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him we honour the finest qualities of a leader of a nation: humility, sympathy, strength, courage and the unbending will to fight tyrants and aggressors. I ask the representatives to stand for a minute of silence in honour of his memory.

The representatives stood in silence.

6. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): May I, on behalf of His Majesty King Olav V and on behalf of the Norwegian Government and, I am sure, the entire Norwegian people, extend to you, Mr. President, our sincere thanks for the words of sympathy which you have just spoken. They have warmed our hearts at a moment when we feel deeply grieved. The sincere feelings of condolence and friendship of which you have given such moving expression on behalf of this august Assembly will, I am sure, find their way into the hearts of all my countrymen who today mourn the loss of their beloved King.

7. In no other way can I adequately describe our feelings at this moment than by saying that the death of His Majesty the King is a personal loss to all Norwegian men and women, wherever they may be. Such was the relationship between King Haakon and his people.

8. As you have pointed out, Mr. President, for more than half a century the fate of Norway has been linked to the reign of King Haakon VII. He came to Norway from our Scandinavian sister nation, Denmark, on the explicit call of the people through a plebiscite, to become our first purely national king in over five hundred years. To him fell the difficult task of founding a new monarchy in the twentieth century. But the idea of a national monarchy had, and has still, deep roots in Norwegian history and in the minds of the people. The new King understood this from the very first moment, and his character made it natural for him to respond to the people's deepest desire. They wanted to see their newly-won national sovereignty crowned by the restoration of the ancient national monarchy.

9. Of King Haakon it shall ever be said that he accomplished this task in a manner which eliminated any doubts that may have existed at the time of his ascension to the Throne with respect to the choice which the people had made. And his accomplishments go further. He so dedicated his life to his new fatherland and to its people that they soon began to look upon him as their best friend, with whom they had the good fortune to enjoy the many years of happiness and progress which characterized the greater part of Norway's history during the past half century.

10. We also learned, when war and occupation came to our land, that the King became a pillar of strength and a great national leader who, during those the darkest hours of our history, was our greatest source of faith and endurance. Therefore, not only our respect

President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

Tribute to the memory of His Majesty King Haakon VII of Norway

1. The PRESIDENT: I know that the representatives of the Members of the Assembly would wish me to convey on their behalf our profound sympathy to His Majesty King Olav, his family and the people of Norway on the death of their beloved monarch, King Haakon VII.

2. There is majesty in a king. Men expect majesty in his life. The late King never failed this expectation. Consider him: He was called to the throne in 1905. He then submitted himself to the suffrages of those who, by an overwhelming majority, freely confirmed his elevation. He revived the name of their ancient kings. All his life he was a constitutional monarch. He made himself one with the life of his people. He moved among his subjects with dignity and with simplicity. He sought to personify their virtues. In this, I venture to say, he altogether succeeded.

3. Thus, with sure preparation, King Haakon approached the dark days of 1940 as the father of his people, dedicated to lead and inspire them in a battle against terrible odds. It is a moving experience to contemplate the hazardous journeys of the King as he rallied his brave people about him in the face of a cruel and remorseless attack. The forces of oppression were soon too much for organized resistance; but, while wicked men achieved a military victory, the King's defiance and the ceaseless struggle of his people made a spiritual triumph which no material strength could dissipate.

4. And so the King in 1945 returned to the bosom of his people. They had never given up the battle, nor had he. He became a living embodiment of the strength of the spirit.

5. King Kaakon VII has died full of years and of honours. The Members of the Assembly, I know, are proud to pay tribute to his memory, for in honouring

and admiration but also our love and affection will forever keep the memory of King Haakon VII alive among the Norwegian people, whom he himself loved so deeply.

Tribute to the memory of Jean Sibelius

11. The PRESIDENT: It is also fitting for us to pay tribute to the memory of another great man from Northern Europe, Jean Sibelius, Finland's renowned composer, who is famed throughout the world for his majestic music.

