

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**TENTH SESSION**  
*Official Records*



**522nd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 26 September 1955,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**New York**

**CONTENTS**

Agenda item 9:

	Page
General debate ( <i>continued</i> ).....	69
Speeches by Mr. Ortega (Chile), Mr. Popović (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Al-Jamali (Iraq)	

**President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

**SPEECHES BY MR. ORTEGA (CHILE), MR. POPOVIC (YUGOSLAVIA) AND MR. AL-JAMALI (IRAQ)**

1. Mr. ORTEGA (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): It is my privilege to ascend this rostrum at a very significant moment in history. Two factors, one of immediate interest and the other of a permanent character, give my statement here special significance: first, this is the culmination of ten years of work by the United Nations and, secondly, the Chilean people and their Government whole-heartedly support the principles of the Charter.

2. During the first ten years of its existence, the United Nations has worked untiringly to fulfil the mandate conferred on it at San Francisco, namely, to maintain international peace and security and to promote the welfare of all peoples. It is therefore appropriate to recall the magnitude and importance of the work accomplished, to analyse and formulate in concrete terms the experience gained and, on the basis of these facts, to establish a pattern for future action. The steps already taken in the matter of the economic, social and cultural action included among the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter have shown that the application of these principles constitutes the most effective method of maintaining peace.

3. Recent international conferences have proved conclusively that it is possible to rise above the ideological differences of the modern world which are the causes of the cold war. Among these differences, the most important is that concerning the concept of freedom. From the philosophical point of view, the United Nations has worked out an equation based on mutual tolerance and respect for the beliefs of others. It is only by proceeding on the principle that no one is infallible and that, consequently, what is true for us does not always hold good for others, that a workable formula for coexistence can be found. If, however, we push this principle to the point of sophistry, in other words, if we consider that the truth of this proposition is purely relative, we shall find ourselves constrained to accept the principle of the use of force to settle international disputes. Obviously, the ideal would be to cherish what unites us as human beings and to eliminate by common accord all that divides us;

4. The democracies of the so-called small nations, which include Chile, constitute the fundamental moral bulwark of the great Powers. Both the spirit and the substance of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights bear out this affirmation. Without this moral support, the great Powers would forsake those principles which are of the very essence of the United Nations, they would commit flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter and of human rights and would cause the small nations, united in purpose and jointly affected by this abuse of force, to band together in defence of their interests and thus to adopt a legitimate attitude which, in the final analysis, would express the original spirit of the United Nations.

5. My Government has made every effort, both in its foreign policy and in respect of social problems, to reaffirm its faith in the United Nations, and it has always acted in close co-operation with the Organization.

6. My delegation feels that we should support the recommendations of the San Francisco Conference, included in the agenda of the tenth session, regarding the convening of a general conference of the Member States of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter, on the basis of the excellent documentation prepared by the Secretary-General.

7. From 1945 to the present day, there have been many changes in the international situation which have decided us in favour of a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. The sharp contrast between the principles of the Charter and the conditions under which the United Nations has functioned leads us to consider the necessity of reviewing the text of the Charter. Nevertheless, my delegation realizes that perhaps the time has not yet come to make far-reaching amendments to the Charter. It is one thing to agree upon the right and the need to review it, but it is another thing to select the proper time to set forth the points of view which must be considered in the proposed review. The latter problem should be settled in the light of the political situation, for if a conference of this type is to achieve constructive results and strengthen the application of the spirit of the Charter, it is essential that Member States should approach the conference animated by the desire to co-operate in such matters.

8. Above all, consideration should be given, in the political sphere, to the possibility of eliminating the veto in respect of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the admission of new Members and the appointment of the Secretary-General. In these three cases, the use of the veto has resulted from an erroneous interpretation of the relevant Articles of the Charter.

9. With respect to the admission of new Members, the nearest possible approach to the principle of universality is essential for the united action of States in conformity with international law. It would be logical to hope that, in view of the overriding importance of

this goal, the spirit which we might call the "Geneva spirit", the new policy of conciliation defined and proclaimed in that city, will be translated into deeds, one of which should be the admission without discrimination of States possessing the qualifications which were carefully laid down in Article 4 of the Charter.

10. The ten years of the United Nations' existence have served, *inter alia*, to emphasize the importance of regional arrangements within the existing system of collective security. In view of this fact, it would be well to redraft some of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, so that there could be no doubt about the procedure to be followed in cases of disputes between States signatories of a regional agreement.

11. Similarly, we should like to stress the opinion expressed by our Minister for Foreign Affairs at the recent San Francisco Conference, to the effect that the existing Economic and Social Council should be set up as two councils or bodies: an Economic and Technical Assistance Council and a Social and Human Rights Council. This arrangement would expedite the progress of the Council's important work. We must bear in mind that the Economic and Social Council has become the most important body for the small nations, with their limited resources and low standards of living.

12. There is, however, another aspect of the review which is of equally great concern to my Government: the necessity for a critical survey of the institutions and procedures for stimulating economic development in the under-developed countries. These institutions, which were set up, for laudable purposes, during the immediate post-war period, should take advantage of the experience acquired in ten years of work and adapt their functions to the present economic and social situation. In recent years, significant efforts have been made to penetrate, directly or indirectly, the economic and financial fields and thereby to mobilize international co-operation to the fullest possible degree, for the greater prosperity of nations and a higher standard of living for all people.

13. All the representatives will remember the debates at Bretton Woods. At that time, it was considered to be the duty of all nations to help to create favourable conditions which would encourage a return to economic normality in the post-war period, with a few structural changes to eliminate the danger of a depression such as that of 1930 and 1931. The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development emerged from the Bretton Woods Conference. These two new institutions may be said to be the synthesis of the creative efforts of the planners of that time.

14. As we all know, the principal objective of the Fund was to create normal and healthy monetary conditions, to bring about convertibility of currencies, to eliminate exchange control and discriminatory policies and to promote free and prosperous international trade. The Bank concentrated, to begin with, on the reconstruction of the war-devastated areas, and subsequently it began slowly and cautiously to concern itself with economic development in the true sense of the term.

15. What have these bodies achieved in their ten years of work? To begin with, convertibility of currency is not the general rule. At best it is a rare exception. The Fund could do no better; it was not within its power to change economic and financial conditions. The Bank has granted large loans, but it has done so in conformity with banking policies, which, owing perhaps to the source of its funds, have followed a conservative criterion.

