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AGENDA ITEM 9

Opening of the general debate

1. Mr. ARANHA (Brazil): Mr. President, it gives me a special pleasure to be the first today to applaud your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly, a tribute to your personal qualities and to your devotion to the United Nations, and to the constant and valuable support of your country to the tasks of our Organization.

2. It is ten years since I had the honour of being with you and, indeed, of presiding over the discussions in the Assembly. On returning, after a decade, it is with great emotion that I find here the same endeavour to serve our great ideal, inspiring my newly-met fellow-workers as well as those among the old companions who have returned, like myself, to the scene of our joint labours. Ten years ago a hard war had ended, and in the United Nations our main concern and conversations were about peace. Today, when peace is needed as never before in order that mankind may survive, the talk is almost only of war. It is common knowledge that in that space of time, instead of disarming, the nations not only have continued to arm themselves at an increasing rate, but they have even created dreadful weapons which a few great Powers practically monopolize. It would seem that the grim privilege of casting the lot for war or for peace lies in the hands of those who command the newly developed source of energy or who may command it in future. It might be feared, consequently, that conditions would be established which would permit the existence of world dictatorships under the very shadow of the United Nations, in a complete negation of the spirit which brought about the rise of this Organization.

3. A new way of life is thus being imposed upon the peoples of the world. Instead of the promotion of security and mutual confidence between nations, and of growth in individual well-being and equality, we are still confronted by controls and obstacles to a full juridical, economic and social communion. As individuals and as peoples we run the risk of becoming today less free, less equal, and even less peaceful.

4. I hope my fellow representatives will forgive me if I seem rather pessimistic in comparing 1947 with 1957. But I can assure you that the people and the Government of Brazil continue to believe, as I do, that it is here, in the United Nations, that the peaceful solution of regional and world problems and conflicts can and must be achieved.

5. Brazil represents a large part of the territory, the population and the natural wealth of the Americas. We are undergoing a phase of intense development. As a people, we have no aspirations that might surpass the bounds of our possibilities, of our frontiers or of our peaceful and pacifying traditions.

6. For more than a century, we have clung to the principles and commitments of Pan-Americanism, which have welded our continent, not only into a single territory, but also into a single way of thinking, a single sentiment and even a united international attitude. Pan-Americanism has been integrated into the United Nations in order that it may be a servant of world peace. The organization of the continental family has endeavoured always to serve the interests and the progress of the entire world. Of the many thousands of millions of dollars expended by America throughout the world in the years following the establishment of the United Nations, a very minor share was allotted to the countries on our continent. Our various Governments supported and even applauded the decision of an American nation to expend in aid to Western and Eastern Europe, and to Asia itself, larger sums in one year than it had done in an entire decade of co-operation with its sister nations on the continent. This attitude of the United States toward areas overseas did not impair the spirit of Pan-Americanism. It was construed rather as a reaffirmation of its world-wide significance. It never was the purpose of the founders of our system to create a prosperous and happy continent disregarding poverty and unhappiness elsewhere in the world. Only Governments that are not truly and intimately democratic can seek to promote a kind of welfare that is not for all.

7. It was for this reason that, in the middle of the war, the American countries gave support to the establishment of international agencies whose main objective would be to expedite the recovery of the devastated areas. To this end, they contributed the best of the resources at their disposal. The international financial organization created at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944, and in which all the American nations have a share, included the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It was given two equally important missions: one, that of reconstructing the war-torn areas, and the other, a long-range one, that of providing assistance to economically underdeveloped countries.

8. Today, we see not only that the nations which

suffered the most under the impact of war are entirely reconstructed, but also that they have indeed surpassed their own pre-war levels, while the other nations actually show a decrease, both in public and in individual revenue, when their demographic growth is taken into consideration. I do not mean to say that one economic level should apply to all nations alike, but rather that there is a limit beyond which inequality can jeopardize world communion. Returning, however, to the subject of recovery from war-wrought havoc, we see that some of the reconstructed nations have even initiated investment programmes aiming at the economic development of other areas. It is an undeniable fact that the task of reconstruction was fully accomplished.

9. The moment has come, therefore, for the United Nations to give the necessary emphasis, through its specialized agencies, to the problems of development and of economic and social balance. In the specific case of the International Bank, for instance, it is imperative that development should benefit from the priority heretofore given to recovery.

10. I feel sure that the point of view which I have expressed in regard to this problem is not only that of my country but also that of all the American peoples. However, we are not a "bloc", nor do we want to be one. The American Republics are not led by aspirations of an exclusively continental nature. Ours are well defined ways of political thought, of living, of being, and of conducting international relationships.

11. I return today to your midst with the same mandate from my Government and with the same faith in our Organization. The problems which confront us -- such as the wider acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, the equality of nations, the self-determination of peoples, the emancipation of areas under trusteeship, the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of armaments and armed forces, as well as economic and social development, technical assistance and so many others -- should not be looked upon as being too great or too small, too difficult or too easy, or, still less, as insoluble. They are the same problems of mankind, ever cropping up, which man will have to solve if he wishes to survive. Most of these problems have arisen because of our lack of foresight. It is up to us to solve them. To men of good will, a mistake is temporary and may well serve as a stimulus to better thought and action.