12. Jean Sibelius was more than a great composer; he was an ardent patriot who made a notable contribution to the cause of Finnish independence. In his music he seemed to reproduce the fiery spirit of his country's longing for independence, linked with the reflection of the beauties of nature about him and memories of the ancient legends of Finland. It has been said that his epic and popular tone-poem, Finlandia, did more than a thousand speeches and pamphlets to promote the independence of his people.

13. Sibelius was loved and admired in his native Finland. In a wider sense, he belonged to the world. Carved out of granite, he was an indomitable figure who seemed almost immune from death. Through his music, he enriched the lives of all mankind. Through his music, this heroic figure will live forever.

14. Mr. VIROLAINEN (Finland): The delegation of Finland begs to extend to you, Sir, its deeply felt thanks for your words to the memory of a great Finn, Jean Sibelius.

15. Sibelius was a great patriot. His work has indeed a national character. But the language of music he used was a language which the nations all over the world could and did understand. We Finns are proud of there having been among us a man of Jean Sibelius' scope. His contribution to world culture was not a small one. His music remains as an eloquent proof of the unrelenting aspiration of the human soul towards truth and beauty. In the music of Sibelius speaks the lofty spirit which pervades the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. I thank you.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

16. Mr. CISNEROS (Peru) (translated from Spanish): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to join the Peruvian delegation's heartiest congratulations to those which you have received from other delegations on your election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. This is a tribute both to your country - the young and vigorous nation of New Zealand - and to your own qualities as a lawyer, diplomat and statesman, and the contribution which you have made to the United Nations over the years.

17. Peru has been associated with the United Nations since the San Francisco Conference, as one of the first adherents to the Atlantic Charter and to the Allied cause, inspired by that Charter's principles and the legal traditions of Latin America.

18. An important point on our programme has been to bring about the universality of the Organization. After four years' effort, the Committee of Good Offices, established unanimously by the General As-

sembly [resolution 718 (VIII)] and consisting of the representatives of Egypt and the Netherlands under the chairmanship of the Peruvian representative, succeeded, with the co-operation of many other countries, Canada in particular, in bringing about an agreement on the admission of new Members.

19. On behalf of the Peruvian Government, I should like to express our goodwill towards all those States which have just joined the United Nations, as well as our regret at the absence of Viet-Nam and Korea, whose unification and presence here justice demands.

20. The Peruvian delegation also regrets that it has so far been impossible to arrive at any agreement whereby the unification of Germany can be brought about by means of free elections. We have all watched with hope and admiration the rebuilding of the new Germany under the influence of universalist traditions, along democratic lines and in close co-operation with Western Europe. Our ardent wish to complete the representation of Europe in the United Nations must go unfulfilled until a unified and democratic Germany is welcomed into the Organization.

21. Meanwhile, the presence of new European States as Members of the United Nations opens the way, through those natural ties created by history, shared cultural influences and an identical outlook on life, to that close co-operation between the Latin countries of America and the Latin countries of Europe, which has already been proclaimed as a goal by the President of Peru, Manuel Prado. Very often cultural ties are stronger and more effective than those imposed by geographical proximity and economic relations; similarity of outlook and harmony of ideas and feelings are more likely to facilitate such material relationships than to impede them.

22. The expansion of the membership of the United Nations has coincided with a consolidation of its authority in a number of serious issues which might, because of the conflict of opinion, have compromised the unity of the Western world and the essential harmony of the countries of Africa and Asia. The great Western Powers' respect for and compliance with the Assembly's decisions not only strengthened our Organization but gave the world a striking illustration of the gradual growth of universal acceptance of the rule of law. We can state without fear of contradiction that the United Nations has succeeded in overcoming with dignity and justice the gravest crisis in its history. Through the devotion and decisiveness displayed by Member States the special emergency sessions were carried through smoothly. The international police force has worked effectively, and we may now hope to see it transformed into a permanent organ of this Organization.

23. We should extend our praises also to the Secretariat, whose chief, Mr. Hammarskjöld, with the co-operation of his distinguished assistants, was able to complete amid universal admiration and applause the tremendous task set him by the United Nations. The harmony between the spirit animating all the Members of the United Nations and the decisiveness, skill and devotion of the Secretariat will always be a measure of the effectiveness of our Organization.