16. The total funds devoted to economic development have been of considerable assistance. Can anyone claim, however, that the Bank has solved the problem of economic development? Can it be said that this institution suffices to overcome any difficulties in the way of financing? It is not the fault of the Bank or of its directors that the reply must be in the negative, for the fact is that the problem is of such magnitude that the Bank, with all its goodwill, has neither the resources nor the requisite business methods to be able to cope with it.

17. The two institutions, which are specialized agencies of the United Nations, have also assisted Governments through their technical missions. This is another effective accomplishment. This work of technical assistance, over and above the loans, is impressive if it is viewed from the standpoint of the situation prior to Bretton Woods. Where there was a void, there are now two institutions functioning. Nevertheless, we must realize that the problems of economic development and its financing are beyond the scope of these institutions, and give them the appearance of being adjuncts to a broad economic and financial programme that is still non-existent, but that will inevitably have to be set up in response to the implacable demands of the age in which we live.

18. From the outset, the United Nations has brought about a radical reform in international economic and financial ideas. The surveys and research carried out by the department concerned, as also the outstanding work of the regional economic commissions, are achievements for which we must express our high appreciation from this rostrum. Member States and those which are not yet Members have begun to speak a new language, and for many of them it has been their first economic idiom. The theoretical studies compiled by the United Nations and the continuing research programmes conducted by the regional economic commissions would of themselves amply justify the existence of the United Nations, if any justification were necessary.

19. As a representative of Chile, I know best the work of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). I am certain that for all the countries of Latin America the establishment of that Commission inaugurated a new stage in our common economic development, a period of insight into the facts of economy and finance, a period during which possible alternatives are submitted or suggested for the solution of problems of a general nature.

20. Having said this, what are the net results of this effort? The United Nations does not formulate doctrines or dogmas; it merely presents the facts and shows how they are interrelated, or outlines their probable causal relationship. Its markedly objective work gives rise, however, to one cause for concern: the basic problems of world economy will not be mastered until a bold approach is made to the question of economic development. This same opinion is to be found in the analyses and conclusions of the Economic Commissions for Europe, for Latin America and for Asia and the Far East, and even in isolated studies on Africa. This is, therefore, a general conclusion which applies equally to the various geographical regions concerned.

21. Let us consider, for a moment, our experience at the regional level. Following the Tenth Inter-American Conference, held at Caracas in March 1954, the first meeting of the Finance Ministers of the members of the Organization of American States was held at Rio de

Janeiro in November 1954. As was natural, the chief topic of debate centred round the problem of the economic development of the region as a whole. It was decided that experts should study the possibility of organizing an Inter-American system, or bank, so that there would be an institution, at least at the regional level, to fill the vast gap in the facilities of the existing institutions. This project is in the planning stage, although it was impossible to enlist the support of the United States, which is economically the most important nation. A committee of Latin American experts, working in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Latin America, proposed that an Inter-American fund for the development of mining, agriculture and industry should be established. This proposal, too, was rejected.

22. What do these plans tell us? That the Latin American region realizes that its rate of development is slow, that national resources to accelerate development are meagre and that the co-operation of the appropriate international institutions is valuable but limited and out of all proportion to the magnitude of the task to be accomplished.

23. In the early part of this year, there was talk of an International Finance Corporation, a subsidiary of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We all know how this idea originated and how difficult it was to dissociate it from the concept of a fund for economic development. Nevertheless the two ideas were eventually separated. Accordingly, there will shortly be a new international institution for the granting of loans, particularly to private undertakings and without State guarantees. Its total capital will be \$100 million, from which it will serve all geographical regions. In other words, little progress has been made.

24. If, in addition to all the foregoing projects, we add technical assistance — both the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the special programmes, we shall have a more or less complete picture of this collective effort to deal with economic and financial problems. I repeat that every one of these activities represents something constructive, and that it is not the fault of the individual institutions that their operations have proved very modest in comparison with the magnitude of the problems confronting them.

25. Apart from action taken at the international level, the co-operation of certain countries, and particularly that of the United States, has been of decisive influence. The Lend-Lease Act, the Marshall Plan and the Mutual Security Program are too well known to Members for me to expatiate on them. This generous co-operation, without precedent in history, was designed to achieve two or three well-defined objectives, but none of these was primarily concerned with the economic development of the under-developed areas, nor could they be so, considering the grave political situation which gave rise to this programme. I shall do no more than draw your attention to this fact.

26. If we could make a comprehensive study of international co-operation in economic and financial affairs over the past ten years, the measures taken on the regional and national levels, the generous collaboration of certain States, as well as other determining factors, it might perhaps be possible to arrive at some general conclusions. It is a fact that, on average, production indices have exceeded the pre-war figures. It is equally true that substantial progress in relation to the pre-war period has been registered in the under-developed regions. Nevertheless, as the Secretary-General pointed out to the Economic and Social Council on 12 July 1955,

“although the international economic disintegration that marked the immediate post-war period had been halted, only a limited measure of economic integration had been achieved”.<sup>1</sup>

27. What has happened? Why has economic integration not been achieved in the last ten years? Some think that this integration has been jeopardized and impeded by the fact that international trade is divided into blocs. This field bristles with complications of every kind, but the progress achieved in it seems to indicate that although a world trade system would facilitate commercial interchange, this advantage would not solve the fundamental problem. It is not a matter of quantitative changes but of qualitative corrections.

28. In the same speech, the Secretary-General said that “unfortunately, the progress made by the industrial countries had not been matched by the under-developed countries, either in respect of economic stabilization or in respect of economic growth”.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the fundamental problem in the economic field is that production, greatly expanded by technical progress, is not finding the necessary consumer markets. The constant threat hovering over the peoples of the world is not a crisis of over-production, but one of under-consumption. As long as there are no dependable and expanding markets to absorb the growing production of the world, we shall continue to witness the spectacle of this ruthless competition for export markets, and there will continue to be trade and exchange restrictions which will indirectly enable certain Governments to subsidize their products in the scanty foreign markets. Until this problem is given a priority solution, it is idle to speak of free international trade, convertibility of currencies or freedom of transport. This is a fact which is realized by each and every one of the industrial countries concerned, but which has not yet gained international recognition.

29. Some there are who disapprove of the emphasis the under-developed countries place on the need to accelerate their economic progress and of their pressing for increased international co-operation. Others believe that everything can be reduced to technical assistance. We should try to understand that the ideas which have hitherto prevailed on these subjects have become obsolete, and that what is really needed is a reappraisal of world economic and financial conditions. We must realize that economic development is to the advantage not of the backward countries alone, but of all countries, especially those which are so anxious to obtain consumer markets.

