which there have been several very important developments. First, there has been the greatest spread of self-government in the history of mankind. Secondly, there is the greatest interest in helping the developing nations. Most of that interest is idealistic and unselfish. I admit that there is some selfishness in it, but primarily and essentially it is idealistic and unselfish. Thirdly, there is the greatest friendliness and understanding among peoples. What a great thing it is for a Foreign Minister to be able to come here and talk to some thirty or forty other Foreign Ministers, as well as representatives of other grades. Never has there been such an understanding of the problems and the views of other nations. Fourthly, we live in an age in which there has been the most wide-spread desire for peace of all time.

94. Each of these four developments has been brought about largely through the work of the United Nations, by the work of this Organization. If we keep these facts in mind and retain our optimism and our hope, this session will be the best in the history of the United Nations.

95. Mr. SOLIS (Panama) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Panama takes pleasure in extending its sincere and cordial congratulations to the President on his election to the Presidency of this seventeenth session of the General Assembly, a choice made on the basis of his unquestionable ability and merits. It is encouraging to see the representative of a small, free country guide this great and august world Organization and I hope that this practice, which has been followed year after year, will be continued as a symbol of the respect of the great, who are the minority, for the will of the small, who are the majority, by virtue of the fundamental principle of the juridical equality of all States.

96. With the exception of a small number of European States and some oriental nations with age-old traditions of sovereignty, the vast majority of the nations represented here have at some time in their history been colonies or subjected to the domination of foreign forces. Consequently every time the United Nations admits new Members which have thrown off the yoke of colonialism or foreign domination, that should be a source of satisfaction to all its other Members. The

[10] Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962: ICJ Reports 1962, p. 151.

Panamanian delegation wishes to express its pleasure at the admission of four new Members at this session: Rwanda and Burundi in Africa, and Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in the western hemisphere. My delegation fervently hopes that in the near future colonies will have been reduced to a historical phenomenon buried in the past, no longer in operation and without any possibility of resurgence in the future.

97. This General Assembly is meeting in a gloomy atmosphere charged with anxiety, fear, uncertainty and anguished foreboding. We are all a prey to these feelings because we are all aware of the impending danger of a new war which would unleash the apocalyptic thermo-nuclear weapons we already know and perhaps others even more powerful which the demented mind of man may yet devise. Such a war threatens us with the total destruction of life and would turn our planet into a vast, grim sarcophagus travelling through space, or, at the least, would destroy a large proportion of mankind which, ironically enough, would undoubtedly include the people of the very nations which would use those weapons against each other in the same diabolical spirit of extermination.

98. The words with which the Charter of the United Nations opens are: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

99. The words with which Article 1 of the Charter begins its enumeration of the purposes of the Organization are: "to maintain international peace and security".

100. Thus the very essence of the United Nations and the fundamental reason for its existence are to avert war and to maintain peace.

101. Hence everything which endangers peace endangers the existence of this world Organization of nations.

102. The outbreak of a new world war would compel the nations to align themselves with one or other of the belligerent camps, with no possibility of a peaceful rapprochement, and the few nations which managed to maintain a precarious neutrality or indifference would not by themselves be capable of creating a viable new world organization.

103. This disquieting and distressing situation compels us to reflect. We cannot stand bemused before the danger which threatens to annihilate us, in an attitude of premature and stupid impotence, cravenly abandoning our ideals and our faith in the higher destiny of man.

104. We who love peace and want mankind to enjoy the inexhaustible benefits which peace can provide must struggle unceasingly and untiringly to preserve it through a constant application of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

105. History is a great teacher and it has given us valuable experience which can be of service to us and of which we must make use.

106. The situation through which the United Nations is now passing is not new in history. This Organization, which was created with the signing of peace in 1945 after the Second World War, had as its precursor the League of Nations, created twenty-five years before with the signing of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which brought the First World War to an end.

107. If we compare the causes which led to the demise of the earlier organization and the perils which now threaten the existence of the Organization whose Member States we represent, we shall be surprised and dismayed to find that history is repeating itself.

108. Like the United Nations, the League of Nations was created on the basis of the juridical equality of States, its purpose being the abolition of war and the maintenance of peace and security among nations.

