

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



## PLENARY MEETING

### SEVENTH SESSION

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*President:* Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

#### Opening of the general debate [Agenda item 8]

SPEECHES BY MR. CAMPA (CUBA), MR. UNDÉN (SWEDEN), MR. SANTA CRUZ (CHILE) AND MR. AL-JAMALI (IRAQ)

1. The PRESIDENT: We shall begin the general debate this morning. Possibly I should mention that in that debate it will, of course, be quite appropriate to discuss items 9, 10, 11 and 12 of our provisional agenda—the reports of the Secretary-General, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council and of the Trusteeship Council.

2. Mr. CAMPA (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): In addressing you for the first time from this lofty rostrum, may I first of all emphasize the profound interest of all men of good will in the work of the General Assembly, a body which, thanks to its vigorous development, has become the expression of the conscience of the United Nations during the disturbing events of recent years.

3. The Charter gave this Assembly a very exalted but rather vague role, intending it to be something in the nature of one of those popular assemblies which serve primarily as a safety valve for the most impassioned impulses of the community, and which sometimes give birth to ideas which, while useful, must always be carried into effect by other organs, once these have recognized their value. I do not deny the importance of such functions, and I sincerely trust that this Assembly may continue to act as such a body; but we are faced with the fact that by reason of its structure and truly democratic procedure—so different from that obtaining in certain other places—the Assembly has been forced, during the few years of its existence, into the role of a veritable board of directors of the United Nations.

4. The immense moral and practical weight of the Assembly's decisions has been demonstrated time after time in all spheres. Out of a thousand examples, let me mention the action of the Assembly in 1948 [*resolution 200 (III)*], which gave rise to the technical assistance programme, thus finally delivered from

the convolutions of the Economic and Social Council and its economic committees.

5. A similar development may be observed with regard to the Trusteeship Council, over which the Assembly has asserted in practice the theoretical authority conferred upon it by the Charter. And it is thanks to this determined attitude on the part of the Assembly that the good seed which was so timorously sown at San Francisco has begun to germinate in regard to colonial and trusteeship matters.

6. It is not only in colonial, social and economic matters, however, that the Assembly has shown its authority and effectiveness, but also in a sphere which it was apparently the intention of the Charter to exclude from the Assembly's purview: I refer to questions relating to peace and security. The international community, indeed, was not slow to realize that the machinery established for the operation of the Security Council was incapable of achieving the lofty purpose which the Preamble to the Charter had stated in such emphatic terms: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . ."

7. Without indulging in exaggerated statements which might bring a smile to my listeners' lips, I may say that, thanks to its energetic action, the General Assembly has preserved the vitality of the United Nations, which was dying in the powerless hands of the Security Council, chained as they were by the veto.

8. The first important step in this direction was the establishment [*resolution 111(II)*] of what was called the "Little Assembly", by means of which the General Assembly decided to exercise permanent vigilance over all that was happening in the political sphere. The decisive step, however, was taken by the Assembly when, in 1950—faced with the likelihood that the Council would prove unable to act—it adopted the "Uniting for peace" resolution [*377 (V)*]. By that resolution the permanent obstacle of the veto was completely circumvented, since it provides that the General Assembly may hold emergency special sessions at the request of seven members of the Security Council or the majority of the members of the General Assembly, whenever questions arise which require a solution but where the Council, because of the lack

of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security.

9. Thus, scarcely five years after the Charter was adopted, the General Assembly was called upon to come to the defence of the Organization and ensure its effectiveness in all the most important spheres.

10. This action by the Assembly, supported by world public opinion, shows that the noble and lofty purposes referred to in the Charter must be attained at all costs, and that consequently the Charter should not be regarded as a rigid and inflexible instrument, but as a source of practical solutions in all cases where the peace of mankind may be endangered. It is true that the action which the Assembly can take is very limited, and we must always bear in mind that none of its resolutions, however ideal, will solve any problem which arises unless it is followed by action. On the other hand, I may assert with some confidence that in view of the wise solutions which have been found in the Assembly for difficult problems, we may justifiably anticipate that, in preparing its recommendations, the majority will often succeed in combining idealism and realism in suitable proportions; and it may also be pointed out that in many serious disputes it has succeeded in winning to its side those nations which have the privilege of being in a position to apply the final terms of settlement on a world-wide scale.

11. In the sombre political atmosphere which weighs on the international community, the delegation of Cuba is prepared this year to participate in the work of the General Assembly. It is convinced that this is the most appropriate arena for a fight to secure the triumph of the great ideals which animate the Cuban people and Government—the freedom, security and happiness of all mankind—and I wish to say here and now that it will spare no effort to achieve collective action towards those ends.

12. Among the items which constitute the agenda for this session, let me now allude to one of those problems which the Assembly will one day have to solve for itself, if a solution is not quickly found by the statutory means provided: I refer to the situation of the countries which are knocking at our door and which are entitled to take their place among us, but which are excluded from our work by the odious privilege of the veto—an institution which will always be the original mistake of this Organization, since no complete international understanding can be established save on a basis of equality. Can peoples and territories whose existence and co-operation may bring us nearer the solution of some of the most acute difficulties of the present time be capriciously deleted from the map? The international society, which the United Nations aspires to be, is a community which must not place limitations either on its will or on its thought. This society is the sum of all the countries under the sun, the union of all men who breathe the same air as we do, and it must affirm its existence by rising high above all local conventions, interests or vanities. It must be open to all peoples inspired by high ideals of international solidarity and by a profound love of peace.

13. I am well aware that in the specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly since the last vote

of the Economic and Social Council in connexion with new members of UNESCO,<sup>1</sup> the situation is becoming more normal; but the General Assembly should not lag behind its subordinate organs, and it must open this hail to all peoples worthy of participating in its work. I am thinking particularly of certain countries of southern Europe whose priceless contribution to human culture I need not emphasize.

14. One of the most marked characteristics of the working of the United Nations at its present stage is the increasing importance attached in the General Assembly to questions of a colonial nature. Full recognition has now been given to the obligation to guarantee fulfilment of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, in accordance with the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the dependent territories are paramount, and that self-government should be developed and political, social, economic and educational advancement ensured.

15. By virtue of its own diplomatic and historical traditions and the traditions of the entire American continent, Cuba cannot but stand at the side of those nations which advocate the fulfilment of all the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter. Since 1940, Cuba has demonstrated its intention to carry out, in the geographical region to which it belongs, the mission bequeathed to it by the generations of its liberators, the mission of defending the right of peoples freely to guide their own destinies. As Minister of State of my country, and as Chief of the Cuban delegation to the second meeting of the Inter-American Caribbean Union, held in the Dominican Republic in 1940, I had the honour to submit to the meeting a draft resolution which, in the first paragraph of its operative part affirmed: "That every region of the Caribbean at present in the possession of non-American Powers has the inalienable right to take its destinies in its own hands by establishing itself as an independent State or joining others which are akin to it by customs, interests or population".

16. I think I may affirm, not without some pride, that in this Cuban proposal was contained the seed which, within the Inter-American system, was to flower at the second meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held at Havana, and at the third meeting, held at Rio de Janeiro, and which was to take shape as resolution XXXIII of the ninth International Conference of American States, held at Bogota—a text of supreme importance in which the nations of the Western Hemisphere recognized that "the historical process of the emancipation of America will not be complete so long as there remain on the continent peoples and regions subject to a colonial régime, or territories occupied by non-American countries".

17. In view of these antecedents, Cuba will continue, under the auspices of the United Nations, to support every measure likely to lead to the peaceful emancipation of the colonies and to expedite the economic, social, educational and political development of the peoples who are still in a state of dependency. We shall therefore support the reappointment of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, originally established in 1946 as a result of

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fourteenth Session, 573rd meeting.*

a Cuban proposal which was taken up later, in 1949, by the delegation of the United States. In this connexion, we shall also continue to uphold the view that it is essential that the international community should weigh and appraise the constitutional considerations underlying the decision of any Administering Authority to discontinue the transmission of information pursuant to Chapter XI of the Charter, and we affirm that it will always be our view that there can be no educational, social or economic autonomy in the absence of political autonomy.

18. We are also aware that, in addition to the general problems and processes to which I have referred, our agenda contains a number of very difficult specific problems relating to colonial matters. Cuba decided to support and to vote for the inclusion of those items in the agenda and their discussion by the General Assembly, because it considers that the time has come when this Assembly, as on so many occasions in the past, may perhaps provide a means for the successful ventilation of those problems. Needless to say, the delegation of Cuba, in the course of the discussions, will always regard the principle of the self-determination of peoples as its lodestar and basic principle. Nevertheless, it will keep its eyes open to the necessity of acting prudently in these matters in order not to provoke fundamental disagreements which, at a time of danger, might undermine the bulwarks of human freedom which confront an aggressive totalitarianism intent on breaking the solidarity of a front which, we are confident, will succeed in resolving such differences in the spirit of generous and complete understanding which finds expression in its democratic institutions and its support of inalienable human rights.

19. Once again the honour of participating in the work of the Economic and Social Council has fallen to Cuba. I may safely assert that the Cuban delegation endeavoured, at the fourteenth session of that body, to make the most effective possible contribution to the cause of the economic development of under-developed countries. That endeavour was not based on a narrow parochial outlook, but was made in the hope of achieving general benefits for all countries, regardless of their geographical situation, in which men suffer poverty, ignorance, ill health and under-nourishment.