12. The exacerbation of nationalism in the world, for instance, is an effect, not a cause. Lack of understanding, inequitable distribution of economic and financial resources and of production and surpluses: all these have created that and other justifiable forms of national and popular vindication. The less-developed peoples, as well as those which, like Brazil, are in the process of development, should not really be blamed for the present trend towards mistrust, towards misbelief in fair and rational world co-operation. It is natural that each people should wish to be the master of itself and of its own destiny, to live with and for all the others instead of depending upon them. It is not our wish to impoverish the rich or to weaken the strong. We want an equilibrium of power and a fairer access by all peoples to the instruments of prosperity and to the sources of the well-being of mankind. If we depart from such an orientation, our work

here will be in vain, and the problems of the world will multiply in pace with a trend towards an even more armed travesty of peace and an aggravation of misery, of hardship and of fear of those very conflicts which we have set ourselves to eliminate forever from the life of the peoples.

13. I am here to continue the series of efforts which you, Mr. President, and my predecessors have made during other sessions of the General Assembly. Those efforts are pledged, as they have been in the past, to the achievement of the purposes and objectives of the United Nations, in order to help in the solution of all international problems, along the lines laid down by the Charter, as so ably summarized by the Secretary-General in his last report on the work of the Organization [A/3594 and Add.1].

14. Such is our task, our mission and our duty. The best incentive for each and every one of us is the assurance that men and women in all regions of the world look upon the United Nations for guidance and aid, as the last hope for peace and security. It may not always be possible for us to achieve our aims, but the fact carries weight that our Organization can be present wherever might tries to masquerade as right. We may fall short of our task, but the United Nations must keep forging ahead.

15. I cannot believe that, even in this troubled world of ours, anyone could possibly wish to see the doors of this house closed without feeling that the shadows of war would be descending upon the nations to darken forever the relationships between peoples and the most cherished hopes of mankind.

16. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): It has been my great privilege to participate in work of the United Nations since its beginning. I am happy today to continue that association by taking part in the general debate of this, the twelfth, session of the General Assembly.

17. The last year has seen the creation of an important new international agency, the International Atomic Energy Agency. I recall, as will all of us who were here on 8 December 1953, the inspiring address of Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States. We must, he said, find the way "by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life" [470th meeting, para. 125]. To that end he proposed the creation of an international atomic energy agency. To realize that vision has not been easy. There were serious initial obstructions. It has taken four years of patience, firmness and diplomacy to achieve our goal. But now at last that goal is achieved.

18. Other major activities of the United Nations during the past year have been in relation to Egypt and Hungary. I do not review these at this time, as they are fresh in the minds of all of us. I would, however, recall that when I discussed these matters at the first emergency special session of the General Assembly [561st meeting], I referred to Article 1 of our Charter, which calls for peaceful settlements "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law". I then expressed the hope here that we might in the future do more to give vitality to that principle. Unhappily, there is today much injustice in the world. The forcible partition of Germany is one injustice that comes instantly to mind. There also

seems to be reluctance on the part of many Members to conform to Article 36, which says that "legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice". If there is any one thing which history demonstrates, it is that it is impossible to preserve peace indefinitely unless that peace is based upon justice and upon law.

19. I speak now of limitation of armaments. It is one of the essential tasks which the Charter lays upon the United Nations. To limit armaments is at best a difficult task. The inherent difficulties are today intensified by acute distrust. To make matters still more difficult, there are now in existence new weapons the control of which cannot be assured by any scientific means. The Soviet Union, in its proposal of 10 May 1955, pointed out that it was impossible to preclude "the clandestine manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons". Therefore, it concluded:

"Until an atmosphere of trust has been created in relations between States, any agreement on the institution of international control can only serve to lull the vigilance of the peoples. It will create a false sense of security, while, in reality, there will be ... the threat of surprise attack...." [DC/71, annex 15, p. 24.]

So speaks the Soviet Union.

20. We agree on the need for "an atmosphere of trust". But how shall we create it? One way is for the great military Powers to demonstrate, by their conduct, that they live up to their pledges expressed in our Charter. Unhappily, that basis for trust is lacking. I need only recall the Assembly's recent resolution [1133 (XI)] dealing with the tragic fate of Hungary.

21. There is, however, another way to establish confidence, and that is for the great military Powers to accept such reciprocal inspection as will in fact make it unlikely that there could be the "surprise attack" of which the Soviet proposal spoke. Then we shall not have to trust each other's word, or each other's intentions. Bad faith would be so vulnerable to detection that it would not become a profitable tactic even for those so inclined. That is the concept which underlay President Eisenhower's "open-skies" proposal [DC/71, annex 17] made at the Conference of the Heads of Government of the four great Powers held at Geneva in 1955. That concept instantly won world-wide acclaim and it has been endorsed by the Assembly [resolution 914 (X)]. It is the heart of the joint proposals [DC/113, annex 5] upon which four of the five members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission agreed last month.