109. The political functions entrusted to the League of Nations had four major purposes: to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of its members; to prevent conflicts by their peaceful settlement; to repel aggression; and to reduce armaments.

110. When the League of Nations held the seventeenth ordinary session of its Assembly, in 1936, it had already, after seventeen years of existence and work, demonstrated its inabiltiy to fulfil any of the above four purposes: the arms race was proceeding at an accelerated pace and the imminent danger of a second world war was looming over the world.

111. Simply in order to show the similarity of that situation with the one now confronting us, we shall venture to compare a few remarks made by the delegation of Panama at that seventeenth Assembly in 1936 and our view of the situation today.

112. Referring to the preservation of the independence and integrity of States, as established in Article 10 of the Covenant of the League, the delegate of Panama at that time said:

> "In the Sino-Japanese case, no sooner did the League decide against Japan than that country left the League and passed beyond its reach, demonstrating that the League is incapable of protecting a Member State against another State outside the League.
>
> "In the Italo-Ethiopian case, despite the League's decision against Italy that nation did not withdraw from the League, which shows that Article 10 of the Covenant was similarly incapable of protecting a Member State against another powerful one."

113. In the United Nations, too, we have seen cases—which we need not mention now—in which a Member State has been attacked by another Member State or by a State not a member of the United Nations, without this Organization having been able to avert or halt the aggression.

114. Speaking of the prevention of conflicts, the Panamanian representative said at that time:

> "The League of Nations has failed in the application of peaceful solutions as a means to avoid the use of force among nations, in the following cases: the Sino-Japanese, Colombio-Peruvian, Paraguay-Bolivian and Italo-Ethiopian.
>
> "As for the timely elimination of the causes likely to engender conflicts, the activities of the League of Nations are practically non-existent."

115. In the United Nations, too, there have been cases—which I need not specify—of conflicts which have broken out because the United Nations proved unable to eliminate the factors that caused them and to find peaceful solutions which might have prevented them.

116. Speaking of the action to repel aggression contemplated in Article 16 of the Covenant, the representative of Panama said at that time:

> "Article 16 has proved completely ineffective because the 'sanctions' which it provides cannot work

effectively against the 'aggressor' unless they are universally applied, and universality of application cannot be achieved while there are nations outside the League.

"But", the representative of Panama continued, "the most important lesson which we have learned from the Italo-Ethiopian conflict is that, even if the League were universal, Article 16 could still not operate in the manner desired in that conflict because there is no certainty that the application of 'sanctions' of a general character by all nations simultaneously can have the same effect in each of the nations applying them, or that they can evoke the same interest, determination, willingness or even understanding in all of them."

117. The United Nations has seen cases here—which again I shall not mention—in which, after agreement had been reached on specific measures to settle a conflict by the use of force, not all Member States co-operated to the requisite degree in the implementation of those measures and some flatly refused to do so.

118. Speaking of the reduction of armaments in accordance with Article 8 of the Covenant, which was a burning question at that time and is even more so today in the United Nations, the Panamanian representative said in 1936:

"In an unstable international environment and in the presence of immediate dangers or risks, and even with the possibility of future perils, every nation has what we might call a biological need to prepare for the defence of its existence and its welfare.

"An arms race can only come about in an unstable international environment where ambitions and suspicions are rife; underlying such a situation there are always economic, political or ideological causes. So long as remedies for those causes are not sought, all the obligations contracted by nations to reduce armaments, in whatever way these obligations may be expressed, will be completely ineffective."

119. It takes no great effort to understand that the paragraph which we have just read on the question of disarmament in the League of Nations in 1936 is applicable, mutatis mutandis, to the same question before the United Nations today.

120. The existence of but one powerful nation which is ambitious to expand or to predominate politically or ideologically over the other nations is enough to make disarmament a pious and unattainable aspiration.

121. During the Seventeenth Assembly of the League of Nations, held in 1936, in the face of critical problems for whose solution the structure of the League did not provide adequate instruments, it became necessary to devote serious attention to the need to amend the Covenant.

122. Today, in the face of a similar situation, the same need has arisen and there is already talk of the amendments that should be made to the San Francisco Charter in order to render it more functional and more effective.