20. Convinced that there can be no peace without economic stability, Cuba will contribute within the framework of the United Nations to the study and adoption of measures calculated to raise the standard of living of the peoples of the world. This policy, which guides the work of the Government of President Batista, is constantly receiving new support within our Republic. But the controls and restrictions, both commercial and financial, which are still being applied, in many cases without justification, bar our access—and that of other densely populated areas—to agricultural and industrial centres and food products. What is necessary, therefore, is not only to increase productivity but, in addition, to bring the potential consumer markets closer to the centres of production.

21. In a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent, it would be absurd to attempt to solve the serious economic problems which beset us in isolation one from the other. There is no nation or group of nations so powerful that it can turn its back on the rest of mankind, isolating itself in an illusory

autarky and disregarding the needs and anxieties of others. Nor will the false prophets of anti-democratic doctrines dazzle the destitute masses with empty promises of a better world based on a régime of slavery and negation of the individual, a régime which denies the dignity of man and ignores the moral values which constitute the very reason for man's existence. My delegation will always be in the vanguard in the search for effective solutions to put an end to the state of anxiety in which we live. A policy for action in the economic sphere must be developed which will produce tangible and immediate benefits for the most needy countries, and for that reason our Government will give special attention to the subject of economic development, which is one of the most important items on the agenda.

22. Accordingly, Cuba is particularly interested in the development of the United Nations technical assistance programme, whereby the principal nations of the world, some of which appear to have accepted Martí's aphorism that "generosity, too, produces good dividends", have become exporters of scientific achievements and technical knowledge, thus undeniably accelerating the process of economic development in the regions which have hitherto been less favoured by history, but for which geography and geology undoubtedly reserve a brilliant future.

23. Nevertheless, we have not for one moment overlooked the consideration so firmly stressed by the General Assembly at its sixth session, which, briefly, is that, although the technical aspect of economic development is important, the financial aspect is equally important, since without it the most marvellous plan would become a mere sheaf of printed pages of purely documentary interest.

24. Since the flow of capital from developed to under-developed countries is still far from sufficient, and the international credit organs at present available to us cannot cover all aspects of the financing of economic development, Cuba will continue to support, as it has already supported in this Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council, the creation of an international finance corporation which will facilitate the issue of loans to finance those development projects which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, owing to statutory limitations, is prevented from considering. Such a finance corporation would also stimulate the flow of private capital to our countries where, invested in productive enterprises, it would ultimately become a part of our national wealth.

25. Another proposal made by Cuba is the establishment of a special fund for subsidies and long-term loans to under-developed countries (E/L.363 and Rev.1), to help them to finance non-self-amortizing projects such as public services and transport, ports, irrigation, water-works, construction of low-cost dwellings and similar undertakings, in which the Government of the Republic of Cuba has recently developed large-scale programmes. Let me also refer to an important aspect of the agrarian policy pursued by the present Cuban Government, under which the peasant is enabled to own the land that he cultivates, thus strengthening the system of small rural property.

26. Again, during the last session of the Economic and Social Council, we supported the elimination of

double taxation of capital, with a view to the stimulation of foreign investment in under-developed countries. In this connexion we proposed that international recognition should be given to the principle that income derived from such investments should be taxed only in the countries where the investments are made, and should be exempt from tax in any other country.

27. In its internal economic development, Cuba is laying the groundwork for harmonious economic development, one of the bases for which is the report prepared by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as the result of research carried out by the mission sent by that institution to Cuba.<sup>2</sup> In the pursuit of its high aims in regard to economic development, Cuba also has the support of such national organizations as the National Bank, the Cuban Bank of Agricultural and Industrial Development, and the National Economic Council, which, in spite of the recent date of their formation, are efficiently carrying out the tasks assigned to them.

28. Before concluding, I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the Assembly to the item on our agenda relating to the adoption of the Spanish language in the Economic and Social Council. The Council, accepting the proposal of Cuba and Uruguay and following the course set by the General Assembly in 1948, [resolution 247 (III)] decided to include Spanish among its working languages; it now remains for the Assembly to vote the necessary funds to carry out that decision.

29. I wish to make it clear that, for the Latin-American countries, this is not a matter of vanity, but a happy effort which will contribute greatly to the economic and social development of half a continent. I hope that the Assembly, bearing in mind the consideration I have just stressed, will not hesitate to vote for the provision of the necessary credits, which will be relatively small considering the great benefits that will ensue.

30. The Cuban delegations is particularly happy to take its place this year in this illustrious Assembly, for it is the year which marks the first fifty years of its independence. As on other occasions, it has come to watch over and foster its traditional and historic interests; but its efforts to discharge its high responsibility will also be governed by the practical wisdom which every country conscious of its duty should apply in these unusual times.

31. Fifty years of freedom, achieved after a previous half-century of epic struggle, has taught us the value of moderation, of respect for our peers, of the marvellous spiritual and material blessings of international peace. Our internal difficulties have served only to strengthen our national legal institutions, based on order and justice, on the equality of all citizens, and on those memorable liberal and humane principles proclaimed by the majority of this Assembly. That is why we have taken our places in this Assembly. That is why, at the opening of this new session, upon which humanity has based so many noble hopes, it

is our fervent desire that our debates will take place in an atmosphere of broad understanding and will result in happy and beneficial peaceful agreements.

32. Mr. UNDEN (Sweden): I shall venture to make a few remarks on this occasion on the international system of arbitration, which is the subject of a report to the current session of this Assembly prepared by the United Nations International Law Commission [A/2163].

33. I am raising this problem primarily for the reason that in two recent cases the Swedish Government has in vain urged that disputes of a legal nature between Sweden and the Soviet Union be examined by the International Court of Justice. I propose to give you a summary account of these cases. At the outset, however, I wish to stress that, in the view of the Swedish Government, the refusal of one of the parties to an international dispute to accept arbitration or impartial inquiry into disputed facts points out the weakness of that party's cause. Such refusal is in fact tantamount to a recognition that the statements of the party in question cannot gain credence with others than those who have no access to the facts and evidence presented by the other party.

34. It will be recalled that international arbitration was a demand put forward by the peace movements of the nineteenth century as the primary and most important point in a programme for achieving permanent peace. Arbitration instead of war—that was the watchword in those circles. By arbitration it should be possible to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of all international disputes. War could be abolished if only the governments of all countries were animated by good will.

35. This peace movement—to use again this modern term—had an important bearing on public thinking in spite of the fact that it rested upon an oversimplified conception of the nature and causes of international conflicts. It gained support from the increased interest which the experts on international law during the nineteenth century began to evince for the principle of arbitration. The jurists did not in general regard arbitration as a universal remedy against war. They did not believe that conflicts between States could be resolved in this way if the conflicts concerned what a party to a dispute considered to be vital interests. On the other hand, they held that the process of arbitration could become extremely valuable as a means of dealing with more limited issues of a legal nature.

36. The first general conference between governments that dealt with the system of arbitration was the so-called Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899. As is well known, the initiative was taken by the Emperor of Russia, Czar Nicholas II. The conference was also to deal, *inter alia*, with the question of limitation of armaments.

37. The invitation which the Russian Foreign Minister on behalf of the Czar sent out to the governments at the end of 1898 contained statements which are as valid today as they were then. I shall quote some of these sentences:

“The maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves, in the existing conditions of the whole world, as the ideal towards

<sup>2</sup> See Report on Cuba, Findings and Recommendations of an Economic and Technical Mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in collaboration with the Government of Cuba in 1950; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Washington, D.C., 1951.



which the endeavours of all governments should be directed.

"The ever-increasing financial charges strike and paralyse public prosperity at its source; the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, their labour and capital, are for the most part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed; hundreds of millions are spent in acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which though today regarded as the last word of science are destined tomorrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralysed or perverted in their development.

"Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase, so do they less and less attain the object aimed at by the governments.

"This conference would be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century about to open. It would converge into a single powerful force the efforts of all the States which sincerely wish the great conception of universal peace to triumph over the elements of disturbance and discord. It would at the same time cement their agreement by a solemn avowal of the principles of equity and law, upon which repose the security of States and the welfare of peoples."

38. One of the results of the conference was a collective treaty for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. A court of arbitration was set up in the form of a panel, a list of persons from among whom a judge could be elected when a case arose. The treaty was on a voluntary basis.

39. At a new Hague Conference in 1907, the agreement was revised without any amendment of its fundamental principles. Thus important progress had been made in this field before the emergence of the League of Nations and its Court.

40. When the League of Nations was founded after the First World War, it was assumed in the Covenant that a permanent international court of justice would be set up to deal with international disputes of a legal nature. The Court was set up and started functioning in 1922. But the jurisdiction of that Court was also based upon voluntary agreements among the States. By signing a special protocol, the States were, however, able to give a general undertaking to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes or in some categories of such disputes.

41. At first, only a number of small States were prepared to subscribe to this supplementary undertaking. In particular, the great Powers within the League of Nations seemed at the outset to consider such general undertakings too embarrassing, as limiting their freedom of action. Numerous bilateral arbitration treaties came successively into being.

42. Gradually a change took place in the attitude of some of the great Powers. In the famous Geneva Protocol, which was adopted by the Assembly of the League in 1924 but was never ratified, the principle of arbitration was introduced as a corner-stone of the contemplated new security system. The three corner-stones were: arbitration, security and disarmament. And when subsequently the Geneva Protocol was suc-

ceeded by the more limited Locarno Treaties, the principle of arbitration had gained ground.