30. The tenth session of the General Assembly now has such an opportunity before it. The Second Committee is to study the question of the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. The work of research and detailed technical analysis has been done. What remains to be done? Simply to take action. Is there or is there not a conviction that the progress of all backward areas is a necessary condition for the prosperity of the industrial countries? If those countries do not need these markets and have to maintain an export war with all kinds of subsidies, it is urgent for them to decide on the kind of international co-operation they want and the organization that would be most suitable for this purpose.

31. There have been meetings at the highest international level to discuss political problems which endanger world peace. Some slight but definite progress has been

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twentieth Session, 871st meeting, para. 5.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 12.

made, and this has created a certain feeling of confidence. This has been the first step. We should not forget, however, that the search for peace calls for other measures too which, together with political action, will complete the circle of solidarity and understanding between nations.

32. The United Nations Charter is very clear when it states the doctrine of the indivisibility of peace and prosperity. Our Organization should exert its influence, or take some practical step, to have critical economic and financial problems included in the agenda of meetings at this high level, so that the statesmen concerned could determine the nature of the economic difficulties threatening the various parts of the world, and the extent to which the more speedy economic development of the under-developed areas would help, in the interests of common prosperity, to create confidence and encourage coexistence by promoting the welfare of nations and their economic stability.

33. As far as my own country is concerned, I should like briefly to draw the attention of the Assembly to a phenomenon which constitutes a perfect example of contemporary economic conditions and which may prompt us to study and to find out the causes and effects of a distressing situation. The Assembly is aware that Chile is suffering from a serious inflation. It is something to which we cannot close our eyes and in connexion with which we cannot shirk our responsibilities. Nor can this situation be attributed to factors that are exclusively or predominantly political. The causes of inflation in our country are clearly sociological in origin, and it would be a mistake to regard the situation with pessimism.

34. From all points of view, statistics reveal an extraordinary peak in the economic development of Latin America, and this has been confirmed by the magnificent research work of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). Nevertheless, most of our countries have borne an unmistakable stigma for centuries, the stigma of manifest social inequality. Strictly speaking, there was no middle class in some Latin American countries until well into the present century, and in some others it would be rash to presume that such a class exists even yet.

35. In this respect, Chile has undergone an extraordinary transformation during the last 20 years. From the social point of view, this positive transformation has brought about a surprising degree of equality between classes: the middle class has increased and become stronger, while the standard of living of the working class has improved in geometrical progression. To our credit, this historical development has taken place without convulsions or violence, and has been characterized by an absolute respect for the democratic institutions which are the pride of my country.

36. From the economic point of view, however, as was the case in France during the years following the First World War, this development has brought about an enormous increase in the purchasing power of the classes which have risen in the social scale, an increase which has substantially out-distanced the economic development of the country. The number and density of Chile's population is not such as to allow any cheap and efficient light industry to prosper there. The demand for consumer goods must be satisfied with foreign exchange derived from the export of products which are subject to the fluctuations of international prices. It is well known that instability is the chief cause of inflation.

37. Chile has contended resolutely with these difficulties and has solved many of them by encouraging the industrialization of the country and by putting into practice the recommendations of the technical agencies of the United Nations, especially those of the Economic Commission for Latin America. However, in order to bring about a genuine rise in the standard of living of its population and to consolidate these gains by creating new sources of wealth, it must be able to dispose of its products on the world market on more equitable terms than those prevailing at present.

38. After ten years of experience, the United Nations now possesses all the necessary background information to make an exhaustive review of the agencies which were created to solve these problems and of the methods hitherto employed, at the international and regional levels, to eliminate the causes of the poverty and distress of the great masses of the population. It is the duty of the United Nations to make use of this experience and to apply fully the principle of the Charter that peace and prosperity constitute two parts of an equation which is ineffective if they are separated. To ignore the unity and interdependence of political, social and economic facts is to be guilty of an inexcusable mistake which the statesmen at San Francisco were careful to condemn. Any action which ignores this organic unity will be purely artificial and is doomed to sterility.

39. If the Charter is to be reviewed, it should be with a view to creating contractual obligations between States that will lead to positive co-operation in the field of economic integration. The Commission on International Commodity Trade was established in accordance with this principle.

40. In Chapter I of the Charter, which defines its purposes and principles, care was taken to establish the following as one of the most important objectives of the United Nations:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

The international co-operation achieved by the United Nations in solving the type of problems indicated in this paragraph has produced results of obvious importance. It is equally true that the number of problems that threaten collective peace and welfare makes it necessary to seek more effective solutions than those which have been proposed during the first ten years of the Organization.

41. Fortunately, in various matters connected with this subject, there is a general awareness in our Organization that we must make faster progress in the search for appropriate and effective solutions. One proof of this awareness lies in the fact that items such as the following are again appearing on the agenda of the Assembly: "Question of the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development", and "Question of the establishment of an International Finance Corporation". My delegation will co-operate whole-heartedly in completing these plans and ensuring their implementation. If the results achieved are not sufficiently timely or effective, it will be advisable to consider the necessity of calling a world economic conference under the auspices of the United Nations, which will assume the responsibility of proposing methods that will enable us to overcome our present difficulties.

42. In the social field, it is satisfying to find that the second item on the agenda of the Third Committee is "Draft International Covenants on Human Rights". The coexistence within the United Nations of the representatives of the various civilizations scattered over the face of the globe has been possible, fundamentally, because all the civilizations share the common denominator of one and the same spiritual need, which does not permit compromises or delays in the task of promoting respect for human rights. It is this that made it possible, at the third session of the General Assembly [183rd meeting] to obtain the impressive unanimous vote in favour of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which of all the projects sponsored by the United Nations is the most important from the moral point of view. Nevertheless, this Declaration belongs in the field of abstract principles and the obligations attaching to its text are purely moral. The United Nations, therefore, has understood the need to sponsor the formulation of covenants on human rights, which will give these rights legal validity and make their enforcement an international responsibility.

43. Without the realization that these rights are inalienable and that disregard of them would bring about the downfall of civilization, the international community, lacking moral stature, would disintegrate. The small nations would have no place in an organization that served only as a battle-ground for all kinds of material interests and any such conflict would inevitably lead the great Powers into violence and destruction. Thanks to the moral backing of the small countries, the United Nations is a bulwark of peace and conciliation and is aware that if it is to accomplish its mission it must encourage respect for human rights.

44. The covenants already drawn up deserve, therefore, to be given priority, and we should endeavour to complete that task during the current session. That endeavour would be in the interests of all States, large and small, and would enhance the prestige of the United Nations.