123. This is without the slightest doubt a matter which should receive priority consideration. Today the international scene is different from what it was in 1945, when the Charter was signed, and the composition of the United Nations is also different from what it was at the time of its establishment. The Charter should be revised to make it correspond to the characteristics and needs of the present day, so that the veto of a single nation, no matter how powerful, does not carry more weight than the votes of all the Member States in the General Assembly and, in particular, so that the large number of Afro-Asian nations which have joined the United Nations during the last five years may be appropriately represented in its organs and may be in a position to contribute in their just proportion towards the strengthening of the United Nations and the more effective application of the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter.

124. The year 1936 also witnessed the phenomenon, or series of phenomena, which today we call the "cold war". At that time the peace-loving Powers were faced with the choice between calling a halt to these phenomena at the risk of starting a war, or following a policy of appeasement in order to avoid that risk. They chose the latter course, but war came nevertheless.

125. Now, as then, we are faced with the same dilemma and there is no knowing whether the compromises and concessions made during the cold war will serve to prevent a hot war or whether on the contrary their effect will be to make it more inevitable and more violent when it finally breaks out.

126. We have not drawn these comparisons between the world organization created by the Treaty of Versailles and that created by the San Francisco Charter for the sake of prophesying that the latter will share the fate of the former. On the contrary, our fervent wish is that, being aware of the fate that befell the League and of the reasons and circumstances surrounding it, all States Members of the United Nations, especially the small nations who rely on it for the defence of their freedom and of their very existence, will join together, united in the name of solidarity, with the firm determination of preventing a repetition of that sad fate and of rescuing the United Nations from the crisis through which it is now passing, so that it may emerge successfully and with added strength from the trial.

127. Yet amid this premonitory analogy between the situation obtaining in 1936 and the present situation, there are nevertheless differences which allow us to view with a certain optimism the capacity of the United Nations to save mankind from a new catastrophe.

128. In 1936 there were not among the members of the League of Nations such great nations as the United States, Germany, Japan and Brazil; and the structure of international relations at that time was such that the small nations had little influence on the decisions of the organization or on the policies pursued by the great Powers.

129. That situation no longer exists. A radical change has taken place. In the United Nations, the power to make decisions is in the hands of the small nations, since they represent the immense majority; moreover they do exercise an influence, which may often prove decisive, on the conduct of the great Powers, which require the support and co-operation of the small nations for the furtherance of their political interests or economic purposes.

130. What can the small nations in this Organization do in order to save mankind from the new holocaust which is already looming over it, to save the existence of the United Nations and to ensure their own survival as States and as human groups?

131. There is but one solution: namely, to rally together round the Charter in order to restrain in time any Power which, in the unbridled pursuit of its political, economic or ideological interests, might precipitate mankind into a new holocaust, more terrible than any that has been known, and to guide the conduct of the nations along paths which will lead to the solution of the vital problems of all peoples, the only way to achieve a permanent peace.

132. We agree with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, who said in this very hall (1051st meeting) that the "great countries ... have the greatest responsibility because they possess the biggest weapons of warfare—nuclear weapons ...".

133. But we also agree with Mr. Carlos Martínez Sotomayor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, who said in the course of the statement that he made here last year [1019th meeting]:

> "... we trusted that the great world Powers would fulfil their obligations under the San Francisco Charter, which conferred upon them special privileges and special responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security ...
>
> "We cannot go on putting our trust in the great Powers. We are in duty bound to safeguard the fate of our own countries ... Consequently, every nation and every Government must make the utmost effort to avert a general catastrophe."

134. We would also express our profound agreement with the following illuminating words spoken by Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia during the general debate at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly: "Honour and freedom are possessions which we prize and are determined to defend. In this respect, the United Nations constitutes the small and medium-sized countries' last hope of safeguarding their dignity." [1011th meeting].

135. Peace is the supreme objective, for only through peace can the utmost happiness for all peoples be achieved. But peace, in its political connotation of normal tranquillity through the absence of violence and force, cannot be complete and lasting at either the national or the international level, if it is not founded on economic peace.

136. Every individual has the right to obtain, through his physical or intellectual work, the wherewithal to enable him to live with his dependants on a decent and adequate scale according to the circumstances of the society in which they are living.