43. France and the United Kingdom subsequently accepted compulsory judicial procedure as a general policy. With the United States, not a member of the League, negotiations took place, with a view to its joining the collective agreement represented by the Statute of the Court. There was, however, no question at that time of the United States accepting compulsory jurisdiction. The negotiations did not lead to any result. Japan and the Soviet Union did not sign the protocol on the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

44. While the League of Nations was in existence, the result of these developments was certainly not satisfactory, but at any rate several States—among them, two of the great Powers—had accepted the principle of compulsory arbitration in legal disputes.

45. Since the new Court of the United Nations has succeeded the one of the League of Nations, a considerable number of States have made declarations accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, occasionally with reservations of a more or less far-reaching nature.

46. Of the permanent members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union is the only one missing from the list of States that have made such a declaration. In the case of China, its declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction was made in 1946, for a period of five years, remaining valid thereafter, subject, however, to abrogation at six months' notice. No such notice has been given. Consequently the declaration is still valid. Since, however, the Peking Government has not been recognized by the United Nations nor by the majority of its Members, taken individually, it is doubtful whether that Government is bound by the declaration towards States other than those that maintain diplomatic relations with the Peking Government.

47. When studying the list of the thirty-six States which have accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, we find that among the Members of the United Nations the following States are missing, namely, all the States of the "Eastern bloc", six Arab States, three other Asian countries, seven Latin-American States and three European States.

48. The fact that none of the States of the "Eastern bloc" is to be found in the list may indicate that it is a communist doctrine not to limit one's own sovereignty by accepting the principle of compulsory arbitration, the application of which might lessen one's freedom of action in certain cases. Yet the communist States, like other Member States, have collaborated in establishing the International Court of Justice. They have also accepted judicial posts for their citizens when members of the Court have been elected. It might, therefore, be assumed that they do not disapprove of the International Court of Justice as an institution. Indeed, an entirely negative attitude to the International Court of Justice could hardly be reconciled with the provision in Article 36, paragraph 3, of the Charter, in which it is made incumbent upon the Security Council to see to it that "legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court".

49. Other declarations of principle in the Charter indicate that in the case of legal disputes a procedure adapted to ensure the just and impartial treatment of such issues should be used. Article 33 mentions, among other things, inquiry, arbitration and judicial settlement. Furthermore, in Article 1, mention is made of the purpose of the United Nations to bring about the settlement of international disputes in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

50. The general public, which cannot follow in detail the precise obligations undertaken by the Member States, has a tendency to overestimate the value of the international legal system of which the very existence of the Court appears to be an expression. Many of us, no doubt, are inclined to put too much faith in the power of words when they are dressed up in solemn declarations of principle or in promises. The confessions of faith in international co-operation, justice and peaceful association among the nations contained in the Charter are rather a programme for the future than aims already realized. When an event occurs showing contempt on the part of Member States for the principles of the Charter, or constituting an obvious violation of the rules of conduct laid down in the Charter, people realize, with surprise and disappointment, that the lofty principles have not been put into practice in the world of reality.

51. As I indicated at the beginning, I am induced to make these remarks primarily owing to some experiences my own country has recently had and which have made a deep impression on the Swedish nation. I shall give a brief account of them.

52. First of all, I would mention the question of the extent of the territorial waters around our coasts, which would seem to be a limited legal issue. In peacetime this question has had a bearing, in the first place, on fishing rights and, to some extent, also on sea and air traffic. In war-time, the rights and obligations of a neutral State have largely been determined, as far as naval and aerial warfare are concerned, by the extent of the territorial waters.

53. As we all know, there is no universally recognized rule as to the extension of territorial waters. Attempts to reach agreement on an international regulation of these questions have so far proved unsuccessful. The problem is at present on the agenda of the United Nations International Law Commission. During the past few decades, however, several States have substantially extended their previously fixed coastal sea zones. They have done so unilaterally and without regard to the protests of other interested States. Sweden, in particular, is closely affected by the extension of the Soviet Union's territorial waters in the Baltic to twelve nautical miles. For its own part, Sweden has of old laid claim to four nautical miles. The Soviet Union's twelve-mile limit has previously been applied by the Soviet Union in the Arctic Ocean and in the Far East. What has now been done is that the same limit has been prescribed for the coasts of the former Baltic Republics. Prior to their incorporation in the Soviet Union, these States had a three-mile or a four-mile limit. To Sweden, the new USSR legislation laying down a twelve-mile limit in the Baltic presents itself as an encroachment on the high seas in which Swedish fishermen formerly had the right to fish. Moreover, traffic on the sea and in

the air, in and above these coastal waters, is hampered owing to the strict regulations which the Soviet Union is generally applying to its territorial sea zones and to the air space above them.

54. The Swedish and Danish Governments have both made representations and have also proposed that this issue should be referred to the International Court of Justice, but the proposal has been rejected by the USSR Government.

55. Here, then, is a question concerning international law. In Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations—which I have already quoted—all Members are exhorted to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means, in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered". In our opinion, justice is being highly endangered by a unilateral action of this kind, which curtails the rights Swedish citizens have earlier enjoyed on international waters in the Baltic.

56. The fact that a dispute of this limited scope cannot be brought before the International Court of Justice without the co-operation of the opposite party shows how incomplete the system of international justice unfortunately is. In this connexion I cannot refrain from congratulating the Norwegian and British Governments on having had recourse to the Court for the solution of a similar dispute on territorial waters along the Norwegian coast. At the same time, I would express the hope that consideration of this question by the United Nations International Law Commission will be completed without undue delay and that it will lead to a positive result.

57. The second case I referred to likewise concerns the situation in the Baltic. In June of this year two Swedish military aircraft were shot down when flying over international waters in the Baltic. Both aircraft were unarmed.

58. The first incident occurred on 13 June. We knew nothing of the circumstances in which this aircraft was shot down. The entire crew—eight men—lost their lives. A lifeboat from the aircraft has, however, been found and examined, and it was established that the boat had been damaged by splinters while still in the aircraft. Furthermore, the aircraft at regular short intervals reported its position via radio, and we have therefore been able to establish the approximate time at which it was shot down as well as the approximate place. We have reason to believe that there was no aircraft belonging to a third Power in the neighbourhood. Throughout the whole flight, the Swedish aircraft was at a considerable distance from the Soviet coast, flying over international waters, and when its last position was reported it was returning home.

59. A second aircraft was shot down by USSR military aircraft on 16 June while it was searching for survivors from among the crew of the first aircraft. In the second case the crew was rescued, and we have exact details of the circumstances in which the aircraft was being fired upon. This aircraft was also flying over international waters outside the twelve-mile limit claimed by the Soviet Union.

60. In the course of the exchange of notes that took place between the Swedish Government and the Soviet Union Government in connexion with these serious incidents, our protests and our demands were rejected.

The USSR Government refuses to accept any responsibility for the fate of the first aircraft and maintains, in regard to the second aircraft, that it flew in over the Soviet frontier. In addition, it alleges that the unarmed Swedish aircraft opened fire.

61. The Swedish Government has proposed that the dispute should be referred to the International Court of Justice or, alternatively, to an international committee of inquiry, in accordance with The Hague Convention of 1907. These proposals, however, have so far been rejected.

62. The Swedish Government took note of the statement of the Soviet Union Government that the latter does not question the right of Swedish aircraft to fly over international waters in the Baltic, and it goes without saying that Swedish aircraft will in the future, as hitherto, exercise this right.

63. The Swedish Government has assembled the notes which so far have been exchanged with the USSR Government, and a number of other relevant papers, and has sent this collection of documents to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order that Members of the United Nations may have an opportunity of forming an opinion as to what has occurred. Unless the other party to the dispute accepts such a procedure, we have no means of obtaining a judgment from the International Court of Justice regarding the facts of the case and the legal consequences which may ensue under international law. We therefore appeal to the public opinion of the world with a presentation of the facts of the case.

64. I need hardly remind the Assembly that during the past few years the communists have launched a tremendous peace offensive, a propaganda campaign in favour of peace. Even in countries which do not have a communist régime, this agitation for peace has been carried on with great intensity. The propaganda is usually confined to extremely general and non-committal statements about the path leading to the goal. It appeals not only to the supporters of communism, but also to the great peace-loving public in all countries, to express an opinion in favour of peace.

65. As I have already pointed out, the demand for arbitration has played a predominant part in earlier peace movements. Although the conception of arbitration as a remedy for all international disputes was not realistic, it nevertheless contained much that was true and of value. Without any doubt an extensive use of a judicial procedure in international disputes would substantially contribute towards reducing friction and preventing disputes from being settled by forcible means.

66. It is highly surprising that the new peace propaganda inspired in communist quarters can entirely disregard the demand of the old peace movement for arbitration, in spite of the fact that the propaganda is also addressed to nations which of old have attached great importance to the concept of arbitration. A recognition of the value of the principle of arbitration and an appeal to the States to accept compulsory judicial procedure in legal disputes would give substance to the peace propaganda. The governments which range themselves behind the new peace propaganda should at any rate show so much good will as not themselves to refuse acceptance of inquiry by international organs into the facts of a dispute.

