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President: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON
(Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

**ADMISSION OF GHANA TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE
UNITED NATIONS**

1. The PRESIDENT: Members will have learned with gratification that the Security Council has considered the application of Ghana for admission to membership in the United Nations [A/3566] and has unanimously recommended that Ghana be admitted. The Council's decision is to be found in document A/3567. Today the Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom [A/3569], which when adopted will admit Ghana to membership in the United Nations.

2. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): Two days ago, on 6 March 1957, historic ceremonies in Accra marked the celebration by the first British dependency in tropical Africa of its independence within the Commonwealth. They were attended by her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, representing Her Majesty the Queen, and by representatives of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and of all other Commonwealth countries. It was indeed a proud day in the history of the Commonwealth of Nations.

3. Ghana's emergence to statehood and independence is the latest example of the flexible and democratic process by which the Commonwealth developed, a process animated by love of freedom and by respect for the individual and for the democratic way of life. This process has, over the years, and particularly since the Second World War, brought many people

to independence within the Commonwealth. It is infused with the conviction, based on experience, that disparity in race or tradition, far from being a bar, is a powerful incentive to continue to nurture our common interests on the basis of mutual esteem.

4. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to us that Ghana, at its own wish and with the agreement of all other members, has become a full member of the Commonwealth. The grant of independence which has brought this about is not just an isolated act of state. It is not a single event with no antecedents. It is the final stage in a steady process directed towards the achievement of self-government, of the building up of a sound foundation of democratic institutions, and the establishment of economic and social stability.

5. Independence carries with it heavy responsibilities. It is not thoughtlessly granted, nor lightly assumed. I think that the debates in the Houses of Parliament in Westminster and the statesmanlike remarks made by Mr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, at the independence celebrations about the task that now lies ahead of his country are sufficient proof of this.

6. In the former Gold Coast this process has been remarkable in its swiftness. By peaceful and constitutional means, but in a very short space of years, the statesmen of Ghana and other officials have gained the experience in democratic government and administration which now enables them to take their place on the world stage well equipped to play the valuable and responsible role that lies ahead of them.

7. The United Nations is particularly well placed to be able to judge the fitness of Ghana for membership in the United Nations. From the very foundation of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly have been observing the measured development of self-governing institutions in the Gold Coast, as it then was. This was by virtue of the fact that the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration was administered under the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement as an integral part of the Gold Coast. As such, it enjoyed the same political advance and the same democratic and liberal institutions as the Gold Coast itself.

8. Members will recall that the General Assembly considered the question of the future of Togoland under British administration in great detail in the early part of this session and reached the conclusion that the objectives of trusteeship had been achieved for the first time in the case of this Trust Territory. It further recommended that the Territory should be united with an independent Gold Coast [resolution 1044 (XI)].

9. This judgment of the General Assembly coincided with the views of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which had two years previously, at the ninth session of the General Assembly, made known its proposals for the future of this Trust Territory.

10. The steps which were taken by the General Assembly following the presentation to it of the United Kingdom memorandum of 1954 [A/2660] are well known to Members, and I need not repeat them now. But I should like, however, to make a special mention of the constructive part played throughout by the Indian delegation and, in particular, by my friend Mr. Krishna Menon.

11. On Wednesday, 6 March I was glad to be able to notify the Secretary-General that the final measures required by the General Assembly in relation to Togoland under British administration had been completed. At its 775th meeting, the Security Council, by a unanimous vote, recommended to the General Assembly that Ghana should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. I am confident that the General Assembly will endorse that recommendation by a unanimous vote this afternoon. By so doing, it will happily complete an ordered progress in which the people and leaders of Ghana, successive Governments in my own country with the approval and good will of all our sister nations in the Commonwealth, and the United Nations itself, have all played their full part.

12. My delegation is honoured to join in sponsoring, together with other members of the Commonwealth, the draft resolution which is now before the Assembly.

13. Two days ago, Ghana became an independent member of the Commonwealth. Today we of the Commonwealth will, I trust, welcome it into the United Nations.

14. The United Kingdom has, of course, been in a special position in its relationship with the Gold Coast. It has worked with the Gold Coast in the most close and friendly co-operation towards the goal which it has now achieved. It has naturally been able, because of this position, to play a greater part in the development of that country than other members of the Commonwealth could do. Now that Ghana has come to full statehood as an equal member of the Commonwealth community, our special position has, in one sense, come to an end. But the affection we have learned to have for its people and the good will built up in the past will continue undiminished. In this new relationship between us, we shall continue to offer Ghana whatever assistance we can, and we can assure it of the utmost good will in the years ahead. I know that Ghana itself has a valuable contribution to make both to the Commonwealth and to the United Nations.

15. I hope that very shortly, in fact in a very few minutes, we shall welcome here Mr. Anthony, the representative of Ghana to the Assembly. My delegation looks forward to the closest and most friendly co-operation with the delegation of Ghana in the future.

16. Mr. WALKER (Australia): In a broadcast to the people of Ghana on Independence Day, the Australian Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Casey, said: "I want to assure you that you can count on Australia as a friend of Ghana." I speak today in evidence of this friendship and in support of the draft resolution which Australia has sponsored together with the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth.

17. Yesterday the Security Council unanimously adopted a draft resolution recommending Ghana's admission which had been put forward by the United Kingdom and Australia. I have no doubt that the Assembly today will give its unanimous approval to the Security Council's recommendation.

18. This is a proud day for the United Nations, for our Organization has played a considerable role in Ghana's evolution towards independent nationhood. As was pointed out yesterday in the Security Council, Ghana is a State formed by the union of a former Trust Territory with a former Non-Self-Governing Territory, administered under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, but in fact treated by the United Kingdom in a spirit fully in accordance with the provisions of Chapter XII. These two Territories—Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast—through the efforts of their own people and with the guidance and help of the United Kingdom, have moved rapidly to a stage which enables them to take full control of their own affairs. Evidence of their political maturity was given last year in the general elections to Ghana's Parliament, as well as in the plebiscite in Togoland which took place under United Nations supervision. These important undertakings were conducted in a manner fully in accordance with the best democratic traditions.

19. This is also a proud day for the Commonwealth. We in Australia, who are strong supporters of the Commonwealth ideal, are happy that Ghana, having obtained its independence, has decided to remain within our free association of independent peoples of different backgrounds and races, dedicated—as is recognized by everyone—to the ideals of justice, progress and freedom.

20. The United Kingdom, in assisting so skilfully in this happy development, deserves our gratitude and our thanks. The Australian delegation takes this opportunity to express its congratulations to the United Kingdom delegation on this occasion.

21. Independence Day has been celebrated in Ghana with appropriate ceremony and popular enthusiasm. Australia was represented by a special delegation, led by the Australian Minister of State for Air, the Honourable F. M. Osborne.

22. Ghana now faces the future with all the problems that independent nationhood brings in this modern world. But in this international community of the United Nations, Ghana will find many friends and, we are sure, will acquit itself well. On behalf of the Australian delegation, I warmly welcome Ghana to the Assembly.

23. Mr. MIR KHAN (Pakistan): It is with great pleasure that I join with representatives who have already spoken in welcoming Ghana as the newest Member of the United Nations. With Ghana taking its place in this world Organization as an independent nation, one more step will have been taken towards the realization of the universality of the United Nations.

24. The emergence of Ghana—an ancient State rich in tradition and culture—as a sovereign State and Member of the United Nations will be all the more welcome to us because it will surely lead to the renewal of many historic ties between the countries north of the Sahara and the countries south of the Sahara.

25. Ghana is in that region of Africa whose voice, in the past, has not been heard and whose influence has not been properly felt in the United Nations. We are sure that, with Ghana as a Member of the United Nations, the void will be amply filled, since its representatives will now be in a position to make constructive contributions by bringing to the deliberations of the United Nations the particular viewpoint of its people in the solution of the many problems facing the Organization.

26. It is also my pleasure to congratulate the United Kingdom Government for making possible the orderly transition of a dependent territory into an independent one. It is not often in history that a Power holding dominion over a dependent territory has relinquished that territory willingly and with understanding. When such a Power does so, however, the confidence which is built up between the two nations is of a lasting nature. The Commonwealth of Nations is an expression of this confidence, and, as a fellow member, we look forward with great expectation to Ghana's participation in it.

27. Even before Ghana attained its full measure of independence, we in Pakistan had followed with deep interest the progress made under the inspired leadership of its Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, in developing in so short a time a sound government based on democratic principles, as well as in making rapid strides in education, social welfare, trade and industry. Now that Ghana has become fully independent, we are confident that this progress will be continued in the spirit of freedom and justice which has now become the emblem of the new State.

28. We hope that the draft resolution which we have the honour to co-sponsor and which recommends the admission of Ghana will be unanimously adopted.

29. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation welcomes this occasion to co-sponsor, and most warmly to commend for adoption, the draft resolution now before the General Assembly, providing for the admission of Ghana to membership in the United Nations. It is our confident hope and expectation that the support for this draft resolution will be unanimous.

30. Ghana's history and the circumstances of its emergence as a sovereign State established beyond question its willingness and its ability to meet the conditions laid down in the Charter for admission to this Organization. The purposes which the United Nations seeks to achieve and the principles which guide its activities will not be strange to the people of Ghana, for it was in full conformity with all those purposes and principles—including the fulfilment of the purposes of the Trusteeship System in respect of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration—that assistance was given to Ghana and its people to achieve their statehood and to take their place in the community of nations.

31. In offering its congratulations and best wishes to the newest of Africa's great free States, my Government wishes at the same time to pay a sincere tribute to the United Kingdom, whose wise policies and sympathetic understanding have done so much in Ghana, as elsewhere in the world, to ensure an orderly and swift transition from dependence to full sovereignty and freedom.

32. Ghana's independence has a double significance for New Zealand. Not only will Ghana become the eighty-first Member of this Organization: it also will become the ninth member of the Commonwealth of Nations, of which my country is, of course, also a member.

33. The Commonwealth has acquired an increased stature and vitality with the addition to its ranks of peoples of diverse race and culture. In Asia, many proud nations have achieved independence—among them, three countries which are valued members of the Commonwealth. Now, in Africa, Ghana has been born and will take its place in our Commonwealth partner-

ship. The Commonwealth has grown to include within its unique association Governments and peoples from all the continents. These Governments and peoples are not bound by any formal ties, but they share certain basic beliefs and ideals; they have a common devotion to a democratic way of life, and their common purpose is the strengthening of peace and the enlargement of human freedoms.

34. New Zealand believes that Ghana has much to gain from its association with the Commonwealth family of nations, just as it has much to contribute. We believe, equally, that, in assuming the obligations and in enjoying the benefits arising out of membership in the United Nations, Ghana will have much to gain, as well as much to contribute. We wholeheartedly support its admission and we look forward to welcoming its representatives in this Organization.

35. Mr. LALL (India): It gives the Indian delegation the very greatest pleasure and a sense of pride to be associated with this occasion when the General Assembly will decide unanimously—we are certain—to admit the re-emerged, reborn State of Ghana to the United Nations as a Member.

36. In our view, and in the view of the Indian people, 6 March 1957 is a day of great importance. We do not look upon that day as one marking the birth of a nation; we look upon it rather as the date commemorating and marking the reemergence, the rebirth of an ancient culture and an ancient State which has lain dormant, because of the accidents of history, for the last several hundred years.

37. This is part of the process of the rebirth of Africa. In our view, this rebirth of Africa should go on at a quickening pace so that Africa should take its proper place in the councils of the world. Too long has this been delayed. Too long has the world got used to looking at itself from certain selected vantage points on the face of the earth, and too long has this given a distorted picture of what happens and what the peoples of the world want and what it is that has to be done today in the world community. So, we welcome the rebirth of Ghana.

38. We admire the people of Ghana for the way they have conducted their struggle for independence. It has been a movement of interaction. Names such as those of George Grant, the great leader in Ghana, Sir Alan Burns, Mr. Nkrumah, now Prime Minister, and Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, now the first Governor-General of the new Dominion of Ghana, come to mind. These names I have mentioned also symbolize the wisdom of the United Kingdom, on the one hand, and, on the other, the courage and fortitude of the people and leaders of this reborn State in West Africa.

39. We are also extremely happy that, on this occasion, we can congratulate the people of Ghana and the people of the former Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, which is now part of the independent State of Ghana. Here, on a basis of equality, the inhabitants of these two erstwhile dependent areas will go forward as members of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which we are happy to belong.

40. It is in this spirit that we welcome here in our midst Mr. Anthony to represent Ghana, and we know that the thinking and the contribution which he will make to this Organization will be something for which we shall all be deeply grateful. Indeed, may I, on this occasion when Ghana will first take its place as a Member of the United Nations, say that it behooves all of us to listen with great care and attention to what

will be said to us in the future by the representative of Ghana. It is countries such as his, which have not been heard in the past, which must be listened to with special attention because, while we other Members have got used to hearing what we say in this Organization, we have a special duty to see to it that the views of new Members, particularly from those areas of the world where representation has been sadly lacking, are listened to with special attention. It will be in that spirit that we shall welcome the new representative of Ghana, and we wish him and his country and his Government great success in their future life, might I say, as a Member of the United Nations.

41. Mr. MACKAY (Canada): Two days ago the Prime Minister of Canada, speaking in the Canadian Parliament, expressed the great pleasure with which the people of Canada welcomed Ghana as a new member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Today it is my very great privilege and pleasure to speak on behalf of Canada as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution now before the Assembly. This is a straightforward document and one which, I am sure, will raise no controversy. It takes note of the unanimous recommendation of the Security Council that Ghana should be admitted to membership in the United Nations and recommends that Ghana's application be approved. I have no doubt that we all share this sentiment.

42. On 6 March, when Ghana became a fully independent State, recognized by all Commonwealth Prime Ministers as a member of the Commonwealth, the Government and people of Canada were represented on international television by the Canadian Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys. The Canadian Government considered it an honour and a rare privilege to have this representation at the ceremony marking the final step in the evolution of the Gold Coast into the fully self-governing nation of Ghana.

43. This development in the Gold Coast has been an orderly and constitutional process. It is one which Canada fully understands, since the peaceful development from colony to nation has been an essential part of our own tradition. In the debates in the General Assembly concerning evolution towards self-government, Canada has consistently urged the desirability of proceeding by peaceful stages to the ultimate goal of independence. We know that this constructive approach has been the consistent policy of the United Kingdom for a great many years. I believe, therefore, that, in warmly welcoming the people of Ghana to self-government, to national freedom and to membership in the United Nations, we should pay high tribute to the United Kingdom for the enlightened attitude which has led to these happy results.

44. Although I believe that it is hardly necessary to do so, I join with other sponsors in heartily recommending that the General Assembly should give the draft resolution before us its fullest support. I have complete confidence that Ghana has all the qualifications for membership and that this new African State will make a most useful contribution to our Organization.

45. Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): The Government of Ceylon considers it a great privilege to be associated with the other members of the Commonwealth in sponsoring a draft resolution which would admit Ghana to membership in the United Nations. In doing so, I am particularly privileged to be able to state that my country has been associated with the

great country of Ghana for a number of years. We had the same experience as Crown Colonies; we walked along the same path of constitutional development; and it is therefore doubly a pleasure for us to see that Ghana has already—on the heels of Ceylon—blossomed forth as a full self-governing unit within the Commonwealth of Nations.

46. Ceylon and Ghana have been together in many matters pertaining to the welfare of the world, in economic development and in other spheres. We have sometimes shared the same Governors, and we have therefore watched Ghana's historical rise with great attention. It was a Ceylonese who established the first secondary school in that area. I refer to the Reverend A. G. Frazer, who had laboured for many years in Ceylon as head of a famous institution, Trinity College, and who established the secondary school in the Gold Coast which blossomed out into the University of Achimota, which has played a vital role in the training of young men in that part of the world. Ceylonese staff also followed and amongst them I remember particularly a Ceylonese who was in charge of sports and coached the young African boys of that area in cricket.

47. It has also been my privilege, in Ceylon's short period of membership in the United Nations during the tenth session of the General Assembly, to cast my vote for a plebiscite in Togoland and to express my pleasure that my first act in the Assembly would be to make some contribution towards the development of the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration as a self-governing unit of the Commonwealth. It was also the privilege of Ceylon to be associated with the observation team which conducted the plebiscite.

48. Our association with Ghana has been long, and we therefore take particular delight in welcoming it to this great assembly of nations. We also welcome Ghana to that great family known as the Commonwealth of Nations. I have not the slightest doubt that Ghana will play a leading role in the Commonwealth and in the United Nations. Over the years it has acquired administrative training and has produced men of intellect and of outstanding ability who are prepared to play an important role in the affairs of the country. In those circumstances I feel that Ghana provides an object lesson for other countries on the African continent: they, too, may follow the same path of constitutional development and they, too, may develop along the same economic lines and, in the not-too-distant future, achieve self-government themselves.

49. Ceylon and Ghana are proud to have been able to achieve self-government without any undue hardship caused by leaving the beaten track of constitutional education, and to have achieved it by proving our fitness to undertake and manage the affairs of our countries.

50. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government of the United Kingdom on the great statesmanship it has displayed in giving the right of full self-government to Ghana. Ghana will enrich the Commonwealth and will also bring to the discussions in Commonwealth conferences a new light; it will present a new face; it will present a picture of Africa as it should be. And to the United Nations, Ghana, with its ripe experience, will bring a knowledge of affairs in the great African continent about which, I think, all of us have a great deal to learn.

51. I do not think many people know that Ghana is a very progressive country. Its *per capita* income is higher than that of India, Ceylon or Pakistan. Ghana is the biggest cocoa-producing country in the world. Thus it does not come merely as a new member to this team, trying to get on its feet; it has been on its feet for some time and has now attained full maturity and is able to play a vital role in the affairs of this great Assembly.

