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President : Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

**SPEECHES BY MR. MACMILLAN (UNITED KINGDOM)
AND MR. DAVID (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)**

1. Mr. MACMILLAN (United Kingdom): My first duty is a very pleasant one. It is to join many speakers in extending my congratulations to our new President, Mr. Maza. The United Kingdom delegation welcomes you, Mr. President, with particular warmth, for two reasons. First, because the country you represent is one with which the United Kingdom has had a long and sincere friendship and many ties, political, economic and cultural. We welcome you also, Mr. President, for yourself and for the high qualities which you bring to your important office.

2. I should like also to express my pleasure at meeting again many colleagues, both old and new. Most of the speakers here are, of course, practised hands. Like old parliamentary figures in our different countries, the orators here have acquired by long experience the difficult art of addressing the General Assembly. This is the first time that I have spoken to the General Assembly at a business meeting, and I therefore claim the indulgence which is customarily shown in our Parliaments on such occasions.

3. Sir Anthony Eden, in his first address to the General Assembly, after his return to office in 1951, drew a broad but on the whole depressing picture of the state of the world. He used these words:

"... we can none of us pretend that in the interval" — that is, since the foundation of the United Nations at San Francisco — "the world has made any notable progress towards unity, toleration and enduring peace" [339th meeting, para. 30].

That was certainly a sombre but true reflection.

4. I read the other day in some book or other some words which stuck in my mind. This is how they ran:

"In this world men must be dealt with according to what they are and not to what they ought to be; and the great art of life is to find out what they are and act with them accordingly."

This is profoundly true of individuals; it is equally true of world problems and issues.

5. In these days of mass communications and rapid transit, where none of us ever stays put for more than a moment or two, it is not easy to form these calm judgements — certainly not so easy as it was in less restless times.

6. Sir Anthony Eden went on to say that he thought that the first method of approach to this position of apparent stagnation was to deal with limited and definite problems one by one, to try to reach a practical solution of first one and then another of the threatening conditions and difficulties in this or that part of the world — in other words, to make a series of outflanking manoeuvres rather than a frontal attack upon the massive and almost monolithic character of the world's stalemate.

7. Looking back over these four years, I think we have the right to say that this approach has not been unsuccessful. It is certainly one which Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has followed loyally. Whether we look east or west, there has obviously been an improvement: nobody can deny that. Both in Korea and in Indochina, fighting has stopped. Even in the problems surrounding China and the narrow seas, there has been a marked relaxation of tension. In the West, the complete deadlock over the Austrian Treaty has been happily resolved. The problem of Trieste has been settled by mutual agreement. In Western Germany, a new and free democratic State has entered into its manhood and become a free partner of the countries of Western Europe. In the Middle East, some of the baffling difficulties which faced the British Government four years ago have been overcome. A new treaty has been negotiated between the United Kingdom and Egypt, to the mutual satisfaction of both. The question of Iranian oil has been resolved by a fair and honourable agreement equally beneficial to both parties.

8. And if there are still some outstanding problems of this character, we should hope to reach their solution by the same combination of patience and skilful diplomacy. The question of Cyprus, for example, intractable as it may seem today, is no more dangerous and difficult than many questions which have been settled. We shall press forward, calmly but firmly, with constitutional development in Cyprus, and although sole responsibility lies, of course, upon the United Kingdom Government, we shall continue our search for common ground with our friends and allies, Greece and Turkey.

9. Important though these problems are, the overriding issue of our time is the great gulf which unhappily divides the world. But before I go on to speak of this basic problem, there are one or two matters to which I should like briefly to refer, if only to emphasize how much they are in the thoughts of the British Government.

10. Fortunately, we are not wholly taken up in the United Nations with problems of strife and conflict. There is a more attractive side of our work, and perhaps a more productive one — that is, not merely to concentrate on how to avoid war, but to give our attention to the question of how to make peace more fruitful.

11. Since this Assembly last met, we have seen encouraging developments toward international co-operation on atomic energy. The resolution [810 (IX)] which the British Government joined with other Governments in sponsoring, and which was adopted unanimously by the Assembly on 4 December of last year [503rd meeting], recommended that international co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy should be encouraged through the international conference of scientists and the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency.

12. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held last August in Geneva was an outstanding success. It brought together scientists of more than seventy countries. I am sure it will prove to be a momentous step toward the establishment of a new spirit of co-operation among the pioneers of atomic science everywhere.

13. At the same time, work on the International Atomic Energy Agency has also gone forward satisfactorily, and I can assure you that the United Kingdom will continue to give the Agency its full support. Work in this field has had a by-product of a rather remarkable kind; it has led to a useful discovery, and it is this: many of what were considered closely guarded secrets were in fact found to be common knowledge to all competent scientists.

14. This unexpected — if somewhat bizarre — development has done much to dissipate the atmosphere of secrecy and suspicion which has hitherto veiled the unfolding of the most important discovery of our time. All this brings into startling relief the great paradox of the age. Wrongly used, atomic power may destroy the world; rightly used, it may open a new age of undreamed of prosperity.

15. On other fronts also the United Nations has had a good year. Our commemorative meeting at San Francisco showed, I believe, that there is a wide-spread and genuine desire to make the United Nations work as it should work. It was, for all who were privileged to take part in it, an inspiring occasion.

16. At the last session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General was asked [resolution 906 (IX)] on 10 December 1955, to seek the release of the United Nations airmen. It was with a sense of profound gratitude and relief that we saw his labours rewarded this summer.

17. I should like also to pay a tribute to the helpful efforts of the Indian Government.

18. Through the tireless and courageous efforts of General Burns, backed by the Secretary-General and the Security Council, the United Nations has continued, despite serious incidents, to restore and maintain peace on the borders of Israel. It is clearly the duty of the United Nations to moderate and allay the animosities between Israel and its Arab neighbours. In this difficult issue the duty of men of goodwill is to try to develop the necessary confidence on both sides for an ultimate settlement to be reached. A heavy responsibility will lie on any country which introduces a new or disturbing factor into this delicate situation.

19. Meanwhile, the economic and social work of the United Nations has made steady progress. No veto could stop this; no policy of non-participation could hold it up; no suspicion or conflict could delay it.

20. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Bank) has become an established institution, with growing authority, in the financial centres of the world. The new International Finance Corporation will now supplement its work.

21. The new United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, only in its infancy four years ago, is an outstanding example of international co-operation for giving valuable technical help to those countries which need it most.

22. Perhaps the part of the United Nations work which most strikes the ordinary imagination is that of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). This brings its beneficent and humane assistance wherever children are in need or suffer, in all the four quarters of the globe.

23. Nor should be forgot the continued efforts of the United Nations on behalf of refugees wherever they may be. This is a great humanitarian appeal to which the United Nations has always responded.

24. Then there is another part of our work, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. We are glad that these have now been joined by the Soviet Union.

25. I must now turn to some internal questions regarding the structure and organization of the United Nations. The first of these is the Charter. We have this year to consider whether to hold a Charter review conference, and I have no doubt that the Assembly will think it wise that at some appropriate time the Charter should be reviewed in the light of the experience which we have gained.

26. This must be done in a spirit of harmony and, if possible, in a time of calm. Otherwise it may generate discord rather than agreement on any improvements which may be needed. It may be that the time has not yet come to review the Charter, and yet I do not really believe that it is any improvement in the Charter, however useful that may be, which is required to enable the United Nations to play its full part.

27. Then there is a second question. As Mr. Dulles suggested in this hall [518th meeting] a week ago, we must make another effort to broaden our membership. For too long now many nations, great and small, have been excluded from our company. Nations whose right to membership no one can seriously challenge ought now to be in our ranks. Nevertheless, these have become the victims of the promotion of less substantial claims. Nor is it right that the question of membership should be treated as one of the pawns in the great diplomatic game.

28. Thirdly comes the question of the representation of China. The British Government's position has already been made clear to the Assembly. We do not believe that the time has yet come to take up this problem. Nevertheless it must be settled before fully peaceful relations can be established in the Far East. But, as so often in human affairs, it is not only the question of what ought to be done but the question of when it ought to be done.