67. Nearly fifty years ago, the Swiss Government put forward a proposal to the German Government regarding a treaty of arbitration between Switzerland and Germany. Both the German Minister to Berne and the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs strongly warned against any such step, using the following argument: the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration with Switzerland was likely to cause the Confederation to lose respect for the great German Reich; Germany must, *vis-à-vis* Switzerland, bring to bear the natural weight of its power, which would be impossible after the conclusion of a treaty of arbitration. Nor was any treaty concluded at that time. This imperialistic great-Power mentality appears to most of us to be quite antiquated. It is depressing and regrettable that this mentality now seems to have penetrated into the leading quarters of the "Eastern bloc" countries and there found its expression in a negative attitude towards the principle of arbitration as being embarrassing for their policy.

68. Sweden firmly adheres to the fundamental attitude which we adopted in our exchange of notes with the Soviet Union and to which we have given expression in various treaties, namely, that it should be possible, at the request of one of the parties, to submit legal disputes to an impartial judicial organ.

69. Even States of the "Eastern bloc" and other countries which have hitherto rejected the principle of compulsory arbitration, will no doubt ultimately find that the acceptance of that principle is not only required by a sense of justice but would also in the long run be of mutual advantage and would greatly contribute towards improving international relations. Switzerland's proposal for a treaty of arbitration with the German Reich was turned down fifty years ago, but a day came when the Swiss point of view gained a hearing in the big neighbouring country. The principle of arbitration cannot, in the long run, be put aside.

70. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): Several countries, among them some that by the terms of the Charter have had special responsibilities laid upon them and special privileges accorded them, wherefore they are listened to with special interest by the Assembly, have decided to defer their participation in the general debate. They are waiting for the occurrence of developments that in their opinion may influence the decision of this plenary conference of the Member States.

71. The delegation of Chile reserves the right to take part again in the general debate should the developments I have referred to or any others particularly affecting my delegation make it necessary. I am therefore prompted to refrain from broaching at this time some of the most important political problems that appear on the agenda, such as the question of Korea, the report on collective measures [A/2215], disarmament, or the admission of new Members.

72. For some years, now, these political problems have been the main concern of the representatives of Member States and of the officers of the United Nations, and the general debate with which the Assembly begins its tasks has usually turned on them. This is because, as a result of the cold war between two great sectors of the world and the profound division between them, of which these problems are the palpable mani-



festations in the United Nations, other questions that might be discussed by the Organization have been relegated to a secondary and almost obscure place. Furthermore, these disagreements have set at naught a great part of the efforts put forth by those who aspire after an effective international collaboration in all fields where a universal human problem exists, and the United Nations has consequently been put to such a severe test in the eyes of public opinion the world over that many have turned their backs upon it or have had their faith in it badly shaken.

73. That is why there is possibly something felicitous about this decision of some large Powers to postpone for a few weeks the great political debate centred upon problems which for some years now we have unsuccessfully been seeking to solve. I believe that this may be an opportunity to take up for the first time all aspects of some other problems that will doubtless turn out historically to be more important than the first. So far, the United Nations has considered only certain isolated aspects of these problems, despite the fact that they are of fundamental concern to the great majority of the Member States of the Organization and to more than two-thirds of humanity, and they have never appeared in the forefront of the debates of the Assembly.

74. Some of these problems are on our agenda; for instance, the so-called colonial question, in connection with the problems of Tunis and Morocco; the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Powers of Non-Self-Governing Territories; the report on the social situation in the world; the resolutions of the Commission on Human Rights on the self-determination of peoples; the accusations of violation of human rights in the form of racial discrimination, and the plans and proposals for speeding up the economic development of backward areas. These questions suffice to convince us that we are faced with a veritable world revolution that is assuming forms which, though diverse, are interrelated. The causes and repercussions of this revolution have never been examined with the necessary thoroughness by the principal organs of the United Nations. The fault for this lies, on the one hand, in the cold war and, on the other, in a traditional form of diplomacy under which action is confined to particular regions instead of to the world as a whole. An obligation rests with the General Assembly to make a more thorough examination of this phenomena if it is not to lag behind the march of events, if it does not wish this revolution, instead of developing in an atmosphere of co-operation, in keeping with the principles of the Charter, to lead to conflicts and war among nations as well as to social conflicts and strife within nations or, at best, to cause peoples to take refuge in national or regional autarkies, looking to economic self-sufficiency instead of to the co-operation which is so necessary in a world of growing interdependence.

75. The world revolution I have been referring to can be defined very briefly as a result of the increasing pressure of millions of individuals in the most diverse regions seeking to attain a standard of living that will enable them to satisfy their vital needs, in things material and spiritual, and of the ever clearer consciousness that they have of their rights and possibilities as human beings and as members of national societies and the international community. This will and

consciousness on the part of individuals is reflected in those of the peoples, who seek to achieve or to strengthen their political and economic independence, and who claim just treatment in international affairs and the right to take part in the settlement of any international questions affecting them. I think it is useless to give examples to prove the existence of these ever-increasing efforts, which are the result of the tremendous technical progress that has been achieved.

76. In the last ten years, we have witnessed the advent of independence in dozens of countries, comprising nearly 1,000 million inhabitants and the struggle of dozens of others, who are knocking urgently at the doors of the United Nations to achieve independence. We have witnessed bloody social revolutions in countries which extend over more than half of Asia and in some countries of Africa; revolutions carried out by arms or by peaceful means in Latin-American countries; struggles of minorities in other parts of the world to combat discrimination. This is an irresistible avalanche, and the more quickly we take cognizance of these conditions the sooner shall we be in a position to adopt the only logical course to cope with them, which is to give these movements a peaceful character by satisfying legitimate demands and ensuring collaboration for the common good and general progress. To be sure, the real causes underlying all those movements have been complicated by adventitious elements—religious and racial hatreds or class hatred, resentments, intervention of other States for their own national purposes, etc. But that detracts nothing from the justice of the cause, either from the point of view of theoretical international morality or from that of the solemn principles laid down in the Charter, for the right of peoples to self-determination, respect for human dignity, individual freedom and economic and social improvement of persons and peoples until they attain decent standards of living are proclaimed in the Preamble of the Charter and are among the basic objectives of the Organization.

77. This pressure from millions of human beings to obtain political and economic independence, freedom, equality of treatment and economic progress is particularly strong in under-developed territories, whether they are partly or wholly self-governing, or colonies. The reason for that is simple enough. In these countries there dwell 1,600 million individuals, whose standards of living range between poverty and utter pauperism. Economic statistics tell us that the national *per capita* income in such countries ranges between \$20 and \$200 a year, the average being below \$60. Three or four hundred million persons whose standards of living has gone up considerably in the last fifty years live at points a few hours' distance by aeroplane and united by a whole system of modern communications.

78. Year by year, the Secretary-General, in his economic reports, tells us that the chasm between the wealth of the industrial countries and that of the under-developed ones is widening in a dangerous manner; that while the latter are getting poorer every day the former are becoming richer.

79. During the last session of the Assembly, in Paris, the delegation of Chile examined this process in detail, supplying figures that substantiated the dramatic facts that I have just mentioned. Nevertheless, many have argued that the national *per capita* income cannot



be a fair index of the standard of living in the various countries. This year, however, the Secretary-General has swept away any delusions we might have had as to the possibility that, despite this meagre national income, the under-developed countries might be capable of maintaining at least a decent standard of living. He has submitted to us the first report covering the social situation of the world [E/CN.5/267] drawn up at the request of the General Assembly. It is extraordinarily eloquent, not because it says anything that is new to many of us, but because in the aggregate it paints a picture that makes it possible to conclude that the world, as such, is in but an early stage of progress, since two-thirds of the inhabitants of the earth do not live appreciably better than did their ancestors, on average, a thousand or two thousand years ago. I am merely going to cite some details given in the report. The report shows, incidentally, over and over again, that although no statistics are available, for the poorest and least developed countries, it may be presumed that the actual figures are even more striking.

80. While the general mortality rate in North America is 10 per thousand per annum, and in Europe 13 per thousand, it is between 28 and 32 per thousand in Asia and 17 per thousand in Latin America. The mortality rate of infants and adolescents is so great in the under-developed countries that life expectancy, which in North America and in the industrialized countries of Western Europe is over 65 years, averages 30 years in the under-developed countries for which statistics are available. The great social diseases, such as malaria and tuberculosis, decimate the population in the regions where those diseases are prevalent. Whereas the under-developed countries have only 17 doctors available for every 100,000 inhabitants, the advanced nations have 106. In the matter of diet, the under-developed countries have great shortages in calories and proteins. The average number of calories per day and per person is 2,150, as against 3,040 in the developed countries. If we take 100 as the pre-war index for the food products available, we find that North America in 1950 shows 125; Europe, 89; the Far East, 87; and Latin America, 70. This means that the countries of Latin America have in fifteen years experienced in the aggregate a decrease of one-third in their already inadequate diet. This is something to which our attention is called each year by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Secretary-General—the very grave problem of a population that is increasing while at the same time the production of food is decreasing.

81. Whereas in the industrial countries at least 90 per cent of the population can read, there are countries, such as Haiti and Egypt, where the rate of illiteracy is 85 per cent, or India and Libya, where only 10 per cent can read. There can be no doubt that, in some of the colonies, these indices show even greater educational backwardness.