45. In the course of history, mankind has witnessed the rise and fall of empires and the collapse of systems and values which had been conceived as the expression of basic truths. The new moral code given the world from Mount Sinai in the Ten Commandments proclaimed principles which have successfully withstood the test of a hard struggle against all forms of slavery and savagery, and have become identified with the very essence of civilization. The principles proclaimed by the United Nations Charter ten years ago, put to the test by the harsh experience of the cold war, still stand today, and we know that they exercise an ever-increasing influence on the conduct of the peoples.

46. Let us bend our will and our strength in this newly-opened tenth session of the General Assembly, without fear or flinching, to promoting the cause of peace, economic development and the observance of human rights, and we shall become more worthy of the confidence of the peoples.

47. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): In tendering my sincere congratulations to Mr. Maza on his election as President of the General Assembly, may I express the hope that the unanimity with which he was elected will be maintained throughout our future work.

48. There seems to be general agreement that the atmosphere in which we meet this year is the most favourable we have known in the ten years of the life of the United Nations. As we survey the international

scene from our exceptional vantage point in the General Assembly, we are bound to feel heartened. The tendency towards an improvement in international relations, already vaguely discernible at our last session, has clearly become more pronounced.

49. Some highly important facts prove this beyond dispute. The settlement of the Austrian question has eliminated at least one of the sources of tension in the post-war years. The Bandung Conference was a clear proof that States with different outlooks can actively co-operate; it confirmed also the growing role played in world affairs by two young continents. The Conference of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers at Geneva reflected the change in atmosphere and provided a fresh impulse; for the first time since the beginning of the cold war, the leaders of the States most directly affected by the tension met and held discussions in a spirit of understanding and mutual goodwill. The Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy marked an unprecedented venture in international co-operation. And one of the most significant factors, perhaps, has been the general lessening of suspicion in international relations and the increased willingness to approach issues in a frank and conciliatory spirit.

50. There are many unmistakable signs that the atmosphere has undergone a great change. The cold war has lost much of its intensity, and international relations are beginning to assume a new aspect. All these features, of course, are extremely encouraging and of the utmost importance. They are not, however, sufficient in themselves. A change of atmosphere cannot be regarded as an end in itself. World affairs have taken a turn for the better; we must ensure that this improvement is maintained.

51. In other words, a bridge-head has been established from which an attack can be launched, with reasonable chances of success, on the principal problems which have kept the world divided. The time would seem to have come, therefore, to set about this task. Any progress achieved will result in a further improvement in the international atmosphere, which, in its turn, will make possible a renewed advance towards a settlement of outstanding problems. In order to succeed, I feel that we need, above all, a new approach; we must be more consistent and more resolute in attacking international problems by exploring the possibilities opened up through the change in atmosphere.

52. This new approach to problems could be termed political, as distinct from military or ideological. The cold war, with its increasingly ideological arguments and with strategic considerations gaining in importance as the tension increased, tended to give an essentially strategic and military character to problems of a political or economic origin. That, of course, made it infinitely more difficult to solve those problems, because, instead of being considered in their true perspective, they were assessed in the light of strategic implications and ideological prejudices.

53. In those circumstances, any thought of reasonable concessions for the sake of agreement was tantamount to surrendering a strategic position to an adversary whose final aims and general attitude supposedly precluded any compromise.

54. The new spirit in which international problems should now be approached consists, if I may use the expression, in "demilitarizing" them and stripping them of all ideological considerations, in order to reduce them to their essential political and economic terms. It should, in fact, be a search for a peaceful, that is, a political,

solution of such problems. The method of negotiation and co-operation must be used: negotiation in order to remove the more immediate causes of tension, and co-operation to eliminate those that lie deeper and to strengthen, through perseverance, the foundations of world peace.

55. This argument would seem to be confirmed by a growing tendency, when the policy to be pursued is defined, to abandon the concept of negotiation from strength in favour of negotiation on a footing of equality. This, in itself, could create conditions in which equality no longer depends on power.

56. As to the respective value and advantages of the various concepts of the world's future and of different social systems, it seems clear that discussions about them can take place and lead on to another stage only if a spirit of free and peaceful rivalry prevails.

57. To attain these results, such co-operation must necessarily be based on certain simple and more or less generally accepted principles, enunciated in the United Nations Charter and recently reaffirmed in a number of international instruments, to several of which my country is also a party. These principles, such as mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, the duty of refraining from any aggressive practice, and so forth, are known to us all and I need not dwell on them here. They are, in fact, merely the elementary requirements of international life in our time. We firmly believe that adherence to these principles will finally transform the present pattern of international relations and gradually pave the way for more universal forms of international co-operation. Obviously, however, the attitudes and methods developed during the period of tension cannot be eliminated at short notice. Such a result can be obtained only through protracted and patient effort.

58. With the world as it is, no other policy can legitimately be regarded as realistic. The reason for this is simple: this policy seems to be the only one which takes into account both the diversity and the growing unity and interdependence of the present-day world. The trend towards unity, which is an objective process resulting primarily from scientific developments and the spectacular growth of economic forces, is constantly overcoming and eliminating the artificial obstacles which it encounters.

59. The diversity in historical and cultural background, in social structure, or in political and economic systems, is also a fundamental characteristic of present-day international life, an inevitable feature of the present stage of historical development and not, as some are still inclined to believe, merely a regrettable phenomenon. Consequently, our policy can be realistic only if it takes this fact into account and seeks to harmonize these differences within the general trend towards growing world unity.

60. In other words, States with different systems and divergent concepts must live side by side, remembering that, in this interdependent world, coexistence inevitably demands co-operation. This becomes even more obvious if we look for a moment at the other solution: the settlement of differences otherwise than by peaceful means. It is now platitudinous to say that, in the atomic age in which we live, war, the ultimate outcome of this other policy, would not only fail to solve any of our problems but would bring about general destruction.

61. It is encouraging to note that the principle of coexistence, viewed until quite recently with pessimism and in some circles even with distrust, has now gained a large measure of support, which is beginning to assume an increasingly active character.

62. Our duty, therefore, is to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the changed international climate in order to advance, beyond this improvement, to an enduring peace.

63. In this process, the United Nations clearly has a vital part to play. An organization based on the principles of international co-operation simultaneously acquires a wider scope and assumes heavier responsibilities when the application of those principles becomes both a practical possibility and an urgent necessity. As the Secretary-General so aptly states in his report:

"If there is now to be serious and sustained exploration of the possibilities for co-operation on a wider basis, the role of world organization must necessarily gain a new dimension" [A/2911, p. XI].