29. Before I pass to some reflections upon how the great gulf between the Communist and non-Communist

countries may be bridged, I should like to say a word about what seem to me to be valuable elements of cohesion in a rather confused scene.

30. There has been no more marked feature of the post-war world than the emergence of the countries of Asia into full nationhood. Happily, in no part of the world are new ideas of democratic institutions developing more rapidly. Naturally, there are difficulties and even stresses. That is not to be wondered at. But, after all, these are growing pains, signs not of decay but of a new vigour.

31. No peoples have a greater desire for or a greater interest in peace. Peace is the essential condition of their progress. In the long association between the United Kingdom and many countries of Asia it has always been the British purpose to foster their development and to promote their freedom. Now that we can judge history a little more objectively, I like to feel that the honourable performance of this task has begun to win wide recognition. In this connexion I was much moved by the words which fell from Mr. Casey, the Australian Foreign Minister, a few days ago [520th meeting]. The Commonwealth is indeed a striking example of peaceful and fruitful co-operation between peoples of different race, tradition and creed.

32. I must now turn to the prospect of the third Geneva Conference to which humble people all over the world are looking with hope.

33. We who have a special responsibility, the Foreign Ministers of the four Powers who will assemble there, realize that it would be wrong to expect spectacular results. We must hope for a gradual growth of understanding of each other's point of view, and with that understanding, a reaching of practical agreements in which the new spirit can be embodied.

34. It is my experience, whether in matters of private or public affairs, that it is not at all difficult to make agreements if both sides want to make them. The difficulty is not in writing the terms of these agreements. Any good international lawyer can do that for you. The difficulty is to get both sides to mean the same thing. Indeed, one of the main and besetting troubles of the post-war world is that we do not even mean the same thing by the same words.

35. What I think we gain by close and intimate meeting is that we may perhaps begin to speak the same language.

36. The directive given to the Foreign Ministers covers three points. The first is the reunification of Germany within the framework of European security.

37. Our progress on this vital issue depends really on the answer to a very simple question: Why does the Soviet Government object to the re-establishment of a reunited Germany under a system of free elections? That is the question. I can well understand that after the war and the terrible injuries inflicted upon the USSR by the Nazi armies, Soviet policy should prudently wish to protect itself with a kind of glacis of intervening territory. I readily understand their determination that never again should the soil of Holy Russia be defiled by an invader. These are respectable and understandable motives. But if this is the only difficulty, I am satisfied that the Western Powers can devise a scheme to meet these legitimate preoccupations.

38. We are confident that we can produce the plan which the whole world will regard as giving the USSR full protection against any threat which might come

from a reunited Germany, which has chosen, as well it may do, to become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

39. This really is the purpose of the various security proposals upon which we are working.

40. This is the purpose too of Prime Minister Eden's additional proposal to strengthen any pact, which is after all a matter of words, by thinning out the military dispositions, which is a question of deeds.

41. If our proposals are insufficient, then we would be glad, we would welcome the opportunity of considering amendments or additions. Our proposals are put forward with a sincere purpose.

42. And if, in one form or another, the Soviet Government is able to accept this system of security, then the Gordian knot will have been cut and the Geneva spirit will have been proved to be something real indeed.

43. Then if we can only reach agreement upon this first point, how different will be the prospect of approaching the second, the problem of disarmament. In this field it would be ungenerous not to recognize the very substantial progress which has been made under the aegis of the United Nations since we met last year. The work which has been carried on by the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission has brought a new and realistic approach to what has formerly been, I am afraid, largely an academic or even a propaganda exercise. In June 1954 the Anglo-French plan was put forward and universally accepted by world public opinion as a valuable contribution. After only a year's thought, the Soviet Government advanced proposals which reproduced many of its features. I do not complain of this delay, but I cannot help being slightly amused at the attitude towards the Anglo-French proposals which has recently been developed by the Soviet Union.

44. The casual reader of Mr. Molotov's draft resolution, which he introduced [520th meeting] at the end of a most moderate and balanced speech, would have thought that the Soviet proposals of 10 May and 21 July of this year [A/2979] represented some novel and revolutionary initiative. However, it is satisfactory to feel that in this, as in so many other matters, they are now following in the footsteps of the bourgeois States.

45. I should like, nevertheless, to take the opportunity of saying how much we were encouraged by the general tone of Mr. Molotov's speech. It was certainly in language and in presentation in tune with the new decorum which is consistent with the Geneva spirit. There was hardly a sentiment throughout his long and valuable contribution to which I would myself raise any disagreement. There is hardly a phrase to which we could take exception. Even the references to Soviet anxieties and grievances were clothed in conciliatory language. I will give some examples. "Aggressive blocs" have become "military groupings". "War-mongers" has been softened into "Powers pursuing their own narrow ends" [520th meeting, para. 122].

46. But there is one statement to which I must take exception in justice to the Western Powers. He stated the argument that now the Soviet Union had accepted the maximum level of armed forces proposed by France, the United Kingdom and the United States, the Western countries no longer had a case for objecting to the immediate banning of atomic weapons. This really begs the whole question, and I think it would be quite easy to expose the logical fallacy of this argument,

but it is not necessary for me to draw upon our own sources for this purpose. I need only quote the Soviet Government's statement in their proposal of 10 May 1955 in which they issued this warning:

"Thus there are possibilities beyond the reach of international control for evading this control and for organizing the clandestine manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons, even if there is a formal agreement on international control" [A/2979, annex I].

It is that problem indeed that we must somehow solve if we are to make the progress for which the whole world longs.

47. Meanwhile, we must take what comfort we can in the strange paradox that by the development of these terrible weapons we have reached some degree of security, since everyone now knows that in nuclear war there can be no victor.

48. The third point in the Geneva directive instructs the Foreign Ministers to find means of increasing contacts between East and West. Here is a field in which surely it should not be difficult to make progress. The more the people on one side get to know those on the other, the better it will be. Let us make use of every possible means: travel, trade and the interchange of ideas. At any rate, those who are really confident that their philosophy is the right one should not be alarmed at exposing it to the maximum amount of criticism and knowledge. In the long history of human thought, censorship has never been as effective a protection against false doctrine as sound argument. I am still convinced that for spiritual as well as bodily ills the open air cure is the best.

49. What then is the lesson of all this? Peace is not a passive state to be enjoyed. It is something that must be won by patience and perseverance. It cannot be imposed by one nation or group of nations upon another. But if we are to seek it, we must seek it sincerely. During the search for peace, nothing must be done or allowed to be done in any part of the world which tends to increase instead of reducing the existing tensions. Nor must we treat this supreme question as a subject for pique or jealousy.

50. All the organs and institutions of the world, regional or universal, must be brought into play. The work of the United Nations and the work upon which the four great Powers are now setting their hands must be thought of not as rival but as complementary. We must not be too much puffed up by temporary success. Neither must we be downcast by temporary setbacks. We must combine in this task realism and idealism; with our feet firmly planted on the ground, we must raise our eyes to the horizon.

51. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): I should like to greet this session of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation and the Czechoslovak people, and to wish it every success in its responsible work.

52. The tenth session of the General Assembly is meeting after a number of international negotiations and conferences which have greatly contributed to an improvement in relations among States. This development is a reflection of the mighty movement of peoples striving to achieve a relaxation of international tension, to consolidate peace, to remove the threat of a new war, and to develop friendly co-operation among nations.

53. The change in international relations was in particular brought about by the Geneva Conference of the

Heads of Government, which proved that it was really possible to put an end to the so-called "cold war" and confirmed the advantages of negotiation as the only correct method of solving international problems.

54. The Czechoslovak Government welcomed the results of the Geneva Conference and regards them as a convincing proof that peaceful coexistence and co-operation among States of different social and political structures are possible.

55. The atmosphere of the "cold war", which existed for the greater part of the post-war decade, could not but engender many controversial international problems which it was impossible to solve during the course of a few days at the Geneva Conference. However, it is to the great credit of the participants in the Conference that they laid a good foundation for the solution of these problems and for the establishment of mutual confidence among States.