24. In contrast with the foregoing, the Soviet Union, with regard to the question of Hungary, has not complied with the Assembly's recommendations which,

being based on the explicit terms of the Charter of the United Nations and on treaties signed by the Soviet Union itself, have the character of a legal imperative. The eleventh session of the General Assembly reiterated those recommendations [resolution 1133 (XI)] with the support of public opinion. At the same time, in order to secure their fulfilment, it entrusted Prince Wan Waithayakon, who had directed its labours with such skill, with a task of the utmost importance. The Peruvian Government expresses its sincerest hopes for the success of his mission.

25. The proposed measures to prevent the danger of surprise attack, such as the "open-sky" plan, which places Soviet and United States territory on the same footing as regards the essential safeguard of inspection; the proposal to cease the production of nuclear weapons under adequate inspection, and the suspension of nuclear tests, together with the reduction of conventional armaments, gave reason to hope that we were nearing an agreement on disarmament. At the time when this appeared most probable, the Soviet Union changed its stand and rejected the earlier proposals, thus bringing about a return of international tension and anxiety.

26. Mankind had hoped and is hoping now for disarmament as a matter of vital importance. The arms race may lead to universal suicide. It is not possible forever to check the rash impulses of the thirst for power, or to resist the temptation afforded by technical advances.

27. In accordance with its attitude at previous sessions of the Assembly, the Peruvian delegation will spare no effort to bring about a rapprochement between the positions of the great Powers in order to achieve that mutual agreement which is essential to their own interests as well as to justice and the welfare of mankind.

28. The Peruvian Government has taken an active part in the debates on the covenants designed to facilitate the enforcement of the human rights recognized by international law. Although this work of legal organization has not yet been completed by the United Nations, we note with satisfaction that in some countries, Peru among them, the exercise of human rights and their enforcement and protection are being secured by all measures consistent with the exercise of true democracy.

29. The President of Peru said in a recent statement: "With the same firmness with which I fought against the hegemony of the totalitarian régimes personified by the Axis in the last war, I shall continue the battle, together with the Western nations, for the principles of freedom and respect for human rights".

30. As regards the technical assistance programmes, the Peruvian Government has pleasure in reaffirming its interest in and support for the work of the United Nations in this field. It likewise expresses its gratitude for the efficient and fruitful way in which these services of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies have contributed to the steady progress of Peru.

31. At the same time we consider that technical co-operation, important though it is, is only one means towards the establishment of economic, social, political and cultural well-being. We must therefore stress as a principal step the urgency of improving the flow

of capital into the countries in process of development. With this aim in mind and recognizing the well-known limitations under which rapidly expanding economies must operate, Peru believes that both national and international action are essential to deal with its economic and social problems.

32. As regards national action, Peru has already given examples of its energy and good faith in the political and economic spheres. Under a régime of economic freedom, side by side with one of political freedom, Peruvian production has constantly expanded; investments of foreign capital have increased; industry has made notable advances; the credit position remains sound, and currency has been maintained at the same level for almost ten years. All this has taken place in circumstances far from favourable, including an annual increase in population of more than 2 per cent - one of the highest in the world.

33. We have obeyed the axiom of "self-help" in gaining position we now occupy. However, this position cannot be regarded either as permanent or as offering opportunities for development of a kind calculated to meet all the human problems of the present day in Peru, or the uncertainties of the future. If our country is to solve those problems and at the same time to achieve a justified improvement in the levels of living of a constantly growing population, Peru must have international co-operation in addition to its own already well-tried efforts.

34. How does Peru envisage such complementary action at the international level? In the first place, there is bilateral action which may take the form of an improved interchange of technical knowledge or the provision of credit or capital for worthwhile undertakings or projects in any country. In the case of Peru itself, my Government believes that such bilateral action should be directed primarily towards ensuring that Peruvian export products - which constitute the principal source of national capital formation - should enjoy fair and stable prices on the world market, not subject to irregular fluctuations, and should not be the object of restrictive customs measures which cannot be said to correspond to the legitimate interests of any country.