52. On behalf of the African-Asian group, I have been asked to convey the felicitations of all the African and Asian countries to the great country of Ghana. We hope that Ghana will have a bright and prosperous future and will make no small contribution to the maintenance of the standards in which we of this world all believe.

53. Mr. ASHA (Syria): On behalf of the Trusteeship Council, I extend the warmest congratulations and best wishes to the people and Government of Ghana. I welcome the new, reborn State of Ghana to the family of the United Nations.

54. The warm and wholehearted vote of Syria and all the Arab States in favour of the immediate admission of Ghana to membership in the United Nations cannot possibly be in doubt—it goes without saying. If I wish to speak at all, it is not to argue in favour of that admission, for there can really be no argument about it; I wish, rather, to put into a few words what I, in my capacity as representative of Syria and President of the Trusteeship Council, feel about the significance of this great event for Africa and for the United Nations.

55. So peacefully has this last phase of the emergence of Ghana to full national sovereignty taken place, so often do we hear the whole process described as an example of enlightened colonial administration or "creative abdication," that some of us may be tempted to forget the real meaning of this event. But those of us who come from the vast zones of the world which, in modern times or older times, have seen, felt and suffered under colonial domination, know this event for what it really is: a victory, a great victory won by the people of Ghana and indeed of Africa and Asia as a whole, in the course of a long and difficult struggle, the end of which is certain, but not yet fully in sight. It is the struggle of peoples to be free, to express their national genius through national sovereignty. Let us be sure of the nature of this struggle, for it is more than the struggle of the individual man to achieve individual freedom. There are voices among the colonial Powers, heard again in very recent days, who claim that this is all the freedom that the African really needs—individual liberty within the framework of the laws and institutions of the colonial Power. Indeed, if we look at the map of Africa, we see that Ghana itself is surrounded by millions of Africans, still under colonial rule, whose needs are supposed to be capable of being satisfied by this thesis of individual liberty within a framework of alien authority.

56. But is this kind of freedom sufficient? Is it enough to liberate the man, but still to confine his liberty within the framework of a nationality that is not his own? Ghana has answered these questions again for us, and has given the same answers as have all of our peoples represented here today, old and new, who claim and defend our national sovereignty and independence. The answer is "No." To liberate the individual man, yet keep his people confined, is not enough. To grant the African liberty circumscribed by loyalty to an alien

State, equality within the limits of alien laws, and fraternity based on an alien patriotism—this is not enough, for it still denies him his highest aspirations: to be one with his own people and to find expression and destination with them as a nation.

57. The statements which the Prime Minister of Ghana, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, has made in the past few days of celebration in the new State show that he knows these truths perfectly well. For his own people he has achieved that full liberation of which I have spoken, that liberation, not only of the individual, but also of the nation; but he remains profoundly conscious that the struggle to achieve it still has to be fought by and for millions of others in Africa for whom Ghana, and other new nations before it, are leading the way.

58. I recognize the realism of the policy the United Kingdom Government then followed of co-operating to the utmost with the elected leaders of the Gold Coast to bring about the earliest fulfillment of their aspirations. It has provided an example to be universally acclaimed, and—if only this were true—to be universally emulated.

59. I do not need to dwell further on the very great significance, which all of us must surely appreciate, of the attainment of nationhood by Ghana, which culminates today in its acceptance, by the Assembly, into the international community. But I feel that this historic moment should not be allowed to pass without recalling how close a link the people of Ghana already have with the United Nations.

60. We have treated Ghana for the past ten years as the Gold Coast, a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter. We have looked at the statistics of its economic progress, the symptoms of its social problems, its struggles against illiteracy and against shortages of technicians. We have examined this information with increasing interest for its achievements in these so-called non-political fields, and we have come to think of it as setting the pace for large parts of Africa. And all the while, within the confines of Article 73 e of the Charter, we have been thinking of its increasingly vital role in the vanguard of the political emancipation of Africa.

61. But if we had no business—which is a matter for argument—in thinking these political thoughts or putting them into speeches or into draft resolutions as far as the Gold Coast proper was concerned, we at least had every right to do so, under the trusteeship provisions of the Charter, in regard to that part of Ghana which was, until midnight on 5 March, the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. Whether for good or ill, Togoland was administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, and because it was so thoroughly integrated, it gave us a most convenient observation point—through the back door, so to speak—to watch what was going on in the Gold Coast.

62. If we enjoyed having this observation post on the Gold Coast, there were at least some of us who did not feel happy about the circumstances which gave rise to it. We felt that the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast was too complete and too thorough to allow the aspirations of the Trust Territory to have free play, and to give its people the fullest possible opportunity to create, if they wished, a State of their own in company with Togoland under French administration. But within these limits, the matter was eventually resolved by the peo-

ple of Togoland themselves, who decided by a majority in the plebiscite held in May 1956, the first held under United Nations supervision, that they wanted to unite, at least in the first instance, with the people of an independent Gold Coast.

63. Togoland under British administration has attained a full measure of independence as part of the independent Ghana for two good reasons which satisfy the African aspirations of which I have spoken earlier: first, because these people are one and the same; and secondly because this association is based on self-determination, not only in principle, but also in practice, through a plebiscite controlled at all stages—from the phrasing of the questions put to the people through the counting of the votes—by the United Nations itself. We take pride—and in this I feel I am speaking for all Members—in the attainment under these circumstances of the objective of independence by the first Trust Territory to do so.

64. But the Togoland story has not yet been closed. It cannot be closed until all of the peoples of the two Togolands, the great majority of whom still remain under trusteeship, are allowed in the same free, enlightened and unfettered spirit to determine their own destiny. Togoland, for Africa and for the United Nations, is a piece of unfinished business; we look to the new State of Ghana to contribute in no small way to its solution, as it will contribute, through its own vital experience and its own genius, to the solution of all the remaining problems of Africa and the world as a whole.

65. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): As Chairman of the Fourth Committee at the eleventh session, I am particularly grateful to the President for allowing me to speak. I shall be very brief.

66. The admission of the new State of Ghana, which appeared upon the international scene only a few hours ago, displaying its national emblem and ready to carry out all the obligations which the world community of nations imposes on its members, is an event which we cannot disregard. It is a very dramatic, a great and historic moment for the United Nations, which has been instrumental in gaining recognition for this African State, a State which is steeped in age-old traditions and culture; and only a few weeks ago this Organization had to consider the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement which, since 1946, had protected part of the territory now forming the new State.

67. The principle of universality is still bearing fruit; but it involves something more tangible and more beautiful: Ghana—a large part of which used to be the Gold Coast, where the flag of the United Kingdom flew, and the rest, Togoland under British administration, where the flags of the United Nations and the United Kingdom were twin symbols of the same aspirations and struggle towards self-government and independence—is adding its share to the African contribution to the world Organization and offering to play its part in the family of nations.

68. Thanks to hard thinking and devotion to the same ideal, independence was achieved and a new State established. A tribute is also due to the United Kingdom, for having prepared the country, judiciously, without haste and without changing the concept of the formation or structure of the State, for its transformation into the new and independent community.

69. We must congratulate Mr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, and his colleagues, the determined champions of an ideal which now has become a reality; they deserve the praises heard from every continent expressing satisfaction at the birth of a new nation.

70. The delegation of the Dominican Republic, of which I am Chairman, is particularly happy to congratulate the State of Ghana, as this new entity received its first support from the United Nations. It was in the Fourth Committee, under my humble chairmanship, that the constitutional position was considered and an important step made towards the achievement of independence through the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement after the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration had shown their desire to form a new State by union with the Gold Coast.

71. We must also congratulate the United Kingdom, as Ghana brings new blood into the British Commonwealth, thus proving its devotion and gratitude to the nation which was formerly the guardian of its destiny; and the United Nations, in the midst of the vicissitudes of our times, has won a triumph, for it recognized the new nation and admitted it to membership in all the splendour of its youth and strength.

72. Mr. TSIANG (China): Yesterday it was the pleasure of my delegation in the Security Council to vote for the admission of Ghana to membership in the United Nations. It will again be the pleasure of my delegation to do likewise today. Our vote in connexion with this question is, first of all, an expression of the good will which the people and Government of China feel towards the people and Government of Ghana. We wish this new, independent nation, Ghana, prosperity and progress.

73. Mr. Asha, the President of the Trusteeship Council, in addressing us a moment ago, expressed a very important viewpoint. My country has been among the foremost in the fight against colonialism. Our vote from this viewpoint is cast as an expression of appreciation for the good work of the Government of the United Kingdom in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, which together form the independent Ghana.

74. Togoland under British administration was a Trust Territory. It is evident that the United Kingdom has faithfully fulfilled the trust that the United Nations placed in it. The independence of Ghana and its admission to the United Nations are at once a vindication of the soundness of the International Trusteeship System and of the good faith of the Government of the United Kingdom.

75. The Gold Coast was a colony. I know very well that colonialism has not enjoyed a good reputation. It is obvious to us all that the United Kingdom, in administering the Gold Coast, has actually conducted its administration in accordance with the principles and spirit of the Charter.

76. The evolution of Ghana makes us all pause and refrain from passing sweeping judgments on all colonial administrations. The evolution of Ghana makes it possible for at least some of us to believe that it is possible for a colonial administration to be both constructive and beneficent. From this angle, the admission of Ghana to the United Nations has additional significance.

77. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me, as representa-

tive of El Salvador and on behalf of the other Latin-American Republics, to express the sincere satisfaction of our peoples and our Governments, at both the recent establishment of the independent State of Ghana and the unanimous admission of Ghana into the United Nations, which will certainly become a reality in a few moments.

78. Both events have crowned the prolonged efforts of the peoples of the new State and of the United Kingdom, and the efforts of the United Nations itself, under whose International Trusteeship System the Territory of Togoland under British administration remained for several years and under whose supervision, within the framework of Chapter XI of the Charter, the Gold Coast also was administered. Both Territories are now part of the new State, which is now becoming a Member of our Organization.

79. The United Nations should be proud that the territories and peoples for whose administration and preparation for a free political life the United Nations assumed responsibilities when the Charter was signed at San Francisco are now becoming independent States.

80. On behalf of the twenty Latin-American Republics, I should like to congratulate warmly, not only the Government and people of Ghana, but also all the countries of the African-Asian group in the General Assembly, the Government of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations of which the new political entity has become a part, and all those who, in one way or another, have contributed to Ghana's entry into international life.

81. Allow me also to extend the most cordial welcome to the representative of Ghana, who will certainly, as from today, belong to the diplomatic family of the United Nations, to the joy of us all.

82. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation will vote in support of the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom in favour of the admission of the new State of Ghana to membership in the United Nations.

83. As I mentioned yesterday in the Security Council, all the procedural difficulties arising from the submission of this application, which was drafted only the day before yesterday, appear to have been overcome with unusual rapidity. The fact that the eleventh session of the General Assembly is drawing to a close accounts for this achievement.

84. The fact that this new State is becoming a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, the guarantees provided by the sponsors of the draft resolution and the statements made by M. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, at the inaugural ceremony, are pledges of great value in the eyes of the French delegation.

85. We are thus prepared to recognize that the State of Ghana meets the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter and to acknowledge that the declaration contained in the telegram of the Prime Minister of Ghana [A/3566] is for the time being sufficient for the Assembly to take a decision as the Security Council did yesterday.

86. The French delegation offers its good wishes for the future of the new State and, as Vice-President of the Assembly, I shall associate myself with the other delegations who welcome Mr. Anthony when he comes to take his place amongst us as representative of the new Member State.

87. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): On behalf of the representatives of European countries, I wish to extend our full support to the draft resolution introduced by the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the effect that Ghana be admitted to the United Nations.

88. There are several reasons why we should view this event with particular satisfaction. Ghana is a newly born State which, on the very day of its birth, has asked to join our Organization and declared its readiness to assume all the responsibilities that are inherent therein. This means, in our view, that the body of rules of a high moral standard which are contained in our Charter are becoming more and more the standard of behaviour for all peoples, so that nowadays no nation feels like ignoring them any more. Such a process cannot but strengthen the authority of our Organization and enhance the role it plays in world affairs.

89. Another reason for gratification is that Ghana is an African State, ready to contribute its share to the activities of the United Nations and world co-operation. I think few countries can appreciate the importance of such a contribution more than Italy, because of its geographical position, the close relations we have had for centuries with the peoples of Africa and the fact that Italy has been entrusted by the United Nations with the challenging task of bringing one of those peoples to independence.

90. There is, finally, a particular reason for rejoicing by the United Nations at today's event: it is the fact that Ghana includes the former Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, which is thus the first Trust Territory to attain the objective of the Trusteeship System. This proves the basic soundness of this system and augurs well for its future working.

91. In concluding these remarks, my delegation wishes to express its very sincere praise to the people and Government of Ghana and to the United Kingdom administration for the great work they have accomplished. In welcoming Ghana among us, we express our most sincere wishes to the people of Ghana and look forward to the most fruitful friendship and co-operation with the new State of Ghana, both inside and outside the United Nations.

92. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation warmly congratulates the people of the new African State of Ghana on their attainment of national independence.

93. The creation of a new State on the African continent cannot fail to call forth the warmest approval of all peace-loving peoples in the world, who feel a deep sympathy with the ever-growing movement among the African peoples towards their national liberation. Ghana is the fourth African State to have gained admission to the United Nations during the past two years.

94. At the present time powerful factors are at work in the world, irreparably shattering the moribund colonial system and inciting the peoples of Asia and Africa to strive for their freedom and independence as States.

95. The Soviet delegation earnestly hopes that the day is not far off when all those peoples who are still in a state of colonial dependence will throw off the shackles of the imperialist system of colonialism and attain national independence.

96. The participation of the State of Ghana in the activities of the United Nations will undoubtedly help

it to solve many of the tasks confronting it as a new State and to develop its international ties on the basis of equal rights and respect for national independence and sovereignty. We are, at the same time, convinced that the admission of the State of Ghana into the United Nations will help increase the Organization's authority and further the realization of its purposes and principles.

97. These were the considerations which prompted the Soviet delegation to vote in the Security Council for the admission of the State of Ghana to membership in the United Nations. The Soviet delegation will vote the same way in the Assembly.

98. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States will vote here in the General Assembly for the admission of Ghana to the United Nations, as we did in the Security Council. We look forward to friendly relations at the United Nations with the representatives of Ghana.

99. The United States sees in Ghana a peace-loving State which accepts the obligations of the Charter and is able and willing to carry them out. We were happy that this opinion was shared unanimously in the Security Council yesterday. Today's vote, I am sure, will confirm overwhelmingly the Security Council's judgment.

100. In the Security Council yesterday, I had the pleasure of paying tribute to the wise policy of the United Kingdom which has led to Ghana's independence and to the happy relationship which exists today between the United Kingdom and Ghana. Let me again pay tribute to this example of British statesmanship.

101. Ghana's independence is also of special interest to Americans. The ancestors of many of our fellow Americans came from there. Many Americans of whom I was one, visited Accra during the war. Prime Minister Nkrumah studied here in the United States. The Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, headed a delegation of distinguished Americans to be present at Ghana's independence day.

102. Ghana joins the United Nations at a momentous time in the history of this Organization. The responsibilities which this new State assumes by its membership are heavy, but the weight of responsibility is overshadowed by the opportunities which United Nations membership offers for constructive efforts to prevent war, to harmonize international relations and to co-operate in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. The United States welcomes the opportunity to co-operate fully with Ghana in these United Nations efforts.

103. We extend to the people and to the Government of Ghana and to Ghana's associates in the Commonwealth our sincere congratulations and best wishes.

104. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): On behalf of my own delegation and the delegations of Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, I am very happy to welcome to our family of nations a new Member: that reborn African land of great traditions, the independent State of Ghana.

105. During the tenth session of the General Assembly, I represented my country in the Fourth Committee during its discussion of the problem of Togoland under British administration. I had the pleasure then of listening on several occasions to a representative of the Gold Coast, and I vividly recall how impressed I was with the great political wisdom and the

very constructive spirit which permeated those speeches.

106. My country, like the other Nordic countries, has always held strongly to the principle of the universality of the United Nations. For that reason, we are highly gratified at the fact that another country from the African continent, having won its complete independence, will now be admitted to the United Nations.

107. May I, in this connexion, also express our heartfelt congratulations to the United Kingdom for this latest result of a far-sighted and wise policy towards hitherto non-self-governing peoples—a policy which has already produced so many important achievements beneficial both to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the world at large.

108. In conclusion, I wish merely to recall the ancient relations which link my country, Denmark, to this country which since 6 March has been called the State of Ghana. A castle bearing the old Danish name of Christiansborg, which was, about two hundred years ago, the centre of a tiny Danish trade settlement on the coast, is still a picturesque and beautiful reminder of those days.

109. Mr. ALEMAYEHOU (Ethiopia): The Ethiopian delegation wholeheartedly supports the seven-Power draft resolution providing for Ghana's admission to the United Nations. No country could be happier than Ethiopia at seeing Ghana, a sister African nation, win its independence and sit among all the sovereign States of the world in this great Organization.

110. The great empire of Ghana was an ancient and powerful State with a high degree of civilization until it was overrun and devastated by foreign invaders in about the eleventh century. Even in the darkest period of their history, the people of Ghana never lost their courage. They fought for a long time to maintain their independence—until they met the common destiny of of African people in later years. Now the rebirth of Ghana to independent nationhood constitutes a torchlight showing the lost way of free life to the African people still under colonial domination, and a new way of co-operation to the colonial Powers. Whether the colonial Powers will see this new way before it is too late depends upon their wisdom and the statesmanship of their leaders.

111. My delegation is sure that the reborn Ghana will bring new vigour and vitality to the United Nations and thereby contribute a great deal to the strengthening and enrichment of this Organization.

112. May I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Ghana on this historic event in their national life, and to pay a tribute on behalf of my Government to the United Kingdom Government for its wise and far-sighted guidance in promoting Ghana to full, sovereign statehood. My delegation also congratulates the United Nations for the very important part it played in the promotion of the independence of Togoland as a component part of the free and sovereign State of Ghana.

113. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The Government and people of Israel cherish the relations of friendship which they enjoy with many countries on the continent of Africa. Our representatives rejoiced to attend the recent proclamation and celebration of Ghana's independence.

114. Once again, we are reminded of the swift rise of new political and cultural units to the duties and

responsibilities of sovereignty. This rapid expansion of the international community under the guidance of the United Nations has been one of the momentous developments in the international history of this decade. We are proud, therefore, to add Israel's voice to those uplifted here today in welcoming a new sovereign State into the family of nations.

115. Mr. KING (Liberia): My delegation is profoundly moved and deeply touched to see and welcome the emergence of another State in Africa. This feeling is all the more significant since we can appreciate the hazardous road that the people of this new nation have travelled in their aspiration for independence. This is especially noteworthy when one realizes that Ghana has obtained its objective through mutual co-operation rather than through violence.

116. In an age rapidly advancing in scientific and technological development, it becomes increasingly desirable that the fullest effect should be given to our Organization's universal character. Since the chain is no stronger than its weakest link, it will require the contribution of great and small, developed and underdeveloped nations of the world to achieve universal peace and security, for which the peoples of the world so ardently long.

117. The remarkable development of the State of Ghana while it was under guardianship provides a unique example of what can be accomplished through the processes of mutual co-operation and good will among peoples. We have only to look back on the accomplishments of the United Nations during the past eleven years to realize some of the benefits of pooling our efforts and labouring together to make the world a much better place in which to live. As the people of Ghana well know, my country has always welcomed their men and women who have worked alongside of us on an equal footing in our commercial enterprises and our social, religious and national institutions.

118. To the people of Ghana, therefore, and to their stalwart and progressive leaders, Liberia joins in offering its hand in friendship, with the hope that the future will bind our two peoples even closer together with ties of understanding and good will. Their wise leadership and approach to achieving independence give us a fair indication of the contribution which they will be able to make towards our efforts to secure and maintain peace and prosperity in the world, through the various organs of the United Nations. Ghana will certainly assist the other States in Africa in finding ways to present Africa as it should be presented—and certainly from the viewpoint of the continent of Africa.

119. My delegation will proudly and enthusiastically cast its vote in favour of the admission of the State of Ghana to full membership of the United Nations.

120. Mr. JOJA (Romania) (*translated from French*): On behalf of the Romanian delegation, I should like to associate myself with the welcome to Ghana, the new African State which has become a Member of the United Nations. Ghana's attainment of independence, on 6 March, was greeted by the Romanian people with deep feelings of satisfaction and sympathy. In connexion with this event, we saluted the significant progress which has been made in the anti-colonialist struggle and the efforts of the peoples of Africa to achieve their national independence and sovereignty.

121. The people of Ghana have won universal admiration by their heroic struggle for the noble cause

of freedom. The Romanian Government has shown its interest in establishing friendly relations between our countries by appointing an official delegation to participate in celebrations at Accra.

122. In voting for the admission of Ghana to the United Nations, we wish to emphasize our conviction that the new State will be able to fulfil all its obligations and that it will, by its presence in the United Nations, make an effective contribution to the work of the Organization.

123. Ghana—the name conjures up the flourishing mediaeval civilization of Africa mentioned in history. As Ward, the well-known English historian, has said in his *Short History of the Gold Coast*,¹ the civilization of Ghana and of the other empires of the Sudan was more advanced than Europe's at the same period; splendid buildings were constructed, codes of laws were drawn up, poems and stories and books on agriculture, medicine and science were written, mainly in Arabic, and there were many universities. The State of Ghana will be able to draw sustenance in its future development from this rich storehouse of history, and from the invigorating experience it has gained in its recent struggle.

124. I am particularly happy, on this occasion, to be able to convey to the representatives of Ghana our congratulations and our most sincere good wishes for the consolidation of the independence and for the prosperity of their country.

125. Mr. FAWZI (Egypt): May I, on behalf of Egypt, join in welcoming to the United Nations the sister African State of Ghana, whose attainment of full nationhood and freedom symbolizes the spirit of our times and warms the hearts of all who believe in and stand for the growth of the dignity of all the peoples of the earth and their inborn and natural right to be free. Ghana's independence marks still another most welcome stage in a process which is in sharp and healthy contrast to the old and rapidly disappearing system of domination and exploitation. Among other things, it is in sharp contrast with Africa's partition in the nineteenth century among the then big Powers, and it is also an expression of a great element of foresight and wisdom in the world which points the way to freedom and to comradeship and co-operation among the peoples of the world as distinct and apart from the other system of domination and exploitation. The world is more and more speedily becoming aware of the fact that exploitation gives the poorest dividends and that, on the contrary, the magic wand of freedom is capable of creating and producing wonders. Co-operation, teamwork among free peoples, with the aid of its new allies modern science and the new light of the Charter of the United Nations, can make this a really happy world to live in. Let us hope and work for that.

126. The United Nations today, with the admission of Ghana, will be a richer and happier Organization and will have more reason to be proud of its accomplishments and of the widening and broadening of the horizons from which it looks at the world and its problems and the future. We are sure that Ghana will contribute abundantly and copiously to our work and we hope that all will unanimously approve and applaud the admission of Ghana to this Organization.

127. Mr. MUSTAFA-MEDAIN (Sudan): When my delegation takes the floor to show its pleasure and

¹ W. E. F. Ward, *Short History of the Gold Coast* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1952).

pride in connexion with the admission to the United Nations of a new country like Ghana, we know that both the Government and the people of Ghana know beforehand our great happiness and profound gratification on this happy occasion. Our cordial and friendly relation with a sister African country, and our natural and everlasting ties with the Gold Coast, now the proudly free Ghana, are sufficient to indicate our infinite pride on the occasion of the admission of free and independent Ghana to the United Nations, and those cordial relations are sufficient in themselves to decide our attitude.

128. Indeed, our pride and pleasure exceed those of many others. The admission of free Ghana is a new sign of an Africa marching towards freedom and national independence in gigantic strides. The admission of Ghana is, furthermore, another invitation to all colonial people in Africa to struggle for their independence. For those reasons only, among so many others, my delegation is proud to vote for the admission of Ghana to the United Nations. Its vote for the admission of a sister country is one which invites the nations of Africa to co-operate with my country and others in pursuit of the legitimate and honourable cause of freeing all African peoples from the yoke of colonialism. We are extremely proud to have here this new and reborn country of Ghana, and my delegation will vote in favour of its admission to the United Nations, knowing that it will only add to the cause of peace and justice, which we all wish to see prevail everywhere on earth.

129. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution submitted by Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland [A/3569].

130. The vote will be taken by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Luxembourg, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Luxembourg, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 76 votes to none.

131. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker I wish to announce that the representative of Morocco wishes Morocco's vote to be included among the affirmative votes in the roll-call on the admission of Ghana.

132. I am pleased to announce therefore that it is the unanimous decision of the General Assembly to admit Ghana to membership in the Organization.

The representative of Ghana was escorted to his place in the General Assembly hall.

133. The PRESIDENT: It is a happy privilege and a particular pleasure for me to welcome the representative of our eighty-first Member, the sovereign and independent State of Ghana, which celebrated its newly won independence on 6 March 1957.

134. The national independence of Ghana is of special interest to the United Nations, for it is a concrete evidence of the happy application of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter involving genuine co-operation among all concerned, who are, therefore, warmly to be congratulated. This is truly the United Nations way.

135. The experience of Ghana, I am confident, will be of great value to the General Assembly, not only in regard to development towards freedom, but also in regard to the general problems of peace, justice, fundamental human rights and the economic and social advancement of peoples. I therefore look forward to the fruitful participation of the representative of Ghana in the deliberations of the General Assembly and, on behalf of my fellow representatives and myself, I offer our sincerest good wishes to him, as well as to his country and people.

136. Mr. ANTHONY (Ghana): I should like to express to the President and to the representatives in the General Assembly, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, the deep regret that, because of the celebrations in Accra, the consequent heavy air bookings between West Africa and the United States, and the shortness of time, the Government was not able to send a senior representative to the United Nations for this happy and auspicious occasion. But I count myself personally fortunate that the honour of representing my country today has fallen on me.

137. Yesterday, in the Security Council, I watched with great happiness while member after member welcomed my country's application for membership in this august body. Today, I have listened with emotion to the warm speeches of welcome and the tributes addressed to my Government. I can assure the Assembly that I will convey all these sentiments to the Prime Minister, the chiefs and people of Ghana. I am sure I may say, on behalf of my Government, that on some appropriate occasion in the future, a suitable reply to the welcome which the Assembly has accorded to Ghana on its first appearance in this Assembly will be made.

AGENDA ITEM 66

Question considered by the first emergency special session of the General Assembly from 1 to 10 November 1956 (continued)

138. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The General Assembly has before it a report on the Israel withdrawal [A/3568]. I would like to supplement the report with the latest available information.

139. The last Israel troops cleared Rafah Camp at 16.45 hours GMT yesterday, 7 March. Thereafter, there were no Israel troops in the Gaza strip.

140. United Nations Emergency Force troops entered Sharm el Sheikh at 16.00 hours GMT today, 8 March. The Israel withdrawal by sea is proceeding as planned. By now, no Israel forces remain in Sharm el Sheikh, or on Tiran island. However, a number of inoperative Israel vehicles, with a small party of mechanics and dock personnel, will remain in Sharm el

Sheikh until they can be evacuated by sea, on 12 March.

141. Having taken the floor for this addition to my report on the withdrawal, I would ask the President's permission to elaborate on another point mentioned in the report to which I feel entitled to direct special attention for reasons which I hope will be fully appreciated by the Members.

142. In the report, I have referred to the important role which will be played by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in assisting the Force in its immediate task in the present phase of its operation. For the past several years, UNRWA has been charged by the General Assembly with the task of aiding the Palestine refugees in four different areas. In Gaza, the refugees number about 220,000, some two-thirds of the total population. The Agency has fed them, provided shelter for those who needed it and, in co-operation with the civilian organization, provided or paid for their medical care and welfare. Of the remainder of the population of about 100,000 people, about 60 per cent have required assistance, and this has normally been provided by the civilian administration. In this initial period, UNRWA will now necessarily be called upon to extend its services to include the distribution of rations to the needy non-refugees in Gaza. I envisage a similar extension of its activities in respect of the operation of hospitals, schools and welfare activities for all of the population.

143. Although these extended responsibilities go beyond UNRWA's terms of reference, which apply only to services to Palestine refugees, the Director of UNRWA, as indicated in the report, has agreed to assume these tasks within the limits of practical possibilities and within the framework set by the present obligations of the Force.

144. The Assembly certainly shares my view that UNRWA at this moment plays a role which is more important than ever. Without UNRWA's contribution, the task of the Force in this initial phase would have presented insuperable difficulties. Its position is considerably strengthened by the stocks, facilities and trained personnel that UNRWA has on the spot.

145. In the circumstances to which I have referred, I feel entitled to draw the attention of the Assembly to the very grave and urgent problem of UNRWA's finances. The Director has already stressed and explained this situation in his annual report [A/3212], in his special report [A/3212/Add.1] and in his statements to the Special Political Committee.² I have not gone into the financial problems arising at this stage of our work, but it should be obvious, in the light of what I have said and of the explanations given by the Director, that substantial payments are required immediately in support of UNRWA's activities. The Members of the Assembly will certainly appreciate that the United Nations cannot contemplate curtailing its operation for the Palestine refugees elsewhere while continuing or expanding its services in Gaza. If UNRWA's budgets were fully subscribed, this would provide, at least temporarily, reserves urgently needed for the increasing responsibilities in Gaza. It is therefore imperative that outstanding pledges be paid immediately and that pledges and payments be increased to the full extent of the capacity of Member Governments.

146. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): To-day marks compliance with resolution 1124 (XI) of 2 February 1957, with the withdrawal of Israel from Egypt. The way now lies open to carry out resolution 1125 (XI), which aims at achieving peaceful conditions after withdrawal.

147. This is an event in the history of the United Nations which is full of deep meaning for all people in the world, wherever they may be, who wish to be saved from the scourge of war. It is an event which reflects credit on Israel, a nation which has heeded the call of world opinion. It is an event which reflects credit on those Members, notably Egypt, which, by patience and forbearance, have demonstrated their steadfast faith in the United Nations. It is an event which reflects credit on the skill, wisdom and devotion to duty of the Secretary-General. It is an event which proves again the value of the United Nations as an Organization which plays an indispensable part in causing the world, as in this case, to take a turn away from war.

148. The United States welcomes the report of the Secretary-General and pledges its support to assure that what has now been achieved will be used as a foundation on which to build a future for the people of the Near East free from the danger of conflict. As is fitting, the report dwells on the constructive purposes of resolution 1125 (XI) of 2 February. This resolution stated that, after full withdrawal of Israel from the Sharm el Sheikh and Gaza areas, the scrupulous maintenance of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel [S/1264/Rev.1] required the placing of the United Nations Emergency Force on the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line and the implementation of other measures proposed in the Secretary-General's report of 24 January 1957 [A/3512] to assist in achieving situations conducive to the maintenance of peaceful conditions in the area.

149. The steady worsening of conditions along the armistice demarcation line, which culminated in the hostilities of October 1956, demonstrated how fear of aggression on one side begets fear on the other, and out of this fear comes danger for the future. It was to head off this danger that the Assembly endorsed the deployment of the Force on the armistice line and in the area of the Straits of Tiran. It was with this danger in mind that I pointed out on 28 January [645th meeting] that the deployment of the Force must be such as to assure a separation of the armed forces of both sides, as required by the Armistice Agreement.

150. Now that we approach this new stage in the deployment of the Force, the United States appeals to all concerned to co-operate in giving effect to the practical and sensible measures which are set out in the reports of the Secretary-General of 24 January, 22 February [659th meeting] and 8 March and which are called for by resolution 1125 (XI). The United States, in particular, is convinced that the continued deployment of the Force, in accordance with that resolution, affords the best hope of allaying the fear which has animated both sides and thus the best hope of establishing a basis for further progress towards peace and tranquillity in that part of the world.

151. In conclusion, let me say this. We have made a wonderful beginning. We have nursed a patient through several crises. Now let us give him a chance to put some flesh on his bones and build up an immunity to future illness.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Special Political Committee, 23rd and 35th meetings.

152. U PE KIN (Burma): Patience, it is sometimes said, is its own reward. But today we have an occasion when there are extra dividends for all those who have exercised patience since October 1956, when the United Nations was faced with aggression in the Middle East. We have, after four months of concern felt throughout the world, been able to reach that point where armed force has withdrawn from positions won by actions which the General Assembly has declared a violation of the United Nations Charter. We cannot say that now the *status quo ante* is re-established. In such affairs where bloodshed, property damage and destruction have taken place, we never really restore the original state of affairs. We can, however, say that the United Nations has brought about a new situation: first, aggression has been stopped; secondly, the United Nations Emergency Force is present and in being; thirdly, the areas over which so much difficulty has arisen are, temporarily at any rate, under the control of the United Nations; and fourthly, the controversy over the question of free and innocent passage may well be settled by international legal authority.

153. These are no mean achievements. Though diplomacy has been utilized at a level and with an intensity rarely witnessed in the mid-twentieth century, we have been assured that no "conditions," no "secret protocols," and no "deals" have been made to consummate this resolution of our difficulties.

154. Israel, despite hemming and hawing and despite difficulties, some real and others imagined, has at long last accepted the decision of this body to withdraw its forces behind the demarcation line of the 1949 Armistice Agreement. Israel could do no less. If it wishes to retain the regard and respect which is due every sovereign nation within the United Nations, Israel has to accept the overwhelming majority of the opinions of mankind as registered in the repeated support for United Nations resolutions pertaining to unconditional withdrawal. Israel might feel that it also is an aggrieved party and that the fact that it elected to consume four months in arriving at this decision points up the difficulties inherent in it. But Israel must not lightly forget that it has clearly and rightly been charged with aggression.

155. Egypt has, during this same period, conducted its case with patience and restraint, a fact that has not been sufficiently noted in the Assembly. When occasionally its friends have uttered fierce phrases in condemnation of Israel's most recent acts, these utterances must be read or taken in the context of the situation that has prevailed. But fierce phrases are luxuries of temper. They solve nothing.

156. This is not the time to review the past, though the past must necessarily concern us if we are to plan for a peaceful future. Nor is it the time for talking of rewards and punishments. In any summation of the significance of the long, difficult first emergency special session and the eleventh session of the Assembly, several things are clear. They are both causes and effects. If we look at them, stripped of legal and other encumbrances, we shall find: first, that Egypt, struggling to achieve sovereign viability, determined to break with the nineteenth century. It nationalized the Universal Suez Maritime Canal Company. This was an effect, but it was also a cause, though it should not have been so. Secondly, the United Kingdom and France reacted violently to this event. This was unfortunate. But the needs of the United Kingdom and France or, for that matter, other nations whose econ-

omy is linked with the Suez Canal in one way or another, should not be forgotten because of the violence of that reaction. Thirdly, Israel did not want to be pushed into the sea. So Israel pushed back—as if words of pushing or deeds of pushing, each acting as both cause and effect, ever really settled anything.

157. These things are clear, at least to my mind. And they have consequences within the United Nations. We have struggled for four months with these consequences and today we can register partial satisfaction. But we must also realize that, if we solve the current problem, it is not the end of our labours; it is the beginning of them. We have made progress; that is, the Suez Canal may soon be functioning again for the benefit of all users; Israel's acceptance of the United Nations position makes it possible not only to settle the immediate problem of free passage and tense borders, but also to look toward a long-term settlement.

158. But though these may be gains, they are small gains. What is generally at stake and what, I am convinced, is dear to the hearts and heads of many delegations in the Assembly, and what is really the major concern of my Government, is something larger than these gains.