82. This situation of permanent poverty has been aggravated, in the last few years, by inflation, which to an ever increasing extent has affected the under-developed countries, particularly as a consequence of economic developments originating in other countries, with which they have had nothing to do themselves and for which they are in no way responsible.

83. The rise in the cost of living has reached alarming proportions in many such countries. The last report of the Secretary-General tells of rises from 80 to 90 per cent in a year and a half. This decrease in the purchasing power of the population of these countries has been and continues to be a factor in the social unrest prevailing.

84. Moreover, the balance of foreign trade of the under-developed countries has deteriorated heavily in the current year. The statistics for August 1952 show the following deficits in their balance of trade during 1952 in millions of United States dollars: South America, 665; Central America, Antilles and Mexico, 385; Middle East 374; Far East 1,972; Africa 1,139. This means that the under-developed countries are faced with an impoverishment totalling \$US4,535 millions during 1952.

85. These 1,600 million under-nourished, disease-ridden human beings, whose standards of living do not attain to half of those of the United States or the United Kingdom, are not really poor. On the contrary, in the countries to which they belong there is immense natural wealth that is not exploited or is not adequately exploited, or else the nationals of such countries do not get the benefit they are entitled to as owners of the land and as principal factors in such exploitation through their labour.

86. A few months ago, one of the most significant documents of recent times was published, the report to the President by the President's Materials Policy Commission. For almost two years, this Commission studied the problems of production, prices, conservation, consumption, future requirements, techniques, etc., of the raw materials of the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe and China. I shall quote some of the most telling figures.

87. As regards the part of the world to which the report refers, the under-developed countries have the following percentages of reserves of the raw materials named: manganese, 90 per cent; copper, 85 per cent (Chile alone has about 40 per cent); tin, 97 per cent; aluminium, 85 per cent; petroleum, 67 per cent.

88. As regards the present production of these raw materials, the percentages shown for the under-developed countries are a little lower than the percentages of reserves, because some of their resources are not exploited as intensively as they are in the industrial countries. In all cases, however, the percentage is everywhere over 50 per cent, and sometimes over 80 per cent. These materials are naturally consumed to the extent of more than 90 per cent in the industrial nations; they are fundamental to the industry of these nations and therefore of the standard of living of their inhabitants.

89. However, the Commission supplies some other interesting information, which shows the importance of these raw materials derived from the economically backward countries. Taking into account technical advances, and even possible substitutes resulting from scientific discoveries, the Commission holds the view that in the next twenty-five years the consumption requirements of raw materials will increase in the following manner: tin, 68 per cent; copper, 97 per cent; zinc 100 per cent; iron, 127 per cent; petroleum, 384 per cent; aluminium, 706 per cent. These figures show

that the world, and especially the industrial countries, will depend to a growing extent upon the raw materials emanating from the under-developed countries.

90. Two years ago, the General Assembly approved the resolution [377 (V)] "Uniting for Peace", which many have stated is the most important resolution the United Nations has adopted so far, since it provides the means for repelling any aggression. The Soviet Union and the other countries that pursue the same policies voted against that resolution. Only one section of the resolution was adopted unanimously and that was section E, which I had the pleasure of proposing on behalf of my country, reading as follows:

*"The General Assembly*

*... is fully conscious that, in adopting the proposals set forth above, enduring peace will not be secured solely by collective security arrangements against breaches of international peace and acts of aggression, but that a genuine and lasting peace depends also upon the observance of all the principles and purposes established in the Charter of the United Nations, upon the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other principal organs of the United Nations intended to achieve the maintenance of international peace and security, and especially upon respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all and on the establishment and maintenance of conditions of economic and social well-being in all countries; and accordingly*

*"Urges Member States to respect fully, and to intensify, joint action, in co-operation with the United Nations, to develop and stimulate universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to intensify individual and collective efforts to achieve conditions of economic stability and social progress, particularly through the development of under-developed countries and areas."*

91. It seems to me that the resolution that I have just quoted contains all the elements that are required to enable the Member States, through the agency of their common Organization, the United Nations, to direct towards the general well-being that universal revolution of which I have been speaking. The first thing of which the resolution reminds us is the inseparability of the purposes and principles of the Charter, as essential elements of peace. Peace is based on the principle of the pacific settlement of disputes, joint action against aggression, the development of friendly relations among nations, respect for treaties and other sources of international law, but it is also based on the principles of self-determination of peoples, of respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms with distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and on the promotion of social progress and the raising of the standard of living in larger freedom.

92. The Assembly now has an opportunity to demonstrate how far it is prepared to put this solemn declaration into force. For example, it will have to envisage the question of implementing the principle of self-determination of peoples when it studies the different items on the agenda which I mentioned at the outset.

93. I merely wish to point out that the General Assembly only recently reaffirmed this principle and

decided to incorporate it in the draft international covenants of human rights which are being prepared by the United Nations, and to recall that the will of the peoples to enjoy self-determination is so strong that it would be most dangerous folly, for the future of world peace, to resist it.

94. After the First World War, a clear trend was seen towards continentalism and great associations of countries and territories, as a result of the growing interdependence of the different parts of the world and the consequent necessity of international co-operation. This phenomenon was often adduced to buttress arguments against the national independence of peoples who, allegedly, would not be able to subsist on their own resources. The concept of self-determination, it is argued, is antiquated, and progressive reforms must be carried out within the structure of multinational systems. The truth, however, is different. In order that a regional or inter-continental system—as in the case of the British Commonwealth—should be able to function properly, it must be based upon the absolute political sovereignty of the countries that make it up. Only an association of independent and sovereign countries can create multinational systems wherein the interests of all are observed. Only an association of free peoples can work usefully for the progress of all and for the progress of the international community. The whole history of the world affords proof of this.

95. However, the economic and political interdependence to which I have referred shows that, just as international political tension affects all countries and territories, so also economic tensions are universal in character. In fact, the latter can bring about the former. As a consequence of this analysis, the delegation of Chile maintained, at the sixth session, in Paris, that the free right of self-determination of peoples ought to include the right to dispose of their own natural resources. We refer to politically free countries that are not in command of their resources and cannot on their own authority dispose of their resources. Many of the under-developed countries, which represent the greatest part of the world and of its population, base their economic life principally upon certain natural resources. I have already pointed out the importance of these material resources for the whole of humanity. For historical reasons, the greater part of these resources belong to foreign companies, and the prices are generally fixed abroad. Since their economy is almost wholly based on such revenues, these countries are conscious that they are not truly free to govern their own destinies.

96. In April of this year, the Commission on Human Rights, accepting a proposal submitted by the Chilean delegation [E/CN.4/L.24], embodied in the draft international covenants on human rights, which the General Assembly is now going to consider, an article proclaiming that "the right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 4*, chapter III, section C, paragraph 91.

97. This article received the unanimous support of the representatives of the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the Commission on Human Rights. It does not, as many people have alleged, mean an invitation to expropriate foreign interests. It is a solemn affirmation of the permanent right of a country to defend its own resources, to have an active share in the profits, to prevent any attempt to squander them, and even to nationalize them or to demand the revision of contracts which do not take these rights into consideration. I am confident that the General Assembly will confirm this declaration.

98. I have already mentioned resolution 377 (V), in which the General Assembly, two years ago, voiced its unanimous opinion that a lasting and true peace depended upon the establishment and maintenance of conditions of economic and social well-being in countries and urged Member States "to intensify individual and collective efforts to achieve conditions of economic stability and social progress, particularly through the development of under-developed countries and areas".

99. One economist after another, commissions of experts and technicians appointed by the United Nations, other commissions appointed by governments, authors, journalists and university professors, have for years been repeating that the economic development of the under-developed countries is the key to world economic stability, the most important factor in the maintenance of full employment in the industrial countries and the only means of preventing a world depression if, as we all hope, we can put an end to rearmament.

100. But despite that solemn declaration, and in spite of the technical reports, what has actually been done along these lines is so little that a world authority in economy and sociology, such as Professor Gunnar Myrdal, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, stated last May that, for the moment, all our efforts to extend progress to the under-developed regions were homeopathic.

101. The United Nations has been studying the problem for years, has drawn attention to it, has proffered solutions, has roused public opinion, has taken stock of the poverty and backwardness of many areas, has drawn up recommendations showing how economic development could be speeded up by action both within the countries themselves and through international cooperation. In a word, the United Nations has completed all the preliminary stages for final action on this universal problem by the international community. This has been its greatest achievement. Without the United Nations, the problem would remain imprisoned in the universities or other intellectual centres or in the files of governments. The United Nations has brought it into the light and has placed it in the forefront of our concerns. Today, for example, the British House of Commons is discussing the subject on the basis of our discussions in the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

102. It must be admitted that it is the under-developed countries which are responsible for the fact that this victorious stage has been reached, for it is thanks to their insistence, their unity, their vision of the future and their patience that there has been such a thorough examination of the question. The delegation of Chile

is proud to have had an active part in this common action, from 1947 to this very day.