35. Unless we are to risk disillusionment with all the consequences that may entail, there can be no question of the highly industrialized countries encouraging and persuading investors in primary producing countries to invest their capital in increasing the production of specific materials at times of crisis and need and then, when the need for regular and secure supplies has disappeared, adopting a policy which means the ruin of the producers and the collapse of the local investments made with such great effort to secure the necessary increase in production.

36. In the multilateral field still more remains to be done. In regard to the United Nations programme of action, I should state that the Peruvian delegation still strongly supports the idea of setting up a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUN-FED), since it believes that the demand for capital which may be expected from the under-developed countries would not only absorb private investment but could also benefit greatly from the financial co-operation of an international agency. My country sees no incompatibility between the establishment of SUN-FED and the still essential contribution of private capital.

37. As regards SUNFED, it has been pointed out that the great Powers - which would of course be the major contributors - would have difficulty in agreeing to its immediate establishment while the uncertainty of the international situation still compels them to spend so much on armaments. We cannot for a moment disregard the efforts which those countries are making to protect peace, nor can we deny how burdensome it would be for them to assume both obligations at the same time. However, we should not, in an access of pessimism, condemn to indefinite postponement any action by this international body on behalf of SUNFED. Since the Assembly is agreed in principle on the establishment of SUNFED, and since it has on many occasions expressed the desire to bring about an agreement on international disarmament, we might perhaps examine the possibility of establishing a schedule or stage-by-stage programme of simultaneous measures intended to bring about, in a limited and gradual way, both international disarmament and the accumulation of resources for SUNFED.

38. In assessing the work done by the United Nations, two important items should be brought out: first, the Charter itself which, despite its imperfections, embodies the foundations of international life. Second, the firm intention of the great majority, we might say nearly all the Members of this Assembly, to see the Charter effectively applied. Rather than make an overall revision, which would be very difficult to do as matters stand, we must retain and confirm our decision to apply the Charter in a spirit of progress and understanding.

39. It has rightly been said that the United Nations is not a super-State, a political structure which absorbs national sovereignties. The United Nations is a true family of peoples, constituting a field of contact and consultation where ideas can be exchanged in order to bring about agreements of every kind within the framework of peace and respect for the sovereignty, independence and individuality of all States. There are matters which need to be considered and discussed by the United Nations, in order to prepare the ground and the moral atmosphere for their solution; but there are of course others which require decisions on the part of the United Nations, through its competent organs, in order to safeguard the fundamental interests of peace and justice. In matters of the first kind, the United Nations exercises tremendous moral power because it can centralize, channel and mobilize public opinion. The success of the United Nations depends upon its firm adherence to the fundamental principles of the Charter, its sense of what is timely, and its broad view of the problems arising out of the evolution of mankind. Once again, in politics and in diplomacy, prudence and justice must go hand in hand.

40. To criticism based on partial criteria or the exigencies of exaggerated idealism, the United Nations answers with these twelve years of untiring effort. What would be the state of the world if there had been no United Nations? We could not have replaced it with the old balance of power which meant the uncontrolled supremacy of the great Powers. The United Nations has embodied, as well as the traditionally powerful nations, the precious contributions of the presence and ideals of the young States. This new element will insure a balance of power, without the selfishness or exclusiveness of the past, which has already played its part in

many cases, and will in future, in determining world acceptance of the rule of law.

41. It has been a great honour for me to stand at this rostrum. On stepping down, I offer friendly greetings to my colleagues from all the countries so ably represented here, and pay my tribute to the Organization which has done such fruitful work in the economic, political and humanitarian fields and is our hope for an era of peace and justice which will safeguard the greatest good of the greatest number and freedom for all.