56. We must all display great patience and goodwill and co-operate loyally, if we are to consolidate and further to extend the improvement in international relations already achieved.

57. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic will help in every way to develop the results of the Geneva Conference and will also support all further efforts to solve outstanding international questions, and to strengthen and extend international co-operation.

58. The Czechoslovak delegation also hopes that our discussions at the tenth session of the General Assembly will be conducted in this spirit and serve to consolidate and carry still further the progress made at the Geneva Conference.

59. The negotiations at the Geneva Conference were conducted first and foremost in a spirit of recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence and co-operation between States with different social and political systems. All the participants in the Conference spoke in favour of this principle and it was also supported unanimously by the African and Asian countries at the Bandung Conference. For that reason we would have expected that no one would regard differences in social and political systems as obstacles to peaceful co-operation. We cannot but regret the unwarranted and unjust attacks that are still being made — we have heard some even at this session — against the social system of the people's democracies. However, these voices cannot in any way change the fact that the people are master in the people's democracies, that they freely chose the political system most acceptable to them and the government that is most capable of defending their interests and doing everything to ensure their peace and security.

60. Although these voices are those of individuals they do not contribute to the efforts being made to relax international tension and to establish friendly relations among nations. It is therefore high time to put an end to them once and for all.

61. The progress recently made in relaxing international tension and developing friendly co-operation among nations undoubtedly contributes to the successful fulfilment of the principal tasks of the United Nations.

62. On the other hand our Organization itself is bound to take effective steps to help achieve further progress and thereby contribute substantially to the strengthening of world peace and international security. Our general debate has shown the enormous importance of the Geneva Conference to the work of the United

Nations. It is right and desirable that the General Assembly, in the interests of a peaceful and tranquil life for peoples throughout the world should continue along the path laid down at Geneva.

63. The Soviet Union's unflagging efforts in carrying out its policy of peace played a decisive part in the improvement of international relations and have been deeply appreciated by world public opinion. An illustration of these efforts is to be found in the draft resolution [A/2981] on "Measures for the further relaxation of international tension and the development of international co-operation" submitted by Mr. Molotov [520th meeting], Chairman of the Soviet delegation and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

64. At the time of the Geneva Conference important proposals were submitted on the removal of the threat of a new war, the achievement of security and confidence and the creation of conditions for a peaceful and tranquil life of peoples throughout the world. Unquestionably there are other ways of solving these important questions, apart from the methods suggested in these proposals. The consideration of all these proposals by the General Assembly, as proposed in the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union delegation, will undoubtedly further relax international tension, promote mutual confidence and develop co-operation among nations, and also accomplish our Organization's principal task.

65. In the present international situation, the problem of European security is one of the questions of decisive importance to the consolidation of peace throughout the world. History teaches us that the splitting of Europe into military blocs has always been one of the main sources of the conflicts which in the last 50 years have culminated in two world wars.

66. Czechoslovakia, situated in the heart of Europe, is vitally interested in the question of European security. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, bearing in mind the historical experience of the Czech and Slovak peoples, has repeatedly emphasized that the best way of ensuring the security of Czechoslovakia and all European nations is to establish a general European collective security system, which would prevent the formation of opposing military blocs and would embrace all European countries, regardless of their social and political systems.

67. We are of the opinion that the task of establishing a general European collective security system, with the participation of the United States of America, would be greatly facilitated if all participating countries would agree to the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Western European Union, as well as to the abrogation of the Warsaw Treaty between eight countries. If this cannot be done at once, then we feel that the Soviet Union's proposal to solve the problem of European security by stages, answers the needs of Czechoslovakia and of all European countries, regardless of their membership in present groupings of States.

68. Naturally, nobody will deny the right of any State to take such measures to ensure its own security as it considers most effective. Yet at the same time the legitimate interest of other countries in their own security cannot be disregarded.

69. The formation of military blocs and the establishment of military bases on foreign territories deepen distrust between States and thereby increase international tension and make it necessary for States against

which these blocs and bases are directed to take counter measures. The experience of recent years has shown that this situation does not lead to the ensuring of international security but, on the contrary, threatens it.

70. The German question is closely linked to the problem of European security. It is impossible to imagine an effective collective security system in Europe which overlooks the part played by Germany in the history of Europe and the world, and which does not take account of the present situation in Germany.

71. Czechoslovakia, the only State which has both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as its neighbours, is exceptionally interested in the peaceful settlement of the German question, if only for reasons of its own security.

72. Czechoslovakia welcomed the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany; this step contributes greatly to the settlement of outstanding problems relating to Germany as a whole and to the development of mutual understanding and co-operation in the interests of peace and security in Europe.

73. However, we cannot fail to feel concern at the fact that Western Germany is still included in closed Western military groups and is following the path of resurgent militarism. This situation evokes well-founded apprehensions on the part of European nations and is also a serious obstacle to the reunification of Germany.

74. No proposals relating to the peaceful reunification of Germany can get away from the fact that at present there are two German States, with different social and political systems.

75. To ignore that fact and not to recognize the existence of one of these two States and to exclude its Government from negotiations on the solution of the German problem would be to ignore the political realities of the present time. The Treaty of 20 September 1955 on relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, based as it is on the principle of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs, gives the German Democratic Republic an opportunity freely to solve questions relating to its domestic and foreign policy and its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and all other States. The agreement will thus contribute to a solution of the German question and the establishment of a unified, peace-loving, democratic German State. We are convinced that it is precisely within the framework of a European security system that the problem of German reunification can be solved in the interests of the German and of all other European peoples.

76. The Czechoslovak Government reaffirms that it will continue to do everything possible to contribute to the successful solution of the German question on the basis of sincere respect for the wishes and interests of the German people, and in complete accordance with the requirements of peace and security in Europe. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our friendly co-operation with the German Democratic Republic and we are ready to establish normal neighbourly relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

77. In line with its sincere desire to promote friendly relations among nations, Czechoslovakia welcomed the conclusion of the State Treaty on the establishment of an independent and democratic Austria and in particular the fact that Austria pledged itself to a policy of

permanent neutrality. Czechoslovakia acceded to the State Treaty on the establishment of an independent and democratic Austria, and considers that at the present time all the conditions for the development of good-neighbourly relations and peaceful co-operation between Czechoslovakia and Austria have been fulfilled.

78. Czechoslovakia also sincerely welcomed the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. This development is a noteworthy contribution to the improvement of the international situation and the strengthening of confidence among nations. True to the historical tradition of friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, we shall continue to strengthen our mutual relations and co-operate in all fields to the advantage of both our countries and in the interests of peace.

79. The present improvement in international relations has also paved the way for relaxation of tension in the Far East. Universal peace cannot be consolidated unless lasting peace is ensured in the Far East. However, the situation in that area remains unsatisfactory and constitutes a threat to peace and security throughout the world. The situation in the Taiwan area is still tense. The Geneva agreements on the restoration of peace in Indochina are endangered. The peaceful reunification of Korea, after more than two years of armistice, has yet to be achieved. Czechoslovakia, as a member of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, is carrying out under difficult conditions the task it assumed and is thereby helping to consolidate the armistice in Korea.

80. The collective peace pact proposed by the two largest Asian States — India and the People's Republic of China — and supported by the other Asian nations would be a suitable basis for the solution of all controversial questions in that part of the world and a valuable contribution to international security and the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

81. The satisfactory solution of outstanding questions in Europe and Asia would undoubtedly further strengthen confidence among States and thereby advance the solution of other basic problems of international importance. We refer primarily to questions of disarmament, the reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

82. The armaments race and the invention by modern military technology of ever more destructive methods, have for several years been arousing the deep and justified apprehension of the peoples. The experience of recent years and of past wars show that armaments increase international tension and the danger of war and, finally, lead to war.

