

182. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):<sup>1/</sup> I feel especially gratified to be expressing my heartiest congratulations to the President on his election to the highest office in the General Assembly. In appointing him, this Assembly has paid a deserved tribute to his country for the truly significant place which it occupies among the peace-loving nations of the world. Over and above this, however, the Assembly has wished to express its appreciation for the outstanding virtues which the President has displayed during the many years of his participation in the activities of the United Nations. His eminent competence and wisdom are qualities which appear indispensable to the success of our work. The Italian delegation places great reliance on these qualities and expresses the conviction that his extreme ability and superior impartiality will be a precious guide to us.

183. I should also like, on behalf of Italy, to welcome the delegations of those countries which have recently been admitted to the United Nations: Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago.

184. These delegations are participating for the first time in the General Assembly's work, and I therefore wish to express to them my delegation's particular satisfaction and desire to co-operate with them towards the realization of the common aims and ideals set out in the Charter of our Organization.

185. At its seventeenth session the General Assembly is faced once more with a heavy programme of work.

<sup>1/</sup> Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English and French versions of his statement were supplied by the delegation.

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It will depend on us, on the determined good will of all of us, whether we succeed in further strengthening the machinery of the United Nations and in enabling it to take another step forward towards the concrete attainment of the goals of peace, economic and social progress and international security which are set before it by the San Francisco Charter and by the expectations of all peoples of the world.

186. The Italian delegation wishes to stress that it is more conscious than ever of these needs and that it intends to offer the most positive contribution possible to the Assembly's deliberations. My long experience of the work of the United Nations and my experience in my own country have taught me—and this is probably true of others here—how much more important are deeds than words. My remarks in the general debate will therefore be limited to essential matters and based on concrete facts.

187. The first matter on which I intend to dwell is the question of decolonization. I do so not only because it is an objective fact that this question dominates the historical era in which we live, but also because my country, by reason of its history and civic traditions, cannot but view with genuine sympathy this vast, irresistible general movement towards freedom for the peoples of the world. Italy not only attaches great importance to this supreme ideal, but is also aware of all the labour which is required if independence is to be given a content of total liberty. Italy knows, as a result of its own experience in the course of the last hundred years, how arduous and slow is the road towards this solution of the social and economic problems which accompany the attainment of independence. Only by a steady and orderly process can this goal be securely reached.

188. Italy is indeed pleased to have been associated with the 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and wishes to reaffirm its steadfast position in this respect.

189. In its participation in the work of the Committee of Seventeen, Italy has based its action on the following principles:

(a) Full acceptance of, and full support for, the 1960 Declaration;

(b) The quest for all means likely to facilitate or accelerate this process towards independence in co-operation with the Administering Powers. Our aim here is not only the attainment of the ultimate objective, but also the timely preparation of the necessary political, administrative and economic infrastructures;

(c) Support for all measures likely to bring about independence by appropriate and peaceful means, the object being to ensure that the newly born States may constitute an element of stability and may be in a position to co-operate effectively with all other States.

190. This position may not always be fully shared by those who are inspired only by an impatient concern—however legitimate—for the speedy achievement of their goals; our positions, however, is dictated by the experience of my own country.

191. No less importance is attached by the Italian delegation to the problem of disarmament. This problem does not concern only those countries in possession of weapons, for each and every one would be inescapably involved in destruction and chaos if the

engines of death invented by modern science were unleashed.

192. The armaments race is a grim consequence of the unresolved political problems facing the world. In my opinion the armaments race itself helps to increase the tension and the mortal danger. It is therefore an imperative obligation, which no Government may shirk, to put a stop to this race and to bring about the gradual dismantling of the existing military establishments.

193. As a member of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament Italy has a particular responsibility in this field, a responsibility of which it is fully aware and which it has tried to discharge as faithfully as possible, co-ordinating its efforts with those of other friendly countries. We sincerely desire the achievement of that general and complete disarmament for which all peoples long, provided that it is properly guaranteed. We know that, in a world still sadly dominated by mistrust, this process of total disarmament is extremely difficult to accomplish and that we will only be able to bring it about gradually, by progressive, concrete and realistic measures.