137. However, the growth of the world's population at an unprecedented rate, which reaches its peak in the under-developed regions or countries, has brought in its train a total and serious imbalance between the production of supplies and the needs of the consumer populations. Whereas in the few rich and highly developed countries there is over-production and surplus stocks are accumulated, in the less developed countries, which are in the majority, production is so inadequate as to be unable to meet the needs of the increasing population, even by the lowest standards.

138. At the international level, the nations—as is the case with individuals at the national level—require as a corollary of their elementary right to exist that the world economy should be so organized and constructed as to enable each country to develop its productive capacity at least to the level needed in order to meet the basic needs of its population and of its progressive development.

139. Modern science and technology have shown that the land and water of our planet have the capacity to go on producing the supplies needed by the world's population indefinitely.

140. We must avail ourselves of this capacity and co-ordinate its use for the benefit of all peoples, in order once again to disprove the Malthusian theory that the rate of growth of the population outstrips the production of essential goods and that, when the imbalance reaches a critical point, equilibrium is restored through the wholesale extermination of entire sections of the population by disasters, pestilence, poverty and war.

141. These questions must be given careful and preferential consideration by the United Nations, because they are at the root of the evils that endanger peace; and the co-operation of all other international, regional and national organizations which conduct or direct activities in the fields of development, financing, and technical and economic assistance must be obtained in order to seek adequate solutions to these questions and to apply them within the framework of a co-ordinated world-wide plan.

142. The Republic of Panama is also a member of the Organization of American States and its status as such imposes on it, within that regional system, obligations which are not incompatible with those incurred under the Charter of the United Nations.

143. The inter-American regional system is governed by conventions which were subscribed to by all the Latin American nations and by the United States of America, and is based on three fundamental principles. Two of those principles are also basic to the San Francisco Charter: namely, those of the self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of another State. The third principle, which is typically inter-American while being an internationally recognized norm, is that of representative democracy.

144. In this regional system, the principles of self-determination and of representative democracy are so closely interrelated as to be inseparable. This was very ably, clearly and concisely explained by two illustrious Latin American representatives during the general debate at the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly.

145. The representative of Brazil, Mr. Arinos de Melo Franco, expressed himself as follows: "But self-determination, to be genuine, pre-supposes the free exercise of the people's will, in the only possible form —namely, the expression of the will of the majority." [1011th meeting, paragraph 16.]

146. A few days later, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Mr. Carlos Martínez Sotomayor, reaffirmed that same idea in the following words: "For we firmly believe that representative democracy is the best system of internal government; we likewise hold that the fate of peoples cannot be determined without consultation of their sovereign will. This is the basic tenet of self-determination ..." [1019th meeting, paragraph 48.]

147. With regard to the principle of non-intervention, this can only refer to unilateral or individual intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another

State because collective interventions are contemplated and expressly regulated in both the United Nations Charter and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

148. The Latin-American concept of non-intervention is directed not only against armed intervention but also against any form of foreign intervention inside the frontiers of another State, whether it is of an economic, ideological, doctrinal, political or other character.

149. Under the conventions of the inter-American regional system, the observance and operation of representative democracy is a prerequisite for membership in the system. All the inter-American States have committed themselves to defend their regional system against any act or intervention from within or outside the continent which might undermine, weaken, subvert or destroy that political system.

150. For the reason given above, the establishment of a communist government in an American country necessarily places that country outside the inter-American system. But this in itself does not constitute a danger to the internal peace of that country, or to the peace of the continent, or to world peace, if such a government remains within its own frontiers, with the approval and acceptance of its own people freely expressed without fear or pressure, and if such a government refrains from organizing campaigns or movements of propaganda, infiltration, subversion or other measures aimed at undermining, weakening or overthrowing the system of representative democracy of the other inter-American countries or threatening their security or existence. If such campaigns or movements are carried out, however, the other States in the system have not only the right but also the duty to take whatever action may be necessary to eliminate the danger which this communist government represents for their institutional life, their internal law and order and their security.

151. True representative democracy exists in those countries where the system of government, whatever it may be, by which they are ruled is freely chosen and expressly maintained by the will of the majority of the people and where the right of other peoples to the same free self-determination is respected.

152. Within its own borders the Republic of Panama is faced with international problems arising out of the existence on its territory of the Panama Canal, built, operated and ruled by the United States of America. Relations between the two States are governed, basically, by a treaty concluded in 1903, when colonies and the occupation of small countries by powerful ones was a common practice in the world, that is to say, by a treaty which does not conform to the principles, precepts and rules of law, justice and international morality which are universally accepted today.