83. The need to preserve and consolidate peace throughout the world, which is the desire of all peoples, unquestionably necessitates a substantial reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

84. The Czechoslovak Government welcomes the positive results achieved in this field. In particular it especially appreciates recent Soviet proposals, which to a great extent brought the Powers closer together on this question. We hope that the examination of these proposals, together with the other proposals submitted at the Geneva Conference, by the Heads of Government of the four Powers will produce a solution acceptable to all participating countries.

85. We must take steps to ensure that the decisions of the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government are scrupulously carried out and to preserve the spirit of this Conference, which changed the international situation by promoting confidence and mutual understanding among States. That was why a wide public in all countries whole-heartedly welcomed the practical steps already taken by the Government of the Soviet Union and the Governments of other countries in reducing their armed forces.

86. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, realizing how important were the results of the Geneva Conference, has reduced the Czechoslovak army by 34,000 men in order further to relax international tension and increase confidence among States.

87. The time has come for States to go from words to deeds, even in so complex a question as that of the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. The example set by the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies proves that, pending complete agreement on disarmament, practical results can be attained in this field. If the other countries too begin to take specific measures in the matter of reducing armaments, the solution of the problem of disarmament and, thereby, the establishment and strengthening of the reign of confidence among States will of course be greatly facilitated.

88. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held in August 1955 in Geneva demonstrated the tremendous possibilities for improving the living standards and the well-being of mankind if atomic energy is used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

89. The first International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy showed that the road of negotiation in a spirit of international co-operation and joint examination of problems — even in a most complex matter hitherto veiled in the deepest secrecy — leads to thorough-going benefits, provided that the participants have the welfare and happiness of mankind as their primary concern.

90. Czechoslovakia has at all times stood for the principle of broad international co-operation in all fields of international life, including that of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

91. Czechoslovak scientists took an active part in the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, as well as in the closed discussions of the six States which followed the Conference. From its own experience Czechoslovakia can appreciate the significance of international co-operation and assistance when not linked to political or economic conditions of any kind. Thanks to the assistance it receives from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia has great opportunities rapidly to achieve a standard of scientific research in nuclear physics and the practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes that, but for such assistance, would be attainable by Czechoslovakia — in spite of the high level of development of its science and industry — only after a lengthy, arduous, intensive and expensive research procedure.

92. The present year has been marked by considerable successes in the relaxation of international tension and the development of international relations. We have seen confirmation of the fact that improvement in the international situation and the development of mutual co-operation among nations, particularly economic and

cultural co-operation, are closely linked and that one affects the other.

93. In economic relations, and especially in international trade, we have witnessed in recent years an accumulation of obstacles which interfere with normal relations among States and disturb traditional economic channels. Such obstacles impair mutual relations among the peoples.

94. It is now generally recognized that international economic relations must be developed and that the development of international trade leads to the intensification and strengthening of peaceful and friendly coexistence among peoples and States. Such recognition is, of itself, a big step forward. Recent experience has likewise demonstrated what an important part reciprocal visits, discussions, conferences and meetings of scientists, artists, workers, farmers and journalists of different countries play in the development and intensification of relations among peoples. Here, special emphasis must be given to the importance of direct contacts among the parliaments of various countries.

95. The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic supports all endeavours to improve countries' knowledge of one another through direct contacts and reciprocal visits. Thousands of visitors come to our country every year. This summer, on the occasion of the *Spartakiáda*, our nation-wide physical culture holiday, a large number of foreign visitors, including thousands of nationals of Western countries, came to Czechoslovakia. There has been a constant increase in the exchange of delegations and tourists between Czechoslovakia and other countries. International music and film festivals are regularly held in Czechoslovakia, and there is an extensive exchange of artists and theatrical companies, with wide participation by guests from all countries of the world. In the interest of strengthening economic ties, Czechoslovakia participates every year in dozens of international exhibitions and trade fairs. We are convinced that knowing one another helps to eliminate prejudices and strengthens confidence among States.

96. All peoples, regardless of political and social systems, have a common and profound interest in the exchange of scientific, technological, cultural and artistic experience and knowledge.

97. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the suggestion of the head of the Soviet delegation to hold regular, and if possible annual, conferences of scientists from all countries, not only in the field of atomic energy but in other fields of science and technology.

98. In concluding my statement, I should like to touch upon some questions concerning the United Nations directly. In the first place, I would draw attention to an abnormal situation which constitutes a serious obstacle to the successful fulfilment of the basic tasks of our Organization and undermines its authority. I am referring to the fact that there is no lawful representation in the United Nations of one of the five great Powers and permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China.

99. Any fair-minded person can clearly see how untenable and harmful is a situation in which a mighty Asian Power, which in recent years has had such an outstanding record of achievement in peaceful construction at home as well as in the international field, is wrongfully excluded from the work of our Organization by procedural manoeuvres.

100. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will undoubtedly serve to enhance the authority of our Organization, help it to fulfil its function under the Charter, and contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the solution of the important international political problems of the times.

101. Another question that has long awaited a just solution is that of the admission of new Members to our Organization. In the interest of strengthening the United Nations and of increasing its significance, all States fulfilling the requirements imposed by the Charter on Members of our Organization must be admitted to membership without discrimination and enabled to take part in its work. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation will give its full support to the USSR delegation's proposal [520th meeting], which is aimed at a just solution of this problem.

102. The activities of the United Nations in the last decade show that, while the Organization has in many respects not fulfilled the hopes that peace-loving peoples had placed in it, its work has had many positive results.

103. The United Nations Charter is rightly considered the most important international document of the post-war period. That is true because the Charter unites, on a realistic basis, the efforts of countries with different social systems and directs them towards the common objective of defending universal peace and international security. In contemporary historical conditions it represents an important instrument for preserving the principles of law and right in the mutual relations of States. The United Nations Charter sets forth principles which harmonize the natural aspirations of nations for the purpose of attaining the common aims of consolidation of peace and security, development of friendly relations among peoples, and peaceful settlement of all controversial questions.

104. The first decade in the existence of the United Nations has proved the correctness of the principles on which the Charter is based. The first ten years of our Organization have enriched mankind with valuable experience. Especially important is the realization that, whenever the Charter was consistently respected in solving international problems, the results were mostly positive. Contrariwise, deviation from the Charter or violation of its principles always proved harmful to the Organization and to friendly co-operation among the peoples.

105. This fact is convincing evidence that the Charter of our Organization has proved itself in severe tests and that, instead of revision, what it needs is the complete support and full confidence of all.

106. The indispensable prerequisite for the fulfilment of the mission of the United Nations is consistent respect for the Charter and not its revision.

107. The best of statutes, even if included in so important an international document as the Charter of our Organization, will remain only a dead letter unless supported by the good faith of the Member States and their genuine desire to maintain universal peace and international security.

108. Czechoslovakia has always striven and will continue to strive for strict observance of our Charter. The Czechoslovak Government, expressing the unanimous will of the entire Czechoslovak people, will consistently work for the relaxation of international tension and the

development of friendly co-operation among peoples. It will continue to support the United Nations in its great mission — the strengthening of international peace and security.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/2980) (*continued*)

109. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We now turn to the second item on our agenda. Representatives will recall that at its 525th meeting the General Assembly had not completed the consideration of paragraph 5 of the General Committee's report [A/2980]. In this paragraph, the General Committee recommended that item 3 of the supplementary list [A/2942], "The question of Algeria", should not be included in the agenda of the tenth session. I invite representatives who wish to speak on this item to do so now.

110. Mr. ANAK AGUNG GEDE AGUNG (Indonesia): The General Committee has, unfortunately, decided to recommend that the question of Algeria should not be included in the agenda. My delegation can only express its deep regret at this decision which, in our view, goes counter to the principles and purposes of the Organization and which, we sincerely hope, will not be confirmed by the Assembly.

111. For us, the question of Algeria is obviously a colonial one and a matter affecting basic human rights. It is a question which, in all respects, warrants consideration by the General Assembly. France is in Algeria by virtue of colonial conquest. It maintains its dominant position there — in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres — by means of force. To the deep concern of Africa and Asia, the people of Algeria continue to be deprived of equality and of the inalienable right to progress and develop in freedom.