64. Nor should we overlook the substantial contribution made by the United Nations, both by its mere presence on the disturbed international scene and by its efforts — frequently thwarted though they were — to bring about the more favourable conditions in which it is now called upon to act. It is, indeed, largely due to this Organization that the world has been spared from being irrevocably rent asunder, at a time when a split seemed most imminent, and that the other dangers which directly imperilled the peace were gradually overcome. The United Nations has helped in bringing about the conditions which make coexistence possible.

65. When we speak of the role that the United Nations has played in international affairs, and even more when we try to envisage the part which it will be called upon to play in the future, we must, in my opinion, remember the increasing contribution of the smaller nations, the under-developed countries and States which have only recently attained political independence. These nations have become independent and retain a supreme interest in peace, for they must have peace to make up for the delay to which, through no fault of theirs, they have been condemned. That is a fact that will continue to exercise a growing influence on the development of international life.

66. These nations, which are today endeavouring to play, in complete independence, their full part on the international stage — a part which should be given the recognition it deserves — simply do not fit into any of the old and rigid patterns, and for that reason are all the better adapted to membership in a universal body like the United Nations. They are, moreover, directly interested in respect for the democratic principles set forth in the Charter, disregard of which would make their participation in international life infinitely more difficult. Their strength is of a moral and political nature rather than military or even economic, and thus they naturally tend to act as a moral and political factor, which is perfectly in keeping with the fundamental concepts of the Charter.

67. Against this general background, the importance of this session stands out clearly. The Assembly should, first and foremost, try to improve still further what has been called the "Geneva spirit"; it can best do that by giving a practical demonstration of what should be — of what, indeed, has begun to be — the new method of dealing with international problems. This method should enable the Assembly, at this session, to make some

progress towards the solution of the various problems which are before it, and some of which have been exercising it for many years. If the Assembly succeeds in this, it will have contributed markedly to the improvement of the international situation and it will thus have given proof of the greater part being played by the United Nations in the present, more favourable conditions.

68. While appreciating at their full value the efforts now being made by the great Powers to solve some of the main international problems, and the considerable results which those efforts have already achieved, we must not forget that these problems are of importance to the international community as a whole and that it is therefore required to use its influence in the effort to find speedy and satisfactory solutions for them.

69. I should now like to mention some of the problems which seem to us to be among the most important at this session.

70. First, of course, there is the problem of disarmament, whose immense importance from the point of view of world peace and security is obvious. We were all, I am sure, happy to note the encouraging developments which took place in this field in the course of the year. Nor, I think, is there any cause for bemoaning unduly the difficulties which appear to have arisen since that time; they are probably due to the fact that the disarmament question is passing more and more into the realm of practical possibilities, and that should eventually bring us nearer to, not take us further from, a solution. We hope that this interpretation will be confirmed in the near future.

71. It is a fact, nevertheless, that the armaments race does not as yet seem to have slowed down. Arms are still being piled up at a terrifying rate — terrifying both in their volume and in their destructive power. Further endeavours to reduce divergencies in this matter, on the basis of agreements already reached, or on the basis of the extent to which the gap between the views has been narrowed in certain aspects of the problem, should, therefore, constitute an important part of the general efforts made to remove the remaining causes of tension. In that respect, good results have been achieved both in Geneva and in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission in London.

72. We cannot help wondering, however, in this connexion, if it would not be possible even now to reach an agreement at least not to increase any further expenditures on armaments and armed forces. Have not some countries, indeed, already gone further in this direction? Have they not already begun to reduce their armed forces and their military budgets? And is not that fact itself proof that conditions are already ripe for such a step?

73. Another question closely linked to that of disarmament is the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The progress made in this field, in the combining of efforts in order to apply one of the most remarkable discoveries made by the human brain so that it shall contribute to the happiness of man and not to his destruction, is one of the most heartening aspects of recent developments in the international situation. In that connexion, as I have already said, special mention should be made of the Geneva Conference, both on account of the results it achieved and on account of the spirit of confidence and goodwill which inspired it. Obviously fresh efforts are required in this new and

important field of international co-operation, and there again the United Nations should continue to play a vital part.

74. Particular attention should, in our view, be paid to the need to combat the very real danger that the use of atomic energy may widen the gulf between the developed and the under-developed countries, which would undoubtedly have disastrous effects on the progress of world economy as a whole if adequate efforts were not at the same time made to speed up the economic development of the under-developed countries. Atomic energy will not, as it were, fall into the laps of those who need it most urgently. It is therefore not only a duty but it is also in the interests of the wealthy nations which, by that very fact, are in the best position to make use of this new source of energy, to help to bridge the gap which will otherwise inevitably widen.

75. There is another practical aspect of the problem of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes which requires our urgent attention: it is that of the International Atomic Energy Agency. My delegation will express its views on that matter in full when the item is under discussion. However, I should already like to say that we believe the closest relations should be established between the agency and the United Nations. I should like to say, too, that in general the ever growing part being played by the United Nations in the new international situation requires more and more co-ordination between the different sectors of international activity within the universal framework of the Organization.

76. The changed international atmosphere offers fresh possibilities and at the same time requires a more resolute effort to grapple with some of the long-term problems upon the solution of which the establishment of a lasting peace will largely depend. The time has come for the United Nations to exert greater efforts in the economic and social fields. In the unfavourable conditions of the cold war, when about one-seventh of the world's income was spent on military purposes, great progress in international co-operation in this sphere could hardly be expected. Nor could it even be hoped that trade would develop on a truly international and multilateral basis. It was said, too, that there could be no question of spending large sums on helping the under-developed countries and regions. The invaluable work of the United Nations in the social field was also seriously hampered. However, even in those dark days, the United Nations provided some encouraging examples of joint international action in the fields of technical assistance, and of assistance to children through the United Nations Children's Fund. That was made possible, of course, largely by the contributions of the wealthiest countries, in particular the United States and the United Kingdom.

77. It should obviously be possible to do much more today, especially with regard to economic development problems. As the Secretary-General states in his report, "while the world has increasingly come to understand the need for such development, it does not yet sufficiently appreciate the urgency of that need" [A/2911, p. xiv]. There is no doubt, however, that the new conditions offer an immediate possibility for perceptible progress to be made towards the solution of this problem.

78. In a solemn declaration in resolution 724 A (VIII), the General Assembly undertook to devote a portion of the savings achieved through internationally supervised disarmament to a Special United Nations

Fund for Economic Development. Although internationally supervised disarmament has not yet been achieved, it would appear that the other conditions said to be necessary for more positive steps to be taken towards the setting up of this fund and for more extensive international co-operation in the economic and social fields in general have now been fulfilled.