153. Because of the form and the circumstances in which this Treaty of 1903 was signed, and because of the humiliating, injurious, unjust and inequitable terms for Panama which were included in it, relations between the Republic of Panama and the United States Government have not been cordial, although Panama has always scrupulously fulfilled the obligations which it entered into, with the specific object of preserving the necessary moral authority which would enable it to seek a better understanding.

154. Its struggle against this iniquitous treaty, which is prejudicial to Panama's dignity as a sovereign State, began on the very day on which it was signed, has continued without pause or respite and will go on until Panama's just claims are satisfied, although it will not fail to recognize the rights and privileges to which in all justice the United States of America is entitled.

155. Panamanian diplomacy achieved its first triumph in 1936, when during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt a treaty was concluded which removed from the 1903 Treaty certain clauses which were shameful both to Panama as a small nation and to the United States as a powerful one. Further changes were obtained by Panama in another treaty concluded in 1955, but the basic provisions of 1903, which are the cause of the resentment felt by the people of Panama, still remain.

156. At the beginning of his administration, Mr. Roberto F. Chiari, the present President of Panama, personally addressed the President of the United States, Mr. John F. Kennedy, informing him that it was impossible to continue relations on the basis of the Treaty of 1903 and inviting him to initiate a discussion of all the existing differences with a view to reaching solutions which would be just and equitable for both parties. President Kennedy, in a gesture which revealed his high statesmanship, his clear view of international problems and his quality as a just man, acceded to the request of the President of Panama and agreed to an open discussion on all the points connected with the Canal with which Panama had expressed dissatisfaction.

157. It has been the custom frequently followed by representatives of Panama abroad to make use, whenever they have had an opportunity to do so, of all international tribunals—including this one, the highest of all—to expound in detail their just claims and protests against the Government of the United States on account of the Panama Canal and the treaties which govern it. In view of President Kennedy's conciliatory and sincerely friendly attitude, however, the Panamanian delegation considers it wise to wait patiently, in the sincere and frank hope that it has found a North American leader who, with a clear vision of present and future problems, will be able to reach an agreement which will guarantee the permanent establishment between the two Governments of the same relations of respect, esteem and sympathy which exist between their two peoples.

158. The delegation of Panama cannot fail to record its Government's sincere gratitude for the expressions of sympathy and support with respect to this question of the Panama Canal which it has received from other Governments, and in particular from those of its sister-nations of the inter-American system.

159. The delegation of Panama reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and in the ability of this Organization to fulfil its mission of peace and security among nations.

160. The Republic of Panama remains faithful to the Purposes and Principles proclaimed in the San Francisco Charter; it confirms its unshakable resolve to spare no effort and to do its utmost to collaborate in the strengthening of this Organization and of its authority in the regulation of international relations; and it urges all Member States, in particular the small nations, to unite in a solid front in order to put an end to the atmosphere of danger, uncertainty and fear which characterizes the present time and to replace it with an atmosphere of confidence, calm, sincere cooperation, well-being and progress which will make it

possible to restore peace of mind and thereby ensure the increasing and lasting happiness of all the peoples of the world, without distinction as to region, race, colour or creed. Only in this way can we succeed, each and every one of us, in carrying out our duties and responsibilities to ourselves, in the depth of our own consciences, to our fellow men in our social behaviour during our period on earth, to mankind as a whole, of which we form a part, and to God in eternity.

161. Mr. LLOSA (Peru) (translated from Spanish): I should like, first of all, on behalf of the delegation of Peru, to congratulate you upon your well-deserved election to the high office of President of the seventeenth General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election reflects a full recognition of your abilities and of your long years of devoted service to the United Nations and to the International Court of Justice. Your colleagues can bear witness to your consummate knowledge of law and to your deep devotion to the United Nations.

162. In my dual capacity of naval officer and Foreign Minister, I consider it an honour and a responsibility to address you from this rostrum on which the eyes of the world are riveted, an honour to represent my country and to be heard by statesmen from all parts of the world and a responsibility I assume in speaking in this debate, which takes place each year for the purpose of making a constructive contribution towards world peace and human progress.