42. Mr. DIFENBAKER (Canada): Mr. President, may I, not in a perfunctory manner, congratulate you on behalf of the Canadian delegation on your election, and offer you our best wishes? Having known you throughout the years, I realize that the General Assembly's action was an expression of its faith in you as a man uniquely qualified for this high office by reason of your long and devoted service to the United Nations. At the same time, may I also pay the tribute of Canada to your predecessor, Prince Wan Waithayakon, who presided over a session of great length and stress with wisdom and skill.

43. In the last few months there has been a change of government in our country, but I hasten to assure the Assembly at once that, as in all democratic countries dedicated to peace, this does not mean that there has been any change whatsoever in fundamental international principles or attitudes. I say that because I have been asked on a number of occasions where Canada now stands with regard to the United Nations. My appearance here gives public evidence of Canada's stand. Indeed, it is the first time in twelve years that a Prime Minister has been present with our Foreign Minister, which is evidence of the fact that we stand on this question now where Canada has always stood since April 1945, and - I emphasize this - with the support of the party which is now in power. So far as Canada is concerned, support of the United Nations is the cornerstone of its foreign policy. We believe that the United Nations will grow stronger because it represents the inevitable struggle of countries to find order in their relationships and the deep longing of mankind to strive for and attain peace and justice.

44. We believe, too, that countries like Canada, acting in consultation with other friendly nations, can exert an influence far stronger than would be possible outside the United Nations. Indeed, our views of the value of this Organization are epitomized in the Introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (16 June 1956 - 15 June 1957), which states that:

"If properly used, the United Nations can serve a diplomacy of reconciliation better than other instruments available to the Member States. All the varied interests and aspirations of the world meet in its precincts upon the common ground of the Charter." [A/3594/Add.1, page 3.]

45. Canadians have a special pleasure, too, in welcoming the Federation of Malaya, the newest member of the Commonwealth, as a Member of the United Nations. At the eleventh session, another member of the Commonwealth, Ghana, was elected to membership. We believe that the emergence of these new nations is an indication of growth and expansion of the concept of self-government and of the manner in

which nations, one after another, attain independence but still remain members of that association of free nations which is known as the Commonwealth, which represents many different areas, colours and cultures, which has no rules or regulations and no constitution but which is a unity forged by the sharing of a heritage of common ideals and a love of freedom under law.

46. Over the last years, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa have achieved independence and sovereignty, for which the credit must go to the statesmen of the United Kingdom. It is incredible that the British should be described here on occasion as "imperial and colonial masters", in view of this far-seeing policy which grants self-government so widely; and I am confident that our friends from Ghana and the Federation of Malaya would be glad to invite comparison with what has happened to Hungary and to many other freedom-loving nations which have been subjugated by the Soviet Union in the past four decades.

47. But our membership in the Commonwealth, while fundamental to our destiny, does not detract in any way from the closeness and neighbourliness of our relationship with the United States. We are joined with our neighbours in the United States by what I have called before our "built-in stabilizer" for unity, our traditional respect for the rights of man and our unswerving dedication to freedom. I think it is clearly established and is irrefutable that, if the United States were aggressive and sought territorial advantage and fomented war, as its enemies contend, Canada would not have maintained its existence as an independent nation.

48. Then there is another phase of our policy, Canada's membership in The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which in our opinion constitutes a major bulwark against the forces of aggression and to which Canada will adhere regardless of threats from whatever source they may emanate.

49. If the notes delivered by the Soviet Union since 4 July 1957 to our friends in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Norway, Turkey and the United Kingdom are indicative of any new trend in Soviet policy, then in our opinion there is more need today than ever before for the maintenance of the unity of NATO. The repetition of spurious propaganda by the Soviet Union that the existence of NATO is a threat to world peace and that the existence of NATO is the reason why permanent peace has not been established is a travesty of reason. Canada wants peace, and if NATO had aggressive designs anywhere in the world, Canada would not remain a member of that organization. Believing as we do, we intend to continue to support it with all the power at our command.