112. The French delegation constantly tries to pretend that the Algerian question is quite different from those of Morocco and Tunisia. But in the opinion of my delegation, the substance of the matter is the same with respect to all three territories. In Algeria, as in Tunisia and Morocco, the people strive to achieve their national aim. They have made, and they are making, tremendous sacrifices in lives and goods for the realization of their ideals. Therefore, in all the three territories of North Africa the problem is the same; it is the problem of colonialism, with millions of peoples suffering under its yoke of oppression.

113. It is sometimes argued that Algeria is a *département* of France, a territory of France, which must be considered in the same light as the other provinces of France, such as Burgundy or Savoy. I believe that this attitude is a grave error and a mistake. France occupied Algeria in the nineteenth century and ever since that territory has been a colony. Certainly the presence of France in that part of North Africa was against the will of the people of Algeria itself, and today this continued presence can only be maintained by military force.

114. The promulgation of certain laws by the French Parliament in Paris at the beginning of this century, whereby the status of that area was fixed as a sort of *département*, does not mean that the people of Algeria itself consented to this structure. Indeed, everyone knows that those decisions were not taken in conformity with the will of the Algerian people.

115. I wonder why the French Government, in rejecting discussions on Algeria, always stresses the difference in status of its dependent territories in North Africa. The political status given to Algeria by France, in which it was created as a *département*, obviously was a unilateral action taken by France without the consent of the people of Algeria. Because of this fact, my delegation cannot see how the Algerian problem and the problems of Morocco and Tunisia can be considered differently, since in substance, I repeat, they are the same. In the whole of North Africa, the problem is one of colonialism, and for this reason we consider that the arguments used by the French delegation with respect to the supposed distinct feature of the Algerian political structure do not hold water.

116. The bloodshed in Algeria, the cycle of revolts followed by harsh French repressions, can therefore be seen only in terms of a colonial struggle, of a fight for self-respect and for the basic human rights guaranteed by the United Nations Charter to all peoples, irrespective of race, language or religion. It is a direct outgrowth of the absence of freedom and equality in Algeria, of a system whereby a million European French are able to maintain political ascendancy over 8 million citizens of Algeria. It is a condition maintained only by the stationing and by the use in Algeria of a large portion of the French army. No wonder this situation is a matter of great and immediate concern to the peoples of Asia and Africa.

117. At the recent Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, 29 countries unanimously declared in their final *communiqué*:

"In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa, and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay."

118. The Asian-African Conference further found that the denial of basic rights by colonial Powers to their dependent peoples in the fields of education and culture is:

"... particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed".

119. This is the considered and unanimous view of millions of people, of more people, I dare say, than are represented in this august body. They are seriously concerned and troubled about the situation in North Africa. Surely the General Assembly cannot just ignore or sweep aside their feelings of concern. Such action would, in our opinion, be untenable. It would be counter to the principles and purposes of the Charter and it would deal a shattering, perhaps even an irreparable, blow to the prestige of the United Nations.

120. But it is, of course, not only Africa and Asia that are, and should be, concerned with events taking place in North Africa. Fortunately, the whole world is becoming aroused. An editorial, which appeared on 28 September 1955 in the respected United States newspaper, *The New York Times*, warned that

"the situation in Algeria has gone from bad to worse and there is now a nationalistic problem of the first order".

121. The editorial went on to assert that the problem of Algeria is an important one because:

“... the nationalistic aspect of the struggle is assuming pre-eminence. France can put down terrorism with force so long as enough force is used, but if there is any lesson that colonial Powers have been learning since the war, it is that force is not an answer to nationalism”.

122. Let me repeat this: “force is not an answer to nationalism”. France can, of course, employ even greater force in Algeria, but in the long run it cannot silence the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Algeria. It has today the choice of leaving behind in Algeria a legacy of bitterness, suffering and hatred or a legacy of friendship, co-operation and understanding. The choice it must make is clear. There is no other choice open to France.

123. Likewise, there is only one course of action open to this Assembly. We cannot afford to condone by inaction the use of force in the relations among nations. This Assembly must utilize its moral force in the interest of developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. It must condemn without any shadow of doubt the use of armed might in the conduct of nations. It has a duty to assist the parties concerned in creating the proper atmosphere in which the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people may be realized in peace and with mutual understanding.

124. That is the task before all of us. Let us not try to avoid it by hiding behind the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which we are convinced are not applicable to the question of Algeria. First, we have to consider that the situation in Algeria, which has already resulted in much blood-letting, unquestionably endangers the maintenance of international peace and security. Secondly, the basic rights guaranteed under our Charter are denied to the peoples of Algeria, whose way of life has been, and is being, suppressed by armed might. Finally, the Asian-African Conference, representing more than half of humanity, has discussed the situation in Algeria and has pronounced itself definitely on it by resolutions unanimously adopted.

125. For all these reasons, the General Assembly's consideration of the grave developments in Algeria cannot be barred by reference to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. The General Assembly of the United Nations is indeed the proper forum in which this dangerous international problem should be discussed. The General Assembly has an obligation not only to assist the people of Algeria to secure their inalienable rights, but it also has a duty towards France to assist it to find a just and peaceful solution to the question of Algeria in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

126. We also often hear in this august body the argument that certain problems should not be discussed by this Organization, lest such discussions create tensions and even violence. My delegation does not, of course, subscribe to this thesis. We strongly believe that the tensions existing in the world today must be realistically recognized by this Assembly if we are seriously to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter. But be that as it may, the question of Algeria does not in any case lend itself to this line of argument. In Algeria it is today no longer a question of creating tensions or violence. Tensions and violence are, unfortunately,

already an all too prominent aspect of the day-by-day happenings in that long-suffering country. Unhappily, one only needs to read the newspapers every morning to find out how many more persons have sacrificed their lives in the struggle for freedom and self-respect.

127. On what possible grounds, then, can this Assembly refuse to take up this grave international problem? On what grounds can it refuse to do so without denying all that the United Nations stands for, or should stand for, as a forum to which all nations, large or small, powerful or not powerful, can bring problems for their peaceful resolution?

128. In particular, how can this Assembly refuse to consider an issue which concerns one of the most important facts, if not the most important one, of our times, namely, the reawakening and the re-emergence of Africa and Asia and the need these present for establishing a new relationship with the West? This is the basic problem in Algeria today. This is the challenge.

129. The General Assembly must positively affirm that it is the place in which the old relationship between a colonial Power and its dependent areas can be peacefully transformed into a new relationship based on equality, freedom, mutual respect and understanding.

130. In conclusion, let me reiterate once again what it is that we are asking of the General Assembly. We are asking this body merely to show its proper concern over the dangerous situation prevailing in Algeria today. We are asking the Assembly merely to uphold the basic human rights enshrined in the Charter for all peoples everywhere. We are asking it, above all, to try at least to assuage the conflict in Algeria, which has already cost the lives of thousands of innocent people and which threatens the maintenance of peace and security in that region of the world. This is all that we ask and expect of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and we are confident that it will not fail to do this much.

131. My delegation therefore most earnestly and strongly urges this Assembly to vote for the inclusion of the question of Algeria in the agenda of this session, in the interests of mutual understanding and friendship among nations and in the interests of preserving and strengthening international peace and stability.

132. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): There has been bloodshed and a considerable loss of life in Algeria. The Algerian people are in travail. They are bringing to birth their nationhood. They need the help and attention of the United Nations. The group of African and Asian countries in the United Nations has therefore proposed the Algerian question as an item for discussion in this world forum, which, in the words of Article 1, paragraph 4, of its Charter, is “to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations...”

133. France, together with other Member States, is bound, in pursuance of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter “To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.” The French Government should therefore agree to a friendly discussion in the General Assembly, as an outcome of which they need have no fear of a more far-reaching recommendation than an exhortation to a peaceful adjustment of the situation, such as an appeal for direct negotiations between the parties concerned.

134. Such a discussion in the General Assembly is not an action in the sense of the Charter and is therefore no intervention in the sense of Article 2, paragraph 7, nor is it a requirement to submit the matter to settlement under the Charter. Article 10 of the Charter says that "the General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter", while Article 2, paragraph 7, says, in effect, that such provisions do not authorize the United Nations to intervene. In other words, the General Assembly may discuss, but is not to recommend intervention.