22. I shall describe briefly these joint proposals, for they will, no doubt, figure largely in the deliberations at this twelfth session of the Assembly.

23. First, the joint proposals would provide reciprocal inspection to safeguard against surprise attack. President Eisenhower had proposed to do this by aerial inspection. Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev had proposed land inspection. The joint proposals combine the two types of inspection.

24. With respect to initial zones of inspection, the joint proposals give the Soviet Union a wide choice. If it will permit inspection of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it can inspect all areas from which it professes to fear attack: that is, Western Europe, the

United States and Canada. There are a few United States bases in other areas, and, as I said at the Geneva Conference in 1955, the United States would not object to their being opened also to inspection. If the Soviet Union prefers to start only on a modest and experimental basis, Canada, Denmark, Norway and the United States unite in offering such an area in the north. Willingness is also expressed to have a small initial zone in Europe. Thus, the joint proposals deal with what all recognize to be the threshold difficulty, lack of trust and the danger of surprise attack.

25. Secondly, the joint proposals tackle the problem of nuclear weapons. They provide that, once an adequate control system is established, no fissionable material shall ever again be produced for weapons purposes, and that existing fissionable material available for weapons will be regularly reduced by transfers to non-weapons purposes. Most experts, including those of the Soviet Union, agree that there is no dependable way to control existing stocks of fissionable material and to exclude their clandestine use. But we believe that it is possible to assure that no fissionable material hereafter produced shall be used for weapons purposes. That we propose to assure, and surely that is worth doing.

26. In the third place, the joint proposals call for suspending the testing of nuclear weapons for two years and thereafter if other aspects of the programme are moving forward as agreed.

27. Fourthly, the joint proposals would establish a study of outer space to the end that it shall be used only for peaceful, and not for military purposes. The Soviet Union has announced that it has discovered ways to use outer space to wreak vast destruction anywhere. That is no new discovery. The United States, too, knows how that can be done. Our task is to see that it is not done.

28. Finally, the joint proposals also contemplate beginning to reduce the number of armed forces and putting a part of the present stock of armaments into internationally supervised depots.

29. Let me say here a few words about the much debated matter of testing. We seek, by experiments now carefully controlled, to find out how to eliminate the hazardous radio-active material now incident to the explosion of thermo-nuclear weapons. Also, we seek to make nuclear weapons into discriminating weapons, suitable for defence against attacking troops, submarines and bombers, and for the interception of intercontinental missiles.

30. The Soviet Union seems not to want the character of nuclear weapons thus to be refined and changed. It seems to like it that nuclear weapons can be stigmatized as "horror" weapons. Does it calculate that, under these conditions, Governments subject to moral and religious influences will not be apt to use them, and that the Soviet Union, not itself subject to moral or religious restraints, would thereby gain a special freedom of action and initiative as regards such weapons? And does the Soviet Union not want nuclear weapons to be refined into effective defensive weapons which could repel an aggressive attack by those who control the most manpower?

31. We want to reduce, to the maximum extent possible, the danger of surprise attack and thus the danger of war itself. We want, to the maximum extent pos-

sible, to stop the future use of fissionable material for weapons purposes. We want existing stock piles of nuclear weapons to start on their way downwards. We want to end the risk that nuclear weapons will spread promiscuously throughout the world, giving irresponsible persons a power for evil that is appalling even to contemplate.

32. But if the Soviet Union rejects inspection against surprise attack, if it rejects a world-wide system to end the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, if it rejects co-operation to prevent the promiscuous spreading of nuclear weapons throughout the world, if it refuses to start a reciprocal reduction of existing stockpiles of such weapons, then we doubt that it is prudent to forgo efforts to make nuclear weapons into discriminating defensive weapons substantially free of radio-active fall-out.

33. It is, of course, essential that experimentation with nuclear weapons should not itself carry a threat to human life. The United States has a concern second to none in this matter. We shall invite the United Nations to send observers to one of our next tests so that they can see how these tests are conducted.

34. Last March, the United States and the United Kingdom declared their intention to conduct nuclear tests only in such a manner as would keep world radiation from rising to more than a small fraction of what might be hazardous. Indeed, because each year a percentage of radio-activity dies away, we have reason to hope that, in the future, any needed testing can be accomplished without any material raising whatsoever of the levels of radio-activity in the world.

35. The joint proposals which I described derive from months, even years, of effort and discussion. They were submitted formally on 29 August 1957. The Soviet Union representative instantly rejected them. He declared them a "sham". He went on to insist that the work of the Sub-Committee on Disarmament should be recessed, and he refused to agree on a date for the resumption of its task. We cannot believe that that sweeping, almost contemptuous, Soviet rejection is final. Never before have so many nations, of such great military power, joined to make proposals so far-reaching. Any Government that summarily rejects them would accept a frightful responsibility before all the world.