50. Now I intend to say a few words with regard to the question of disarmament, because it is a matter of first importance to this Assembly. After nine years of stalemate after the San Francisco Conference, in 1954 Canada joined in co-sponsoring proposals to get resolutions^{1/} before the Disarmament Commission, if that was necessary then, it is more necessary today, when the total amount being expended for war materials for defence, mobilization and manpower totals some 85 thousand million dollars per annum.

51. What mankind fears today more than anything else is that war will come about suddenly and precipitately, without warning and without there being any opportunity for defence. The whole question of surprise attack is of pre-eminent importance to people everywhere in the world. Until the Second World War took place, a surprise attack was almost impossible: no nation could conceal the mobilization of its forces; but today, when a nuclear attack could be mounted in a few hours and secrecy maintained until the atomic bombers appeared on the radar screens, the danger of a secret and surprise attack is one of the things that all mankind fears. And the danger of a secret and surprise attack has been multiplied with the potential development of the intercontinental ballistic missile.

52. The fear of surprise attack is the cause of the major tension of these days. For that reason there is a sombre urgency about the work of this General Assembly. Experience has taught us that no country ever possesses a monopoly of any device. What one country has today, the other nations will have tomorrow, and the day is not far distant, if this continues, when there will be armouries of these rockets. While a few years ago a new era was introduced by the development of nuclear weapons, today an even more frightening and awful time faces mankind. That is why I say that it is a matter of sombre urgency that this Assembly should act, and act effectively if we are to bring about the control of the use of this dread menace, the ultimate engine of destruction.

53. While it is only the great Powers that can afford the vast expense to build these earth-spanning missiles, the small nations are concerned. Canada is vitally concerned, for we are the closest neighbour of the United States and the USSR. Our strategic position in the world, embracing as it does the Arctic area in which Canada owns and exercises sovereignty over great areas, makes Canada one of the most vulnerable nations in any future war.

54. I do not intend today to deal in any detail with the terms of the disarmament proposals that were put before the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission by the four Western Powers [DC/113, annex 5], but I feel it well to refer for but a moment to the question of discontinuance of tests of nuclear and atomic weapons. The suspension as provided for in the Western proposals would be for a year, conditional on a convention on disarmament being entered into, and this would be renewable for a second year if satisfactory progress had been made towards a cessation of the production of nuclear weapons. But there are well-intentioned people - many people - who believe that a ban on atomic tests is a panacea for all the ills of mankind. In all the clamour there has been over this, some have lost sight of the fact that the suspension of tests is not going to stop the stockpiling of nuclear weapons or the atomic armaments race. The only way to do this is to divert fissionable material from the manufacture of weapons to peaceful uses, and the western proposals very sensibly linked an agreement to do this with a continuance of the suspension of the tests.

55. While treating the suspension of nuclear tests as a matter for immediate action, the eleven-point Western proposals made such suspension dependent on the establishment of nuclear watching posts in the terri-

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Session, Annexes, agenda items 20 and 68.

tories agreed on of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries. It must be admitted, too, that the need for inspection is not fully understood by many well-meaning people, largely because of a popular view that atomic or hydrogen explosions can be detected anywhere in the world. According to the scientific opinions that I have had, that is not so.

56. So far as we in North America are concerned, the danger of a surprise attack on or from North America would be through the Arctic regions. Canada and the United States have no aggressive designs against the USSR or any other nation. We have nothing to fear from inspection of the Arctic regions, and I speak now for Canada when I say that. We unequivocally render and will continue to render available for inspection all our northern and Arctic areas.

57. In addition to inspection, the other Western proposals also included in the first stage a limitation on the size of armed forces, a ban on the use of nuclear weapons except in the case of defence, and "international supervision" to ensure that the production of fissionable materials should be for peaceful uses only.

58. We believe that these proposals are eminently fair and workable, but for some reason the Soviet Union has cavalierly and contemptuously refused to consider them seriously. Surely it must realize that in the climate of distrust and fear which exists, paper declarations, however pious their purpose, are not acceptable, and that a prerequisite to disarmament must be an adequate system of inspection and control. The promise to disarm, the promise to control the use and production of nuclear weapons without effective inspection to ensure that the promise is kept makes a caricature of reality. We believe that disarmament unsupervised by inspection will be dangerous to those nations which have the habit of keeping their pledged word.