194. We have no aggressive intentions against anyone and we desire the peaceful and free progress of all peoples, a progress protected and guaranteed against every threat. We are convinced that this goal is attainable if we have the co-operation of the Soviet Union and its allies. Pursuing our efforts with tenacity and patience, we must create a new peaceful and unarmed world in which all violence, all sedition and all threats are replaced by the rule of law and by fruitful competition in peaceful endeavours, a world in which the immense resources now swallowed up by the armaments race will be devoted to the economic and social progress of all the peoples and particularly of the newly independent nations and those which will soon attain independence.

195. With these objectives in mind, Italy has participated in the Geneva negotiations, making every possible contribution of goodwill and concrete initiative. The proposals advanced by the Western countries in the course of these negotiations seemed to us constructive and realistic, free of propaganda motives and capable of forming a serious basis for an agreement. I say a "basis", because these proposals have never had the nature of an ultimatum and it is our intention to take into due account any other constructive proposal or any useful suggestion.

196. We have given the greatest attention to the proposals formulated by the Soviet Union. But, while acknowledging the intentions which seem to have inspired those proposals, we have had to recognize that they contain elements which are unacceptable because they are inconsistent with the very principles of progressive and controlled disarmament consecrated in the well-known "Agreed Principles" approved by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session.<sup>2/</sup>

197. Although these differences remain, we consider the Geneva negotiations useful and necessary, and we are indeed pleased that the necessity for them has been recognized by all in the undertaking to resume discussions as soon as the disarmament debate in the General Assembly is completed.

198. At Geneva, the problems have been thoroughly studied, even though the Soviet Union has not agreed to

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879 and resolution 1722 (XVI).

the establishment of the committees of technical experts which the Italian delegation, as well as other delegations, and particularly the delegation of Brazil, considered necessary. Thanks to the Geneva negotiations, there is now an appreciably improved mutual understanding of the respective positions, and on some points, the importance of which cannot be ignored, there has been a significant rapprochement of views. I consider as another very positive factor the co-operation offered for the first time at Geneva by the delegations of some non-aligned countries, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Italian Government in this Assembly since 1960.<sup>9/</sup> These delegations, I am sure, have been the interpreters of the sentiments of many Members of this Assembly, and we have always given earnest consideration to this fact.

199. We have no doubt that, as a result of the discussions in this Assembly, the work at Geneva will receive new impetus and effective encouragement. For my part, I am able to state that the action of the Italian delegation at Geneva will be inspired by the ideas and hopes expressed here.

200. The road to general and complete disarmament is a long one and bristles with technical and political problems, problems which must be studied and resolved one by one. Uncertain solutions cannot be accepted without jeopardizing what is the concern of every country, namely, its own security. But at the same time we must proceed along this road with level-headed courage, beginning with the early conclusion of at least some preliminary agreement on some concrete initial disarmament measures. Such preliminary agreements will lead the way to fuller and more binding agreements, re-establishing the necessary confidence among countries.

201. In this regard, an initial agreement which seems absolutely indispensable is one banning nuclear tests. We would like a complete agreement prohibiting all tests, but we know that with regard to some of them—namely, tests held underground—there are still profound differences of view regarding the need for controls. I trust that it will prove possible to overcome these differences, by taking advantage also of the memorandum<sup>10/</sup> submitted by the non-aligned countries and of the necessary technical studies. But, in the words of an old proverb: "Half a loaf is better than none". In my opinion, the goal of a complete agreement "is not a sufficient reason for failing to conclude immediately a partial agreement, limited to the banning of those tests which are the most dangerous for the physical well-being of the human race and which do not, furthermore, need special forms of control."

202. Interpreting the desire expressed by the great majority of non-aligned countries, Italy proposed at Geneva the consideration of such a limited agreement, for which the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom subsequently submitted a specific draft treaty.

203. This proposal has so far been rejected by the Soviet Union, but the work of the nuclear Sub-Committee at Geneva is still continuing on the basis of it. I trust that the Soviet Union will not ignore the appeals addressed to it from all corners of the world so that it may be possible to put an end at least to those tests

which, as a report [A/5216] of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation has recently shown, are most harmful for mankind and for future generations. The Italian delegation trusts that if this Assembly makes a further appeal to the parties concerned, such an initial and partial agreement can be reached. The way would thus be opened for a general agreement prohibiting all tests and a favourable psychological climate would be created for rapid progress in the work of general and complete disarmament, with all the attendant beneficial consequences for international relations as a whole.