79. Apart from these more general problems, with respect to which the United Nations bears a heavy responsibility, I must draw attention, as many speakers have done before me, to a matter which has a more direct bearing on the United Nations as a world organization. I am referring to the question of the universality of the United Nations, or rather to its lack of universality, which seriously hampers its capacity for action in the various fields in which it is required by the Charter to use its influence. How can we either explain or justify the fact that, ten years after the San Francisco Conference, the number of States still awaiting admission to the United Nations amounts to one-third of the present number of Member States and, more especially, that nearly half the countries of Europe do not belong to the Organization and that a country as large and important as China is still denied admission?

80. If there is any further delay in solving this problem, the responsibility will rest on us all, but more particularly on the permanent members of the Security Council. My delegation believes that the best solution would undoubtedly be to admit all candidates whose international status is not questioned. We would, however, support any other proposal for enlarging the membership of the United Nations, any proposal, that is, which would enable it to break out of the present impasse. Even the smallest progress in this field would undoubtedly have favourable repercussions on the future development of the international atmosphere and international relations.

81. Naturally, there are many other very important problems, some of which are before us while others, although not actually included in our agenda, nevertheless greatly influence the general atmosphere in which our session is taking place. I can do no more than mention them here. There are the questions concerned with Europe, to which Yugoslavia, as a European country, naturally attaches great importance; they include the closely connected questions of Germany and European security.

82. There are also the various problems connected with Asia, at the core of which lies the need to recognize fully and in good time the great changes which are altering the whole appearance of this continent and its relations with what is called the West.

83. There are, finally, the formidable problems connected with Africa, whose importance is growing daily, and towards which our Organization has very special responsibilities.

84. It is upon this interpretation of the present international situation and upon these fundamental principles that Yugoslavia has based its policy with regard to its foreign relations.

85. All members of the Assembly are, I believe, aware of the efforts my country has made to help remove immediate causes of conflict, to help ease tension and to bring about a general improvement in the international atmosphere. They are also aware of our present efforts to make this improvement more real and more lasting. These efforts spring from the deep conviction, which I have expressed at some length here, that peace can and

should be strengthened by co-operation, in accordance with the principles of the Charter, with all countries which, whatever their political or social systems, are themselves prepared to offer such co-operation.

86. This policy, which we have always followed, has already been apparent in our friendship and fruitful co-operation with the United States, the United Kingdom, France and many other countries in all parts of the world. It is illustrated by our participation in the settlement of the Trieste question, long felt to be a source of danger for Europe, at great cost to ourselves. Other examples are the active part we have taken in organizing a broad system of co-operation in the Balkans with Greece and Turkey, and our efforts to help found and to join in a wider system of European co-operation.

87. A recent expression of this policy was the great improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union, and also with Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Albania. It is now generally agreed that this improvement contributed in large measure to the removal of one of the sources of tension in Europe, replacing it by a constructive co-operation based on principles of equality and mutual respect.

88. I should like, finally, to point to the ever closer relations which Yugoslavia is establishing with certain Asian and African countries, especially India, Burma, Egypt and Ethiopia, which shows that even countries which are separated by great distances and vary widely in their general circumstances and ideas, can nevertheless have common aims and can co-operate closely where the essential purpose of conserving peace is concerned.

89. All this, it seems to me, is concrete proof of the practical acceptability and efficacy of the policy which my country is endeavouring to follow in the international sphere and which I have attempted to outline here.

90. The Yugoslav delegation will be guided by these same ideas in the action it takes in the course of this session of the General Assembly. We believe that the United Nations is called upon to play a major part in a world which is endeavouring to move along the road towards international co-operation, peace and universal progress. This Assembly, we are sure, will make a great contribution in that direction. We must unite our efforts in order to achieve those ends. That is what the peoples who desire peace demand and expect of us.

91. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): It is a very healthy and profitable practice indeed that those delegations to the General Assembly who wish to review the world situation from their respective angles can do so annually.

92. The year which has elapsed has been very significant in the life of my country as well as in the history of the world. As far as my country is concerned, we have continued to progress in the path of social and economic reconstruction, devoting the greater part of our income from oil to major development projects. In this process of development, Iraq, acting in a true spirit of international co-operation, profits from the services of international technical assistance as well as of experts from several countries.

93. Very significant in the life of my country this year has been the signing of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Iraq and Turkey at Baghdad, a pact which was later joined by the United Kingdom and very recently by Pakistan. The Baghdad Pact is a definite contribution to peace and stability in the Middle East. It is



based on the application of Articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter. By joining the Baghdad Pact, Iraq and the United Kingdom reached an agreement to terminate the 1930 Treaty of Alliance between the United Kingdom and Iraq, by which the United Kingdom had maintained two air bases in Iraq. After this agreement, Iraq took over the air bases and thus, for the first time since the First World War, Iraq has no foreign bases on its soil. This agreement certainly marks a great event in the history of my country.

94. In the international realm, four outstanding meetings were held during this year, namely, the Bandung Conference, the meeting of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers at Geneva, the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva and the San Francisco gathering for the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. We wish to put before the General Assembly our impressions of these meetings and evaluate their significance for international peace and security.

95. We begin with the Bandung Conference, in which 29 nations from Asia and Africa took part. Bandung will go down in history as a significant event, because it was an expression on the part of the peoples of Asia and Africa of their earnest desire to serve the cause of a peace based on the fundamental freedoms and the human rights of all mankind. Bandung meant the recognition of equality and partnership of the peoples of Asia and Africa with the nations and peoples of other continents. It was a declaration that the days of colonial supremacy and racial domination were over. It meant that we live in one world today which must be indivisible and whose parts cannot be separated by geographical, racial, national or religious barriers. Bandung was not an expression of separatism on the part of Asian and African peoples, but it symbolized the new spirit of man which yearns for unity, bringing together east and west, north and south. It was an invitation to the Western nations to change their attitude towards their once subject races and prove to them that they are their brothers and equals today.

96. All the States attending the Bandung Conference affirmed their faith in and support of the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the fundamentals of human rights, the dignity and worth of man. Members of the Bandung Conference were unanimous in denouncing colonialism in all its forms and shapes and in whatever new guise it might appear. Under the principle of self-determination and the application of human rights, Bandung supported the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their own homes in that country and denounced racial and colour discrimination in South Africa or any other part of the world. In denouncing colonialism, Bandung affirmed the rights of the peoples of North Africa, namely, in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, to self-determination, and appealed to France to recognize those rights. It supported the position of Indonesia on the question of West Irian.

