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Chairman: Mr. Mihai MAGHERU (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 61

**Measures aimed at the implementation and promotion
of peaceful and neighbourly relations among States
(A/3847 and Add.1, A/SPC/L.24, A/SPC/L.27) (con-
tinued)**

1. Mr. JANTUAH (Ghana) said that Ghana's interest in peace inspired it to follow a policy of non-alignment and of positive neutrality in its foreign affairs. The Government of Ghana would therefore act on any question in the light of that country's obligations under the United Nations Charter, its position in relation to the African continent, its membership in the Commonwealth, its adherence to the principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the Accra Conference in 1958, and its determination to safeguard the country's independence and sovereignty. Peace, as seen by the people of Ghana, constituted an indispensable framework in which human progress and scientific and technological knowledge could develop.

2. In a world in which distances were rapidly shrinking, all nations had become neighbours and, in order to survive, had to adopt measures aimed at promoting and implementing peaceful and neighbourly relations and, in particular, to avoid measures or conduct which did not serve the interests of peaceful coexistence. Ghana took pride in the success of its endeavours to live by the ideals embodied in General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII). It had initiated a conference of independent African States at Accra, one of the main objectives of which found expression in paragraph 5 of the nine-Power draft resolution before the Committee (A/SPC/L.27). Moreover, soon after the country had achieved independence the Government had either exchanged or agreed to exchange diplomatic representations with a number of countries. A number of goodwill and trade missions to some Asian, European and African countries had then followed, and Ghana had also been represented at several meetings of the Commonwealth nations. It had thus taken a number of successful steps calculated to promote and implement peaceful and neighbourly relations. The country's doors were open to all who came in a spirit of goodwill. However, it would not tolerate spies and agents provocateurs in the pay of enemies of the country who came to Ghana with the sole aim of aiding and abetting the subversion of Ghana's independence.

3. In the view of the delegation of Ghana there were three impediments to the fulfilment of the longing of nations to live at peace and on neighbourly terms with one another: intolerance of the political ideology of other countries; the colour of a person's skin; and the existence of colonialism. Ideological intolerance manifested itself in the acute rivalry and political conflict between capitalism and communism. Ghana recognized the existence of both systems and fully appreciated the advantages as well as the defects inherent in both. His country's main concern was with the other two evils, the colour problem and colonialism, which had a direct effect on the thinking of the leaders of African and Asian States in formulating their foreign policies. With respect to colonialism, the reduction of a territory to the status of a colony without the consent of its people constituted an act of aggression. The existence of colonial territories was an unwarranted provocation fraught with dangerous possibilities. It might incite countries which had no colonies to attempt to acquire them. Moreover, it aroused the indignation of those opposed to colonialism. In both cases peaceful and neighbourly relations would be difficult, if not impossible. Hence, colonialism must if for no other reason be brought to an end without delay.

4. It had been rightly stated that the colour problem or "racialism" lay at the root of world tensions and dissensions. Colour prejudice manifested itself in the inhuman treatment of the coloured peoples who formed two-thirds of the world population by a so-called white race bent on humiliating and mortifying the African in order to achieve domination. The African had been made to feel that he was a second-rate human being.

5. Racial and colour discrimination existed in certain parts of the world and racial segregation was practised in the Union of South Africa, Kenya, the Central African Federation and the United States of America. Ghana's attitude towards apartheid and its variations was clear. It condemned such inhuman practices with all the vehemence at its command. Their perpetuation called into question the concept of Western civilization and its morality and made nonsense of democracy. Moreover, it was inimical to the tranquillity of the human race and a danger to world peace.

6. The Committee had heard appeals that information should be allowed to flow freely from one State to another in the interest of promoting peaceful and neighbourly relations. What was more important was that information should be accurate and objective. It should not be distorted in order to damage the reputation of a country. Inaccurate information and misrepresentation of facts for propaganda purposes did not promote the conditions required for peaceful and neighbourly relations among States. In that connexion, the general treatment which Africa and its peoples received at the hands of the so-called civilized white world was significant. The deliberate policy had been

adopted of indoctrinating the impressionable mind of the white child at school with ideas which in later years would make him look down upon members of the black race. That was certainly not the way to educate the future citizen and to prepare him to be an intelligent leader of Western civilization.

7. The peoples of Asia and Africa were almost a world of their own, and they would no longer tolerate a smaller world which looked down upon them. Wars had been fought before to avenge insults. The more the Asians and Africans were accorded equal human dignity, the better the chances of success of measures designed to promote peaceful and neighbourly relations among States. To achieve that goal, nations should cultivate tolerance for one another's political systems and recognize publicly the good in each system as well as the evil; the colonial Powers should be requested by the United Nations to accelerate and rationalize their programmes for leading the subjected peoples to eventual self-determination in accordance with the United Nations Charter; States should adopt policies aimed at abolishing discrimination, segregation and social and political inequalities among their citizens on the grounds of race or colour; and they should reorientate their education policies and eliminate from their educational systems and information media all elements of falsehood, vile propaganda and deliberate misrepresentation of the normal African way of life.