204. The Italian delegation has carefully studied the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/5201 and Add.1] during the last twelve months. It is a serious and realistic document which in principle meets with our approval. With the permission of the President, I should like to take this opportunity to express to U Thant the satisfaction of the Italian Government with the way in which he has carried out the heavy task entrusted to him last year by the General Assembly in such difficult circumstances.

205. The problems and questions raised by the Acting Secretary-General in his report cannot be ignored by anyone genuinely concerned with the present and future fate of our Organization. Unless we propose to indulge in empty rhetoric, it is completely useless to spell out grandiose programmes when we are not prepared to solve, first of all, those problems which are before us and which, although less spectacular, are of particular importance. These problems are organizational, financial and political.

206. On the organizational level, the Italian delegation believes that it would be possible to have better coordination between the various organs of the United Nations. We have recently witnessed a proliferation of committees created by the General Assembly, some of which are separately considering questions which are directly connected with each other. This leads also to an increase in expenditures for the Member States and for the Organization at a time when the latter is already in very serious financial difficulties. I believe we should give full heed to the appeal which the Acting Secretary-General addressed to us in this connexion.

207. Likewise, in the opinion of the Italian delegation, the problem of increasing the number of members of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council should be solved without further delay. It is completely useless, on the one hand, to extol, and rightly so, the position of the new Members of the United Nations and to advocate an increase in their numbers by means of a rapid process of decolonization and, on the other hand, to make it impossible to carry out the ensuing amendments to the San Francisco Charter. It is thus necessary that a place should be made for the new Member States in the organs of the United Nations, but, it should be possible to do so without depriving the Organization of the benefit of the experience of the older States.

208. With respect to the financial problem, the position of the Italian delegation remains unchanged. We favour strict compliance with the obligations relating to ordinary and extraordinary financial contributions. For that reason, Italy has subscribed to the United Nations a loan to the extent of approximately \$9 million, corresponding, percentage-wise, to twice its proportionate share in the budget. If the same good will is shown by other Member States, the Organization will

<sup>9/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, First Committee, 1088th meeting.

<sup>10/</sup> See Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for January 1961 to December 1962, document DC/263, annex 1, sect. J.

be able to weather the present critical phase, and the difficult task which it assumed in the Congo will also be brought to a conclusion.

209. In this connexion, we cannot but welcome the recent favourable developments in the Congo, developments which seem to bring nearer the goal which we set before us when the United Nations first intervened in the Congo. Italy, which has participated in the United Nations operations in the Congo even at the sacrifice of human lives, is happy now to give its support to the plan recently drawn up by the Acting Secretary-General, in the expectation that this plan will help to bring an end to the Congo tragedy.

210. With regard to the activity of the United Nations during the past year in the political sphere, I have already had occasion to express my views on the work of the Committee of Seventeen and the Geneva Disarmament Conference. I should now like to associate myself with the satisfaction expressed by the Acting Secretary-General regarding the settlement of the problem of New Guinea.

211. There are other problems, too, which have been a source of great anxiety and the settlement of which gives us cause for rejoicing: I refer in particular to Algeria and Laos. The fact that it has been possible to bring to an equitable solution these grave complex questions confirms our faith in the possibility of settling by peaceful methods other problems which still remain unresolved.

212. May I also draw the attention of the Assembly to the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In this field, too, Italy has taken an active part. Besides being a member of that Committee and occupying for some time the chair of the Legal Subcommittee, Italy submitted one of the most concrete proposals for collaboration in this field, namely, the San Marco programme.<sup>11/</sup> In the opinion of the Italian delegation, it seems desirable to give a multilateral character to as many initiatives as possible for the exploration or exploitation of outer space, in order to provide a guarantee that it will be used for peaceful purposes, since collaboration can eliminate rivalry and thus the risk of the utilization of outer space for non-peaceful ends.

213. The Italian delegation is also firmly convinced of the growing importance of the tasks which the United Nations is assuming in the economic field. These are tasks of the most demanding and complex nature, which confront us with dramatic urgency. The full realization of the ideals of equality, liberty and peaceful coexistence among peoples proclaimed in the Charter is to a large extent dependent upon the fulfilment of such tasks. These have arisen as a result of the gradual elimination of the colonial system to which I referred at the beginning of my statement and the subsequent appearance on the world scene of new independent countries which are still of a fragile structure and in need of assistance.

214. While the attainment of independence extends the benefits of membership in the great United Nations family to new geographic areas, it also increases the number of countries which rightfully ask for the means to carry out a process of accelerated economic development.