36. Humanity faces a tragic future if the threat of war is not brought under control, for that would mean that men, in order to survive, must learn to live as burrowers in the earth to find protection against death. It would mean that man would be a slave to the rapidly mounting costs of an arms race. It would mean that individual freedom would give way to the requirements of survival.

37. The free-world members of the Sub-Committee on Disarmament reject that future. They accept what, to some of them, seem sacrifices and to others risks, in order to chart a course which will reduce the danger of war -- not just nuclear war, but all war. Whether or not the Soviet Union today refuses to follow in that course, we can be confident that the enlightened efforts that produced these proposals will not have been in vain. Even if the Soviet Union now rejects the joint proposals, those proposals should not, on that account, be regarded as dead. Their principles are valid and will live on.

38. The search for limitation of armaments cannot be held in a state of suspense. Economic considerations alone require efforts to relieve the peoples of the terrible burden of armaments. Also, there is need better to assure that the vast power which now resides in armaments shall serve only for security and never as an instrument of purely nationalistic policies.

39. There are today about fifty nations which have made collective defence pacts as authorized by Article 51 of our Charter. Such a framework is conducive to the development and application of these principles. For the very purpose of collective security is to enable each party to get more security with less armament. Already, for example, in Western Europe, there is on the one hand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which calls for contributions to a common defence and on the other hand the 1954 NATO treaty for Western European Union, which provides for limitations upon national armaments.^{1/}

40. If we cannot advance on a universal front, let the nations, wherever possible, draw closer together, so that, within the limits of safety, we may relieve the burden, and reduce the risks, of armament.

41. But let us not fatalistically assume that the Soviet response of last month is its last word. At first, in its aide-mémoire of 27 April 1954, the Soviet Union rejected the proposal for an International Atomic Energy Agency, calling it a scheme which would serve only "aggressive forces". We persisted then; let us persist now. If this Organization will put the weight of its influence behind the principles of the joint proposals, it is not impossible that those principles will yet obtain universal acceptance. Since the stakes are so high, no chance, however slight, should be left untried.

42. I turn now to the Middle East, speaking first of a past we would all prefer to forget. But we dare not forget because, unhappily, the past lives in the present.

43. Russia's rulers have long sought domination in the Middle East. In 1940, when the Soviet leaders were seeking a division of the world with Hitler, they stipulated "that the area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the centre of the aspirations of the Soviet Union" [Molotov communication to the German Ambassador, 25 November 1940]. In the immediate post-war period the Soviet Union prolonged its military occupation of Iran; it sought trusteeship over Libya, and it fomented subversion against Greece.

44. Between 1945 and 1949, however, Central Europe became the principal theatre of Soviet activities. In 1949, after the adoption of the Marshall Plan and the conclusion of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Soviet Union shifted its principal effort to the Far East. There it supported the Communist revolution in China, the war in Korea and the war in Indo-China.

45. In 1955, after the successful defence of Korea by the United Nations and the conclusion of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and other defensive pacts, the Soviet rulers again made the Middle East the centre of their external efforts. This time

^{1/} Protocol No. II on Forces of Western European Union, signed at Paris on 23 October 1954.

they tried to use, in Arab countries, the technique that Stalin and Lenin had prescribed for bringing about the "amalgamation" -- that is their word -- of the so-called "colonial and dependent peoples" into the Soviet orbit. This technique, as Lenin specified, involves inciting nationalism to break all ties with the West and thus create so total a dependence upon the Soviet Union that it can take full control.

46. So, in 1955, the Soviet rulers began intensive propaganda designed to incite the Arab nations to believe that with Soviet arms, Soviet technicians and Soviet political backing, they could accomplish extreme nationalistic ambitions. This Soviet Communist effort has made progress in Syria. There Soviet-bloc arms were exultantly received and there political power has increasingly been taken over by those who depend upon Moscow. True patriots have been driven from positions of power by arrests or intimidation. One consequence of this is that Turkey now faces growing military danger from the major build-up of Soviet arms in Syria on its southern border, a build-up concerted with Soviet military power on Turkey's northern border. Last week the Soviet Union sought by intimidation to prevent Turkey from making internal dispositions of its own security forces.

47. I turn now to recall the position of this Organization with respect to so-called indirect aggression. In 1949, the General Assembly adopted a resolution entitled "Essentials of peace". The resolution calls upon every nation "to refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity of any State ..." [resolution 290 (IV)]. When this resolution was voted upon, the only nations voting against it were the five Soviet-bloc States.