8. Mr. PERERA (Ceylon) paid a tribute to the Czechoslovak initiative in placing such an important item on the Committee's agenda. The third and fourth paragraphs of the Czechoslovak delegation's explanatory memorandum (A/3847/Add.1) seemed to contain the crux of the matter. The fact that the nine-Power draft resolution before the Committee—of which Ceylon was a co-sponsor—was sponsored by countries of such varying civilizations and systems proved that it was not prompted by motives of nationalism. The wording might perhaps be open to question, but it was the basic principle underlying the resolution that mattered. It might be asked why a further step in pursuance of resolution 1236 (XII) was necessary. The fact was that the resolution in question had been limited in scope and there had been an increase in world tensions which could only be alleviated by peaceful discussion in the forum of the United Nations. It would be a grave mistake, however, to take the Charter for granted and to consider the admission of new Members a sufficient indication of progress towards universality. It was necessary to have constantly in mind the preamble of the Charter and certain of its Articles. The very establishment of the United Nations proved that traditional methods of diplomacy were no longer adequate to solve complex political problems. Consequently there could not be too many resolutions of that kind. Peaceful coexistence was one of the most vital political issues of the present time. The emergence of new African States, as the result of a slow process of evolution, had radically shifted the balance of power in the world, which was perhaps now entering on the last phase in the problem of coexistence. The problem as it existed today had arisen primarily out of the events of the past fifty years. The Russian revolution of 1917 had, for instance, unleashed political, economic and social forces, and the fact must be accepted that communism had come to stay, so that there were now two political systems in existence. There was no point in quoting statements made by Lenin in 1920 as a key to current

Soviet policy, because Leninism as a doctrine had subsequently undergone many changes and Lenin himself had subscribed to the view that continually changing forces would have to determine the social system.

9. The simple fact was that present-day societies had inherited certain systems which had been created by some of the revolutionary ideas that had gone before. The pattern of social change could not be pre-ordained; it was there that the real difficulty lay. The most significant changes had occurred after the two world wars. The end of the Second World War had seen the emergence of new States in Asia and Africa which had adopted liberal methods and evolved economic systems on a basis of individualism. However, along with their new-found freedom, those States had had to face certain hard realities. They had been criticized for their policy of non-alignment and had had to seek a way of coexisting peacefully with the two prevailing systems known respectively as communism and capitalism. The contributions to progress made by the United States and the hard-won achievements of the Soviet Union were both to be admired. Realizing the forces that were at work, the new African and Asian States had selected the best features of both systems in building their economies. Thus, besides the two systems of socialism and capitalism, there were the new African and Asian States which fell into two categories, the anti-feudal and strongly nationalist group and those which had passed on to the stage of building a welfare State.

10. Coexistence was therefore particularly difficult for the new States. Fortunately, the United Nations Charter, which was the embodiment of coexistence, showed that the task was not impossible. Actually, the Asian nations were in a position to take a more balanced view of certain problems than most. They had observed the changing scene in Europe and the gradual emergence of certain systems. In that connexion, the adoption by the eastern European countries of their chosen system would appear, to a detached observer, to be the outcome of the diplomatic policy pursued towards them by the West.

11. Under the heading of coexistence, two important problems had emerged—disarmament and the definition of aggression. The nine-Power draft resolution recognized their existence, and while it was regrettable that the unity of the Allied cause as seen at San Francisco had given way to military groupings, Ceylon still held out hopes for a solution of those problems through peaceful discussion in the United Nations.

12. The States of Africa and Asia asked only to be allowed to work out their own system as best they could. The Government of Ceylon, which had come into being by the will of the people, yielded to none in its allegiance to the Charter and its desire to promote friendly and neighbourly relations. A striking example of coexistence in the practical sphere of economic co-operation was the Colombo Plan, and similar co-operative organizations, not for defence purposes but for economic co-operation—which was the real test of progress—were to be welcomed.

13. The idea of peaceful coexistence underlying the Charter could not triumph unless goodwill existed on the part of the Members of the United Nations. It was, of course, difficult for the two giant Powers of the twentieth century to take an objective view of the matter. But the successful continuance of diplomatic rela-

tions between the United States and the Soviet Union, initiated in 1933, was an encouraging factor. There was everything to be gained and nothing to lose from cultural and scientific exchanges and collaboration between those two great Powers. Encouragement was also to be sought in the fact that Marxism was not a static doctrine and that at the present time the Soviet Union was thinking in terms not of world revolution but of making its achievements known.