215. For this purpose it is necessary to strengthen the economic and social systems of these new countries, to create their principal basic infrastructures, to encourage industrialization by protecting new industries,

to give a fresh stimulus to trade. What is needed, in other words, is to create the indispensable prerequisites for raising the standard of living of hundreds of millions of men who expect the necessary assistance from their brothers.

216. As I have already recalled, this is a historical phase from which my own country has only recently emerged. It is a difficult stage in which impatience is understandable, although it does not always make things easier. We too, as individuals, were impatient in our younger years to come of age, but no matter how ardent our desire to shorten the distance between ourselves and our elders, we had to bow before certain insuperable requirements of time and nature. We ought to hasten this process, and it is our desire to do so, since this is to everyone's interest, both of the developing countries and the more advanced countries; however, we cannot disregard the means at our disposal.

217. If we look for a moment at the recent past and pause to consider the progress made on the road towards economic and social advancement, we can only express our satisfaction with the results which have already been obtained and with the impetus which has been given to this programme of action by the United Nations.

218. There is no doubt that in the last ten years the more economically advanced countries have become convinced that economic development on a world level is absolutely necessary for all. There is full awareness, both in the United States and in Western Europe, that any great increase in income and production is only possible in a world which is in the process of dynamic economic expansion: all ships ride higher at high tide.

219. At the same time—and this phenomenon has assumed a definitely revolutionary character—the developing areas have come to realize that a faster rate of development is no mere chimera. By making the best use of human resources and by employing new techniques, it is possible to break the vicious circle of backwardness and neglect.

220. Nevertheless, during these last years there have been signs of economic tension which have helped to spread a feeling of disillusionment and uneasiness. While the very mechanics of the process of development, on the one hand, awakened slumbering forces and attracted increased interest from foreign countries, it required, on the other hand that those forces and those resources should be channelled towards an organic effort of development.

221. It appeared necessary then to carry out a long-term project, on a world-wide scale, which would comprehensively take into account all the main aspects of economic development, not only in the economic field but also in the social, technical and educational fields.

222. There was no better organ to express that requirement, by natural vocation as well as in compliance with its statutory functions under the Charter, than the General Assembly. The adoption, last year, of resolution 1710 (XVI) on the United Nations Development Decade gave birth to the most far-reaching programme of economic co-operation which has yet been drawn up on the international level. This programme calls for the absolute commitment of both the economically advanced countries and the developing countries. It is the responsibility of the former to encourage a larger flow of capital, as well as of financial and technical assistance. The latter are asked to create the necessary conditions to encourage investments

<sup>11/</sup> Document A/AC.105/4.

from abroad, to make the required improvements in their infrastructures, and, above all, to prepare well-considered plans of integrated development.

223. The Italian Government has noted with satisfaction that these ideas of interdependence were also taken up at the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development. We must now work actively to translate this programme into practical action, so that the United Nations Development Decade may act as a catalyst of joint efforts and concrete achievements. In this way the United Nations will be able to play the role of activating agent and common forum which was advocated by the Secretary-General. This can be accomplished, thanks also to the efficiency of the tools at the Organization's disposal particularly in the field of pre-investments, such as the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

224. It is in this framework of increased economic interdependence and joint solidarity for the improvement of living conditions in all continents and in all countries that Italy intends to make its contribution, with a full awareness of the importance of assisting the developing countries.

225. In this connexion, I should like to state that the steps taken by the Italian Government both in setting up and in perfecting the European Common Market and towards the establishment of a European political union aim at creating the necessary conditions for the better accomplishment of this task of solidarity. Unless we improve conditions in our own countries and ensure the existence of adequate resources, how can we respond to the pressing appeals which are being made to us?

226. On the subject of the Common Market, I feel obliged to reply to what was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in his statement at the 1127th meeting on 21 September, namely, that it is impossible to avoid "the impression that this exclusive economic grouping is used above all with a view to intensifying the arms race and strengthening the West German revenge-seeking forces".

227. No country which is aware of the objects and achievements of the Rome Treaty can possibly have received the impression to which Mr. Gromyko refers. To speak of designs to intensify the arms race and of other aims of this kind is deliberately to ignore the purposes of the European Economic Community. These purposes, of great social import, are clearly defined in the treaty which creates the Community, and their implementation, unlike those of other economic compacts sponsored by the Soviet Union itself, takes place in full daylight and under the constant control of the national parliaments of the member countries.