48. The United States has consistently supported the "Essentials of peace" resolution, and has done so specifically in relation to the Middle East. In 1947, when international communism was seeking to take over Greece and threatening Turkey, President Truman said in a speech made on 12 March of that year, "totalitarian régimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace". When the Soviet threat to the Middle East was recently resumed, the Congress of the United States, by a joint resolution adopted on 9 March 1957, declared that "the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East". It authorized the President to give economic and military assistance to help the nations of the Middle East to remain independent. It also says, "the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism". On 7 September 1957, President Eisenhower called attention to the danger in Syria and reaffirmed his intention to "exercise as needed", the authority given him by that congressional resolution.

49. The Soviet Communists appear to be engaging in "acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity" of certain nations of the Middle East in violation of the United Nations "Essentials of peace" resolution. Also, we believe that these Soviet acts may lead the recipients of Soviet arms, perhaps unwittingly, into acts of direct aggression.

Those who feel an abnormal sense of power, as a result of the recent putting into their hands of large amounts of Soviet-bloc arms, are being incited against their neighbours by violent propaganda. And that, I say, is risky business.

50. Of course, in this situation the primary responsibility rests upon the Member States themselves. It is they who should abstain from acts of aggression, direct or indirect. It is they who have an inherent right of individual and collective self-defence. Nothing that the United Nations can do should lead to the relaxation for one moment of the vigilance and the efforts of each free nation to maintain its own genuine integrity and independence and that of every other free nation. Nevertheless, when there is such a situation as that which now exists in the Middle East, the General Assembly ought at least to consider it and to discuss it. Discussion, as our Charter suggests in Article 11, paragraph 2, may itself be salutary. The United States reserves the right, in the light of that discussion, to introduce concrete proposals.

51. It is a tragedy that the Middle East, so rich in culture and tradition and contributing so greatly to the material and spiritual welfare of all the world, should be distraught, as it is today. The United States stands ready to contribute generously to the economic development of the area under conditions which will promote and strengthen the freedom and independence of the nations. This prospect of enlarged freedom and well-being will never be realized, however, so long as the area is looked upon as a subject of conquest and as a potential base for the domination of Europe, Asia and Africa.

52. The United Nations may not be able, by any material power that it can muster, to tranquilize the scene. But we can exert our influence. May we at least do that, and thereby once again serve the cause of peace, hope and happiness.

53. Mr. ADJEI (Ghana): On behalf of the delegation of Ghana to the twelfth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I bring to the members cordial greetings from the Government and people of Ghana. The members of my delegation and I consider that under your wise guidance, Mr. President, the deliberations at this session will be conducted in a spirit of friendliness and good will and for the mutual benefit of all the peoples of the world.

54. On 6 March of this year, Ghana became a free, independent and sovereign State. Before that date Ghana had been a colonial territory known as the Gold Coast and had been ruled by the United Kingdom for nearly 120 years. The varied experiences of our people under the colonial system of administration during this long period are a matter of recorded history. However, under the guidance and leadership of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, independence was achieved without bloodshed, but rather through the processes of peaceful negotiation and in a spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding and co-operation between the people of Ghana and the people of the United Kingdom.

55. I venture to say that perhaps it is from this background of experience that the new State of Ghana may hope to make a useful contribution to the solution of the problems that now afflict mankind and also perhaps to our collective efforts to maintain peace and security between the nations of the world.

56. The Government and people of Ghana owe a debt of gratitude to the United Nations. In the first place, it was the understanding of our problems and the actions taken by the Members of the United Nations that made it possible for a realistic and democratic solution to be found for the problem of Togoland under British administration, which is now unified with the independent and sovereign State of Ghana by the expressed wishes of the people of Togoland themselves.

57. In the second place, most of the countries represented in this Assembly have done great honour to Ghana by sending delegations to our independence celebrations in the early part of March of this year. Those countries which were not able to be represented by delegations have also done us great honour by sending us their good wishes.

58. Thirdly, on the recommendation of the Security Council, on 8 March of this year [668th meeting] the General Assembly unanimously voted in favour of the admission of Ghana to membership in the United Nations. It is this action, or expression of good will and confidence by the Members of the United Nations, that has made it possible for the new State of Ghana to be represented in the Assembly.

59. For the three reasons I have stated, the Government and people of Ghana consider that the United Nations and its Member States have done a great honour to Ghana, and for this we are grateful. It was the desire of our Prime Minister, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah that he should attend the first regular session of the General Assembly to be held after Ghana became independent and was admitted to membership, in order to express personally the sincere appreciation and gratitude of the Government and people of Ghana for all that the United Nations has done for us in the past. Mr. Nkrumah regrets that it has not been possible for him to come here in person at this time. He has, therefore, instructed my delegation to convey his appreciation and gratitude, as well as the appreciation and gratitude of the Government and people of Ghana for the assistance and good will shown by the Members to my country.

60. I am further instructed to say that the Government of Ghana will endeavour to uphold the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, as enunciated in the Charter, and is determined to support the agreed decisions of the United Nations. Ghana is prepared to make its contribution, however small, in our collective effort to promote and maintain international peace and security.