103. The odd thing is that while nobody has denied the conclusions arrived at by the different organs of the United Nations, the achievements, on one pretext or another, are still, as Professor Myrdal says, of a homeopathic character. At the sixth session of the General Assembly, in the Second Committee, I gave the whole problem a thorough study, on behalf of my country, and considered what international collaboration was doing to solve it. I am not going to repeat the figures. I shall merely state that between technical and financial assistance, the nations, acting in concert both within the framework of the United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and outside, and including ordinary budgets and direct assistance, have devoted not more than \$1,000 million per annum to the solution of what the United Nations has officially, through its Secretary-General, called the most important long-term individual problem besetting the world and the United Nations. This is less than 1 per cent of what the world is spending on armaments, and 25 per cent of the foreign trade deficit of the under-developed countries. This year, the prospects are no better, for even the modest but effective United Nations programme of technical assistance will have fewer funds available than last year, since some countries have decreased their contributions.

104. The main argument adduced lately for deferring any decision on really effective action with regard to economic development is the lack of resources due to the rearmament forced upon us by the aggression in Korea. This argument was completely refuted by the under-developed countries in the General Assembly last year. They proved that sufficient resources existed to carry out both programmes, and in particular that the funds required for the financing of development projects were infinitely less than what was being spent on armaments; and they further proved that an active policy of economic development was an essential part of any programme for combating aggression. The Secretary-General himself stated in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization: "The strength necessary for peace will never be found in arms alone"; and elsewhere he adds: "There are, I am convinced, sufficient productive and financial resources in many of the developed countries which, if mobilized and wisely used for these purposes, might in fact lead to improvement in the economic position of these same countries rather than increase the burdens upon them".<sup>4</sup>

105. The people will gladly accept collective measures against aggression, provided that they are accompanied by collective measures against poverty. But the fact is that the leaders of the world have lacked the conviction and decision to view the problem and plan its solution as they should in this second half of the twentieth century. They are still fascinated by and cloistered in a political and economic outlook which has long been out of date. They believe that the problem can be solved by private capital investments. However, those who have the capital are unwilling to invest it in genuine economic development projects;

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A*, pp. 4 and 5.



furthermore, such capital cannot be employed in undertakings which, while they do not pay dividends, are essential for the implementation of a rational programme for the development of under-developed countries. And they believe that the methods by which other countries were industrialized and developed in the nineteenth century—in quite different geographical, demographic and historical circumstances—can be applied today to the intensive development of India or Indonesia, of Africa, Brazil or Chile.

106. So far, we have shown that a great programme of economic development of backward areas must be undertaken at the international level for three main reasons: First, the duty of human solidarity in the face of poverty; secondly, the need to ensure world economic stability by creating new consumer markets, and to settle the problem created by the permanent dislocation of the balance of trade of Western Europe; thirdly, the necessity of strengthening, both materially and spiritually, the peoples who have been called upon to collaborate in the work of the United Nations on behalf of peace and against aggression.

107. We shall now add two new considerations of no less importance, which are the natural sequel to what I have just set forth. The first is that it is by a bold and sweeping programme of economic development that we can best ensure that the great world revolution of which I have spoken is directed towards the goal of international co-operation and solidarity, for the benefit of all and for the prevention of social struggles and international conflicts. The second is that the under-developed countries are today conscious of the fact that their natural wealth is just as vital to the industrial countries as are the equipment, machinery, technical knowledge and capital of the latter countries to themselves. They are aware of their strength and consequently of the fact that they can negotiate on an equal footing with the industrial countries and demand that the economic problem which faces the world, the problem of expansion, production, conservation, transformation and distribution of wealth, shall be solved for the benefit of all, as an undertaking of common concern, by the co-ordination of all the available resources.

108. This last conclusion is so obvious that the United States Commission of Policy of Materials explicitly acknowledges it when it states in the part of its report entitled "The Fundamental Concepts": "We believe that the destinies of the United States and the rest of the free non-Communist world are inextricably bound together. This belief we hope will color everything we have to say about the materials problem. It implies, for example, that if the United States is to increase its imports of materials it must return in other forms strength for strength to match what it receives. It is this Commission's belief that if we fail to work for a rise in the standard of living of the rest of the free world, we thereby hamper and impede the further rise of our own, and equally lessen the chances of democracy to prosper and peace to reign the world over."<sup>6</sup> The Commission goes on to state its conviction that if the United States and other countries wish to be strong, they must co-ordinate their

resources with a view to common development, security and welfare.

109. It is the duty of the world's leaders to impress upon their peoples the absolute necessity of planning and carrying out a great, new and bold programme of economic development for the under-developed countries, by reason of the political, economic and human considerations to which I have drawn attention. This programme must satisfy the following requirements.

110. In the first place, it must be inspired by the firm conviction that it is for the good of all. Consequently, although it may appear to some to be a rather revolutionary idea, the programme must be based on the concept that its execution is the common responsibility of every country and every individual. But this concept is no more revolutionary than that which in the past demanded individual sacrifice for the achievement of local and national aims. Only through increasing economic action on a world-wide scale, in a free and peaceful world, can we maintain and even increase the prosperity which is now enjoyed by a minority of the peoples.

111. Secondly, its main and final objective must be to safeguard the dignity of the human person, as the United Nations has consistently proclaimed. Fundamentally, therefore, it must strive to raise the standard of living of the masses in each country, increasing the value of the work they perform within a broad concept of liberty.

112. Thirdly, it must be directed in such a way as to help the peoples to realize their right to self-determination.

113. Fourthly, therefore, it should aim at the diversification of economies, in order to eliminate or decrease the economic dependence of these countries on their raw materials. It should envisage a rational and harmonious development of industry, minerals and agriculture.

114. Fifthly, it must be drawn up with a view to the general interests of humanity and not those of a specific country or region. It should therefore tend towards a co-ordinated, inter-regional and inter-continental economic development.

115. Sixthly, it must be based on national efforts, economic and otherwise; but it must also envisage financial and technical assistance to the degree recommended by economists and technicians.

116. Finally, it must of necessity be accompanied by a new and different policy in regard to raw materials and international trade. Nothing can be achieved by economic and technical assistance if the under-developed countries have to go on exhausting themselves as a result of the present policies of control and establishment of the prices of raw materials by a few purchasing countries, as well as of the present pattern of international trade which impoverishes them more every day. To think otherwise would be a childish illusion.

117. General agreements should be concluded in which the under-developed countries can participate on an equal footing with the industrialized countries and in which the interests of both sides are safeguarded, so that all types of resources—raw materials, labour, technical processes, equipment, machinery and capital

<sup>6</sup> See *A Report to the President by the President's Materials Policy Commission—June 1952*; United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1952, vol. I, p. 3.

—may be used co-operatively. Only in this way can the general welfare be promoted in an equitable manner. The only way to see to it that an adequate programme of economic development satisfies the essential requirements which I have outlined, is to entrust its execution to the United Nations; for then the countries which receive assistance will have no fear that their interests will be sacrificed for the benefit of other countries or groups.

118. The United Nations, through its regional economic commissions, is in a position to carry out objective investigations—as it has already been doing—of the needs of each country, and to recommend the internal or inter-regional policies that are indispensable if the plans are to be carried out in conformity with the general needs. Only the United Nations, by co-ordinating, through the Secretary-General and the Economic and Social Council, the work of these commissions, can harmonize the development of the various regions and ensure that the final objectives and essential principles are not forgotten. Thus a United Nations programme would guarantee to the countries of Latin America and Asia that the necessary development of Africa would not be carried out in such a way as to prejudice the development of Latin America and Asia, but would on the contrary, be co-ordinated with it, and would at the same time respect the principle that the purpose of the programme was to raise the standard of living of peoples, not to secure raw materials for industrialized countries at a low cost.

119. The outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo, emphasized the primary need for strengthening the United Nations, for increasing its prestige and for striving to achieve greater public support for it, particularly at this time when political tension is weakening its very foundations. Until some progress is made in solving the present serious international conflict, I see no better way of achieving this than to make a resolute attempt to solve, completely or partially, the tremendous problem of poverty and hunger which confronts two-thirds of humanity, and the problem of economic instability which confronts the other third.

120. Mr. Padilla Nervo also told us that the people of the world had a firm faith in the work the United Nations is doing in the economic and social fields. I believe this to be true—at least up to now. There are indeed many who know of the patient and laborious work of study and investigation, of analysis, dissemination of results, planning and programme drafting which the United Nations has carried on to date in these fields. Unfortunately, however, this work has reached the man in the street only in a very limited form—in homeopathic doses, as Professor Myrdal said. But it is the man in the street, who, in the end, is the one who forms public opinion in all countries.

121. If we do not advance in the direction I have suggested, faith in the economic and social work of the United Nations will disappear, just as the hope that the United Nations will be able to put an end to the present acute political tension is disappearing. If the United Nations fails to take a definite, clear, active and bold position on the questions arising in connexion with the implementation of the General Assembly resolution [377 (V)] on "Uniting for

peace," if it does not take a clear stand in support of the principle of self-determination, of respect for human rights and of the economic progress of underdeveloped countries, it will be turning its back on the commandments of the Charter and, what is even more serious, it will be turning its back on reality. An organization like ours, if it is incapable of understanding the burning issues of the day, will be of no value whatsoever in the task of maintaining peace; other forces and other principles—not those of the Charter—will then direct the great avalanche of mankind's yearnings for justice, liberty and progress.

122. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): Seven years have elapsed since the Second World War came to an end. Yet the clouds of war still hang over our heads, barring the rays of peace from penetrating our hearts. We still live in a world in which crises, tensions and restlessness prevail. Palestine, North Africa, Korea and Germany are only samples of the danger spots which await just, firm and statesmanlike decisions. Political and social unrest, tension between East and West and a high fever in an armament race are some of the outstanding features of our time.