135. A discussion of the Algerian question would be a discussion on the question of human rights, and surely this the General Assembly is competent to undertake. I would here recall the statement which Professor Cassin, the representative of France, made in the Third Committee, at the third session of the General Assembly. He declared that, in the matter of human rights, the competence of the United Nations was positive, and that the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, could not be invoked on that question since, by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it had ceased to be a domestic matter and had become one of international concern.

136. The delegation of Thailand therefore considers that the Algerian question should be included in the agenda of the present session and will vote against the recommendation of the General Committee.

137. Mr. NUÑEZ (Costa Rica) (*translated from Spanish*): In explaining his support of paragraph 5 of the General Committee's first report [525th meeting] the Colombian representative appeared to leave the impression in the minds of some representatives who listened to him that his statement represented an attitude common to the Latin American countries. However admirable were—as they always are—the ideas expressed by the representative, I ought to say, in order to clarify the meaning of his statement, that the opinions of the Latin American countries may differ on one and the same question. This is true in the present case which concerns our examination of paragraph 5 of the General Committee's report.

138. Costa Rica, in contrast to Colombia, whose position we respect, will vote for the inclusion of the question of Algeria in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. In taking this position, the Government of Costa Rica is merely following in this specific case a line of conduct which is well known and, in our opinion, fully consistent with the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the hopes on which this Organization was founded.

139. As in the past, we continue to maintain that it is wrong to deny any country the right to be heard in this international forum, for it is this forum which, in the expectation of the peoples, will cause justice and truth to prevail. As in the past, we still maintain that it is wrong, for legal reasons or in order to preserve fortuitous political structures, to prevent the United Nations from giving the legitimate aspirations of any human group the attention they desire, and, if necessary, from taking effective action.

140. This forum is the last hope of small countries and human groups, weakened or reduced to ineffectiveness by historical, cultural or political factors, in their struggle to realize their destiny. Costa Rica is deeply attached to this hope. It does not wish to see it vitiated by the General Assembly's refusal to hear a human

group. We have here before us a request from 14 countries, Members of this Organization. These in turn, represent the feelings of other countries which, because they are not Members, are unable to make their voices heard directly in this forum.

141. We are dealing with the aspirations of a people to whom we cannot be so discourteous as to refuse to examine the contents of its petition. If we dismissed the petitions without a hearing, we would be prejudging, to the detriment of the petitioners, the merits of a question about which we are insufficiently informed. If we granted a hearing in order to examine the merits of the case, we would be commencing a procedure, based on ample material, which would enable us to adopt a course of action that neither damages justice nor offends any of the parties.

142. Happy will be the day when peoples will come to the United Nations in quest of solutions to their problems, for the purpose of avoiding recourse to primitive methods which existed before right gained its ascendancy over might. This is the time for strengthening the rule of law among nations as the standard of conduct in their relations. Sad indeed would be the day on which the peoples, behind the back of the United Nations, would take it upon themselves to achieve their legitimate aspirations by violence. Sadder still would be the day on which the United Nations turned its back and remained deaf to the call for action and support. That would mean the end of international justice.

143. Let us listen to the peoples without bitterness or prejudice against anyone; for the United Nations will lack neither sufficient sense of responsibility, nor the profound concern for prudence, nor the fervent desire for justice which are necessary for the adoption of generally acceptable and satisfactory resolutions.

144. In the name of our tradition of justice and equity I urge the Latin American delegations to rally to the support of a principle and a practice which are our guarantee for the future: to ensure that the United Nations will be a forum open to all the peoples of the world. I am convinced that the great French nation, which has taught us so much about justice and equity, will see in our position merely the logical practical application of the lessons that France itself has taught us.

145. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): I shall not enter upon the substance of this matter. I shall confine myself to stating briefly the attitude of the United Kingdom delegation to the inclusion of this item in the agenda.

146. I do not need to use many words in order to explain why we are so strongly opposed to admitting the question of Algeria to the agenda.

147. I do not propose to follow several representatives into all the legal and other considerations which they have raised because, as I said in the General Committee [103rd meeting], there is only one central consideration which, in the view of the United Kingdom delegation, should determine our decision as to the inclusion of this item, and which should lead us to accept the recommendation of the General Committee. That consideration is the bearing of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, on the question of inclusion.

148. The views of the United Kingdom Government on domestic jurisdiction and competence are well known and need not be rehearsed at length now. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has always main-

tained that the United Nations is precluded by Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, from intervening in the domestic affairs of a Member State, and that the General Assembly has no right under the Charter to discuss matters in this field or to adopt any resolution on them.

149. The present is a very clear case. Algeria has been part of metropolitan France since 1834. Its status is evident and clear. It is a part of France.

150. Now some Members of the United Nations may dislike the historical and the political fact that Algeria is an integral part of France and they may be unwilling to concede that the situation in Algeria is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of France, and therefore outside the competence of the General Assembly. Evidently a number of Members do feel that way and that is why we are being asked to consider the question of Algeria.

151. But facts are facts and, I would add, rules are rules, and the Articles of the Charter must be observed.

152. I do not see how we can expect this great Organization to function unless there is acceptance of political actualities and respect for the rules drawn up to guide this association of 60 sovereign nations. If they are not respected, there is the risk that the United Nations will become an Organization not for solving problems but for exploiting them, and even for creating them.

153. When the Charter was signed at San Francisco, it was clearly understood that the United Nations would not intervene in the domestic affairs of its Members. This was one of the cardinal principles on which the Charter was founded. Accordingly, powers and functions were given to the Organization only in the field of international relations. It can, in our view, only do harm and impair the future of the United Nations if the General Assembly exceeds its powers by entering the field of domestic jurisdiction.

154. In some of the speeches which we have heard during this debate, it has been argued that the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, are in some way overridden by references to the principle of self-determination, referred to in Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter, by the Preamble and even by Articles 10, 11, 14 and 35 of the Charter.

155. In truth, none of these provisions can properly be read in this sense. No conflict exists. Indeed, the Charter, in its opening two Articles, gives a clear guide. In pursuit of the purposes in Article 1, among which is the development of friendly relations among peoples based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination among peoples, the Organization and its Members are obliged to act under Article 2 in accordance with certain provisions, including the familiar one which precludes the United Nations from intervening in the domestic affairs of a Member State.

156. If I may take just one example of the arguments on the other side that have been used, it has been said that there is in Algeria a dispute and a situation to which Article 35 of the Charter applies. But that is not so. Article 35 clearly refers to international and not to internal disputes, and to situations giving rise to international, not internal friction. There cannot be any international dispute between France and Algeria, and there is no threat to international peace and security from either of them. In these circumstances, there is no difficulty in drawing the line between the scope of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter and Article 35. It must

surely be clear that no conflict exists between Article 2, paragraph 7, and the provisions of the Charter to which allusion has been made. But even if such a conflict did exist, in the view of the United Kingdom delegation it would be Article 2, paragraph 7, that would be overriding. I need hardly remind the Assembly of the opening words of this paragraph which are categorical in their terms: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene..."

157. The principle of the self-determination of peoples is one to which Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom pays the most careful attention, and considers to be of the highest importance. It is a principle which has been a significant factor in the policy of successive Governments in the United Kingdom over many years. But we have never admitted that this was a principle which could override the many other factors and responsibilities involved. Similarly, it does not seem to me that any grounds for disregarding the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, can be found by invoking the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The interpretation which my delegation places on the Charter does not allow us — this is British understatement — to accept that there is a legal right of self-determination built into the Charter which removes the question of Algeria from the realm of the domestic jurisdiction of France. We simply cannot find that right either in the wording of the Charter or in the spirit of the Charter or in the circumstances in which the Charter came to be signed.