159. May I be permitted, Mr. President, to indicate this larger concept by historical analogy. All of you here who have lived through two world wars have seen the deep enmity that existed between France and Germany. And yet during recent months we have witnessed an extraordinary series of events. France, responding to a plebiscite, has yielded the valuable Saar area to Germany. France and Germany entered into European coal and steel agreements. France and Germany are even now planning, along with other European nations, a genuine Western European union for economic and other peaceful purposes.

160. I venture to suggest that the ideas inherent in what I have called a genuine Western European union are pertinent to the Middle East. There, Israel on the one hand, and Egypt and others on the other hand, each struggling to achieve sovereign viability, must repair the ravages of past antagonism. Both are old and new nations capable of contributing to world civilization not only their ancient splendid glories, but also modern, if modest, new ones.

161. But even more is required than this, if my analogy with Europe is accepted. It is time, I suggest, that Europe—be it Western or Eastern—should stop regarding the Middle East as the "Muddle East", an area capable of useful unities, comparable to Europe. The Middle Eastern countries would benefit from such unities. Is it not time, therefore, that we Member Nations of the United Nations gave more reality to the "United" part of our name? Is it not time for the great democracies to help remove the muddle from the African and Asian new nations instead of setting one up against the other for purposes of selfish ends? Is it not time to help them achieve bilateral and multilateral unity without piling them now to one side, now to another? Rather than derive temporary satisfactions out of divisions within the Middle East, rather than accept such divisions as permanent features of the political landscape, should we not better employ our resources for resolving, instead of perpetuating, such divisions? These questions, I believe, answer themselves—and affirmatively so, each time. Just as France and Germany have reoriented themselves to each other and to European unity, so, too, a similar reorientation must take place within the Middle East and to the

Middle East. If these four months can lead us in such a direction, then the price which the people of the United Kingdom, France, Israel and Egypt have paid will not have been too high.

162. May I conclude my remarks, Mr. President, by paying a deserved compliment to you who, as President of this august body during these troublous days, have guided all of us with tact, patience and unswerving devotion to duty, not only to the Organization, but to humanity at large. We in the Assembly also owe our thanks to the Secretary-General, who has so ably served the cause of peace with such impartiality and such complete devotion. It is, at the same time, fitting for me to record the appreciation of my delegation to the President of the United States of America, without whose efforts and patience this day may not have occurred.

163. Mr. JAWAD (Iraq): In the light of the statement of the Secretary-General which we have just heard and of his report [A/3568], the final withdrawal of the Israel armed forces from the Gaza strip and the Sharm el Sheikh area is now complete. Thus the tragedy which was planned and executed by three States Members of the United Nations has reached its final phase.

164. The last phase of the aggressive conspiracy against Egypt has given reason for rejoicing in many parts of the world. It has been interpreted as a triumph for the forces of peace and justice within and outside the United Nations, and it has been claimed to be an act of obedience by the three Member States to the decisions of the General Assembly. If the matter is confined to these aspects of the problem with which the United Nations has been confronted, there would have been some reason for a feeling of satisfaction. Unfortunately, the matter goes far beyond the limits and definition set for it during the last four months. Without underestimating the spirit and efficacy with which the General Assembly, in its emergency and regular sessions, has tackled the question, it should be recalled that the question raises a number of points which have a negative bearing on the objectives of the United Nations and the degree of the desire of some of its Members to abide by the rule of law.

165. Although satisfaction has been felt about the restoration of peace in the Middle East and the liquidation of aggression in that area through action by the United Nations, the fact remains that, after ten years of the active life of the United Nations, there still exist certain people and Powers who think and act according to the principles and techniques of power politics. It is, therefore, not only a matter of liquidating certain acts of aggression; it is, in fact, a matter of how to liquidate the forces which give birth to all kinds of aggression. This is the fundamental task of the United Nations and of all States which work for peace and progress.

166. The tripartite aggression against Egypt and the final withdrawal of all aggressive forces from Egyptian territory and the Gaza strip under the pressure of the United Nations leave us with mixed feelings of sadness and satisfaction. I should first like to refer briefly to the reasons which cause a feeling of sadness. We feel sad for these reasons.

167. First, we recognize that, after a destructive total war in the age of the United Nations, there exist States which still believe in solving their differences by means of war.

168. Secondly, this particular act of aggression by Israel has been instigated, planned and executed by and in collaboration with two great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, which according to the Charter bears the primary responsibility for the promotion and maintenance of peace in the world.

169. Thirdly, this act of aggression has confirmed more than ever that the imperialistic, vested interests are actively behind all kinds of trouble which afflict the world at present; that the Second World War, which had been fought to put an end to power politics, had not taught Governments the lesson of the danger to world civilization inherent in total wars; and that it had not sufficiently opened the eyes of the common man to the perilous situations concealed by sweet words in current use in certain quarters.

170. Last but not least, this act of aggression has caused enormous material destruction both in Egyptian territory and in the Palestinian-Arab areas. Although material destruction can be repaired, there is no way to redeem the killing and murdering of innocent Arab people and the suffering of those who were subjected to planned terror and deprivation.

171. Now that the curtain has fallen on the last act of this tragedy, which has been a challenge to the Charter of the United Nations and to all humanitarian principles, it becomes the duty of this august body and of all those who work for peace and civilization to ponder the shortcomings of our machinery for peace with a view to its completion and perfection. If the events of the last four months would lead to such constructive action as I have suggested, it could then be said that the satisfaction demonstrated by some has certain justification. But in case our satisfaction is confined to our success in averting the spread of the war to other parts of the world and to the temporary triumph of the rule of international law, we would be indulging in no more than wishful thinking.

172. In any case, it is hardly necessary for me to refer to the forces which have brought the aggressors to order. They had better remain unspecified to avoid what some people call "ideological argumentation". But are the memory and foresight of man so short as to be able to forget how the two world wars were started? Or how certain circles acted from behind the scenes? The memory of man is not so short. While some people are misled by the inculcation of false ideas and conceptions through educational systems and propaganda of all description, others are positively aware of the misrepresentations made of the truth. There is nothing more illustrative of the latter type of people than the British people, who reacted under the leadership of the Labour Party, against their Government's act of aggression, and thus brought about the downfall of Sir Anthony Eden and his Government. Moreover, the fact that the tripartite aggression has been condemned practically everywhere in the world shows clearly that the false campaigns of propaganda launched by the aggressors in justification of their criminal action were not able to mislead world public opinion as to the true intentions of the aggressors. The various decisions of the Assembly have received unqualified support the world over. It gives us a large measure of satisfaction to know that at least four-fifths of the human race stood behind the resolutions of this august body. This covers all Asia, Africa, Latin America and the greater part of North America, the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and the overwhelming majority in Western Europe, as well as

a considerable section of British and French public opinion.

173. Is that not clear evidence that humanity detests and loathes aggression and war? This situation gives us reason to be satisfied with the withdrawal of the Israel forces. We hope that this has taught them, together with their partners, that war does not pay, that the world in general, and the Arab East in particular, have realized more than ever the fate that awaits small States which do not willingly sacrifice their national sovereignty and their human dignity at the altar of imperialism. But we Arabs are determined to fight imperialism in all fields of life.

174. There are other reasons why we feel satisfied. First, the termination of this aggressive act indicates the triumph of the United Nations and, we hope, heralds a new era for the rule of law and civilization. Secondly, the United Nations, in which we small States have put our trust and confidence, has been able to expose and explode the conspiracy of certain big Powers against world peace in general and the integrity of small States in particular. By this action, the United Nations has been able to show clearly to certain imperialist Powers that there will be no return of imperialist domination and that the world must keep on with its march forward. Thirdly, this act of aggression has shown that States practising an imperialist policy have no respect for international law and order and that, consequently, the danger of a third world war emanates solely from allowing such States the opportunity of manoeuvring the United Nations into such positions. Fourthly, the way in which the Assembly dealt with the problem, especially in its last stages, has deterred certain Powers from playing a double game in this tragic affair and from preparing the ground for the realization of their particular interests and policies. It is hardly necessary to say that, in their present state of development, the Arab countries welcome all kinds of assistance, provided it is given in a regular way. We refuse to be parties to any dealings behind the counter, as we have paid dearly for all imperialist black-market and smuggling practices.

175. Last but not least, this act of aggression has proved to the world, in the most practical way, what we have been telling it for the past ten years, namely, that Israel constitutes a constant danger to the establishment of peaceful conditions in the Middle East. We have often pointed out that the creation of Israel was nothing but an imperialist device to be utilized for the economic and political domination of the Arab Middle East and that it is nothing but a bridge-head for future imperialist aggression, not only against us but also against other countries. It has often been repeated, and I hope not in vain, that, unless peace is maintained in the Middle East, the danger of world war will never be averted. Let it be known that there is nothing more dear to the heart of every Arab than to live in peace and to be able to benefit from the fruits of modern progress. We have been prevented first by domination by imperialists and later by the creation of their puppet State, Israel, from achieving our peaceful and progressive objectives.

176. This is all the outcome of a decision based on unjust principles. The United Nations, instead of suggesting the assimilation of the Jews of the world into the countries where they were living, decided to open wide to them the doors of Palestine, to the detriment of the people of that country. How happy they would

be if, instead of fighting nature and the original Arab people of Palestine, they were in the countries of their birth; they would mostly be enjoying life in countries where democratic, peaceful and materially advanced conditions exist. But no, the imperialist logic is completely different from that of civilization and progress. For that and other reasons, the Arab countries had to pay the price; and perhaps—though I hope not—the world will one day share in the payment.

177. I do not propose to dwell any longer on this tragic phase of our life in the Middle East, but I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that what afflicts us afflicts the whole world. Let it be remembered that peace is indivisible and that progress—and I mean real progress, not the making of atomic and hydrogen bombs for war purposes—cannot be achieved without peace. I leave it to you to draw the conclusions.

178. Before concluding, it is my duty to mention how deeply we Arabs have been touched by all the support given to us in connexion with the question of Egypt in the Assembly. Many delegations have manifested a spirit of profound understanding and appreciation of the just cause for which we stand. Our thanks go to the African-Asian States, whose relentless efforts for the cause of peace and justice surpass all description. The untiring efforts of the Indian delegation, and of Mr. Krishna Menon in particular, deserve special mention. The United States and the Latin-American States have, no doubt, made considerable efforts in support of the United Nations Charter and in bringing about the results we have witnessed. The United States in particular has assumed the greater part of the burden of obtaining the settlement of the conflict in a spirit consonant with its policy of peace and justice. The Soviet Union and the people's democracies have demonstrated a profound understanding of the real causes of the conflict in the Middle East and have been co-operative in bringing about the results achieved by the Assembly.

179. No one who has followed the events of the past four months could have failed to note the leading role played by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Words of thanks no doubt fall short in expressing our profound admiration and gratitude for the manner in which he has accomplished his duties in most difficult circumstances. Mr. Hammarskjöld has proved once more that he is not only a distinguished intellectual and diplomat, but also a great humanist.

180. In conclusion, may I be permitted to express the hope that no people in this world shall again be the victims of aggression as the Egyptian people have been and that no people shall be obliged to live as refugees in their own country as the Palestinian Arabs have been living for the past ten years.

181. Mr. THORS (Iceland): It is indeed good news to the world that all foreign fighting forces have been withdrawn from the territory of Egypt and that an end has thus been put to a most serious situation, a situation which could have led to renewed fighting in the Middle East and which would have entailed untold massacre of human life and destruction of property. It is good news to all people and all nations that desire true peace in the world—peace in practice, not only in words and theory. If the war-like situation had continued in the Middle East, it would soon have changed to an all-out war there, and in all likelihood that war would have spread widely, not only to the neighbouring Arab countries but elsewhere as well, for the great

Powers of the world could have become covert partners in this game of demolition and, later, overt participants, and the third world war in its full terror would have begun.

182. This has now been averted—temporarily at least—and well-meaning and honest people all over the world pray and desire that a stable and lasting peace may be found.

183. There is a saying “all’s well that ends well”. Can it, however, truly be said now that the present arrangements constitute the end of a dangerous situation? Unfortunately, that is far from the case. The roots of the problem have not been reached. Therefore, the tree of evil grows on and spreads its thick and thorny branches over the heads of the peoples, creating shadows of doubt, fear and even hatred in their lives. The roots of the conflict must be eliminated: that is now the problem before the United Nations.

184. We who have followed the work of the United Nations during the past years well remember the voices of protest raised by the Arab nations at the time of Israel’s birth in 1948. The war against Israel in 1948 was a tragic event. The Armistice Agreements of 1949 gave us hope that peaceful conditions could be established in this troubled area. That hope never came true. Israel’s invasion of Egypt on 29 October 1956 was the saddest consequence of the hostile attitude prevailing among the nations concerned. It is not my intention to try to evaluate the causes or consequences of this state of affairs. It suffices to know that hostilities broke out and that war has raged even until this very day. That war is now over, thank God. To keep the peace, it is well for all to learn from experience and to consider a few aspects of the situation.

185. It has been repeatedly asserted by many leading statesmen in many lands that Israel is there to stay. The President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, stated at a press conference in Washington on 7 March:

“We must recognize that Israel is a historical fact; it has got to be dealt with, and its problems are those of any other nation.”

186. On the other hand, the Arab nations in this area also have their very serious problems which must be understood and solved satisfactorily. One of the saddest problems is that of the approximately 1 million Arab refugees, for whom homes must be found and to whom fair and firm conditions of life must be granted. About this burning question the Arabs and Israelis must come to terms. It is a source of hope that generous help and sincere assistance have been offered in this grave matter by many leading nations.

187. With regard to the Gulf of Aqaba, my Government wishes to associate itself with the declarations made by many delegations here that the Gulf and the Straits of Tiran should be open for international navigation and that vessels of all nations have a right of passage. Any dispute in that matter could and should be settled by the International Court of Justice—and by no other means.

188. Now that the fighting between Egypt and Israel has been brought to a halt, let us hope that, as time goes by, the Arab nations and Israel will find ways and means of arriving at an understanding and of solving their problems, and thus will find the road to friendly coexistence.

189. The last four months have been a period of great anxiety for the world, and the United Nations

has been tested as never before. The United Nations has, I think, emerged from this perilous juncture in its life stronger and in a position which, more than ever before, challenges all its critics in many lands. A great deal of the credit for this and all the recent achievements is due to our distinguished, hard-working Secretary-General, whose skill, tact and devotion are deserving of our complete appreciation and sincere thanks. His many able assistants in the Secretariat should also not be forgotten in this respect.

190. It is true that the United Nations can never be stronger, or in fact anything more, than its Members want it to be. We must all acknowledge that the President of the United States and the able United States representatives here in the United Nations and its spokesmen in Washington have shown great patience and statesmanship in steering past the many obstacles in this matter and in bringing about a satisfactory solution. It is encouraging that Israel and the United States have dealt with this matter in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and that the Prime Minister of Israel has based his difficult decisions on his trust in the United Nations.

191. The patient and tactful way in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt has conducted himself during the most critical moments of this dangerous chapter that, fortunately, has now been closed—we hope—also augurs well for the future.

192. With all that in view, let us have confidence in the future, and trust that peace and progress will at last be the share of all the peoples in the Middle East for all time to come.

193. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): It was with a feeling of relief and satisfaction that my delegation heard the announcement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel on Friday last [666th meeting] concerning the withdrawal of Israel troops from the Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh areas. We were happy to learn from the Secretary-General this afternoon that, in pursuance of this announcement, considerable withdrawals have already taken place from the Gaza strip and that the withdrawals will be completed by 12 March.

194. It is truly heartening to find that our Organization’s efforts to restore a peaceful and normal situation in the Middle East have, however belatedly, been successful. The success of the United Nations in this respect will, I am sure, strengthen the faith and confidence of all countries in the efficacy of this Organization as an instrument for securing peace and justice in the world.

195. Some people might still doubt that it is possible for the United Nations in the same way to solve and settle all the intricate issues of the Middle East: the Palestine question, the question of the Suez Canal, and other related problems. My delegation, however, feels that, given good will and understanding on all sides and with faith in the ideals of the United Nations and a determination to abide by this body’s majority decisions, whatever may happen, it will not be difficult to arrive at a peaceful and just settlement of all the long-standing issues in the Middle East.

196. I must add, however, that, had it not been for the commendable forbearance and restraint shown by Egypt itself in this long and protracted period of negotiation and delay, the solution would not have been so smooth and peaceful.

197. The difficulties inherent in the Secretary-General’s efforts to secure the implementation of the provisions of resolution 1124 (XI) call for sympathetic

consideration by all. With the same sort of co-operation and understanding which Egypt, we have no doubt, will continue to show, it should not be difficult to bring about also the implementation of resolution 1125 (XI) and to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in due course.

198. The efforts made outside the United Nations by the President of the United States, as well as by the United States Government and its delegation, to bring about the desired results within the framework of the General Assembly resolutions have indeed been commendable.

199. Let me also take this opportunity to put on record, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere appreciation of the steady, unobtrusive efforts of the Secretary-General in bringing about the successful implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly in a real and proper spirit. We are fortunate in having a great statesman and diplomat such as Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General of our Organization. His impartiality and integrity, together with his tact and confidence in handling delicate international problems, have already received wide acclaim through the world.

200. Finally, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, for the ability and wisdom which you have shown in conducting the debates and deliberations in the General Assembly during this most difficult session, with the parliamentary diplomacy which is the practice of our Organization in the solution of questions involving breaches of peace and arousing fears and passions among nations.

201. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): My Government and my delegation welcome with great joy the report of the Secretary-General of today's date, wherein the Assembly is informed of the "full compliance with General Assembly resolution 1124 (XI) of 2 February 1957" [A/3568]. So now the door is flung wide open to an effective start on the implementation of a constructive policy which could, in the near and the distant future, create satisfactory conditions in the whole area and for the States and the peoples of the area.