61. We believe that by means of co-operation between the Member States of this Organization we shall all be able to work together to make the United Nations the fulfilment of the hopes of many millions of people throughout the world, to the end that in our time and for several generations to come the peoples of the world may live together in peace and security, in harmony and prosperity.

62. In its relations with other States, Ghana desires to pursue a policy of peace, friendliness and neighbourliness with all nations. We desire to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with all nations wherever possible, and to be enemy to none. We believe that, whatever differences may exist in their approach to national or international issues, it should be possible for the nations of the world to develop a

spirit of accommodation and tolerance in the interest of international peace and security and for the common good of mankind.

63. Again, our Prime Minister has always stated that we consider our independence to be meaningless unless it is closely linked up with the freedom and ultimate liberation of our brothers and sisters in other parts of the African continent who are still struggling to free themselves from colonial domination by foreign Powers. In this regard, we consider that Ghana has a special responsibility and obligation towards all African peoples or peoples of African descent throughout the world who are still struggling to free themselves from foreign rule, or even who, by the mere reason of their colour, are denied the enjoyment of the very elementary civil and political rights which the constitutions of their own States guarantee to all their citizens.

64. I should like to request all Members of the United Nations to take note that the new State of Ghana is concerned with the freedom of all African peoples and also with the treatment that is meted out to all peoples of African descent, wherever they may be in any part of the world. We appeal to the conscience of the nations, great or small, to join in the crusade for the observance of the fundamental human rights and freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

65. In the view of my delegation, certain incidents or situations which sometimes appear to be, or are described as, the internal affairs of individual States, can be a potential danger and threat to international peace and security. We consider that there can be aggression against humanity, even when armed force has not been used. We also consider it to be an aggression against humanity even where, within any State, fundamental human rights and freedoms are denied to any section of the national community on the ground of race and colour, as it is the case in some countries in the world today. Perhaps within the framework of this reasoning, it may be necessary for us to reconsider and redefine our approach to the whole theory of aggression as a concept in international relations.

66. On the attainment of independence, Ghana, by its own free will, decided to join the Commonwealth of Nations. We value our membership in this free association of independent States because, in our view, it is an example of association of free and equal nations for the promotion of international peace and security, and we wish to support such an organization for as long as it lives up to the standards of sound democratic principles and respect for the sovereignty of nations.

67. It is the hope of the Government of Ghana that by co-operation with the other independent States of Africa, an African personality in international affairs can be evolved. It is this hope that has prompted the desire to arrange a conference of representatives of the independent States of Africa. This conference, which, it is expected, will take place in Ghana early next year, is intended to provide a much needed opportunity for representatives of the independent States of Africa to meet to exchange ideas and to discuss matters of common concern and interest to all the peoples of Africa. We hope that the deliberations of the proposed conference will be useful not only to the independent States which take part in it, but also to

the other millions of our fellow Africans in other parts of the continent who are still struggling to be free from foreign rule.

68. In our contact with the United Nations, even before Ghana became independent, there has developed a tradition of cordial relations and co-operation. The Government of Ghana hopes that these cordial relations will continue to grow even more now that Ghana is independent.

69. On behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, my delegation would wish to commend the United Nations and its various agencies for the work that has been accomplished in the past; and we hope that all the Member nations will continue to co-operate in our collective efforts to maintain peace in the world.

70. We have faith in the dignity of the human individual and in the unquenchable vitality of the human spirit. Ghana will co-operate with all States in this Assembly of nations in an effort to establish a world fellowship of peace and security.

71. Mr. FUJIYAMA (Japan).^{2/} First of all, I wish to extend the felicitations of my delegation to Sir Leslie Munro on his election as President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. To express our sincere congratulations to you, Sir, the representative of New Zealand, our neighbour in the Pacific community, is to express our deep satisfaction at your election to this most eminent position, and to offer assurance that we from Japan are confident that, with your distinguished record of service in the United Nations and your well-known integrity and wisdom, you will surely fulfil the heavy responsibilities of this high office. At the same time, we wish to express our high respects to Mr. Charles Malik, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, for the magnanimity shown by him at the time of the election of the President of the present session.

72. It is the fundamental policy of my Government to respect the principles and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The people of Japan wish most ardently that the foundations of this world Organization will become ever more strong and firm and that the United Nations will in name as well as in fact continue to develop into a truly formidable agency for the maintenance of world peace. In accordance with this fundamental policy, and as a Member of this Organization as well as of the Asian community of nations, my country desires to participate in all the activities of the various organs of the United Nations and by virtue of our deeds to demonstrate our will to contribute the fullest measure of our efforts to the work of this Organization for securing and maintaining world peace.

73. On the occasion of the opening of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, I wish to present the views of my delegation on the various problems confronting the United Nations.

74. It is a source of gratification that the General Assembly at its eleventh session, following an emergency session, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities in the Middle East and that, pursuant to this historic action, the Suez Canal is again open

to free navigation. We believe that this accomplishment has enhanced incalculably the authority and prestige of the United Nations. But, though lauding the action already taken, we add that this Organization must not relax its exertions; it must make certain that the peace it has restored will be maintained.

75. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts when the situation in the Middle East was most critical. My delegation wishes also to express its appreciation to the delegation of Canada for proposing [563rd meeting] that a United Nations Emergency Force be dispatched to that troubled area, as well as to the delegations of all the countries which contributed contingents to this Force.

76. My delegation believes that so long as freedom and justice are not firmly established on the basis of democratic principles, peace in the world community cannot be secured. In this connexion, I cannot help but recall the unfortunate case of Hungary. This Assembly, since the fall of last year, adopted many resolutions relating to the settlement of the Hungarian question, and pursuant to the spirit of the Charter, it recommended fair and just measures to the parties concerned. But it failed to achieve the results to which we earnestly looked forward.

77. The fact that the recommendations of the General Assembly do not carry any compulsion and the fact that their implementation depends upon the will of the parties concerned indicate the present limits of its authority. Nevertheless, we should not forget this regrettable experience. We should consider it as a lesson in the need to strengthen this body and give this matter our most serious study. In this regard, my delegation endorses the report of the Secretary-General. It is our sincere expectation that when the opportunity for revision of the Charter presents itself, all Member States, in the interests of world peace, will demonstrate their good judgement and zeal for the improvement of the present situation.

78. The problem of world peace and the problem of world security, being essentially the same, are indivisible. On this incontrovertible premise, I feel that all States, acting through the United Nations, should co-operate fully to bring about -- under feasible and effective international controls -- the reduction of armaments, especially the abolition of nuclear weapons.

79. The people and Government of Japan have watched with great hope and concern the progress of the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission after the resumption of its meetings following the suspension of the eleventh session of the Assembly. From these meetings there came strong indications that the Powers concerned, for the first time since the second World War, were at last coming closer together. The people of the world were hopeful that the consummation of a general or partial disarmament agreement, adequate to guarantee international security, would put an end to the unrelieved nightmare of nuclear war.

80. But to our profound disappointment the Subcommittee failed to achieve any concrete results by the time of the opening of the twelfth session. The people of Japan, more than any other people, know directly the horrors of nuclear war. They earnestly believe that it is their bounden duty to propose and to

^{2/} Mr. Fujiyama spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

support measures for the solution of this great issue, purely from the standpoint of humanity, so that people everywhere will forever be rid of the unspeakable tragedy that nuclear warfare engenders.

81. It is incumbent upon all of us to recognize with the greatest clarity the all-consuming truth that the whole future of mankind hinges upon the problem of disarmament, the foremost challenge now confronting the United Nations. We are thrust into the moment of decision: Shall we be led to destruction or shall we enjoy the abundant life? The issue is far too gigantic to be the private domain of the few nations alone now party to the discussions. It is equally the problem of all Member States, and indeed the unending concern of all mankind. Measures to solve this problem cannot and should not be dictated by the tactical and strategic considerations of the great Powers concerned. We must resolutely denounce the attempts of any single nation to utilize the disarmament negotiations as instruments of political propaganda. Our hearts and our minds must be deeply sensitive to the certainty that the destiny of mankind truly depends upon whether we succeed or fail in our efforts to find a solution to this problem. I appeal to the great Powers concerned to endeavour, with a true sense of humility, to overcome all political obstructions and to seek an early solution of this problem in a spirit of conciliation and mutual trust.

82. In view of the importance and complexity of the issues involved, it is desirable, as a formula for settlement, to seek a comprehensive agreement which gives consideration to a balance of the various aspects of disarmament. My delegation is satisfied and welcomes the fact that the Western proposals, while giving importance to this point, embrace the suspension of nuclear tests. The people and Government of Japan, from their own experience and from humanitarian motives, attach great importance to the suspension of nuclear test explosions. We believe that this problem commands a far greater urgency than the other aspects of disarmament. My Government believes that the suspension of tests under necessary conditions, such as control and inspection, and with goodwill and trust among the Powers concerned, will surely have a favourable effect toward impelling action on the whole problem of disarmament. Hence, my delegation wishes to make every effort toward the attainment at this session of the General Assembly of some kind of settlement of this question.

83. Although in the area of disarmament no agreement has yet been reached on the control of nuclear materials for weapons purposes, it is most heartening that in the area of peaceful uses of such materials a system of control has been established within the framework of the United Nations. Let us earnestly hope that the development of the International Atomic Energy Agency will substantially buttress our efforts to bring about the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

84. My delegation joins other delegations in extending a warm welcome to a new, independent State and a new Member of our Organization, the Federation of Malaya, following the admission of Ghana. I am sure that this new State, in its glorious independence, will walk the road of progress and prosperity, and that, as a Member of the United Nations, it will play an important role in the establishment of world peace and freedom.