158. Now it has been suggested by some speakers in this debate that the stand which others have taken on Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter is legalistic. But that provision is in the law. This of course is not the first time in human history that the law is dismissed as legalistic when it is found inconvenient. Both the letter and the spirit of the Charter require that each Member State should be left to manage its own affairs in its own territories. Should not that principle and provision appeal to every Member of this Organization?

159. Member States may pertinently ask themselves whether there are not problems — racial, religious or political — within their own metropolitan territories which, under the doctrines that have been urged in this debate, could be brought to this Organization. Is that really the desire of any Member of the United Nations? After all, every one of us surely wishes to be allowed to manage his own affairs without discussion or interference from outside. How indeed can we possibly have an orderly world if that simple principle is not universally observed? It would be a sad day for the United Nations and for the world if it came to be accepted that each and any of the Members of the Organization could claim a right to debate here and by this means intervene in the domestic affairs of a Member State. It would shake the very foundations of the Organization. It would strike at the roots of the principles of independence and liberty which animate the United Nations.

160. To conclude, Algeria, as I have said, is part of France, and under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter the question of Algeria is within the domestic jurisdiction of France and outside the competence of the General Assembly. For these reasons the United Kingdom delegation will vote in favour of the recommendation of the General Committee that this item should not be included in the agenda of the tenth session.

161. Mr. KHOURI (Lebanon): The decision of the General Committee not to recommend the inclusion of

the Algerian question in the agenda of the tenth session of the General Assembly, and the disregard by the opponents of inclusion of the cogent arguments put forward by its proponents is very regrettable.

162. The Algerian question is essentially a colonial question. It is a question which concerns the natural right of a people to be masters of their own destiny, a right which continues to be denied to them.

163. The fundamental principles upon which was based the request of the 14 sponsoring delegations for the inclusion of the Algerian question in our agenda are: respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, respect for national cultures, respect for basic human rights.

164. To this plea for a hearing, what has been the response of the delegations which opposed inclusion? They maintain that Algeria is part and parcel of metropolitan France, and therefore that any discussion of Algeria by the General Assembly would constitute an intolerable intervention in the internal affairs of France. This intervention would, in the view of these delegations, be a violation of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

165. Let us examine for a moment these allegations in an objective manner. Does Algeria really constitute an integral part of metropolitan France? The answer is negative. This negative answer is based not on any desire or wishful thinking on our part; it is a negative answer based solely and entirely on the explicit provisions of the French laws and decrees governing Algeria. These laws, admittedly, proclaim that Algerian Arabs are French citizens and that Algerian *départements* are French *départements*. But is the Algerian Arab in reality a French citizen? The answer is once again negative. The facts of the case are that the Algerian Arab does not enjoy the rights of French citizenship. Similarly, the so-called departments of Algeria do not receive the same treatment which France reserves for her departments in Europe. I can think of scores of cases where one can point his finger to the unequal treatment of Algerian Arab and Frenchman.

166. Other speakers, both in the proceedings of the General Committee and in the debate now going on, have spoken at length about discrimination against the Algerian Arab, and this both in the text of the law and in the manner in which the law finds its application in Algeria. I do not wish to tax your patience by repeating how French legislative texts discriminate against the Algerians in the distribution of seats in Algerian councils and other local bodies. Suffice it to say that the two-college electoral system and the equal number of seats reserved for Algerians and Frenchmen in those bodies — although the Algerians outnumber French residents of Algeria ten to one — suffice it to say that, French claims notwithstanding, the Algerian is in reality not a citizen of France.

167. I shall not discuss the racial discrimination evident in the division of the electorate in Algeria into two distinct colleges, a phenomenon which, as we have seen, exists also in the electoral system for the local bodies. I shall solely dwell upon the non-democratic system of representation of Algeria in the Paris legislatures. Now, according to French law, more than 9 million Algerian Arabs are represented by 15 Arab deputies in the National Assembly, consisting of 600 deputies, and by seven senators out of 319 in the Council of the Republic. If the Algerian *départements* were French *départe-*

ments "on the same basis as metropolitan *départements*", they should be allowed to send 125 or 130 deputies to the National Assembly and a proportionate number of senators to the Council of the Republic. Moreover, even the 15 Arab deputies of the second electoral college who were so elected to the National Assembly withdrew from Parliament when the law governing Algeria was being discussed in September 1947. Thus we find this law which embodies the organic statute of Algeria — the statute which forms the present basis of French legislation in Algeria — passed by a legislature in which the people directly affected by that law are under-represented by the very wish of that legislature itself.

168. Can one claim, therefore, that Algeria is represented "on the same basis" as are the various parts of metropolitan France? The answer is negative. This fact puts into question the very legality of the organic statute of Algeria. It is our considered opinion that this statute is illegal. It is illegal by virtue of the French constitution itself, which proclaims equality for all citizens. It is not only illegal but also undemocratic, in the sense that it declares the Algerian Arab a "French citizen" and yet it refuses to grant him the rights which French citizens in metropolitan France enjoy.

169. The fact is that the French legislation governing Algeria is a colonial legislation adopted unilaterally by the occupying Power without the people concerned having a say in the matter.

170. I have dwelt on this aspect of the problem because of the erroneous impression which seems to have been created in the minds of many of our colleagues by that juridical fiction which aims at integrating Algeria into metropolitan France. Algeria, it is true, is ruled by France. But it is ruled against the will and wish of the Algerian people. The Algerians and about two-thirds of the inhabitants of the world are requesting this Assembly to give them a fair hearing. It would be only fair that their plea would not be rejected.

171. Those opposing the inscription of the Algerian question maintain that Algeria is part and parcel of metropolitan France. The 14 States which have requested inscription, supported by 1,500 million people, hold an opposing point of view. Is this not a sufficient reason to grant them the right to be heard, so that they could fully develop the arguments which have only been broached in this procedural debate?

172. I now come to that oft-invoked Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Speakers who have preceded me in the General Committee proceedings and in the Assembly debate have brought irrefutable proof that the provisions of this paragraph are not applicable in the case of Algeria. The representatives from Egypt, India, Iraq and Pakistan hardly left one argument [525th meeting] which did not refute the applicability of this Article to the item before us. The scholarly analysis by the representative of Pakistan of paragraph 7 and the light which he threw on that very important qualification to domestic jurisdiction, namely the word "essentially", brought out the real meaning of that paragraph. I shall not reiterate the arguments we have already heard from him.

173. However, I am going to dwell upon one thesis which has been advanced by many representatives. This thesis, which admits only for the sake of argument that Algeria is part of metropolitan France, goes on to ask: why should this Assembly refuse in the case of Algeria what it admitted, as concern of hers, in the case of

South Africa's citizens of Indian origin? and, in the case of Indonesia, in the case of Spain, and in the case of numerous other countries, negro citizens? Why this discrimination against the Algerians? Has Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter been inserted for the benefit of some people to the exclusion of others? We submit that it was not.

174. Moreover, by the very provisions of the Charter Article 2, paragraph 7, is not paramount; the framers of the Charter intended its text to be interpreted restrictively. Such a restriction is, in fact, found in the very provisions of that paragraph itself. The principle — that is to say of non-interference with matters of domestic jurisdiction — “this principle”, says that paragraph, “shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII”. Does this Assembly not consider that continuous strife and bloodshed in Algeria contains within it a real threat to international peace and security?

175. Another restriction on the sphere of application of Article 2, paragraph 7, is to be found in the other provisions which the framers of the Charter have inserted into it. One of these is the provision regarding the respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. What meaning would this provision have if every time a people clamoured for equal rights with others they were met with a negative answer? What is the use of inserting that noble principle of the right of self-determination when every time a people ask for the exercise of this right they are told that Article 2, paragraph 7, has precedence over self-determination? We humbly submit that Article 2, paragraph 7, was never intended to be the all-paramount provision of the Charter, the stumbling block, the rock against which the hopes and aspirations of people striving for freedom and liberty were to be shattered.

176. It was never intended, therefore, that Article 2, paragraph 7, should acquire a more liberal interpretation as days went by. On the contrary, if the noble principles so loudly proclaimed in the Charter — such principles as those relating to equal rights and to the self-determination of peoples, to fundamental rights and freedoms — are to have any meaning at all, then Article 2, paragraph 7, must receive a restrictive interpretation.