97. Whilst all delegations at Bandung were unanimous in denouncing colonialism, some delegations, including my own, were specific in pointing out that Communist infiltration and subversion in any part of the world constituted a new form of colonialism, much deadlier than the old type. Communism subjugates the peoples it dominates, not only physically and politically but mentally and spiritually as well. Under the old form of colonialism there is some chance of hearing the cries of pain of the subjugated peoples. Under Communist colonialism no such cries are heard.

98. In short, Bandung wanted to see an end to man's domination over man, man's exploitation of man, whether that be on an individual level, on a class level or on a national level. Enslavement of peoples, racial and colour discrimination, religious bigotry, economic exploitation, class discrimination, colonialism, Communist infiltration and subversion, all have been sources of trouble and unrest in the world and must come to an end.

99. The Bandung Conference should not be taken as the formation of a bloc in the international situation today, for it included members of divergent creeds, races and ideologies. It should rather be considered as an appeal to the existing blocs, whether Eastern or Western, to tear down the intellectual and spiritual walls that separate mankind.

100. It is a sad situation to see that the peoples of the West still consider themselves more or less an exclusive group who cling together whenever they are asked to apply the principles of freedom, democracy and equality to the races of Asia and Africa. The Western Powers, to be true to themselves and to their culture and ideology, must see to it that the principles of liberation of peoples and equality between men, irrespective of geography, colour or creed, should be the guiding spirit of the modern age. We live in a world that is getting smaller and smaller every day, and no matter how distant we are from each other we are becoming neighbours. European nations must finally abandon the idea that they are entitled to rule other peoples and decide their destiny for them. Instead, co-operation and partnership in building a new world should be the order of the day.

101. The nations of the Americas which enjoy the blessings of freedom today have, both in the United Nations and outside, a splendid record in support of the aspirations of the dependent peoples to self-determination and freedom. There is a fear, however, that some of them may begin to forget the struggle they went through to achieve their independence and may therefore not actively sympathize with those nations in Asia and Africa which are today passing through the same processes which they themselves have experienced in the last two centuries.

102. The situation in North Africa is a good example, in which we unfortunately see Western Europe united in blocking a speedy attainment of freedom, and in which we find the United States and some countries in the Americas shy to be outspoken in expressing their principles and ideals.

103. This is exactly what the Bandung Conference hoped to avert, for it aimed at unity of action between Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas in the path of liberation and equality of all peoples. The sooner we achieve that unity and tear down the walls between continents and races, the better for the peace and harmony of this world.

104. In short, the Bandung Conference tried to be an embodiment of the principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter. It presented a new hope for mankind — a hope for unity and peace which should be shared by Europe and the Americas.

105. I turn now to the Geneva Conference. The meeting of the four Heads of Government of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR at Geneva last July satisfied a long-standing desire of this Assembly — expressed in resolutions proposed by Mexico in 1948 and by Iraq and Syria in 1950, and

unanimously adopted [*resolutions 190 (III) and 377 C (V)*] — that such a meeting should be held to reduce world tension. Although the meeting has not, so far, given rise to any concrete results, the fact that it did take place is in itself a world event that gives mankind some hope for peace.

106. We sincerely hope that a united Germany in a free and united Europe will be achieved for the sake of mankind as a whole, and not for the sake of Europe alone.

107. With regard to disarmament, we welcome wholeheartedly the proposals made by President Eisenhower at Geneva for the exchange of blueprints and for mutual inspection of military installations. To our mind, the best way to achieve confidence and dispel mutual fears is to abolish secrecy about armaments and to establish a system of adequate inspection. It is our hope that progress in this direction will be made and a general reduction of armaments achieved.

108. But the issue of Germany and the reduction of armaments are not the only causes of world tension today. There are other issues in the world, such as the Palestine problem and the many problems emanating from colonialism. There are also iron curtains, the wars of propaganda, infiltration and subversion in other countries — which may be mentioned as examples of questions which remain to be dealt with. We do not believe that, in this age of nuclear weapons, any country would be foolish enough to wish to wage war, especially now that the two conflicting camps in the world are both armed and prepared for self-defence. But fear of conquest by infiltration and subversion from within and without still hangs over many small nations, like my own. Post-war developments in Eastern Europe and later events in Korea and Indo-China indeed justify this fear.

109. Although the Geneva conference did not deal with all these topics, we sincerely hope that, at the forthcoming meeting, the Foreign Ministers will be more specific and, at the same time, more inclusive in their treatment of the various world problems causing international tension. Although we welcome the meeting of the four Powers, we wish to submit a word of caution to them that, at their conference, they should at no time think only of their individual interests. We would urge their consultation individually with the States which are concerned with each specific problem before and during their meetings. No impression should be left that the Big Four are meeting to make decisions for other nations and to make them behind their backs. We would urge that secret diplomacy should be finally abandoned for the sake of international peace and mutual confidence.

110. At any rate, the Geneva conference does provide a basis for future hope if it leads to further concrete improvement in the international situation, and we hope that Geneva, like Bandung, will make history.

111. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held last month in Geneva, following the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 December 1954 [*resolution 810 (IX)*] implementing President Eisenhower's proposal of 8 December 1953 [*470th meeting*], is certainly the type of work that represents the true spirit of the Charter, for it replaces destruction by construction, fear by confidence, and exploitation by co-operation. We sincerely hope that further scientific development in the field of nuclear physics will continue to contribute to world

health, prosperity and amity. The Conference was indeed an epoch-making event.

112. The meeting of the Member States in San Francisco in June 1955 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter brought to memory that atmosphere of optimism which prevailed in San Francisco ten years ago. Those of us who were in that city very well remember the hopes which we cherished that the end of the war might usher in a new era of freedom, equality, prosperity and peace for all mankind. We met there "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

113. In spite of the many fine achievements in the field of the liberation of nations and in material reconstruction during the last ten years, many of our hopes and aspirations at San Francisco have not been realized. China, Korea and Indo-China present the world with grave situations, and the Middle East was struck at its heart by the partition of Palestine and the creation of the aggressive State of Israel, which has proved to be a constant threat to peace and stability in that area.

114. The Palestine question provides a sensitive barometer for the moral conscience of mankind. For no matter how small Palestine may be in area, it is very great indeed in its meaning and its spirit. It is a land holy to Christians, Moslems and Jews alike. The peace-loving Arab inhabitants of that country, both Christians and Moslems, have been uprooted and rendered homeless.

115. There can be no peace in the world if there is no peace in the Middle East, and there can be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestine question is settled on the basis of right and justice. The Arabs of Palestine are entitled to the enjoyment of human rights. They are entitled to self-determination. They are entitled to their own country and their own homes. They cannot be forcibly driven out of their homes and told to surrender their rights. Any attempt to whittle down the fundamental rights of the Arabs of Palestine is an injustice to humanity, a denial of fundamental moral principles, and a source of constant trouble and subversion in the Middle East.