202. Indeed, as Mr. Lodge, the representative of the United States, said a few minutes ago, this is a very important moment in the history of the hitherto troubled Middle East.

203. My delegation and my Government wish to state that we assume and we expect that, from now on, not only will the Armistice Agreement of 1949 be scrupulously observed by both parties, but also, and consequently, that there will be no more valid reasons for strife and controversy on questions of compliance or non-compliance with the clauses, both written and unwritten, of that Agreement.

204. Two special problems have, for many weeks, loomed over and above all other problems in the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours: the question of the Straits of Tiran and the question of ensuring that there will be no more belligerent acts across the frontiers of the Gaza strip. We assume and we expect that these two problems will no longer cause difficulties which could, by any stretch of imagination, be called serious. We assume and we expect that the question of the freedom of passage through the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal will in fact be solved, and solved positively. We also—and in this I am sure that most, if not all, Members of the United Nations agree—assume and expect that the take-over in the

Gaza strip of full military and civilian authority by the United Nations Emergency Force will ensure and make safe lasting conditions under which no raids of any kind across the armistice line will again take place.

205. The sad history of the last few years shows the paramount importance of this. It also shows that unless the permanent unrest can be brought to an end, not only will fear and mutual suspicion be rife and ever-increasing, but they will lead to a constant danger of world-wide conflagration. My Government, therefore, attaches the greatest importance to the endeavour now being made to pacify once and for all these troubled areas. This endeavour must not fail.

206. With these as our assumptions and our expectations, we look to the United Nations with hope and confidence that it will not hesitate in tackling the underlying problems in the Middle East, extremely difficult and complicated as, of course, they are. Hesitation and the passage of time not utilized will only make matters worse and the problems even more insoluble. May it not be long until we actually begin that great task.

207. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 8 March 1957 in which he stated that he was now in a position to report full compliance with General Assembly resolution 1124 (XI), which demanded the full and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh; the latter withdrawal has been completed today, according to the Secretary-General's supplementary statement at this meeting.

208. At last—at long last, I must say—wise counsel has prevailed and has triumphed in the interests of peace. This is a good day for the United Nations.

209. I am aware that valuable efforts outside the United Nations have contributed to this achievement, but it is equally true that, had the United Nations not taken a firm stand to bring to an end, at least physically, this aggression; had the United Nations not been firm in defending and upholding the Purposes and Principles set forth in the Charter, despite all the difficulties and emotions involved, this end would never have been achieved.

210. My delegation is, of course, grateful for the unceasing attention and assistance of the Secretary-General and his staff, whose invaluable contributions have indeed aided incalculably in this achievement. The United Nations has now achieved what its resolutions, since the outbreak of the aggression against Egypt, have set forth, although they were primarily limited in character; that is to say, the termination of the aggression, at least in the physical sense.

211. Several problems have, however, been left behind by this aggression. No account has been taken of the damage done to Egypt and its people; the loss of many lives is certainly irreparable. Relations between several nations have been damaged as well, and further international efforts will be needed to repair them in the interests of peace and co-operation. We know well enough by now what aggression means in this already troubled and divided world. There is also a kind of problem about the United Nations Emergency Force. Certainly that Force has been instrumental in bringing about the present accomplishments, and my Government is happy to be able to make its contribution by participating in this Force for peace. Here I should like to pay tribute to the Commander of the Force, General Burns, who in difficult and delicate circum-

stances has been able to carry out his task in the most satisfactory way.

212. That the Force has now entered Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh is naturally, as we have stated before, entirely within the scope of its task, which was to ensure the withdrawal of the Israel forces; but the temporary and emergency character of the Force should never be disregarded. It was indeed on this basis that my Government decided to participate in it. The name of the Force itself is explanatory of its temporary and emergency character. I need only refer to what my delegation said before the General Assembly on 1 February:

"While we may agree that it may take some time to secure some stability in these regions after complete withdrawal, it nevertheless cannot be the intention that the Force remain there over any unreasonable length of time, since it would thus be exceeding the temporary functions for which it was established and, in effect, assuming the character of an occupying force, a purpose for which it was definitely not created." [649th meeting, para. 155.]

213. Certainly, it was also agreed that the Force could not stay in any of the areas in which it is now stationed without the consent of the Government of Egypt. This has been repeatedly emphasized also by the Secretary-General himself; in fact, the Secretary-General also drew attention, in his statement before the General Assembly on 22 February [659th meeting], to the fact that the take-over of Gaza from the military and the civilian control of Israel which, as has been the case, in the first instance would be exclusively by the Force, should be orderly and safe as it had been elsewhere. I will also recall in this connexion that the Secretary-General, in his report of 24 January, stated:

"Deployment of the Force in Gaza, under the resolutions of the General Assembly, would have to be on the same basis as its deployment along the armistice line in the Sinai Peninsula. Any broader function for it in that area, in view of the terms of the Armistice Agreement and a recognized principle of international law, would require the consent of Egypt. A widening of the United Nations administrative responsibilities in the area, beyond its responsibilities for the refugees, would likewise have to be based on agreement with Egypt." [A/3512, para. 14.]

214. With regard to resolution 1125 (XI), which will go into effect after the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel troops, the General Assembly may recall that Indonesia was one of the sponsors of the resolution. My Government shares the view that the remaining problems affecting peace and security in the area after the complete withdrawal should be dealt with in conformity with our responsibilities under the Charter. There is the Armistice Agreement, which I believe everyone agrees should be implemented in the way best calculated to secure better conditions for peace and stability in this troubled area. My Government has consented to the necessity, for the time being, and again with the consent of Egypt, to station the Force "on the Egyptian-Israeli armistice demarcation line", as the resolution put it. This, however, should not be construed as consent on our part to employ this Force, in which Indonesia participates, indefinitely on the demarcation line, which is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

215. There is, therefore, for my delegation still a question as to what the Secretary-General means in his report when he says that "the functions of the Truce Supervision Organization in the Gaza area will be placed under the operational control of the Force" [A/3568, para. 14], although I agree with his statement that a close co-operation between the Organization and the Force will be maintained, that is to say since the functions of the two more or less overlap at this moment.

216. With regard to the work of UNRWA in the area, I welcome the statement made just now by the Secretary-General and share his appreciation for the work and the assistance given by the Director of UNRWA and his staff in Gaza in these difficult days for the refugee and non-refugee population of Gaza. My Government being a constant contributor, however small, to the finances of UNRWA, I should like to support strongly the appeal which the Secretary-General made to all Member States to supply the funds which are so badly needed for carrying out the noble task of UNRWA.

217. In regard to the other matter proposed in the Secretary-General's report of 24 January 1957 [A/3512], the General Assembly may recall that different and conflicting interpretations have been placed upon the scope and intent of these matters. My delegation is of the opinion that, whatever further measures or arrangements may be made, it should be clear that they cannot and should not violate the sovereignty of Egypt—which, by the way, was the victim of the aggression on its own territory, including the Straits of Tiran, which are clearly within the territorial waters of Egypt—and the rights of Egypt in the Gaza strip under the still-valid Armistice Agreement. It is, however, my Government's hope that the parties directly concerned will, given the necessary conditions for co-operation, be able to make their contribution to the solution of these difficult and complicated issues in a way which will be conducive to the promotion of peace and stability in the area.

218. In this respect we should also not forget the fate and indeed the human rights of the hundreds of thousands of Palestine refugees, rights guaranteed by the Charter and indeed by United Nations resolutions, not only in the Gaza strip, but also in other areas bordering Israel. Without a solution of this problem, even on a temporary basis, no satisfactory peace, let alone a permanent peace, can be achieved in that part of the world. I do not think that it is fitting at this moment to discuss or elaborate in detail upon all these problems, or upon what should or should not be done, since we do not want to complicate the efforts of the Secretary-General who, as I understand from his report of today's date, intends to study these matters further in the light of the opinions already expressed in the Assembly and in consultation with the parties directly concerned. My delegation is prepared to leave them for thorough study and consultations by the Secretary-General, while naturally reserving its right to consider the questions in the way in which it has taken its stand.

219. I may end this statement by expressing my highest regard for and appreciation of the efforts now to be undertaken by the Secretary-General. Let us hope that, if the General Assembly is to consider these questions again at a future date, a better climate will have been produced—which we always believed it was possible to create after the complete withdrawal of all invading forces—so that the Assembly will have a

better opportunity of finding the ways and means for the solution of the remaining problems under more favourable conditions, which would be not only in the interests of the parties in the Middle East, but also in the interests of all nations concerned.

220. Finally, at this last stage of our General Assembly session, let me pay tribute to you, Mr. President, who have conducted the work of the Assembly during all these difficult months in such an able and admirable way. Your devotion to your duties, your patience, grace and wisdom have always been a light in the deliberations of the Assembly. We are deeply grateful to you and wish to thank you.

221. Mr. MACKAY (Canada): At our last meeting on this subject [667th meeting], Mr. Pearson, the Chairman of the Canadian delegation, expressed the hope that we had reached the turning point in the crisis which has been facing the Assembly for so many weeks. Today I am glad to be able to welcome the Secretary-General's report [A/3568] which, in its first part, records the full compliance by Israel with General Assembly resolution 1124 (XI). Mr. Pearson has already expressed in the Assembly our satisfaction with Israel's decision to follow this wise and responsible course.

222. Part II of the Secretary-General's report points out that, with the withdrawal of Israel from Sharm el Sheikh and the Gaza strip, resolution 1125 (XI) becomes operative. In view of statements which the Canadian delegation has made earlier in the course of the Assembly debate on this subject, I need hardly re-emphasize the support with which the Canadian delegation welcomes this part of the report. We have consistently urged that withdrawal should immediately be followed by the implementation of measures proposed in the Secretary-General's reports, particularly in his report of 24 January [A/3512]. We believe that those constructive measures will help to achieve the conditions of peace and security which are so necessary if we are not to return to the very unsatisfactory situation which existed in the area prior to the fighting last November.

223. We believe that the essential elements of the arrangements for securing and supervising the cease fire and withdrawal will be the interposition of the United Nations Emergency Force between the armed forces of the opposing sides. The Canadian position in this regard is too well known to require detailed repetition. I need only refer to remarks made by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs in previous debates about the deployment of the Force on the armistice line. We still believe that, after the withdrawal of Israel, there is a need for the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement of 1949 and for the deployment of the Force to assist in the achievement of that end. We have in mind, in particular, that the Force should assist in preventing incursions, raids and retaliatory attacks from either direction across the demarcation line.

224. Part III of the Secretary-General's report speaks about arrangements for the initial take-over in Gaza by the Force and about the assistance which it and UNRWA will extend in the civilian administration of the Gaza strip. We recognize that these functions will be complex and difficult. They will add greatly to the responsibilities of the Secretary-General, the Commander of the Force and the Director of UNRWA. We urge that all Governments concerned should co-operate fully with the various United Na-

tions agencies in order to ensure that the arrangements for take-over proceed smoothly. Arrangements like this were envisaged in the programme which Mr. Pearson suggested to the Assembly on 26 February [660th meeting], and we hope they will have the fullest support of the Assembly.

225. I should not like to close these brief remarks without some reference to the future. We all know that, in the efforts to bring about the complete withdrawal of Israel, the resources of the Assembly have been severely taxed. We can rightly sigh with relief today because this difficult phase is past, at least as far as the Assembly is concerned. In our relief at this time, however, we should not forget our continuing responsibility for ensuring that events in the areas concerned may move forward. Conditions must not be allowed to slide back into the unhealthy situation which led to the explosion and fighting last autumn. We earnestly hope that today marks the beginning of constructive development, and we believe the Secretary-General's reports, and in particular this latest one, lay the groundwork for progress. Progress will not be easy, however, and it should not be assumed. That is why we have a continuing responsibility to see that progress is made.

226. As the Canadian delegation has frequently suggested during this crisis, real progress can only be made when the parties to the dispute have made up their minds to settle their differences. We are not suggesting that this can be an easy or a sudden development. We recognize the deep apprehension among the Arab States, derived primarily from the displacement of Arab peoples when Israel was established. We are conscious, too, of the anxiety and frustration in Israel, which sees itself as being surrounded by hostile neighbours. We have suggested before in the Assembly that the time may have come, however, for the Arab States to accept the fact of Israel's existence and to give fresh consideration to what their relations should be with the new State. In return for this recognition, however, the Arab nations are entitled to assurances that Israel has no expansionist ambitions. This is not likely to result in the use of force or the threat of force as a means of achieving national aims.

227. Although these observations may be regarded as an oversimplification of what we all recognize as a very complex question, I suggest that they are not altogether inappropriate at this time, when the Assembly is taking note of compliance with its resolutions on withdrawal and of constructive measures which we all hope will bring about a new and improved atmosphere in that sorely troubled area.

228. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): World public opinion, which unequivocally condemned the aggression against Egypt, expects from the United Nations the full liquidation of this aggression and its consequences. It expects that the brutally violated sovereign rights of Egypt, the victim of aggression, will be fully restored and that, in particular, the General Assembly will not permit any solution which would reward aggression or permit the aggressor to take advantage of the present situation. The last of the aggressors, Israel, after several months of concentrated effort by the General Assembly, has now been forced to withdraw from the positions gained unlawfully by acts of aggression.

229. It is only after unending obstructions and delaying manoeuvres that the Israel troops are being withdrawn, as we learned from the report of the Sec-

retary-General. Negotiations between Israel and the United States, as is well known, have been conducted outside the United Nations, with the main goal and purpose of substituting unilateral guarantees by the United States for the conditions put by Israel as the price for the withdrawal of its troops. Thus, what could not be achieved because of the resolute opposition of the large majority of Member States in the United Nations itself, is being attempted and accomplished now by circumventing our Organization.

230. The main concern of this American plan obviously is to prevent certain stern measures from being taken against Israel and to meet, on the side, the conditions put forward by Israel for the withdrawal, conditions previously rejected by the General Assembly when it insisted, in several of its decisions, on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israel troops and the restoration of the sovereign rights of Egypt. According to the American plan, parts of the territory illegally occupied by Israel are to be withdrawn from the sovereign control of Egypt and be taken over by the United Nations Emergency Force.

231. This would mean not only that a part of territory is to be taken away from Egyptian administration, but also that the Force would be misused for indefinite occupation of this territory. These units, however, have not been assigned any powers such as those which are now being artificially attributed to them and which, according to the United Nations Charter, cannot under any circumstances be accorded to them.

232. The Force cannot, therefore, in any case replace the invaders as an occupying force or take over any functions of the occupants. The United Nations units can only be assigned the task of supervising the unconditional withdrawal of the Israel troops and of maintaining quiet on the demarcation line between Egypt and Israel for the time being and under conditions consented to by Egypt. Any other use of the Force would be in gross contradiction to the principles of the United Nations Charter and in violation of the sovereign rights of Egypt.

233. The Western Powers equally do not conceal their intention of proclaiming unilaterally, in the sense of the Israel demands, that the Straits of Tiran are an international waterway, although these straits are within the territorial limits of Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

234. We are fully aware that, in the interest of the restoration of peace and security in the Middle East, a number of outstanding questions will have to be solved urgently. These problems cannot, however, be limited to the Israel demands for solving only some of them, which Israel prefers to raise now while utilizing the present situation brought about by aggression and the support for such claims by the United States and its main partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Kingdom and France. The outstanding problems include many important and interrelated questions, among them questions of such paramount importance as the deep and painful problem of the Arab refugees.

235. It would be tantamount to putting a premium on aggression and offering advantages to the aggressor if, from the whole complex of unsettled problems, only those questions should be singled out which Israel elevates to the forefront, while attempting to impose on Egypt unilateral demands which are at the base of all its "conditions", "hopes", "assumptions" and "expectations", in the sense in which they are spoken

of, both in the Israel declarations and in the statements of the United States and its partners as regards the so-called guarantees.

236. Although the resolutions of the General Assembly requested an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israel troops and the restoration of the sovereign rights of Egypt over its territory, Israel has in fact not given up the provocative conditions it put forward in connexion with compliance with General Assembly resolutions. It is obvious that the demands which Israel wants to dictate, not only to Egypt, but also to the United Nations, and which it still puts as a price to be paid for the withdrawal of its troops from the territory of the victim of aggression, are the bitter fruit of the interference of the big Western Powers, particularly of the United States, into the affairs of the Middle East, with the purpose of fostering at the same time the political and strategic objectives of the main partners of NATO in the explosive area of the Middle East.

237. In offering guarantees to Israel, the United States went far beyond its legitimate rights and interests and acted unilaterally on its own, in the absence of any authority to make such promises to Israel on behalf of the United Nations. It is a particular cause for regret that the United States should attempt to impose its policy, as expressed in the aggressive Eisenhower doctrine, on the United Nations and, above all, on the Arab countries and, first of all, on Egypt, the victim of aggression.

238. The Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Meir, when announcing the "withdrawal of Israel troops", did not conceal the fact that the Israel Government is counting on the United States' guarantees while putting conditions on its so-called unconditional withdrawal. The Press has fully revealed that the joint manoeuvres of the United States and Israel Governments for the circumvention of the United Nations went so far that even the official declarations which each of the parties concerned have made had been agreed upon beforehand.

239. It has become more and more obvious that the United States intentionally circumvented the United Nations in seeking a unilateral solution of the conflict in the Middle East and that it is attempting to impose on Egypt and other countries its own concepts and formulas also with regard to the problems of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and in the Suez Canal. These actions, which are being carried out with the purpose of fostering simultaneously the aggressive plans of the United States in this area, undermine the authority of the United Nations and create a serious threat to peace and security. They raise a justified question as to whether the next stage of the implementation of the Eisenhower doctrine will threaten armed intervention.

240. We consider that a just solution of the conflict in the Middle East is, above all, a task of the United Nations, which is the only body competent to take all necessary measures to bring about a full liquidation of the aggression and the complete restoration and protection of the sovereign rights of Egypt and other Arab countries. Any unilateral agreements between some of the Member States, particularly between those which indulge in encouraging and rewarding aggression, cannot be binding on our Organization, which must unequivocally insist on the fulfilment of the letter and spirit of the General Assembly resolutions and the full liquidation of the aggression, for which the aggressors must not escape responsibility.

241. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Now that the Israelis have withdrawn from Gaza and the Sharm el Sheikh area, the last remnants of the invading forces against Egypt are finally removed. In coming to a turning point in the developments of the problem before us, the Jordan delegation was aware of the thoughts and views which were expressed by certain representatives during the last two meetings of the General Assembly and at this meeting. These views envisaged, on the one hand, future changes in the administrative conditions in the Gaza strip. They cannot, however, go beyond the scope of hopes and wishes because they are not in conformity with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement, which governs the general conditions in the Palestine area. Our views on the matter and those of other Arab Governments have been stated in detail at previous meetings and are still maintained.

242. On the other hand, hopes and expectations were expressed concerning free passage for Israel ships through the Straits of Tiran and in the Gulf of Aqaba. Such an Israel claim is subject to juridical decision. It also represents an aspect of the Palestine problem as a whole, which problem has not yet been settled. There seem to be some Governments which try to follow a plan by which they think they can solve the Palestine case piecemeal. I must say in this connexion that such a concept is very unrealistic and departs from the path of justice. The various aspects of the Palestine question are interrelated in such a way that the settlement of each of them is dependent upon the settlement of the others. This fact should throw light on our work here at the General Assembly whenever we come to deal with the specific issues of the Arab-Israel conflict.

243. It is in line with these remarks that the Jordan delegation views the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and today's report of the Secretary-General, as well as his previous reports. On this occasion I wish to extend on behalf of my delegation our sincere appreciation to Mr. Hammarskjöld for his valuable contribution to the success of the efforts of the General Assembly throughout the stages of the present discussion, and our admiration to you, Mr. President, for the excellent manner in which you have conducted our debate.

244. Mr. NINCIC (Yugoslavia): This afternoon we have received confirmation from the Secretary-General that the withdrawal of the Israel forces from the remaining parts of the territory they had invaded has finally been completed. A tragic chapter of the Middle Eastern crisis that was opened more than four months ago with the attack against Egypt has thus been brought to a close. This is indeed a signal triumph for the United Nations and may well prove to be a milestone in the endeavours to strengthen the peace of the world.

245. The United Nations has emerged victorious from what has clearly been a crucial test case. When the Security Council, on the proposal of the Yugoslav delegation [S/1719], decided to call the General Assembly into emergency special session to deal with the situation in the Middle East [S/3721], it was clearly taking a bold step; yet it was taking the only step that it was possible to take in the circumstances. Events have proved that it was fully justified in taking this step.

246. The General Assembly—I think it is not an overstatement to say—has magnificently lived up to the heavy responsibilities that were placed upon its shoulders.

With the invaluable and indispensable co-operation of our Secretary-General, whose efforts on this as on previous occasions have earned him the lasting gratitude of all States Members of the United Nations, the General Assembly has achieved the task that was set before it on that momentous night of 2 November. In doing so, I think that the General Assembly has done more than solve a crisis, however serious and however acute; it has made a signal contribution to the strengthening of the broader textures of world peace and security.

247. It has been conclusively shown that settlements cannot be achieved through the use of force contrary to the principles of the United Nations. At the same time, what we hope will prove to be a decisive blow has been dealt to the theory of the so-called local "cold wars" or actions on a limited scale.

248. We are now faced with the necessity of taking further steps in the direction upon which the General Assembly has already embarked. The first and foremost step, as provided in resolution 1125 (XI), is directed towards the strengthening of the structure of the Armistice Agreement. The question has been posed of the role that the United Nations Emergency Force will be called upon to play. In this connexion, I would like to recall the views that have been stated by my delegation on several occasions with regard to the role and functions of the United Nations Emergency Force. These views can very briefly be summarized as follows.

249. In the first place, the use of the Force will have to remain strictly within the confines set by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Further, it is obvious that the Force can only be used with the consent of the State within which it has to operate and can under no circumstances assume the functions of an occupation force. Finally, as has been repeatedly made clear by the Secretary-General in his successive reports, the Force cannot be used to impose the settlement of any controversial issue, whether political or legal. It is the confident hope of my delegation that the United Nations will make the same progress in the implementation of the further phases of its effort that it has made in these early phases.

250. As regards the other, the more long-range or substantive, issues that have for so long plagued the tormented Middle Eastern scene, my delegation, of course, has never denied the existence of these issues or the need to tackle them in due course. I would, in this connexion and by way of conclusion, like to quote from a statement made on 26 February by the Yugoslav Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly of Yugoslavia. He said:

"These issues will have to be approached constructively following the withdrawal of the Israel army. I am certain that the United Nations, by exercising its great authority and relying on the efforts of all peace-loving countries, will do its utmost in this direction. A positive solution by peaceful means of Arab-Israel differences is the only way of achieving a settlement in that region as well as a realization of conditions for independent political and economic development of the people who live there. This would be at the same time the safest way of preventing future interference from the outside and bringing to an end the conditions whereby this region is a battlefield of conflicting interests and harmful struggles among the great Powers."

That is a quotation from Mr. Popovic's statement in Parliament.

251. Mr. EBAN (Israel): In conformity with the statement made by the Israel Minister for Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly on 1 March [666th meeting], Israel forces have been withdrawn from the Sharm el Sheikh and Gaza areas. This brings to an end the action which the people of Israel instituted four months ago in defence of their lives, their homes and their sovereign rights.

252. The General Assembly is fully aware of the considerations which have guided my Government in the question at issue. We uphold and will continue to exercise, together with the entire maritime world, the right of free passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran. We have given voice to our reasonable expectation that the responsibilities now exercised by the United Nations in Gaza will be maintained in the interests of peace and of the welfare of the residents of Gaza until that peace and that welfare are assured by definitive settlement.

253. We share the deep conviction of all peace-loving States that there is no room or title or right for the exercise of belligerent acts by land or sea or air. We have noted the authoritative declarations of leading world statesmen that there is no reason to assume that belligerent acts will be practised by land or sea. We welcome this assumption and shall, of course, act in good faith upon it. The conscience of the world would surely be aroused to vehement shock and protest if, after the dangers we have faced and surmounted, any party were to have recourse to the assertion or to the exercise of a state of war.

254. On 28 January [645th meeting], I defined for the General Assembly the objectives which the Government and people of Israel have sought to achieve in this debate. The things we seek are simple things. We seek no Egyptian territory. We threaten no Egyptian interest. We seek to live without our men, women and children being liable to sudden death springing at their throats from Gaza and elsewhere. We wish our homes in the Negev and the coastal plain to maintain the peace that they have known for three months and not be brought back into the inferno that any prospect of an Egyptian occupation would involve. We seek to have our ships sail freely, equally with others, on international waterways. We seek lawful access to our own ports. We wish to be able to develop our trade and commerce with all nations, free from the warlike strangulation of blockades. These things are our rights. These are not acts of grace. Let us have these rights, and we shall respect the rights of others. It was in these terms that Israel's objectives were defined before the General Assembly a few weeks ago.

255. The people of Israel has been deeply moved by the wave of sympathy that has flooded towards it in its just and righteous cause from the public opinion of a great part of the world. Never has Israel stood higher than today in the trust and the affection of countless multitudes of mankind.

256. I express Israel's tribute to all who have sustained us in the ordeals of recent weeks. We join in the words of tribute spoken here to the President and to the Government and the delegation of the United States and to its Secretary of State, who spent so many careful hours in the study and elucidation of these problems. The eminent leaders and representatives of the Government of France played a decisive role in solving this deadlock at a later, crucial phase. Not

least, our admiration goes out to the delegation of Canada, led by its eminent Secretary of State for External Affairs, for constantly focusing the attention of the General Assembly upon its affirmative and constructive tasks.

257. The sharp, clear light of international scrutiny now comes to bear upon the actions and demeanor of our neighbour. Will Israel's faith be rewarded so that others may have faith in the integrity of international processes? Will the predictions of those who have assured us that Israel will have no reason to regret its difficult choice be fulfilled? We do not doubt that those who have solemnly pledged their honour to work for non-belligerency and tranquillity in the Middle East will rise to the full level of their opportunity.

258. On 1 November, at a sombre and tense moment in Israel's history, our aspirations were expressed in the following terms: "Our signpost points not backward to belligerency, but forward to peace" [562nd meeting, para. 159]. Israel is ready for this historic journey.

259. Peace is the duty of all States and of all regions, but it calls with special insistence and compulsion to our venerable region, from which the call of universal brotherhood first came down across the ages to successive generations of mankind.

260. Mr. FAWZI (Egypt): Please allow me, Mr. President, at this moment when we are near the end of the present stage of our deliberations, to present to you, to the Secretary-General, and to the members of the Secretariat my delegation's and my own profound thanks for the tireless and selfless efforts which you have all ungrudgingly made through long and tedious days and nights during the last several months and which have largely and abundantly contributed to the success of the Assembly's work.

261. The Assembly has been informed by the Secretary-General that Israel's withdrawal from territory it had invaded since 29 October 1956 is virtually complete. Thus one page of history ends and another begins. At this turning point, and in the brief breathing-space that the quick succession of events affords us, the lessons of the last few months are certainly vivid in all minds, and their emotions accompany the beat of every heart.

262. Along with the whole world, the United Nations has gone through and is still going through an extremely severe test. It is with pride and enhanced hope that we can rightly say that, in stormy weather and raging seas, this Organization has so far proved itself to be seaworthy and weatherproof. It has staunchly upheld the Charter principle that problems should be resolved and disputes settled by peaceful means, not by armed force. It has taken a strong position on the principle forbidding aggression as an instrument of policy or a means of reaping benefits.

263. The United Nations and its Members have shown a full awareness of how significant and vital these days and moments are, of how much these days and moments are likely to mean for the future and the very survival of the human race. The United Nations and its Members have fully realized the magnitude of the values and principles involved; they have fully realized that these values and principles belong to all humanity and are not the exclusive property of any of us, to dispose of at will.

264. Together with its fellow travellers on this road that is charted for all of us by the Charter, Egypt—in all humility, yet with faith and resolve—has

throughout kept in mind and in heart this bloodstream of principle and of high ideal, without which there can be no life worth living, no safeguarded honour and no civilized world community of nations.

265. How awesome and dreary, how utterly intractable the road for Egypt would have been if it had had to tread that road alone, without your help, fellow representatives, and the help of your countries; without the encouragement and solid support of you and your countries.

266. When I venture to tell you how broad and how deep will be the gratitude of Egypt and its people forever to all of you who are taking your stand on truth and on the Charter of the United Nations, words fail me; words are insufficient to give an adequate hint of this, our feeling of gratitude. May I, therefore, be forgiven if I merely say, on Egypt's behalf: Thank you and God bless you all.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

ADMISSION OF GHANA TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS (*concluded*)

267. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the General Assembly that the representative of Ghana has transmitted to me a message which he has just received from his Prime Minister and has asked whether I would be willing to read it out to the Assembly. I take pleasure in doing so. The message is as follows:

"The admission of Ghana to the United Nations fulfils a long-cherished aspiration of its Government and people, and on their behalf I should like to express my warm appreciation of the action of the General Assembly in responding so promptly to our request for admission. It is only two days since Ghana attained independence as a free democracy, and our entry into the United Nations is the culmination of the process of our advance. I affirm the intention of the Government and people of Ghana to observe the principles and further the purposes of the Charter. We are proud to take our place in the company of free nations in this great Organization and will bend our endeavours to promote, in co-operation with our fellow Members, the common objects of the preservation of peace and the promotion of the progress, welfare and freedom of mankind."

Arrangements for future meetings of the eleventh session of the General Assembly

268. The PRESIDENT: A draft resolution on this question has been submitted by the delegations of Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Iran, Japan, Norway and the United States of America [A/3570].

269. Mr. KASE (Japan): Together with the delegations of Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Iran, Norway and the United States, my delegation has the honour of sponsoring the draft resolution.

270. This draft resolution proposes, in accordance with rule 6 of the rules of procedure, to adjourn the eleventh session of the Assembly temporarily and to authorize the President of the Assembly, in consultation with the Secretary-General and with the Member States the representatives of which are serving on the General Committee during the session, to re-

convene the Assembly as necessary in order to consider further item 66 or item 67.

271. The General Assembly has approved the Secretary-General's report [A/3568] submitted in pursuance of resolutions 1124 (XI) and 1125 (XI), adopted by the General Assembly on 2 February 1957. It is a source of genuine gratification that Israel has now fully complied with the first of these resolutions and that its armed forces have been withdrawn from the disputed areas. We appreciate the spirit of co-operation displayed by both Israel and Egypt. We earnestly hope that this will mark the turning point in the history of the Middle East, ushering in an era of enduring tranquillity.

272. Future developments, however, may take place which may necessitate the convening of the General Assembly again. Our draft resolution is intended to cope with such an eventuality.

273. Needless to say, we feel deeply grateful for the arduous efforts of the Secretary-General and wish him further success in this important assignment.

274. Item 67, concerning Hungary, remains before the Assembly. We cannot possibly dismiss this important item from our conscience. Our draft resolution therefore stipulates that the Assembly should meet again on the item when that is deemed appropriate.

275. As regards this question, my delegation takes note with appreciation of the interim report submitted by the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3546]. My delegation happened to be one of the twenty-four delegations which jointly sponsored the draft resolution [A/3487/Rev.1] which was adopted by the Assembly on 10 January as resolution 1132 (XI) and which established this Special Committee, composed of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, with the purpose of investigating the situation prevailing in Hungary and caused by the Soviet Union's intervention in that country's internal affairs. Unfortunately, this resolution has not been complied with by the Soviet Union and Hungary, which have denied the Committee their co-operation. My delegation deplores this lack of co-operation on the part of the countries directly concerned and hopes that they will see their way to extending co-operation to the Committee and, in particular, permitting the Committee and its staff to enter and travel freely in the territory of Hungary. This will, in our view, facilitate the assembling of reliable and impartial information which will serve as a useful basis for an accurate assessment of developments in Hungary.

276. In the earnest hope that this will prove instrumental in assisting the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights, we desire to express our thanks to the Committee for the valuable work which it has already done in implementation of the Assembly's resolution.

277. With these remarks, I would urge delegations to support the seven-Power draft resolution.

278. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has no objection to the adjournment of this session of the General Assembly with the possibility of its being reconvened, as necessary, for further consideration of item 66 of our agenda.

279. My delegation did, however, object to the discussion of item 67 of the agenda, on the situation in

Hungary. There is no need for me to repeat the reasons for our attitude on that score, for they have already been explained here more than once. Our main argument is that discussion of Hungary's internal affairs despite the objections of the Hungarian Government is a gross violation of Hungary's domestic jurisdiction and is expressly prohibited by the United Nations Charter. The Soviet delegation objects, for the same reasons, to the proposal that the General Assembly should, at some time in the future, renew its discussion of that item of the agenda.

280. The Soviet delegation would ask the President therefore to take a separate vote on the reference to item 67 in the operative paragraph of the draft resolution. If this reference should be retained in the draft resolution, the Soviet delegation will be compelled to abstain in the vote on the draft as a whole.

281. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States supports the draft resolution concerning a temporary adjournment of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. We differ from and oppose the viewpoint expressed by the Soviet representative that item 67, concerning the question of Hungary, should not be referred to in the draft resolution. We contend, and we believe profoundly, that the question of Hungary has definitely not been settled. We think it will not be settled until it is settled right. We think that the General Assembly is still very much seized of the question. We have a Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which has already done excellent work and which has important assignments to carry out in the future.

282. It is perfectly clear that, if there had been nothing to conceal and nothing to be ashamed of, the Soviet Union and the Communist régime in Hungary would certainly have allowed United Nations observers to go in. By the fact that they have not allowed that, they have practically pleaded guilty. For that reason, therefore, we hope that this draft resolution will be adopted, including the reference to item 67, on Hungary.

283. Mr. KING (Liberia): My delegation will support the draft resolution submitted by the seven Powers with regard to retaining items 66 and 67 on our agenda until the resumption of the session following the proposed recess.

284. I should like to make a few remarks touching upon the interim report of our Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which was established by Assembly resolution 1132 (XI). This document, in the view of my delegation, has been astonishingly thorough in its coverage of a wide and comprehensive range of investigations, and it discloses *prima facie* much relevant factual material regarding the recent manifestations of discontent and dissatisfaction with the violation of human freedoms by foreign troops in Hungary, notwithstanding the great difficulties with which the Committee was faced. The report is the more valuable because of its unanimity.

285. Even if there were any technical legal barrier regarding the competence of the Assembly on this question—the existence of which my delegation does not concede—such a barrier, it seems to us, would be overridden by the obligation imposed by the Charter upon Member States to observe and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Objections, in this connexion, could only stem from a cynical double standard of morality. Can it be that some of us who have been the first and the most outspoken in our

protests against intervention in the Middle East will now insist that the United Nations—as Mr. Spaak, a former President of the General Assembly, has recently charged in the January 1957 issue of *Foreign Affairs*³—will look on “impassively at the brutal repression of the revolt in Hungary”? Certainly the violence which has been employed to crush the national liberation movement in Hungary—as testified by witnesses who appeared before the Committee and disclosed in the interim report under consideration, particularly in chapter IV entitled “Summary Statement on the Course of Intervention in Hungary”—would seem no less reprehensible and, therefore, is no less suitable as a subject of discussion by this world Organization than other subjects which it has taken up with vigour.

286. This course of conduct would seem to be all the more desirable, not only because of the principle of sovereign equality laid down in the Charter, but, what is even more important, because all nations and all peoples have come to realize the need for a new order in the world, based on the recognition of equal partnership among all countries, large or small, in the interests of world peace.