177. By adhering to the United Nations Charter and becoming a Member of the United Nations, France has undertaken to respect and to uphold human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with Article 55 of the Charter. This, in effect, means that France has accepted that human rights, the most important of which is the right to self-determination of peoples, be taken out of the province of domestic jurisdiction and placed within the realm of international law. This restrictive interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7, where human rights are involved, is the interpretation which the French delegation itself has given to that Charter provision on several occasions.

178. Speaking in 1937 of the League of Nations, Professor Cassin, the eminent French jurist, held that any matter of human interest concerns the League directly, and that nothing which affected mankind could be regarded as being outside the sphere of its action.

179. During the discussions of the draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights, at the 92nd meeting of the Third Committee, during the third session of the General Assembly, this thesis, as is clear from the fol-

lowing quotation from the summary record, was strongly defended by Professor Cassin:

“In his country's opinion, the United Nations' competence in the question of human rights was an established fact, and the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, relating to matters within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States, could not be invoked against such competence when, by adoption of the declaration, the question of human rights was a matter no longer of domestic, but of international, concern.”

180. Finally, the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, seems to give this sense to Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter in his annual report to the tenth session of the General Assembly [A/2911, p. xi]:

“The peoples of Asia today, of Africa tomorrow, are moving towards a new relationship with what history calls the West. The world organization is the place where this emerging new relationship in world affairs can most creatively be forged.”

181. The request of the 14 sponsoring delegations for the inclusion of the Algerian question in the agenda of this session is, in effect, no more than a request that the relationship between France and Algeria be creatively forged within the United Nations under the guidance and with the wise counsel and help of this Assembly.

182. The Algerian people are eager to build this new relationship with France on a peaceful basis. They are therefore appealing to us in this Assembly to lend a helping hand, as we did in other colonial problems.

183. In conclusion, we find that in this essentially human problem there is a country, Algeria, inhabited by a proud nation which can boast of a great past, a nation which seeks to assert itself in freedom and dignity. The national aspirations of the Algerians for independence are there; they are a reality. These aspirations will, as the days go by, become stronger and stronger. Recent history has shown us that a strong Power could for a time, quell nationalistic uprisings with force so long as enough force is used. But this does not constitute a permanent solution for these problems. “... if there is any lesson that colonial powers have been learning since the war”, wrote *The New York Times* in its editorial of 28 September 1955, “it is that force is not an answer to nationalism”.

184. The Algerian people are eager to build the new relationship, of which the Secretary-General spoke, with France on a peaceful basis. They are appealing to us in this Assembly to lend a helping hand as we did in the case of other colonial questions, particularly with respect to neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco. It is our hope that their appeal will meet with the approval of this Assembly.

185. Mr. AKLILOU (Ethiopia) (*translated from French*): I should like to explain briefly the position of my delegation on the inclusion of this question in the agenda.

186. The General Assembly has already had occasion to make a thorough study of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination in relation to Morocco and Tunisia. Not a single delegation failed to speak in that discussion. In voting for the inclusion of the question of Tunisia and Morocco in the agenda of previous sessions the Ethiopian delegation remained true to the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. It was in accordance with these same convictions that

Ethiopia joined the other countries represented at the Bandung Conference in supporting the right of peoples to self-determination. Ethiopia continues to support this noble principle whole-heartedly.

187. Nevertheless, while this does not lessen the strength of our conviction in the matter, my delegation, like many of the representatives of countries which by tradition have invariably supported the right of peoples to self-determination, realizes that the question of Algeria raises complicated legal questions. We are giving these questions detailed study. We note, moreover, that the negotiations between the parties concerned in North Africa have already brought about some encouraging developments and that a fair number of problems are well on the way to a solution. In view of this progress we consider that it would be advisable to give the parties concerned the same opportunity of carrying on their negotiations, in the interests not only of the people of Algeria, but also of those of Morocco.

188. It is on the basis of these considerations and in order to enable negotiations between the representatives of North Africa and of France to produce favourable results based on the right of peoples to self-determination, that my delegation will abstain in the vote on this question. It reserves the right, however, to adopt a final position in this matter in the light of its studies and of the negotiations and any future developments in the North African situation.

189. Mr. QUIROGA GALDO (Bolivia) (*translated from Spanish*): During the past few days we have heard some interpretations of the letter of the Charter which I believe to be at variance with its true spirit. In their speeches, many of them brilliant, not a few speakers have, perhaps inadvertently, used arguments that may tend to encourage and give support to the mistaken idea that the great Powers signed the Charter on the understanding that it would be applied when they considered it convenient or opportune to do so.

190. There is, however, a difference between opportuneness and opportunism and unfortunately the small countries are learning that they are given no chance to state their views, while certain Powers are making increasingly insistent efforts to impose manifestly opportunist decisions on the Assembly.

191. We still remember the way in which the question of Cyprus was set aside. From this rostrum speakers attempted to persuade us that the Cypriots had no or little connexion with Greece. Schoolboys all over the world must have been amused by their efforts, which they could compare with their history or geography books.

192. Opportunism is reappearing in this debate on the inclusion of the question of Algeria in the agenda of the present regular session of the General Assembly. The manoeuvre is being repeated. The arguments are the same, and they are the same because they are dictated by interests similar to those that led to the exclusion of the question of Cyprus.

193. There is something new. The inhabitants of Algeria are French; they are not Algerian. With this simple affirmation an attempt is made to erase a whole chapter in the history of the brilliant Moslem civilization on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. There are no Moslem peoples in Algeria. There is no Algerian nation in that part of the world. That is the import of the constitutional provisions which transformed an

African colony into three French *départements*. And we, in the United Nations, must accept with blind religious faith what the Constitution of the French Republic says.

194. An attempt is being made to hoodwink this Assembly by means of paralogisms intended to conceal the tangible facts of geography and politics and the incontrovertible evidence of human deeds.

195. Over a century of military and political occupation of Algerian territory and the sanctioning by French domestic law of the subjection of a whole people to a foreign yoke do not in our opinion constitute an irrevocable title of ownership and dominion. The United Nations Charter clearly says as much when it sets forth the purposes and principles of the Organization relating to the self-determination of peoples.

196. The peoples of North Africa are today going through a stage which is familiar to the Latin American peoples — a historical stage marked by a general desire for political and economic freedom. There are no foreign constitutional provisions, and there never will be any, that can prevent the satisfaction of such aspirations.

197. That just expression of Spanish wisdom and idealism, the *Leyes de Indias* could not prevent the emancipation of Hispanic America. Similarly, neither the wisest laws of the French Republic nor the best constitutional provisions that can be drafted by its brilliant jurists will solve the burning problem presented by the dramatic rebellion in North Africa.

198. Those of us who admire France for its invaluable contribution to human progress can but feel deep concern at the French Government's response to the demand for freedom expressed by Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

199. In the hope that the historic experience of the Bolivian people may be useful, may I say that our forefathers struggled for 15 years against the Spanish colonizers, and that when the struggle was over the flag of freedom flew over our ruined cities and the shattered economy of our new State, but that the ruins and destruction had been of no benefit to Spain. Moreover, despite Marshall Sucre's magnanimity at the capitulation of Ayacucho, hostility towards the Spanish persisted for many decades in the hearts of the victors. Only time could heal the wound Pizarro's sword had inflicted on the Bolivian nation and it was half a century before love for our motherland Spain, was reborn in Bolivian hearts.

200. We sincerely hope that the Moslem peoples of Africa and France, the great home of the rights of man and of the citizen, will settle their differences within this international Organization entrusted with the maintenance of world peace, and that they will thus be able in the near future to work together in fruitful co-operation, as geography and history require.

201. For these reasons, the delegation of Bolivia will vote against the General Committee's recommendation and will support the inclusion of the question of Algeria in the agenda of the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

202. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): For this afternoon's meeting, there are so far six speakers. If there is no objection, can we decide that the list of speakers will be closed at 3.30 p.m.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.