228. While the immediate objective of the Common Market is the organization, in freedom and democracy, of the economies of the member States and the gradual irradiation of this system throughout the world, by means of the development of fruitful exchanges and relations, its ultimate objective is to build, through economic integration, a European system which is not directed towards cold war purposes but is designed to contribute towards the peaceful and balanced development of international life.

229. A stable Western Europe, that has left behind political and economic nationalism as well as the old rivalries between sovereign States and that has succeeded in acquiring a structural form of its own, cannot but constitute a determining factor for the peace of the world and give an impetus to international economic

co-operation. Moreover, the European Economic Community as it develops and grows stronger, will increase and not decrease its imports from all the other countries of the world.

230. These are the eminently peaceful goals towards which the Common Market is directed; and, I repeat, this Market has not, and cannot have, by reason of its very constitution and nature, any aggressive tendency towards any country.

231. In the two preceding sessions this Assembly has dealt with the problem relative to the implementation of the Paris agreement of 1946<sup>12/</sup> concerning the status of the German-speaking inhabitants of the Alto Adige. On this subject, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria has stated to you the views of his Government. I should like now to inform you of the position of my own country on this matter.

232. As you know, the terms of this problem are, in our opinion, essentially of a juridical nature and this approach has been accepted by the resolutions of the fifteenth [1497 (XV)] and sixteenth [1661 (XVI)] sessions of the General Assembly. It has thus been a question of ascertaining whether the above-mentioned 1946 Paris agreement has been fully implemented. Italy is confident that it has carried out its own obligations and, as a consequence of the position taken by Austria, proposed—and still maintains its proposal—to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice in the event that a bilateral agreement should not be reached.

233. In its two resolutions of 1960 and 1961, the General Assembly suggested to the parties: (a) direct negotiations; (b) in the event of the failure of such negotiations, to seek peaceful means for the settlement of the dispute, with particular mention of a recourse to the International Court of Justice; and (c) to refrain from any action which might impair friendly relations between the two countries.

234. Italy has not departed from such suggestions. Concern, however, arose in my country because some demands, by certain Tyrolean extremist circles, appeared to go beyond the Paris agreement and to aim at concealing a territorial revision of the peace treaties which settled, once and for all, at the Brenner, the inviolable natural border of Italy. Moreover, the resort to acts of terrorism appeared to confirm that impression. Italy recognizes its international obligations, but in no way and in no case will it accept any demand for revision.

235. The conversations between Rome and Vienna which took place in the course of 1961 did not yield concrete results; Italy, however, did not regard the negotiations as closed. This position was expressly endorsed by the resolution of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. Shortly before that resolution, the Italian Government had decided to make a new effort—on the domestic level—for a broader review of the implementation of the Paris agreement.

236. Pursuant to the resolution of the sixteenth General Assembly, the direct negotiations between Italy and Austria were resumed, and on 31 July I met with the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs in Venice. On that occasion it was agreed to continue the bilateral negotiations with a view to reaching a satisfactory agreement.

237. During these past twelve months the acts of terrorism have considerably abated and the impression

<sup>12/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747, annex IV.

was gained that they have been replaced by a realistic willingness to consider the dispute in its natural frame, which is the juridical one. Consequently, the Italian Government has recently decided to waive the requirement of an entry visa on the passports of Austrian nationals wishing to enter Italy, a requirement which was introduced at the time when the acts of terrorism had reached their peak. This measure was adopted to give a further proof of our goodwill and in the hope that certain remaining unfriendly manifestations will come to a speedy and complete stop.

238. The Italian Government continues to be favourable to anything which may lead to a final disposal of this dispute, thus removing it from our relations with a neighbour and friendly country.

239. The controversy, however, should realistically be kept apart from the context of the momentous prob-

lem affecting the fate of the international community, which should be the main concern of this forum.

240. In the present difficult international situation, the work of the seventeenth General Assembly can and should constitute an important factor towards the relaxation of tension. We have once more returned here, inspired by the hope that we may succeed in making the United Nations live up to the task assigned it by the San Francisco Charter. This is a task of peace and welfare for the entire international community. It is a task which is not only in compliance with a legal duty, but above all in compliance with the will of our peoples, of all peoples in every continent.

241. In the performance of this duty the Italian delegation, prepared as it is to make every possible effort, intends to be second to none.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*