14. The delegation of Ceylon was proud to co-sponsor the draft resolution before the Committee. Its adoption would be not merely an expression of hope, but a promise that Members of the United Nations would act in the spirit of the Charter, which presented a living example of coexistence.

15. Mr. LONGDEN (United Kingdom) thanked the co-sponsors of the nine-Power draft resolution (A/SPC/L.27) for the initiative and patience they had shown in negotiating it. The resolution was one which all delegations should be able to support, and the United Kingdom would certainly do so. However, it was important that all delegations should agree on its interpretation.

16. The first reaction of the man in the street towards the draft resolution would probably be to ask why it was necessary. It contained nothing not already in the Charter, which all Member States were pledged to uphold, and it was to all intents and purposes merely a repetition of General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII). That resolution had not been opposed by a single delegation; however, it had been very imperfectly observed in practice. The only useful purpose which could be served by another major debate on that same issue was to try to find out why it had not been translated into action.

17. The explanatory memoranda submitted in support of the Soviet resolution at the twelfth session (A/3673)^{1/} and the Czechoslovak resolution at the current session (A/3847/Add.1) stated that in the view of the Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations peaceful coexistence, leading to peaceful co-operation, could apply between States regardless of differences in their economic and political systems, and that there were at least three ways in which the objective of neighbourly relations could be furthered. One might wonder whether the view that the peaceful coexistence of all countries without exception was possible was consistently held by those countries. The works of Lenin, quoted by the United States representative at a previous meeting, were after all still orthodox doctrine in the Soviet Union and in other communist countries. Many examples could be quoted from recent Soviet writings and pronouncements also contradicting the thesis that peaceful coexistence was possible. The United Kingdom delegation raised the point not in order to intensify the cold war but to give the Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations an opportunity of denying that the maxims in question still represented the policies of their respective Governments, of assuring the Committee that they had been replaced by the proposition set out in the two memoranda, and of clearing the United Nations of a charge of wittingly or unwittingly tolerating hypocrisy.

18. The first method advocated for the promotion of peaceful coexistence was for States to show mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and

sovereignty. In point of fact, the Soviet Union was the only State in the world which continued to defy General Assembly resolutions requesting it to withdraw its troops from another State and to cease interfering in its internal affairs. One of the means of indirect aggression contributing to present world tension was radio broadcasts by one country attacking the Government of another. In the absence of any international law prohibiting defamatory broadcasts and incitement to bloodshed, the United Nations could render no more useful service to peace than by establishing a monitoring service which would transcribe and publish to the world anti-social and criminally libellous utterances from any broadcasting station, wherever it might be. Although there were no sanctions available to punish such conduct, public opinion would, he believed, in time assert itself.

19. Secondly, the memoranda urged States not to intervene in one another's domestic affairs on any economic, political, or ideological grounds whatsoever. That precept, a more detailed restatement of Article 2 (7) of the Charter, was one of the famous Bandung principles. Nevertheless, at every session of the General Assembly, it was flagrantly contravened by many of the States which now proclaimed it most loudly.

20. The third method advocated was more travel for purposes of personal contact between scientific, technical and cultural personalities in different countries. The United Kingdom agreed with that entirely, though it would go further and extend travel facilities to all respectable citizens. In fact, however, when the United Kingdom Government had proposed to the Soviet Government in April 1958 that discussions should be held with a view to promoting a freer exchange of information, views and contacts between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government had demurred on the grounds that the conditions for the examination of a long-term programme of exchanges did not yet exist. The United Kingdom Government greatly regretted the Soviet attitude. It attached great importance to personal contacts as a means of promoting better understanding between East and West and it was facilitating such officially sponsored exchanges and visits as the Soviet authorities permitted. However, it could not regard that as a permanently satisfactory substitute for the free interchange of persons, information and ideas, such as it enjoyed with countries outside the Soviet bloc.

21. The United Kingdom delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution. In so doing, it expressed the sincere hope that it would be honestly interpreted by all who supported it. In that case, as the Czechoslovak representative had said, rivalry between the two economic and political systems must be confined to peaceful competition, and those Marxist precepts which appeared to advocate something quite different must be repudiated. If the resolution was to be honoured in practice, incitement by radio, and subversive propaganda aimed at disrupting the internal affairs of other countries, must cease. The windows through which peoples looked out upon the world must be uncurtained, and the doors must be opened so that other peoples could come and see for themselves what went on. The United Kingdom delegation hoped that the results of the resolution would restore the faith of the general public in the United Nations and mark a turning point in its history.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Annexes, agenda item 66.