85. The problem common to all peoples of the Asian and African areas today is national independence and their yearning for social and economic progress so as to ensure their political independence. The people of Japan pay their high respects to the peoples of these areas for their determination to blaze their own future through their own efforts in order to attain true freedom and independence as well as a better standard of living. As a member of the Asian community, the people of Japan feel a deep sense of sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of these peoples. I need not say that such independence should be achieved on the basis of self-determination and in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It is the belief of my delegation that, in the settlement of disputes involving the principle of self-determination, the aspirations of the people should be fully respected and primary consideration given to ensuring their basic human rights and freedom and to promoting their welfare. Any system that denies their aspirations will never last; it will inevitably collapse. Indeed, such a system may well become a factor that disturbs the peace. So long as this principle is respected, I believe that specific formulas for settlement should be studied in accordance with the historical background and the conditions of each people separately. At the same time, we believe that it is also incumbent upon peoples who are in the process of attaining independence to desist from narrow-minded and arbitrary actions and to work for their political, economic and social progress in a spirit of tolerance and trust.

86. On the occasion of the admission of the new independent State, the Federation of Malaya, I cannot help but think of the problem of the divided States, a problem which persists even now, twelve years after the war. I am unable to conceal my profound sympathy toward the Republic of Korea, Viet-Nam, and the Federal Republic of Germany. I earnestly pray that these countries will succeed in achieving early reunification by free, democratic and peaceful means and that they will join our ranks as Members of this Organization.

87. I wish next to present the views of my delegation with respect to recent world economic trends and the problem of the so-called under-developed areas.

88. Viewed as a whole, there has been a great increase in world trade in recent years. Yet, for all this expansion, we cannot fail to note certain unhealthy trends. There is a large gap between the trade increase of the advanced industrial countries and that of the under-developed countries. Exports of food and agricultural raw materials to the advanced industrial countries, upon which the under-developed countries depend so heavily for their sustenance, are becoming stagnant or are decreasing. Should this trend continue, the disparity in the tempo of economic development between them will become increasingly great and may well become a cause of political and economic instability in the world.

89. Related to this trend is another situation which demands our attention. I refer to the recent worsening of the dollar balance of most of the countries of the world, a situation which is particularly acute among the under-developed countries of South-East Asia. The basic cause therefor may be laid to the change in trade patterns since the war, but it must

be recognized that the under-developed countries require a considerable length of time to adapt themselves to this change. Hence, if any further increase in the disequilibrium is to be avoided, it is necessary for the advanced countries themselves to take the initiative and make positive efforts to adjust the situation. As to the means of adjustment, I venture to say that there is no other way than for the advanced countries to do their utmost to remove barriers to imports and, at the same time, to promote the flow of government and private capital to the under-developed countries. My delegation earnestly hopes that an appreciation of this unhealthy state of affairs will be further deepened, especially in countries whose trade balance continues to show a large excess of exports over imports and which enjoy large reserves of foreign exchange.

90. Further, my delegation cannot overlook the fact that the extension of capital and technology so necessary for the development of under-developed areas is not proceeding satisfactorily because, more likely than not, of various political considerations. In order to maintain and promote world peace, the development and progress of the under-developed areas cannot be neglected because of immediate political factors. For this reason, I have a deep respect for the United Nations for the serious and energetic efforts it has made to establish the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. My delegation looks with hope and expectation to the time -- which we trust will be soon -- when the countries concerned will have completed their deliberations on this programme and, with full preparations to ensure effective results, will bring it into practical effect.

91. There cannot be peace in the world without peace in Asia. And peace in Asia cannot be secured without bringing economic prosperity and social well-being to this area. My country is resolved to do its utmost toward the realization of Asian economic prosperity and social well-being in co-operation, not only with the countries of Asia, but also with the friendly countries of other areas.

92. Now a word regarding the liberalization of trade. The elimination of artificial barriers and other restrictions to trade imposed for selfish motives is a condition essential to world economic prosperity and stability. My delegation has a deep interest in the work of the United Nations in this important area of activity. We emphasize to our fellow representatives that co-operation among nations through the medium of trade is the only way to maintain the livelihood of peoples all over the world.

93. Finally, a few words on the population problem. There are countries in the world today which have reached the limit of internal development and are suffering from over-population, and countries which, though they have undeveloped lands and resources, lack human resources and desire therefore to receive immigrants. It is my belief that the United Nations can play the role of an intermediary between these two types of countries. I earnestly hope that the United Nations, acting through its several agencies in behalf of areas which require manpower resources and with the concurrence of the countries concerned, will extend its good offices to effect the utilization of excess manpower, technology and capital for the benefit of all concerned. I also look to the day when emigration among nations will become ever more free. My delegation expresses this hope because we believe the solution of the problem of population is not only in the interest of the countries directly concerned; it will also contribute to the general welfare of the entire world.

94. I have expressed the basic position and hopes of my delegation on what we consider to be the major problems before the Assembly at its present session.

95. Mr. President, it is my hope that this session under your presidency will achieve a full measure of success. My delegation gives you its assurance that it will make every effort to fulfil that hope.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.