59. Believing that inspection is of the essence, I issued at the time of submission of the Western proposals a statement including the following:

"... The Canadian Government has agreed, if the Soviet Union will reciprocate, to the inclusion of either the whole or a part of Canada in an equitable system of aerial inspection, and will do its utmost to ensure that the system works effectively. We consider that a useful start in providing safeguards against surprise attack could be made in the Arctic areas."

60. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has produced a multitude of propaganda plans for disarmament, but always on its terms and always on the basis that effective inspection is out of the question. It generates hopes in mankind; it refuses on its part, though, to co-operate in any way except on its terms.

61. The Western nations have gone more than half-way on the subject of disarmament from the beginning of the meetings of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. For some reason the Soviet Union has refused to give any ground, and insists on its programme. And I say with all the sincerity that I can bring to my words that we in Canada, in the strategic position in which we are, are willing to go to the utmost limit of safety and survival to bring about disarmament.

What value is there in the undertaking of the Soviet Union not to use atomic or hydrogen weapons for a period of five years unless full inspection is possible and provided for?

62. Disarmament proposals without inspection are, in our opinion, meaningless. Inspection is the key, and I ask this simple question because I think the proposition is as simple as this. I ask the representative of the USSR: Why do you oppose effective inspection? If you have nothing to hide, why hide it? I think in general that that represents the thinking of free men everywhere.

63. There were hopes expressed in the month of June 1957 and earlier that the disarmament talks would be effective. They ended without agreement. It was not entirely a failure, however, the meeting of that Sub-Committee. The positions of both sides were brought closer. I think the Sub-Committee must continue to operate. There have been suggestions that its membership should be broadened. We would be in accord with any suggestion to that effect, provided that that step would lead, or even give hopes of leading, to a quicker and better solution of this grave problem. And we go further than that. Canada is prepared to withdraw from the Sub-Committee. It has worked on it from the beginning. It will do anything at all, take any stand whatever, short of compromising its safety and its survival, in order to bring about what must come if mankind is to continue to live - and that is, a measure, and a considerable measure, of disarmament.

64. We consider that a salutary effect might be achieved by securing the participation of other Powers; they may be capable of rendering assistance in the processes of seeking an agreement that we have not been able to achieve. But let me say this: geography alone should not be the basis for choosing additional members, for all members are not equally equipped to contribute towards the agreement for which we all devoutly hope. We recognize the anomalies of our own status as a permanent member of this Sub-Committee and we know that we have not stood on equal terms with the other members, for we lack that responsibility and direct interest which should be of the essence of membership. I will say no more of that.

65. I do want to say something, however, in connexion with one other matter that is of vital importance today: the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). That Force has had a stabilizing and tranquillizing influence in the Middle East. I am not a newly-convinced convert to the idea of such a force, for I brought the suggestion for it before the House of Commons of Canada in January 1956. I argued at that time that such a force could prevent the outbreak of war in the area in question, which today is served by that force.

66. The Canadian Government is naturally deeply gratified that UNEF has had so large a measure of success in its endeavours, and Canada is willing to continue its contribution as long as it is considered necessary by the United Nations.

67. We Canadians have a special pride in the fact that a Canadian, Major-General Burns, has done his duty in so superb a manner as to have earned the approval and praise of the most objective of observers. He has done his work at personal sacrifice. My hope is that he will be able to serve as Commander even though his own personal interests, which he has always placed in the background, might otherwise dictate.

68. Canada is not unaware of the fact that Canadian troops make up some 1,200 of the total personnel of 6,000. I repeat what I said a moment ago: Canada will continue to be a strong supporter of the continuance of UNEF until its work is done.

69. We then come to the question of expenditures. The question of providing the necessary moneys for the continuance of the force suggests that an assessment among all nations of the United Nations would be in keeping with the service to peace to which this force has contributed so much and with the declarations of the Charter.