22. Mr. PATTERSON (Cuba) said that international understanding was essential in order to reduce existing tensions. An important step towards that goal could be taken if nations practised tolerance and mutual respect. Policies of direct or indirect aggression must be avoided so as to dispel the anxiety felt by the peoples of the world lest the slightest provocation on the part of a Government might unleash a world holocaust. International understanding would certainly be achieved if all States complied with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

23. Prompted by those considerations, the Cuban delegation would vote for the nine-Power draft resolution and hoped that it would receive the unanimous support of all Member States.

24. Mr. MALILE (Albania) said that the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1236 (XII) had been of great significance to world peace and security at a time when international tension had been very high. Most delegations had been in favour of the principles of peaceful coexistence between States, regardless of differences in their economic and political systems, but some had tried vainly to prevent the resolution being adopted on the grounds that it was unnecessary, since those principles were already set forth in the Charter. The international situation in general continued to be very grave, and the United Nations should therefore take further steps to create an atmosphere of confidence and ease in international tension.

25. The two different social systems in the world must learn to live together, if peace was to be preserved. The armaments race must be replaced by peaceful competition in economic development. The socialist countries, including Albania, had successfully established excellent relations of co-operation among themselves, on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for one another's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. Together they were pursuing a course in favour of world peace and security. They wished to live in peace and friendship with all States, regardless of their political and social system.

26. It was to be regretted that the United States representative in his statement on the item under discussion had seen fit to engage in propaganda against the socialist countries, including Albania. It was time that the United States ceased to regard other States as its inferiors and to seek to impose on them régimes which were to its liking. The people of Albania desired friendly relations with all peoples, including the people of America. Nevertheless, they could not tolerate the propaganda constantly directed by American agencies against the Governments of the Peoples' Democracies. The subversive activities of the United States and its interference in the domestic affairs of other countries were certainly not in accordance with resolution 1236 (XII). However, the aggressive manoeuvres of its ruling circles were doomed to failure. Their threats would not shake Albania's determination to press forward with its work of peaceful construction. Albania had genuine and powerful friends—the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and the other peoples' democracies, as well as other peace-loving peoples.

27. The climate of mistrust and tension created by the cold war policies of the United States had brought the development of East-West relations to a standstill.

Provided that those policies were discarded, however, it was still possible for relations between the capitalist and socialist régimes to develop normally, to their mutual benefit. A number of countries in Europe, Asia and Africa had already chosen the road of peaceful coexistence and taken its principles as the basis of their foreign policy. Some of them had drafted specific declarations to that effect, among them the joint declaration of the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India in 1954. Those principles had been adopted by other countries also, and had been solemnly proclaimed at a number of international conferences.

28. The peoples of the world did not want war; instead they demanded an end to the armaments race and to war propaganda. In Albania and in other socialist countries, war propaganda was condemned by law. If other countries were to enact similar measures, it would be an important step towards peace. Another important step would be the abandonment of the "positions of strength" policy being followed by certain Western countries.

29. The Albanian Government had always supported all proposals that would encourage good relations among States. It believed that the promotion of economic and cultural relations would help to secure peace and to strengthen international co-operation. After the Geneva Conference in 1955, there had been some improvement in economic and cultural exchanges between States. Unfortunately, it had not gone very far. The artificial barriers placed in the way of international economic and cultural co-operation by certain Western countries should be eliminated. Trade relations in particular should be developed. Events had shown that the embargo being exercised against the socialist countries had not benefited the West. The normal development of trade relations would help to create the conditions essential for peaceful co-operation. The socialist countries had made great strides in the economic field and an extension of trade with them would profit other countries. Similarly, improved cultural relations would be of great service to international understanding and direct contacts between scientists would serve the advancement of science.

30. Albania pursued a policy of peace and friendship towards all countries, regardless of their political and social systems. In line with that policy, it had welcomed the proposals of the Soviet Union for a summit conference. Similarly, it had supported the Polish proposal to establish a denuclearized zone in Central Europe, and it had been in favour of a non-aggression pact between the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. It was in favour of the liquidation of aggressive military blocs and believed that the best way to secure peace in Europe and throughout the world would be to conclude a general pact of collective security.

31. Albania was particularly interested in promoting peaceful relations with its neighbours. Because of its sincere desire to develop normal relations with all other countries, it had supported the Czechoslovak proposal to include the item under discussion in the agenda. The nine-Power draft resolution offered a possibility of implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence set forth in General Assembly resolution

1236 (XII), and the Albanian delegation would vote in favour of it.

32. Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa) wished to place on record, in connexion with the statement by the representative of Ghana, his delegation's objection to the discussion of South Africa's purely domestic affairs. Such digressions could not contribute to the creation of good-neighbourliness.

33. Mr. MITRA (India) wished to place on record his delegation's view that the remarks of the representative of Ghana concerned a matter consistently within the purview of the United Nations, which had been and which would continue to be discussed in the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.