163. One is invariably confronted by a dilemma in deciding what to say in such an august Assembly as this. There is a choice between the easy path of generalities and the usual courtesies or, on the other hand, an examination of conscience in which the image of the United Nations as it existed and still exists in the hopes and aspirations of peoples is compared with the actual reality of its functioning. After due deliberation, I have opted for the second and harder course.

164. I should like to reaffirm here the hopes and the faith that were born in me many years ago at the time the United Nations was established. My conscience as a professional officer and as a human being having been revolted by the horrors, cruelties and disasters visited upon the peoples of the world by the war, I conceived a profound hope which I continue to cherish today in the fundamental concepts which inspired the United Nations and in the great principles on which it is founded and which are valid for all time.

165. Despite the course of events and the difficulties confronting us, it continues to be my sincere and unshakable conviction that the only effective means of achieving the real peace which the peoples of the world seek and which they deserve to enjoy is to remain faithful to the high ideals which, at a time of stress and turmoil, breathed life into the United Nations.

166. In San Francisco in 1945, statesmen and nations, still stunned by the impact of a fearful ordeal, filled with remorse for the disasters that had occurred and shocked by the extent of the physical devastation and personal loss, displayed intelligence and foresight, proclaiming forcefully and unequivocally the basic principles to guide mankind towards peace and an international rule of law.

167. Peru, which was one of the first countries to accede to the Atlantic Charter and which helped to shape the United Nations, has remained faithful to the world Organization's principles and has been guided by them in its domestic and foreign policies.

168. It is precisely in defence of these principles that Peru recently resolved a serious crisis brought about by an attempt to frustrate the will of the people by giving them a government which would not have been a lawful one. The crisis was resolved as a result of the intervention of the armed forces, which, in an institutional development without precedent in our history, set up a government providing for the full exercise of civic rights solely with a view to the holding of genuinely free elections as provided in the Constitution.

169. At the present time, Peru is a country which ensures the full enjoyment of human rights, complete freedom of the Press and political opinion, respect for government institutions, strict compliance with its international obligations and the enforcement of a sound and firm fiscal policy which has created the confidence necessary for adequate protection of the country's domestic and foreign credit position.

170. The open and complete support we have received from the entire nation provided the most conclusive democratic justification for our action.

171. But if there is a determination throughout the world to adhere to the rule of law advocated by the Charter, how is it that today, seventeen years after the establishment of the Organization, the Secretary-General finds it necessary, in the Introduction to his annual report [A/5201/Add.1], to remind us that there is a "crisis of confidence" in the United Nations? Can it be that we are capable of glimpsing the much desired goal, but incapable of making the sacrifices which we must make in order to attain it? That is the question to which I should like to address myself without losing sight—as no military man can do—of the basic objective, namely, the achievement of international peace and security.

172. It is my firm conviction that, without modifying the concept of the sovereign equality of States which is characteristic of present-day international society and without denying or under-estimating the importance of power or conceding that the creation of an authority superior to the State itself (call it a super-State or by any other name) may detract from the independence of the State, genuine peace can be achieved and that it can be achieved through observance of the principles laid down in the Charter. I cling to that conviction despite the vigorous resurgence of power politics and the sharp political and military division of the world into two hostile and apparently irreconcilable camps.

173. Consequently, I shall examine these vital principles of the United Nations not in, but against the light of the sombre developments of our time.

174. First, there is the principle that peace is indivisible, which does not only mean that no nation, great or small, can escape the consequences of war even if it should break out in the most remote corner of the world. No, its meaning goes much further. As the Charter states, the purpose is to eliminate all the various causes and differences which bring about wars. The real aim is to reduce the disparities in wealth and opportunity between nations, disparities which are being greatly accentuated by modern scientific developments. The advances of modern science are steadily widening the gap between the powerful, industrialized nations and the impoverished, under-developed countries.

175. In a world in which science has advanced to the point where it is possible to produce enough for every-

one, the principle of the universality of peace demands the speedy elimination of this obvious cause of conflict.

176. The instruments with which to do so exist in the United Nations. Resolute international co-operation—not lip-service to that principle—can be used with positive results. That is why I warmly support the appeal made by U Thant, our Secretary-General, that we should rededicate ourselves to promoting "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" during this United Nations Development Decade.