123. The reason for all this is not difficult to find. We still live mentally and spiritually in the pre-United Nations days when power politics, the struggle for domination and a false sense of racial and national superiority were the order of the day. Some vestiges of our primitive heritage, such as the habits of greed, deceit, cruelty, the desire to dominate others, mutual fear and suspicion of each other, still affect our political behaviour. We know very well that these vestiges can only lead to war. We know very well what sorrow and destruction war brings to mankind. In the age of the jet and the atom, war means the total destruction of mankind, with all its spiritual, moral, scientific and artistic heritage.

124. There are only two alternatives before mankind today—to learn or to perish. We must either learn the moral, social and political values required for our age, or we shall all perish. Our primitive heritage does not pay us any more. It does not lead to survival. It leads to total destruction. We must outgrow it. In his assent to the human level, man always had the advantage of using his intelligence and ability to learn. Prophets, religious leaders, philosophers, great political thinkers, teachers of ethics and morality all taught the rules of communal living. But have we learned these rules?

125. The maxim of "do unto others as you would that they should do unto you" is one of the highest and noblest of the guiding principles that should regulate and direct our political thinking. If those nations which contributed to the tragedy of the Arabs of Palestine had learned this maxim, much trouble and human suffering would have been spared. If that great nation, France, were to apply this very maxim in its relations with the people of North Africa, there would probably be no questions of Tunisia and Morocco in this General Assembly.

126. The principles of the French Revolution, the American Declaration of Independence, the Wilsonian principles and especially the principle of self-determination of peoples, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Atlantic Charter, President Roosevelt's

Four Freedoms and, last but not least, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all provide lofty aims and ideals which await not local, continental or partial observance, but full and universal application. The acceptance or rejection of these principles today by all nations, great and small, is not a matter of preference and procrastination; it is a matter of necessity, urgency and life or death for the whole human race.

127. In this atomic age, the ideas of "one world" and the equality of man, irrespective of race, colour, creed or geographical position, are most basic for our survival and common action. If the nineteenth-century ideas of colonialism, superiority of the white man and the "white man's burden" are not finally abandoned by the colonial Powers, there is no hope for attaining peace, harmony and co-operation in the modern world and the seeds of war and unrest will germinate among nations.

128. There is no doubt that political consciousness is growing among peoples who have a great historical heritage behind them, like the peoples of North Africa. It is only right that this political consciousness should be helped and guided, so that these peoples may rise and flourish in a friendly and harmonious international atmosphere, rather than that it should be thwarted, suppressed, and its very existence denied. The policy of the ostrich burying its head in the sand does not help in dealing with peoples who are developing their national consciousness. The politics of domination and exploitation should give way to the new politics of liberation and co-operation.

129. This session of the General Assembly certainly presents us with a turning point in the history of the world, as it provides us with a testing point in international relations between the European nations, on one side, and the Asian and African peoples, on the other. For over two centuries, Europe has dominated many parts of Asia and Africa. Now both Asia and Africa are rising. Political consciousness, the desire for freedom and independence, the desire for a place in the sun, and the rejection of foreign domination and exploitation, are the order of the day in Asia and in some parts of Africa. Does Europe intend to accept the challenge of freedom and liberation and to help all these peoples in the path of freedom and development, acting in the light of the highest tenets of its tradition and civilization, or do the colonial Powers intend to resist, suppress and oppress the nationalists, thus giving rise to international discord and unrest? The independence of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma and others certainly points in the right direction. We sincerely hope that other colonial Powers will follow suit and contribute to a friendly and pleasant atmosphere of international understanding between Europe, on the one hand, and the Asia and African peoples, on the other.

130. It is our sincere hope that France, whose ideals of liberty are the object of admiration, will demonstrate to the world that these ideals can be practised on an international scale and that the freedom and equality emanating from independence and self-determination will be enjoyed by all the peoples of North Africa. We wish to make it clear at this stage that my Government, in joining other Arab and Asian States in putting the items on Tunisia and Morocco

on the agenda of this session, did not intend in any way to cause an embarrassment to our great friend, France. We, who are connected with the peoples of North Africa by the ties of history, language, religion and culture, are particularly concerned about the destiny of these peoples and their desire for independence and national liberation. We believe that the United Nations, in discussing the matters of Tunisia and Morocco in a friendly atmosphere, can greatly help France in reaching a friendly and liberating settlement with the peoples of these territories.

131. We wish here sincerely to appeal to the French Government to help the United Nations to use its good offices in dealing with Tunisia and Morocco. It is no use arguing that these are matters of domestic jurisdiction belonging to France alone. Tunisia and Morocco are sovereign States which are in treaty relations with France, and their problems have taken on such world-wide importance and significance that they will affect international relations between Europe, on one side, and Asia and Africa, on the other. The matter cannot be left to France and the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco alone, especially after finding that, left to itself, the French Government has not been able to satisfy the national aspirations of the peoples of these territories.

132. We sincerely hope that the noble people of France will come to appreciate the fact that the peoples of North Africa have their national aspirations and that the principles of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* apply to the peoples of North Africa as well as to those of France. That is why we cannot find any justification for thwarting the national aspirations of the peoples of North Africa for the sake of a relatively small number of French *colons*. The French *colons* should be advised, for the sake of future good relations of all, to sympathize and co-operate with the nationalists rather than to oppose or object to their national independence.

133. It is with the deep and sincere conviction that modern human relations cannot be founded on race or colour superiority and that the era of "one world" and the equality of man cannot tolerate racial discrimination and colour segregation, that my delegation joined other Asian and African delegations in asking that the item on racial legislation and segregation in the Union of South Africa should be put on the agenda of this session. We believe that this matter is of such world-wide international significance and that it affects international friendship and happy relations to such an extent that we hope this General Assembly will make a further recommendation to the Union of South Africa to reconsider its policy.

134. It is always essential for the United Nations to take the feelings and thoughts of the peoples of the world towards its achievements or non-achievements into consideration. There is no doubt that my country, like many others, optimistically thought that, after the Second World War, humanity was entering a new era of peace based on freedom and justice. The United Nations was to guarantee for the world a peace based on freedom and justice. The initial years of United Nations activity coincided with the liberation of the sister States of Syria and Lebanon, a fact which greatly enhanced the reputation and prestige of the United Nations in that part of the world.



135. The shock was terrific, however, when the United Nations handled the question of Palestine. The matter was handled by the United Nations in such a rash and unjust way that the result was to turn out one million innocent Arabs, Moslems and Christians alike, from their homes. The plight of these refugees, who were driven out by Zionist terrorists whose practice was to exterminate all the inhabitants of villages, like Deir-Yasin, butchering old men, women and children and mutilating them, shocks human conscience. These peaceful and innocent people had done nothing to deserve this treatment resulting from an illegal and unjust United Nations resolution passed under the pressure of power politics.

136. But no matter how wretched and inhuman the treatment of refugees has been and still is today, they will never give up their right to their home in Palestine, for Palestine to them is not merely a physical and material setting which could be exchanged at will. It is their spiritual home, which they have inhabited for thousands of years and which they will not abandon for any material compensation or gain.

137. The United Nations cannot very well absolve itself from the responsibility of rendering justice to the Arabs of Palestine without seriously undermining its moral prestige. It is on its attitude towards Palestine more than any other issue that the morality and justice of the United Nations is measured by my people and by all peoples who harbour the notions of religion, humanity and justice. The status of the Arabs of Palestine has provided the barometer for world conscience and morality and for all that goes to make up a humanity worthy of the name. The United Nations Organization cannot afford to forget or obliterate the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their own homeland and remain equally strong as a world organization for peace and justice.

138. By its resolution [181 (II)] of 29 November 1947, the United Nations is thus responsible for the creation of the factor which most disturbs the peace and stability of the Middle East. It is in this light that my people look at the United Nations today.

139. Having adopted that unjust resolution, having caused that bleeding wound in the heart of the Middle East, the United Nations should at least see to it that its resolutions, which are the very *raison d'être* of Israel, should be respected. Unfortunately, we find that all its resolutions that do not suit Zionist interests have been flagrantly ignored, denied and violated by Israel. The United Nations resolution divided Palestine into three shares, one to go to the Jews, the other to go to the Arabs, and the third to belong to the whole world. Israel took what was allotted to it, adding most of what was allotted to the Arabs, and it defied the internationalization of Jerusalem by transferring its capital to that territory, which cannot legally or spiritually belong to it alone.

140. The United Nations resolved in 1948 [resolution 194 (III)] that those Arab refugees who chose to do so could return to their own homes in Palestine and live in peace with their neighbours, and that those who did not wish to return should be compensated. Four years have elapsed since the resolution was passed, and Israel has constantly defied its implementation. Nearly one million Arab refugees, Moslems and Christians, still live under the most pitful condi-

tions, suffering from famine, sickness and degradation. They will not abandon their rights to their home in Palestine. But why should they be deprived of their own houses and lands? Because Israel has illegally usurped them.

141. Will the United Nations remain indifferent to the implementation of its resolutions—which themselves have been prejudicial to the Arabs of Palestine—thus denying to the Arabs even what is left for them in Palestine, and still expect peace and stability to prevail in the Middle East?