116. Those Powers which were responsible for the creation of Israel must realize that the Arabs will never abandon their rights to their homes in Palestine and that no compensation will ever be considered a substitute for those homes. The same Powers must see to it that the United Nations resolutions on Palestine are at least respected and that Arab rights therein are not reduced. They must see to it that Israel follows the provisions of those resolutions, which are the *raison d'être* of Israel itself. They must also see to it that Israel stops aggression and is punished for all aggressive acts which it commits. To let it go unpunished, as has been done in the cases of Qibya, Nahhalin and Gaza, where flagrant atrocities and crimes resulting in the death of innocent men, women and children were committed, is certainly not conducive to peace. This encourages Israel to continue its aggressive acts.

Lastly, until a settlement of the Palestine issue is achieved, the United Nations must see to it that Arab property left behind is taken over by the United Nations and rents and revenues turned over to the lawful owners.

117. In short, we submit that the issue of Palestine has been one of the darkest pages in the history of the United Nations in the last ten years. We sincerely hope that the United Nations will achieve a rectification of the wrongs done to the Arabs of Palestine.

118. Another issue in the handling of which the United Nations has faltered is the issue of North Africa. The right of the peoples of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco to self-determination is clear, and we sincerely hope that in the new decade the United Nations will see to it that Tunisia continues to move in the path of independence, and that massacres are finally brought to an end in Morocco by the restoration of the legitimate Sultan and by the recognition of the right of the Moroccans to independence and self-determination.

119. With regard to Algeria, we greatly deplore the methods of mass and collective destruction and the use of large forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization against innocent peoples who have committed no sin but to seek freedom and equality from a nation which considers itself a great champion of freedom and equality.

120. The record of the United Nations in its handling of the question of North Africa is not a very encouraging one. It looks as though those nations that championed the cause of freedom and democracy in the Second World War began to cool off in serving those causes as we moved in time away from the Second World War. Does this mean that we are going to forget the fundamental principles for which two world wars were fought? Does this mean that subject races must now abandon hope for freedom and self-determination and wait for another world war to achieve it? It is our submission that no greater injustice is done to this Organization than to shut its doors to the cause of freedom and self-determination of peoples whenever this freedom is asked for by any people on this earth.

121. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the tragic situation in Algeria and Morocco, where humanity is bleeding and where thousands of innocent men, women, and children are losing their lives. There is a humanitarian side to the problem besides the political side. My Government, deeply concerned with the plight of Morocco and Algeria, took a step calculated to help alleviate those sufferings; it allocated nearly \$750,000 and placed it at the disposal of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society, which is the equivalent, in Iraq, of the Red Cross. My Government then approached the French Government, as well as the International Red Cross at Geneva, with a view to facilitating the work of this relief operation. It was well understood that the operation would be conducted under the auspices of the International Red Cross in Geneva, and under the supervision of the French authorities. This humane offer, which was devoid of any political motive, was callously rejected by France.

122. Another weak spot in the history of the United Nations during the last ten years has been the shutting of its doors to some twenty States applying for membership. We find no justification for the use of the veto on the admission of new Members; great countries such as Spain, Italy, Germany, Eire, Austria and other European countries should be with us. Important Asian-African countries like Japan and Ceylon, our two

sister Arab States, Jordan and Libya, and many others, should have been with us. We believe in the principle of universality of membership.

123. We also believe that a conference should be held for reviewing the Charter. That review would not touch the aims and ideals of the Charter, but might include some revisions and clarifications. Abolishing the veto or at least regulating its use is an example. The application of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, on internal jurisdiction, needs clarification. The question of the permanent membership of the Security Council, and that of the number of members represented in the various Councils of the Organization, need reconsideration. The right of all colonial peoples to achieve independence must be recognized, and the territories in question should be considered as Trust Territories. These and other items deserve consideration in the light of the progress mankind should be making towards freedom and the recognition of the right of peoples to independence and equality.

124. We sometimes hear arguments against the independence of peoples on the ground that the world is moving towards greater units and that atomization of big political units is undesirable. We agree that atomization of big political units is undesirable. We peoples of the Arab States, who were severed from the Ottoman Empire and divided after the First World War, fully appreciate the danger of atomization. We certainly believe in integration and co-operation, and the Arab League is meant precisely to be a step in that direction. But the amalgamation and integration of peoples and States, however desirable, must be made on the basis of freedom, and after self-determination has been achieved. This holds especially true in the case of the peoples of North Africa, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco in their association with France. We have no quarrel with their association with France, provided this association is arranged on the basis of freedom and equality, after these countries achieve self-determination. Such questions may well be clarified in reviewing the Charter.

125. In conclusion, we wish to reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Charter and in the future of the United Nations, realizing that the Charter must penetrate our hearts and our minds before we can achieve its ideals and purposes. To do that we must examine ourselves from within. We must purify our hearts and minds and practise the dictum of: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." We must achieve moral rearmament. If this principle were accepted then the Charter would be a living organism quite effective in regulating international relations.

126. In the light of the spirit of the Charter, we wish to submit the following suggestions as practical steps to be taken to promote international peace, harmony and security:

First, a time limit should be set for the application of the principle of self-determination to all colonies and subject races, after which time colonialism should be finally abolished and subject races should have the right to choose freely to associate themselves with the metropolitan countries or to secede therefrom.

Secondly, ways and means must be established whereby Communist infiltration and subversion are completely stopped.

Thirdly, propaganda war must be abandoned by all nations, and truth — the whole truth — must be the guiding principle of world information services.

Fourthly, international conflicts, including that of Palestine, must be dealt with on the basis of the fundamental rights and principles laid down in the Charter, and not on the basis of *faits accomplis* and power politics.

Fifthly, armament reduction and the abolition of nuclear weapons must go hand in hand. Secrecy must be abolished. An effective system of international inspection and control must be established.

Sixthly, the money saved from a reduction of armaments might well go into a world fund for developing the under-developed areas.

Seventhly, an international university should be established by the United Nations where persons

should be educated to assume world leadership for all nations.

Those seven suggestions are offered for this Organization's consideration, as practical steps towards promoting the purposes and principles of the Charter.

127. We all aspire to peace, but peace by itself cannot subsist unless it is founded on justice, truth, freedom and equality. For it is these precepts that constitute the worth of man, and it is the worth of man — irrespective of race, colour or creed — that is the paramount concern of this Organization.

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*