177. I agree with him that never before in history have there been greater opportunities to meet this challenge, since we hold in our grasp the means with which to eliminate progressively want and disease and to build a world free from fear. But, unfortunately, that growing capacity is being put to unprofitable use in a competition which is becoming increasingly stubborn and dangerous. Huge sums are being heedlessly spent on preparing for, anticipating or preventing an appalling holocaust in which mankind may destroy itself by means and as a result of its own scientific discoveries. If those sums were spend on raising standards of living, on satisfying urgent priority needs, on meeting the steady and increasing demands of many, many peoples, we would be working genuinely and effectively for world peace and tranquility, for the happiness of peoples and better mutual understanding, one of the basic objectives of the United Nations.

178. It is to that end that I wish to convey to you here the aspirations of my country, which is aware of its difficulties and determined to resolve them as a matter of urgency. Faced with a population explosion and with the need to bring the indigenous masses living on our steep mountain-sides into step with the twentieth century and to wage a constant struggle against illiteracy, our people are beginning to clamour more and more loudly for the progress and the wealth which they know exists elsewhere. I should like to re-echo their cherished hope—and it is not theirs alone, but that of the overwhelming majority of peoples. This non-urban proletariat is awakening and demanding more effective action in the realm of international co-operation. The United Nations cannot fail to heed that demand.

179. We know that much has been accomplished in recent years. We are grateful for the assistance we have received, both on a direct bilateral basis and through the United Nations. We are making good use, in all our enterprises, of the assistance we receive from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, to which we are especially grateful. We have also continued to seek aid from the specialized agencies which are in a position to provide us with funds and we must say that we have met with a favourable response. Nevertheless, and despite other important programmes of regional scope such as the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps, we feel that time is gaining on us and that larger quantities of capital goods are essential for our development. We know that the progress we have been making is not sufficient, although in some cases, in that of fisheries, for instance, we have achieved surprising success and by our own efforts alone. For that reason, I must stress that the United Nations, in the implementation of its purposes and principles, must intensify its efforts and its co-operative activities and must not rest until it has reversed the present trend towards an accentuation of the differences between the poor and the rich nations.

180. Even more promising and appropriate than technical assistance and aid schemes would be action in regard to the terms of trade with a view to remedying the continuous—and I would almost say intentionally produced—decline in the prices of primary commodities, which are the staff of life of the poor nations. This is a definite threat which the United Nations, as an agency for international co-operation, must overcome if it is to survive as an effective guardian of peace. It is in this field that the rich and industrialized great Powers can give better and more effective proof of the sincerity of their resolve to assist peoples which have not yet reached their level of economic and industrial development.

181. Without effective and rapid international efforts to bring about energetic and unstinted co-operation, both external and internal peace will be endangered. Being convinced of this and realizing the danger of social upheavals, we who are close enough to the peoples to hear their demands and can foresee the consequences wish to draw urgent attention to these perils and their possible repercussions and to call for immediate remedial action.

182. Against this background of legitimate aspirations looms the dark shadow of the sharp division with which the United Nations is confronted as a result of power politics. On this matter, the Peruvian Government has defined its position and its ensuing duty in accordance with the inter-American conventions. It will never deviate from the principle of pacta sunt servanda which is embodied in the Charter and which forms the very basis of the international order and of peaceful coexistence under law.

183. In the opinion of the Peruvian Government, specific questions relating to continental solidarity are primarily the concern of the American regional system. It was with this end in view that the system was created. This opinion is in keeping with the letter and the spirit of the agreements in force. Consequently we cannot but take offence when others attempt to interfere in matters which are our own concern, matters which can be understood and properly assessed only within the continent itself. The principle of respect for the domestic jurisdiction of States, which is laid down in the Charter and which, in the form of the principle of non-intervention, has marked features of its own in our American system, can certainly be invoked by the regional systems against anyone attempting to bring to their shores ideologies which they reject or to discuss situations which they alone are competent to deal with. Let it be borne in mind that an attempt by outsiders to split asunder the oldest and strongest of the regional systems would not contribute to the cause of peace or to the harmonious coexistence of peoples.