142. Israel has not only undermined United Nations influence and prestige in that part of the world, but it continues to be provocative and disturbing to peace. Its large-scale military preparations, its continued aggression on the border, involving constant killings of innocent Arabs who choose to return to their homes, and its continued flow of immigration, all constitute a danger to peace and stability in the Middle East which the United Nations cannot afford to ignore, for the situation is of its own making.

143. Besides, Israel is violating the most elementary rights of the Arabs to their own country and treating them very much like prisoners. The Israel Army recently shot innocent Arabs who are residents of Israel, killing three of them and wounding fifteen. When Mr. Ben Gurion was asked about the incident, his answer was that it was due to the inexperience of the Israel soldiers, and the matter stood there.

144. The United Nations cannot take lightly the question of Palestine simply because it keeps recurring on the agenda every year. It must realize that, unless justice is done to the Arabs of Palestine and unless the bleeding of the wound is stopped, we can have no peace or stability in the Middle East. This is an honest and true picture of the situation. Unfortunately, the United Nations has so far failed, through its relief agency or conciliation commission, to cope adequately with the situation. More serious thinking and more effective measures should be taken to make Israel recognize Arab rights in Palestine.

145. We often hear Israel speaking of peace with the Arabs. This is the peace which one who takes your home and kicks you out of it proposes to you on condition that you give up your home. This kind of peace no Arab can accept who is not a traitor to his own people. The truth is that the Zionists in Palestine want peace at the expense of the whole Arab world. This is no desire for peace. This is a desire to gain and to exploit.

146. In this troubled period of the world, the hope of mankind is pinned on the United Nations Organization. It is the one main organization which is expected to solve and settle in a peaceful and friendly atmosphere all the outstanding problems of mankind. It is expected to be the agency for the continued reduction of tensions and removal of the causes of war. It is expected to liberate and lead to independence all peoples who have developed political consciousness and national aspirations. It is hoped that the United Nations will help all under-developed countries to improve their economic, social and technical conditions, and see to it that those nations which have, contribute to those nations which do not—not with an aim of political domination and economic exploitation but in a spirit of co-operation and fair partnership leading to world stability, political and economic.

147. But what is the United Nations? Is it a super-body transcending all States and Powers which can press the button and order things to move in a certain way or to assume a particular shape? Not at all. It is the will of the nations composing it, great and small, to co-operate in a common effort to make the world move in accordance with the principles and spirit of the Charter. We have all pledged ourselves to abide by the principles of the Charter. It is upon the degree of our fulfilling our pledges that the success of this Organization depends. But have we all upheld our pledges, so as to make the United Nations Organization fulfil its mission?

148. We wish to mention only a few points which have, in our view, led to the serious weakening of the United Nations as an organization.

149. In the first place, we know very well that this Organization was established on the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council. Without this unanimity the Security Council is made almost impotent. The reason for the lack of unanimity is well known to us all. It is the lack of understanding and the deadlock between the Soviet bloc and the Western bloc. Unless this deadlock is overcome, there is not much hope of making the world enjoy peace and stability.

150. My delegation, together with the Syrian delegation, presented a draft resolution to the General Assembly [*A/C.1/585 and Rev.1*] calling on the five permanent members of the Security Council to meet individually or collectively to discuss their outstanding differences in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Although that resolution was adopted unanimously [*377 (V)*], two years have lapsed with no meeting of the permanent members being achieved. Had such a meeting taken place, the question of Korea would probably have long ago been settled. It is indeed a matter of deep regret that at this very moment that we are meeting here thousand of lives are being destroyed, with immeasurable material loss and sorrow.

151. The United Nations certainly carried out one of its basic and sacred duties when it went out to help South Korea against the invasion from North Korea. But who can say that the perpetuation of this lamentable situation is not mainly due to the lack of understanding and agreement which prevails between the Soviet bloc and the Western bloc, a fact which has resulted in great world-wide tension and a cold war. We regret that the call to cease fire which was made two years ago by the Arab and Asian group of States was not accepted at the time. Had that call been accepted at the time, thousands of lives and an immeasurable amount of sorrow and loss, both moral and material, could have been spared. We sincerely hope that greater efforts will be exerted to bring about an immediate cease-fire, to be followed by a lasting and honourable peace.

152. The fact that such meetings of the permanent members of the Security Council might yield fruitful results was shown by the initial meetings *in camera* of the twelve Powers—including the five permanent members of the Security Council—last year to discuss a basis for disarmament. Unfortunately, success did not seem to prevail at the later meetings on disarmament. We still maintain that there is no other alternative for avoiding tension and war but to meet, discuss and

settle differences. If this fails, a group of impartial States must be asked to intervene for mediation or arbitration. This is the only way to avoid a major world catastrophe and to make the United Nations work.

153. Secondly, it is a matter of deep regret that this world Organization should shut its door to many countries. Countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal, Eire, Jordan, Libya, Ceylon, Hungary and Romania, should not have been kept outside the Organization. My delegation has consistently upheld the principle of the universality of United Nations membership. The criterion to be applied to new Members should be that of the existing Members. There is no perfection in any State in the world today. We all have our defects and shortcomings. If an applicant State is like us, as far as the qualifications laid down by the Charter go, we cannot see how we can bar it from entry.

154. My delegation is particularly surprised that the young State of Libya, which attained its independence by a resolution [*289 A (IV)*] of the General Assembly, should have been barred from admission by those very States that voted for the resolution prescribing its entry into the United Nations upon the attainment of independence.

155. Thirdly, one of the most fatal blows to the United Nations took place in the Security Council this year, when a discussion of Tunisia was barred.<sup>6</sup> My delegation believes that no greater blow could be struck at this Organization than to limit or bar freedom of discussion in this Organization on any matter coming within the scope of the Charter. It is most regrettable that this should have happened at the hands of the very States that champion freedom of discussion. Another important incident which we hope will never recur is the barring of representatives of people who have complaints to make to the United Nations from the United States.

156. We sincerely hope, for the sake of us all and for the sake of the prestige and influence of this Organization whose purpose is to maintain world peace and harmony, that no restrictions will be placed on the discussion of any topic coming within the scope of the Charter and that no individual or group of individuals representing people under foreign control will be prevented from reaching the United Nations.

157. Fourthly, we believe that it is time to give serious thought to revising the Charter in the light of the experience gained during the past seven years by calling for the general conference prescribed under Article 109 of the Charter. Any revision of the Charter must take at least two points into account. First, the conference must decide whether the rule of unanimity should be maintained. If the answer is affirmative, it must deal with the qualifications, rights and privileges of those States which are permanent members of the Security Council. What is it that entitles a certain State to become a permanent member, if permanency is required at all? The second point to be taken into account in revising the Charter is the right of dependent peoples to attain political independence, prescribing the conditions and methods by which a dependent people can attain independence without undergoing a period

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Seventh Year, 576th meeting.*

of unnecessary struggle and creating a feeling of acrimony between the ruling and the ruled.

158. The Arab world today is in a state of political, economic and social reformation. My country, which has all the potentialities for development and progress, is already doing its utmost in the way of developing its natural resources. Our revenue from petroleum is mainly dedicated to capital works which will contribute to the social, economic and cultural advancement of the people. What we need is peace. What we need is peace for the world at large, and for the Middle East in particular.

159. It is for this reason that we hope that all problems affecting the Arab world will be dealt with and settled on the basis of law and justice. We cannot have real peace until justice is rendered to the Arabs of Palestine. We cannot have peace until our brothers in North Africa are set on the path of freedom and independence.

160. Moreover, we look forward to a period of international co-operation and friendship in which we can benefit from the technical assistance of those friendly nations which can make that assistance available to us, and more especially through the United Nations. In this respect, I should like to allude to the question of financing the economic development of under-developed countries, which has been so thoroughly dealt with by Mr. Santa Cruz. It is our belief that the General Assembly at its present session should carefully consider this question, with a view to taking the necessary action to evolve an efficient and realistic system of international financial assistance.

161. Another aspect of economic development to which we attach special importance is the technical Assistance programme undertaken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We are happy to note the great expansion in the activities of the United Nations in this field, and we sincerely hope that the technical assistance programme will become a permanent feature

of the work of this Organization, Iraq was an early and enthusiastic supporter of this programme, and we shall continue to take an active interest in its development and implementation.

162. In the social field, the United Nations has great and varied responsibilities. The work of the Economic and Social Council and its various commissions in the fields of human rights, social welfare and freedom of information, has yielded many constructive results, but in our view it still has not gone far enough to solve the problems and allay the fears and tensions that overshadow our present-day society. We hope that the General Assembly at this session will develop and consolidate the work already accomplished and take whatever new action is deemed necessary to strengthen economic and social co-operation among nations.

163. Here I should like to pay tribute to the work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—UNICEF—an organization which has saved thousands of children and women from death and destruction. We are glad to note that it has been acquiring a more permanent character and is now undertaking long-term projects with encouraging results. This is an unsensational aspect of the work of the United Nations which merits our highest attention and most active co-operation. It is our belief that governments and peoples should put their shoulders together, not only to enable UNICEF to continue its splendid work, but to make it a greater and more firmly established reality.

164. In short, my country firmly believes in peace based on justice and continues to support the ideals of the United Nations. We believe in one world based on law, justice, freedom and prosperity for all, irrespective of race, colour, faith or geographical situation. May all the Members of this Organization, big and small, from east and from west, join in making the ideals of the United Nations a reality.

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*