287. My Government does not take a “holier than thou” attitude in this or in any other matters before this body; but it nevertheless does consider it to be right, and not merely a matter of expediency, for its delegation to associate itself with other Member States in condemning acts in grave violation of fundamental human freedoms, wherever and whenever they occur.

288. Moved only by these considerations, my delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the seven Powers.

289. Mr. BOLAND (Ireland): My delegation supports the proposal that, in view of the important items of unfinished business still on the agenda, the present session of the General Assembly should not be brought to an end but should be adjourned in such a way that it can meet again on the summons of the President if developments should render a further meeting or meetings necessary or desirable. For that reason my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution which the General Assembly now has before it. It is obviously necessary that the Assembly should continue to pay close attention to developments in connexion with item 66. Thanks to the attitudes of the countries concerned and in particular to the regard paid by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and Israel to the resolutions of the Assembly, the situation in the Middle East, which has caused us all such deep concern for the past few months, now gives brighter promise of a more stable future. That is not to say, however, that there are not still important issues in relation to item 66 which call for attention and review, and we cannot exclude the possibility that action by the General Assembly may be required to deal with them.

290. However, we regard the proposal made in the draft resolution as being particularly necessary and important in relation to the question of Hungary. The Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, which the General Assembly set up by its resolution 1132 (XI), has already presented us with a report. Representing as it does the results of a painstaking and impartial inquiry, this report is a valuable and informative document which I am sure we all hope will be

³ Paul-Henri Spaak, “The West in Disarray”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 184.

read as widely and attentively as it deserves. As the report is merely of an interim character, however, it would be hardly appropriate for the General Assembly to attempt to discuss it in detail at this stage. Having entrusted the task of establishing the facts of the Hungarian rising to an authoritative and responsible tribunal, our best course, it seems to my delegation, is to leave that body to pursue its inquiries in complete impartiality and objectivity and to refrain, in the meantime, from formal discussions which might be attacked as attempts to sway the judgment of the Committee and might be used in that way to detract from the authority of its findings. For this reason, we would merely wish at this stage to pay a warm tribute to the Committee for its interim report and to express the hope that it will continue to pursue its work on the lines it has hitherto followed. It does however seem to us important that, as soon as the Committee has presented its report, there should be no unreasonable delay in its discussion and consideration by the General Assembly.

291. I can quite understand, of course, that this idea does not commend itself to the representative of the Soviet Union, but I imagine that even that representative himself must be conscious of the weakness of the grounds on which his objection is based. Even he, I imagine, must sense the harsh cynicism of the arguments which he has been called upon to uphold when, as the representative of the country which sent its tanks into Hungary to crush the workers and peasants of that country and impose upon them a hated and tyrannical régime, he comes to this tribunal to accuse the United Nations of crude interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary.

292. The agony of Hungary still continues. Current news reports of wholesale arrests and executions show that all the pitiless cruelty of the police state is being used to punish the Hungarian people for their gallant bid for freedom. The moral condemnation of the world expressed in the Assembly has not sufficed to preserve Hungary from these horrors, and the conscience of decent peoples in all countries stands aghast at the failure. Yet I believe that out of our debates and out of our investigations has come something of value, namely a new and sharper realization—which I believe ordinary people in every land are now coming to feel more clearly than ever before—of the fearful threat which Soviet communism presents to human and national liberties. It is for that reason that we regard it as the duty of this Assembly to continue to focus the clear light of truth on the Hungarian tragedy, and it is for the same reason that we support this draft resolution.

293. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): I should like to take this opportunity to explain why my delegation will strongly oppose the proposal to delete the reference to the Hungarian item from the draft resolution which is before us so as to preclude any further consideration of this item at the eleventh session. Nearly two months have passed since the General Assembly last debated the question of Hungary, but the tragic situation which still exists in Hungary has been ever before our minds. The last action we took here was to pass resolution 1132 (XI), reaffirming the continuing concern of the United Nations and setting up a Special Committee of five members to "investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in

order to report its findings to the General Assembly at its eleventh session, and thereafter from time to time to prepare additional reports for the information of Member States and of the General Assembly if it is in session".

294. We have now received the Committee's interim report dated 20 February 1957, and I welcome this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation for the valuable work which the Committee has already done. Good progress has been made in the questioning of witnesses and in the examining of documentary evidence. The Committee has requested the assistance of all Member States in providing information relevant to its task, and a number of Governments, including my own, have already responded to this request by furnishing material which we hope will be of considerable value to the Committee in its work. We shall continue to provide as much information as is at our disposal and to permit the Committee to examine important witnesses who are now living in the United Kingdom.

295. The Committee has a great deal of work still to do to carry out its terms of reference, which embrace virtually all the aspects of the armed intervention in October 1956 by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of Hungary and the tragic developments which followed that intervention. Members of the Committee are now on their way to Europe, where they will continue their investigation by means of the examination of witnesses and direct observation. We wish them every success in their important work. We can only regret that, as the Committee's report reveals, the Government of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities have resolutely refused to co-operate in any way with our Committee. We must applaud the Committee's declaration that it will persevere in its efforts to fulfil the mandate of the General Assembly to obtain information by direct observation in Hungary.

296. This, however, is only the beginning of the Committee's work. There is still much to be done before the Committee will be in a position to produce its final report which, according to the terms of the resolution, should be presented to the General Assembly at its eleventh session. It is therefore quite clear that the General Assembly should stand ready for a further discussion of the Hungarian problem as circumstances require it. As I stated when we were last discussing the Hungarian question [635th meeting], the Government of the Soviet Union will be making a serious mistake if it believes that the moderate language in which resolution 1132 (XI) was couched implies that our indignation on this question is spent. This is far from the case. Let me recall the words of the resolution [1004 (ES-II)] we adopted here on 4 November 1956 when we affirmed "the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being".

297. The Special Committee we have set up has declared in its report that "the central stress of the Committee's investigation will, however, be directed towards 'the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights'" [42/3546, para. 17]. This must continue to be our unswerving aim. We have a duty to the world, and in particular to the gallant people of Hungary, not to slacken our efforts in pursuance of this aim. I believe that if we in the Assembly, with the assistance of our Special Committee, do not slacken our efforts on behalf of the people of Hungary, the

Soviet Union will be brought to realize that its policy of armed intervention is bankrupt and that it must heed the voice of the free world.

298. As regards the terms of the draft resolution itself, I feel bound to say that my delegation does not regard the procedure suggested as altogether satisfactory. A better formula, in our view, would be that adopted in similar circumstances at the seventh and eighth sessions. The Assembly then agreed unanimously to recess, while requesting the President to reconvene the session in consultation with the Secretary-General and with the concurrence of the majority of the Members if, in the opinion of the President, developments in respect of the Korean question warranted such a step or if one or more Member States requested the President to reconvene the session because of such developments. This, in our view, would have been a better procedure to adopt on this occasion. The General Assembly was not intended to be in more or less permanent session all the year round, and I am sure that the sponsors of the seven-Power draft resolution will agree on that, but the wording of their draft seems to my delegation to go a little too far in that direction. To my mind, rule 6 was intended to apply to the Christmas recess and the like. Provided, however, that the formula which we are now asked to consider does not become a precedent, my delegation is prepared to go along with it, taking into account the exceptional circumstances with which we are confronted.

299. Finally, I feel that we should not go our different ways from this place without expressing to you, Mr. President, our deep sense of gratitude for the skill with which you have presided over our debates—and I speak now on behalf of the delegations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ceylon, Pakistan and Ghana, as well as my own. We have all, I think, been conscious that your task during the last four months has been far from easy. The least part of this task has been listening to countless hours of oratory on a great variety of topics which must of itself have been a considerable feat of endurance. More important has been the wise guidance which you have given us at all times and in particular at difficult moments of our deliberations; at moments when controversy had begun to arouse strong feelings or when we have been in danger of becoming entangled in matters of procedure, we have come to rely upon your serene advice to straighten out our difficulties. On you, perhaps more than on any other individual, has fallen the burden of our long days and nights of labour and to you belongs a great share of the credit for what has been achieved during this past session. We hope that you will now be able to enjoy a period of the leisure which you so amply deserve, and we look forward to receiving once again the benefit of your counsels when we meet again.

300. Nor should we let this occasion pass without paying our warm tribute to our Secretary-General and his devoted staff. Mr. Hammarskjöld has excited our admiration and respect both by the selfless manner in which he has worked night and day for so many months and by the skill and ingenuity he has shown in carrying forward the wishes of the Assembly as expressed in our resolutions. We trust that, despite the heavy responsibility which we have placed upon his shoulders, he will be able to enjoy some respite from the almost inhuman weight of work which he has been carrying.

301. Mr. VITETTI (Italy): The Italian delegation fully supports the draft resolution introduced by Japan on behalf of Brazil, Canada, Colombia, United States, Iran and Norway. This draft reflects, it seems to us, the real state of things and it answers to our precise duties.

302. The General Assembly has been confronted with many important issues and it will be remembered for its remarkable achievements in dealing with the crisis in the Middle East. It is gratifying to see that we are closing this regular period of our meetings—as far as the crisis in the Middle East is concerned—on a positive note. We have fulfilled that part of our task which asked for the complete and unconditional withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza strip of Israel troops; and we now bend to the constructive part of our task in order to implement—in accordance with our resolutions and the reports of the Secretary-General—the measures which we hope will give tranquillity to that troubled area and peace to its inhabitants. This is a most gratifying thought. It shows that whenever the countries involved in an international issue agree in earnest and good faith to abide by the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the competent bodies of the United Nations, a solution to such an issue may be found and peace and good relations amongst the peoples of the world can be maintained and developed.

303. Unfortunately, on one point the picture becomes utterly dark and negative. It is extremely sad to have to recognize that one of the most important and urgent questions before the Assembly—I refer of course to the Hungarian question—has been the cause of deep and bitter disillusionment. The will of a single country has nullified the untiring efforts of the General Assembly and fouled the hopes of public opinion of the entire world, of the whole of humanity. Because of the Soviet Union's refusal to abide by the principles of the United Nations and to comply with our resolution, we have been unable to give the brave and courageous Hungarian people an answer to their desperate appeal of 2 November. It may be taken as symbolic evidence of this situation that the very person who dared to request United Nations assistance has been taken away from his country and we do not even know where his present dwelling is and whether he is free or even alive.

304. This is one of the thoughts which comes to our mind in reading the interim report which has been submitted to us a few days ago by the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. This report is very important indeed and in our opinion deserved a fuller debate. When, a few days ago, we were wasting our time in the discussion of an item proposed by the Soviet Union and accusing—incredible but true—the United States of intervention in the internal affairs of certain countries, the Italian delegation stated very clearly [658th meeting] that in its opinion the time of the Assembly would be more fruitfully and properly dedicated to an examination of the findings of the Special Committee.

305. We understand, in any case, that this is not the moment for a thorough review of that report. I will therefore confine myself to a few remarks. I believe that the Committee, notwithstanding the obdurate refusal of the Soviet Union to admit the Committee into Hungary, has started its work in the proper direction. It has fully and properly interpreted our resolutions in setting the scope of the investigation as it appears

in chapter III and in paragraph 51 of document A/3546. It has given an outline of the course of the intervention in Hungary which adheres very well to the facts. That is exactly what we wanted from it: we know perfectly well of course, what those facts have been and what the tragic reality is. But it is important to have those facts and this reality officially recorded in a document of an impartial body, so that no doubt whatsoever may remain in any sector of world public opinion as to the aggression by which the reconquered freedom of the Hungarians has been crushed and doomed by the Soviet Union.

306. We want to express our appreciation to the Committee for its work and we invite the Committee to continue in its fact-finding research. We hope that it will not be long before the Committee may be able to produce its final report. In the meantime, we must never lose our hopes and we must never falter in our efforts and attempts to deal with the real core of the situation, which is the Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and the imposition, by armed force, of a régime in Hungary which does not correspond to the national aspirations of the Hungarian people.

307. The proposal to have the present session of the General Assembly recessed and kept ready to convene at any moment meets with this requirement, as well as with the requirement, if necessary, of following closely the situation in Palestine. That is the reason why the Italian delegation will support the draft resolution and will oppose the elimination of the reference to item 67, as suggested by the Soviet Union.

308. Mr. President, since I have the floor, I wish to take this occasion to express to you the deep feelings of the Italian delegation for the able, wise and most imperturbable way in which you have presided over the General Assembly. We will certainly all remember for a long time your charming firmness in regulating some of the most difficult, involved and subtle debates which have taken place here since the very beginning of the activity of the United Nations. You have been a steady pilot in very troubled waters.

309. I wish also to take this occasion to express the most sincere appreciation of the Italian delegation to the Secretary-General for his tireless devotion to the high task of the United Nations, a devotion approaching very nearly to sacrifice. These feelings of gratitude I also wish to extend to all the members of the Secretariat.

310. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation regrets that this occasion also has been misused for unfounded allegations attempting to justify the further consideration of the Hungarian question as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and to undermine the authority and international reputation of its Government.

311. Concerning the arrangements for future meetings of the eleventh session, I should like to recall that my delegation has repeatedly stated its position on item 67. We have been strongly opposed to any consideration of this item, the so-called Hungarian question, by the United Nations organs which, under the Charter, have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Member States. We cannot therefore, agree to any arrangement or arrangements for the future consideration of this matter in the United Nations. Such further consideration would serve only aims hostile to the Hungarian people and would be contrary

to the interests of the maintenance of peace and security. These interests require that the so-called Hungarian problem should at last be removed from the agenda of the General Assembly. It is high time that the General Assembly should no longer be misused for a calumnious campaign against Hungary and the Soviet Union, which has already been carried on for months and which was witnessed even today in the course and under the guise of a procedural debate.

312. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation will support the draft resolution submitted by the seven Powers, which provides among other things that the General Assembly may continue the discussion of item 67 on its agenda. I do not wish to reopen the discussion on the Hungarian question at present, but I feel that the following comments are called for.

313. The question considered at the second emergency special session was referred in due form to the eleventh session [*resolution 1008 (ES-II)*], and it was thus that item 67 came to be placed on the agenda. After prolonged discussion of the matter, the General Assembly adopted, on 10 January, resolution 1132 (XI) to set up a special committee "to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in order to report its findings to the General Assembly at its eleventh session . . .".

314. The Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary has worked assiduously since January, but it has so far only been able to submit one report [*A/3546*]. This report contains some extremely interesting information and an effective working plan. But the Committee itself described it as an interim report, clearly indicating the provisional nature of this document, which cannot therefore be said to embody all the information called for in paragraph 1 of resolution 1132 (XI).

315. In these circumstances, to declare the discussion of item 67 closed would amount to violating that resolution. The Assembly must therefore be able to continue its meetings in order to deal with the report which the Special Committee will compile as soon as it has completed its investigation.

316. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution submitted by Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Iran, Japan, Norway and the United States of America [*A/3570*].

317. Since a separate vote has been requested on the words "or 67" in the operative paragraph of the draft resolution, I shall put those words to the vote first.

The words were adopted by 59 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions.

318. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution as a whole.

The draft resolution was adopted by 65 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

319. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The United States co-sponsored with Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Iran, Japan, and Norway the resolution which has just been adopted because we believe that, in the particular circumstances this year, it is prudent to provide that the session shall be reconvened by the President in consultation with the Secretary-General and with the concurrence of the majority of the countries whose representatives serve on the General Committee. But we wanted to make clear for the record

our view that, in instances requiring temporary adjournment rather than adjournment, sessions should normally be reconvened with the concurrence of a majority of the Members of the Assembly, as was done at the seventh and eighth sessions with regard to the Korean question. We wanted the record to show that was our belief.

Suspension of the eleventh session of the General Assembly

320. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Before I take my seat, I should like to add to the tribute which I paid earlier this afternoon to the Secretary-General. I should like to express the thanks of the United States delegation to all the members of the Secretariat who have worked so hard, so faithfully and during such long hours for the past four months.

321. Let me also pay a tribute to you, Mr. President, for the magnificent way in which you have presided over the General Assembly. You have always shown good humour and politeness under conditions which sometimes must have been extremely trying. You have always shown intellectual force and an ability quickly to comprehend the many complex questions which confronted you. You have always been animated by a true spirit of justice, and no one in the Assembly has ever questioned the fact that, with you in the Chair, everyone was guaranteed fair play. The example that you have set is indeed a splendid one for nations to follow in their own corporate behaviour.

322. We think you are a credit to Thailand, a credit to the United Nations and, if I may say so, a credit to the human race.

323. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): After our difficult, exhausting and sometimes dramatic labours, it is now time to suspend, for the time being, the eleventh session of the General Assembly, which opened amidst great expectancy about four months ago after two emergency special sessions, convened in conformity with the "Uniting for Peace" resolution [377 (V)] to consider the grave events in Hungary and the Middle East.

324. As far as is humanly possible, the General Assembly has been able to carry out the obligations and responsibilities imposed on it by the Charter with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security and has successfully fulfilled the various functions assigned to it in many other fields. A major part of the ceaseless efforts to reach a solution of the grave problems considered by the Assembly at this session has fallen upon you, Mr. President, and I am extremely happy and honoured to pay a tribute from this rostrum—on behalf of all the Latin-American delegations—to your great gifts as a statesman, jurist and diplomat, your untiring and fruitful labours as President of the Assembly, and your single-hearted devotion to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

325. I also want to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Latin-American delegations, to the Secretary-General, who has spared no effort to further the proceedings of the General Assembly and to carry out the varied, complicated and far from easy functions which the Assembly has entrusted to his skill and experience, and to his outstanding devotion to his important duties.

326. We wish also to convey our thanks to Mr. Cordier, Mr. Correa and all the other members of the Secretariat and the different United Nations services

at Headquarters for the valuable help which they have given us and which we know they will continue to give us at succeeding sessions.

327. Let me conclude, Mr. President, by wishing the General Assembly every success in the days to come and good luck to you, the Secretary-General and each and every member of the Secretariat; we hope that they will take a well-earned rest after their heavy labours of the last four months.

328. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation is highly honoured to have been called upon, at the suspension of the eleventh session, to thank the President, not only on its own behalf, but on that of the delegations of Austria, Belgium, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

329. We regard Your Royal Highness as embodying in the highest degree one of the most valued of those qualities that go to make up the tradition of your country, the quality of tolerance, which is a combination of understanding, patience, courtesy and impartiality; and it is this which has marked you out most especially to preside over the Assembly. It is for this reason, Mr. President, that, as early as the seventh session, you were the candidate of a great many Member States. But fate had decreed that you should preside over one of the longest and most difficult of sessions—and the one with the largest membership, for there are, at the close of the eleventh session, eighty-one Members—and that you should bring to this task your qualities and your experience both in international affairs and negotiations and in debates at the United Nations, where you have presided over most of the Committees at one session or another.

330. Through an unforeseen sequence of events—since I had no reason to suppose three months ago that I would be here today—your presiding over the eleventh session has given me the opportunity to pay a tribute both in my official capacity to your qualities as a statesman, and in my personal capacity to your qualities as a human being and your steadfastness in friendship; for I have had the privilege to find undiminished that friendship which has bound us together through good and evil fortune for nearly a quarter of a century, and which has never faltered for a single day throughout the vicissitudes of that period of history.

331. With our thanks to you as President we wish to associate the other officers of the Assembly, the Secretary-General, to whom all the delegations have so often expressed their appreciation during this session, and the members of the Secretariat—my former colleagues—the indefatigable and devoted Secretary of the Assembly, the officials, like the interpreters, the translators, the verbatim reporters, the document, conference and information officers, whom we can see at work, and those who work behind the scenes, like the officials of the substantive departments, and who, by their devotion and ability, have played such an important part in the harmonious and effective development of our discussions.

332. Please accept, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations which have entrusted us with this message, our best wishes for your health, prosperity and personal happiness, and that of your family, and, in particular of Princess Wan, to whom we ask you to present our humble respects; please convey our best wishes to your charming daughter Wiwan on the

occasion of her approaching marriage. Our best wishes go to your country, which you represent so worthily and with such great distinction among us.

333. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): It is my privilege, in the name of my dear colleagues Mr. Sarper, representative of Turkey, Mr. Mir Khan, representative of Pakistan, Mr. Lannung, representative of Denmark, Mr. de Marchena, representative of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Loutfi, representative of Egypt, and Mr. Petrzelka, representative of Czechoslovakia, and personally, to pay a richly deserved, sincere and cordial tribute to our President, Prince Wan.

334. When the events began which led to the convening of this session of the Assembly, I recalled a phrase in which Macaulay said that the forces that push nations into war cannot be controlled. But today, we have seen that the Assembly has been that mysterious power which Macaulay did not think existed, capable of bringing conflicts to a halt—for the Assembly has miraculously accomplished its work of justice and of peace. At this moment of the Assembly's triumph nothing could be more appropriate than to acknowledge the debt due to the President who has guided these debates with such wisdom, patience, tact and serenity. He has, I know, a title of high royal rank but I am sure he would not scorn the title I am now offering him, that of "His Serene Highness," for it required an understanding, kindly serenity, a serenity equal towards all, generous towards all to be able to steer these debates towards their highly successful conclusion. I have often wondered what was the secret of the success Prince Wan achieved as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee at the tenth session of the Assembly and now as the brilliant President of the Assembly. And this, I felt, was the answer: Prince Wan has succeeded in combining the age-old wisdom of the race to which he belongs, that deep-rooted wisdom of the East, with Western culture, of which he has such an extensive knowledge. He is the perfect example of the man who has united the blood and sap of oriental wisdom with the knowledge, initiative and technical interest characteristic of the Western mind. The example of Prince Wan ought, I think, to serve as a lesson to us all, but especially those who cherish and belong in blood and spirit to Western culture. How better could we westerners serve the United Nations than by seeking to combine with our technology and our inquiring spirit, the wisdom of the East and sympathetic knowledge of its civilizations? It is my devout wish, Mr. President, that your example will be followed, that the men of the United Nations will combine the wisdom and skills of their own races with the wisdom and skills of other races.

335. You have been greatly helped, Sir, in these difficult times, not only by the spirit of the Assembly and the willing collaboration of representatives, but also by the Assembly's deputy, the Secretary-General, and his distinguished assistants. The Secretary-General does not need—he does not want—our praises, but I should like to say something to him on behalf of my own colleagues and, to a certain extent, on behalf of fellow members of the Assembly. I should like to tell him that he has our full support in these difficult times and I should also like to tell him that, just as we have shared his disappointments, sufferings and anxieties during these difficult moments we shall, after the suspension of the Assembly's session, continue to share with him these feelings, these anxieties, worries, aims

and hopes, and to share with him, too, I hope, the final moments of triumph.

336. While I am acknowledging our debt of gratitude, I should like, too, to pay a tribute to Mr. Corrier, the zealous and diligent guardian of the correctness of our votes and the zealous and diligent guardian of our rules of procedure, whose calmness and confidence are further guarantees of the success of our labours.

337. I should also like very warmly to thank all members of the Secretariat, all United Nations staff members. I have been told that some staff members have worked fourteen hours a day, without rest, day after day, for the sake of the success of our work. And this success is evident in the fact that both staff members and representatives are convinced—and with these words I would like to end my statement—that the United Nations represents the best hope for justice among mankind and the peace of the whole world.

338. Mr. NA CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (*translated from French*): I am extremely grateful for the honour which my Arabian and Asian colleagues have done my country, Laos, in designating me to speak on their behalf at this final meeting and I thank them most warmly.

339. My purpose in taking the floor at a time when all the representatives are more concerned with train and plane schedules than with other questions, is not to add still another speech to all those which we have heard and the eloquence of which, be it stirring, ironic, ingenuous or passionate, will be consigned to the limbo of the past and simply add to the weight of the already formidable archives of our Organization.

340. My intention is simply, after this long voyage, whose goal seemed to recede as we approached it, to congratulate you, Mr. President, together with our Secretary-General, on having brought our ship to harbour. Rarely, however, has this tall ship that is our Organization known stormier waters, nor has it ever come nearer to reminding us of the chains and oars of the old time galley-slaves. There was even at one time a murmur of mutiny on board. The sirens sang to us loudly from the sharp rocks, and without your firm hand at the helm, and the wise and prudent counsel of the Secretary-General, whose keen eye remained fixed on the pole star of international law, we would have run grave risks.

341. The wind seems to have dropped, and the reefs, seen from the harbour, appear less formidable. But we are well aware that soon we shall have to put to sea again and once more battle with the winds, the tides and the sirens.

342. We have every confidence in our Secretary-General: Who could guide us better than he, who has the rare privilege both of belonging to a nation of sailors and of knowing all the secrets of the mountains?

343. We must not forget the members of the Secretariat, seasoned sailors all, whether mates or cabin boys, whose silent devotion to duty has so effectively supported the action of the Secretary-General.

344. My comparison will perhaps bring a smile to the lips of those who know my country, which has, alas, neither ships nor seaports. But if I have ventured to speak of a ship, of sirens and of rocks, it is because our Organization has talked for more than six months of hardly anything but canals and territorial waters.

345. Therefore, in concluding, we express our sincere hope that next autumn our stout Organization will set

out once more with full sails spread on its voyage over the world and its problems. May this next voyage be attended by favourable winds.

346. Mr. THORS (Iceland): It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to express, on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, as well as the delegation of Iceland, all our thanks for the distinguished manner in which you, Mr. President, have presided over our meetings and for the wisdom, diplomatic tact and foresight with which you have officially and privately conducted the work of this session of the General Assembly. We are all gratefully and approvingly aware of your admirable efforts and of your great success in bringing many a problem to a satisfactory solution and enhancing agreements by the parties concerned on some of the most difficult, delicate and controversial matters of which the General Assembly and the United Nations in general have ever been seized.

347. In congratulating you, Mr. President, on your great achievements, we take the opportunity of wishing *bon voyage* to you and your happy family on your way to your beautiful country. You have once again enriched the United Nations by your representation of the highest and noblest culture of Asia. Your great success here is indeed no surprise to us who have had the good fortune of knowing you for many years. We now say to you: Thank you, *bon voyage* and happy landings. May we have the privilege of seeing you here among us at many future sessions of the General Assembly.

348. I have already had the pleasure and privilege this afternoon of expressing our great appreciation to the Secretary-General for all his wonderful achievements. May we also express our thanks to the never-failing Mr. Cordier and to all the members of the Secretariat who have worked so hard, for so many hours, day and night, during these difficult days.

349. Mr. KASE (Japan): On behalf of the African-Asian group and also of the new Members, I should like to associate myself with the statements already made by other representatives in tribute to your noble self, Mr. President. My delegation wishes to express its most sincere thanks to Your Royal Highness for the superb skill with which you have presided over this turbulent session.

350. The eleventh session of the General Assembly has indeed been a memorable one. Much history has been made at the United Nations, which, thanks to you, has withstood unprecedented trials and, I believe, has emerged stronger. Surely, this would have been impossible without your masterly handling of the role of President of the Assembly. Throughout, you have set a shining example of devotion to the cause of peace under the most trying circumstances—an example which will ever remain an inspiration to all of us.

351. In your presence, Mr. President, you have exemplified the very spirit of the United Nations. The United Nations is, so to speak, the world's great stage, on which we representatives are merely players. We have our exits and our entrances, but only occasionally does a noble actor play an unforgettable role—and his reputation is long remembered by posterity. Such, I think, is the case of our distinguished President.

352. My Government is particularly gratified that it was during this session of the Assembly and under Prince Wan's presidency that Japan became a full

Member of this great Organization. As a newcomer, my delegation on many occasions had to rely on your guidance, which Your Highness accorded us graciously and generously, and we feel that we, particularly, should raise our voices in abiding gratitude.

353. For many years, Japan has enjoyed traditional bonds of friendship with Thailand, which continue to grow year by year, and it is a source of genuine pleasure that our membership in the United Nations should have been achieved with the kind assistance of a renowned statesman of that great country. On this occasion, I should like to tender my heartfelt thanks to all the representatives from whose advice and assistance my delegation has so greatly profited.

354. Our thanks also go to the Secretary-General, whom we love so much, and to his able staff—in particular, Mr. Cordier—who have exerted superhuman efforts during this long session.

355. In concluding these brief remarks, I should like to extend the most cordial felicitations of my country and people to the new nation of Ghana on its admission to the United Nations.

356. Mr. TSIANG (China): With your permission, Mr. President, before I make my main speech I should like to take advantage of this occasion to record a brief explanation of our vote on the resolution which has just been adopted.

357. My delegation has all along felt that it would be wrong for the Assembly to adjourn without providing for future meetings on items 66 and 67. In particular, the tragedy of Hungary has been on our conscience. It seems to us that we must study the interim report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary with care and, more important, that we must watch developments in Hungary closely and, when circumstances demand, we must be ready to do our best.

358. Having said that, I come to the main purpose of my intervention at this moment. Your Royal Highness has presided over the longest of the Assembly sessions. Your Royal Highness has presided over one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult, of all sessions. I think that I can speak with some authority because I have attended ten of the eleven sessions. Your Royal Highness has presided over this session with patience, impartiality and wisdom. On behalf of my Minister for Foreign Affairs and of my delegation, I wish to express to Your Royal Highness our profound gratitude.

359. We wish also to thank the Secretary-General for the wise and skilful role which he has played in the course of this session. We wish to thank Mr. Cordier and his associates on the Secretariat for the efficient performance of their tasks.

360. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): Permit me, Mr. President, on behalf of the delegations of Albania, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, to express our gratitude for your presiding and ruling during the eleventh session of the General Assembly. I should like to add our best wishes and congratulations to those which we have heard expressed, and to express our many thanks.

361. I should like also to extend our congratulations and our thanks to the Secretary-General, to his staff, particularly the interpreters, who have helped us so greatly during the session and have done such excellent work.

362. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): It is an honour for me to express to Your Royal Highness, on behalf of the delegations of eleven Arab States, our deep appreciation for the very able manner in which you have presided over this eleventh session of the General Assembly. Your dignity and statesmanship have, without doubt, contributed greatly to the success of our work in a critical period in the history of the United Nations. We shall always have a pleasant memory of your wisdom and impartiality.

363. Our appreciation and congratulations are extended also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, whose wise counsel, together with the efforts of his efficient assistants and staff, has been of such great help in the success which has been achieved.

364. The PRESIDENT: Fellow representatives, Mr. Hammarskjöld, may I first of all thank my colleagues—and I shall not name them—most warmly for the very kind and generous words of appreciation which they have just addressed to me.

365. I shall long cherish with gratitude the great honour and privilege, which the General Assembly has bestowed upon me, of serving as its presiding officer during this memorable session. To me, the General Assembly is a world forum and a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations. For its success, I consider it essential that there should be full liberty of discussion and consultation in a spirit of mutual tolerance, co-operation and good will. It has been my earnest endeavour to ensure this liberty and to foster this spirit in the General Assembly.

366. As regards the measure of its success, I think we can report to the peoples of the United Nations, in whose name the Charter was concluded, that the General Assembly has shown itself to be a resourceful and conciliatory instrument of peace, dedicated to the moral principles which it is determined to uphold with the support of Member States and of world public opinion.

367. The General Assembly is certainly a world forum, for not only is its membership world-wide, but it discusses all questions of world interest.

368. The agenda of the eleventh session comprised a comprehensive programme of normal activities for the promotion of peace, freedom, justice and economic and social well-being for mankind, as well as the two special items concerning Hungary and the Middle East.

369. The enlarged membership—from sixty to eighty-one Member States—gave rise to some misgivings as to the efficient working of the General Assembly; but the apprehension has not been justified by the event. I have even welcomed the increased social activities because they have enabled me to keep in constant touch with the various delegations. Of course, increased membership in the United Nations involves consideration of the composition of its principal organs, and also of some improvement in the procedure of the General Assembly. Certainly, group activity has increased, but I find that it has facilitated mutual consultations within and among the groups with a view, not to blocking solutions, but to seeking them. Thus, there have been a number of unanimous resolutions. We may take as an example the resolution on disarmament [1011 (XI)] recommending that the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-Committee give prompt attention to the various proposals submitted. This is a clear indication of the earnest desire of the General As-

sembly to see a positive step forward taken in this matter in the interest of peace.

370. Again, there were the questions of Algeria and Cyprus. It is remarkable that they have been discussed during the present session and that, after discussion, general agreement has been reached for achieving peaceful, democratic and just solutions in conformity with the Charter.

371. Freedom in Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories is also welcomed. Thus, the General Assembly expresses its approval [resolution 1044 (XI)] of the union of Togoland under British administration with the independent Gold Coast (now Ghana, our eighty-first Member State), and looks to further progress towards the freedom of Togoland under French administration.

372. In the interest of justice, the General Assembly, accepting the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, has authorized [resolution 1047 (XI)] the Committee on South West Africa to grant hearings to petitioners and, in the interest of international law, a conference to examine the law of the sea has been called [resolution 1105 (XI)].

373. The promotion of economic and social welfare too is a principal task of the United Nations, and I am glad to say that in addition to technical assistance and investment facilities progress is being made towards the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development for the development of under-developed countries. I am glad also that consideration of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights is being activated and that the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women is already open for signature [resolution 1040 (XI)]. The establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency augurs well for the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which will in time promote better standards of life in peace and will promote peace itself.

374. Another asset for peace is the diplomatic role of the Secretary-General. It is of the utmost importance when we pass from the normal and unspectacular work of the General Assembly to consideration of the special item on the Middle East. The General Assembly must deal with the item and must succeed in dealing with it, because the peoples of the world only know of the United Nations and cannot be expected to differentiate between the responsibilities of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly. Nevertheless it is a fact that the General Assembly has powers of recommendation only and not of coercion; it has only moral authority and can rely on moral force only, the force of moral principles and the force of world public opinion.

375. Having regard to these circumstances, the General Assembly has acted promptly. Powers great and small have taken the initiative and come forward with constructive proposals, and thus the United Nations Emergency Force came into being. The General Assembly rapidly passed resolutions couched in general terms and the Secretary-General has implemented them by delicate and arduous negotiations, supported therein by the force of world opinion. The efficacy of Assembly action depends on its moral force, which in turn depends on the understanding by world opinion of the moral principle underlying each Assembly recommendation. This may take time, and may involve progressive steps being taken before success is secured.

376. In the case of the Middle East, the General Assembly has stopped a war and is building up a founda-

tion of peace based on the principles of the Charter and not on expediency. This is no mean achievement, and the General Assembly can now adjourn with a feeling of satisfaction as the reward of its determined and laborious efforts.

377. And now, it only remains for me to express my deep gratitude to all who have afforded me their unstinted co-operation and assistance. And so, fellow delegates, join with me in extending our grateful thanks to the Secretary-General and his Executive Assistant, as well as his conscientious secretaries of Committees and of all the members of his staff, both those whom we see and hear and those who work in the recesses of the Secretariat. The Secretary-General is to be congratulated, not only on his own prodigious contribution to the work of the United Nations, but also on his administration of an international service which is impartial and well co-ordinated as well as devoted, competent and efficient. Our cordial thanks

also go to the United Nations officers and correspondents, who through the Press, radio and television have helped to mobilize world public opinion in support of the United Nations.

378. Finally, I would ask the Vice-Presidents, the Committee Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs, as well as all my fellow representatives, to accept my warmest thanks for their co-operation and good will. It is the spirit of co-operation and of good will that I prize the most, for it is this spirit, added to your tireless and determined efforts, that has brought us the successful results of this session. May I now wish each and all of you a well-earned rest, so that after it you may resume your work with renewed vigour for the United Nations cause of peace, freedom, justice and human welfare.

379. The eleventh session of the General Assembly is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 8:25 p.m.