184. This same principle of non-intervention is fully valid in regard to direct relations among States. Any attempt to bring before international conferences or to interfere in any other way in "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" is contrary to the friendly relations based on respect for the personality of States, advocated in the Charter. This immutable principle does not conflict with the democratic principles spontaneously adopted by the Western peoples in the course of their glorious history.

185. I have mentioned the principles of the United Nations, which have permanent validity. I recognize that the maintenance of peace is also facilitated by the procedures available to all of us for the solution of conflicts. This will always be the obvious and appropriate place for talks, debates and negotiations. But

these are means whose effectiveness depends on the spirit and the intention in which they are used. When they are employed for propaganda, polemics or results, they are harmful, and defeat the purpose for which they were created.

186. These pacific means have enabled notable progress to be made towards a better understanding among countries and in the application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. As a result, we can today greet the many new States whose presence among us gives genuine universality to the United Nations.

187. The Peruvian delegation is proud of having worked to promote this universality. In recognition of its efforts, the Assembly conferred on it the chairmanship of the Committee on Admission of New Members.

188. In this spirit, we welcome with brotherly affection the new Members, whose arrival here is a major event of the twentieth century, just as American independence was of the nineteenth.

189. It gives me particular pleasure today to address cordial greetings to Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, whose admission on the opening day of the session is of particular significance.

190. We thus have some idea of how world tranquillity is enhanced by compliance with the guiding principles of the United Nations. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the violent re-emergence of power politics, that traditional and direct cause of armed hostilities. Today, that policy finds its clearest expression in the so-called cold war, which remains a cold war because of the terror which the new weapons strike in the minds of all sensible and reasonable men. But this feeling, being negative, is far from being a certain safeguard against the use of these weapons, especially if the bitter competition to invent a more destructive weapon continues uncontrolled.

191. Common sense shows us the way to follow. The United Nations must tirelessly continue its efforts until it finds a solution enabling the contestants to make a halt in this insensate race, before the present unstable balance is destroyed.

192. The fear of war and the present balance of power do not, however, prevent the existing profound conflict from producing serious local crises. Today we have Berlin and Cuba, but there are many other possible trouble spots. We must recognize that each one of these crises brings mankind to the brink of an apocalyptic holocaust.

193. Being part of the democratic, Western, Christian world, we feel it incumbent upon us to make a fervent appeal for an understanding that will permit all men to live without fear, under law and with mutual respect.

194. The principles and the means to ensure the maintenance of peace exist. What, then is lacking? That is the agonizing question which is ever present in our minds.

195. This reminds me of the opening words of the constitution of one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, words which are becoming increasingly firmly imprinted in my memory. The truth that shines through them makes them worthy of repetition: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." It is obviously this—a true spirit of international understanding, a high awareness of the unity of the world and the brotherhood of man—that we need today.

196. Our anxious times call for the affirmation of this international spirit, this desire for peace. The task is not an easy one, for it requires the accommodation of particular interests to the general welfare, but it can be accomplished without any sacrifice of dignity or well-being. To sing the praises of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation is not enough. We must be able to approach each other with open arms and with minds ready for understanding without such action being interpreted as a confession of weakness.

197. Fortunately, there are auspicious signs.

198. The Church whose faith I profess offers us, in the Ecumenical Council which is to meet shortly, a demonstration of a readiness for reconciliation, for overcoming outstanding differences and for bringing about a close communion of all Christ's children. It is thus renewing the tremendous vital force which it has possessed for a thousand years and which certainly does not rest either on the power of money or on the strength of arms.

199. It is also encouraging to see the solitary figure of a Chief of State, a hero who remained upright in the stress of battle, today place his pure patriotism in the service of a firm friendship between two nations whose bloody wars have punctuated the history of Europe and of the world.

200. A similarly encouraging sign is the settlement reached with regard to New Guinea, to which the Secretariat of the United Nations made such an effective contribution.

201. Here again, as in any other part of the world, we shall need the true international spirit if we wish to spare our peoples and all mankind a bitter disappointment which would make them lose faith in the ability of their leaders and in the value of the institutions they have created.

202. I assumed the responsibility of addressing you in order to make this appeal to you and to reiterate my faith in the fundamental principles of this Organization.

203. This is the message of peace which a military man wishes to convey to this eminent gathering of statesmen and diplomats.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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