70. I go further and say that out of the experience of UNEF it should be possible to evolve a system by which the United Nations will have at its disposal appropriate forces for similar services wherever they may be required. The creation of UNEF has provided for tranquillization of the area in which it serves. It has provided a pilot project, if I may use that expression, for a permanent international force. Malignant diseases, however, are not cured by tranquillizers, and for that reason I still hold the view that only by the establishment of a permanent United Nations force - and I realize the uncertain and faltering steps that must be taken to achieve this - can many of the hopes of San Francisco be achieved.

71. I now wish to comment on the United Nations itself. I was present in a humble capacity at the San Francisco Conference in 1945. I believe in the United Nations, not because it has always succeeded, but because it must succeed; it must go on from strength to strength, or we shall perish. But that does not mean that bringing before the Assembly weaknesses now shows any desire to undermine or corrode it. I believe that we do not serve its high purposes by pretending that all is well when it is clear to everyone that all is not well. I do not take the cynical view that the United Nations is a failure. There have been many successes in its endeavours to keep the peace. But the major question today is whether we have had enough success for the terrifying needs of this age. We have had successes and we have had failures, but it is questionable whether, under the shadow of the dread menace of the latest nuclear weapons, we can afford any more major failures.

72. I spoke of the work of the eleventh session. Much solid work was done at that session, and many new Members deployed their forces in the cause of peace. But the United Nations found itself incapable of finding a solution to the Hungarian question. That was not because of the Charter; that was in spite of the Charter. The ineffectiveness of the action taken last year by the Assembly to assure justice to the Hungarians arose because of the existence of double standards in the United Nations membership rather than from any weakness in the Charter. But there are no double standards provided for in the Charter. Double standards are found not in the Charter but in the performance of some Members. Some abide by the decisions; others do not. And there is no use in pretending that in all cases we, through the United Nations, can force recalcitrant Members to behave as the Charter dictates. It is equally foolish to believe that we would have such power if the Charter were amended.

73. I believe that if the United Nations is to maintain its capacity to exercise an ameliorating influence on the

problems of mankind it must be a flexible instrument. The United Nations must not become frozen by the creation of hostile blocs, which would have the result of stultifying efforts to find real and sensible solutions. There has been at the current session, I think, quite a movement against the bloc system, particularly in the votes that are being cast. It is healthy that Member States should group together on a basis of common interest, consult with one another and, at times, adopt common policies. That is common sense. With an expanding membership, there is much to be said for like-minded nations adopting like positions and putting them forward, provided that the groups do not become blocs which would strangle the independent thinking of their members and prevent the solution of problems on considerations of merit. For blocs tend to create counter-blocs and, in the end, defeat their purposes. I am not accusing any bloc. But it is a fact that new groups have been formed in the United Nations which are perhaps the inevitable result of older blocs that were created earlier.

74. As far as Canada is concerned, it is the firm determination of my delegation to resist the trend towards bloc development. Canada is a party to many associations, all of which we value highly: with our colleagues in the Commonwealth, with our allies in NATO, with our neighbours in the Americas and across the Pacific. We shall work together with these nations when we share common views or policies. But we will not be a party in any way to any bloc which prevents us from judging issues on their merits as we see them.

75. In conclusion, I profess the profound hope that we in the United Nations will dedicate ourselves anew to the high purposes and hopes of twelve years ago.

76. The United Nations will be true to the principles of the Charter when every nation, however powerful, does not permit itself the luxury of violating its principles or flouting its decisions. I remember as yesterday the inscription over the doorway to the hall at San Francisco where the United Nations had its beginning: "This monument eloquent of hopes realized and dreams come true", which mankind hoped would be the achievement of its supreme task: the establishment of a just and lasting peace. That is still the responsibility of the United Nations. Past failures or frustrations or cynicism must not be permitted to impede us in bringing about disarmament and putting an end to the suicidal armaments race. Past sessions of the Assembly have earned names descriptive of their major activities. There was the "Palestine Assembly", the "Korean Assembly". Mankind would breathe easier if the current session might be known in future years as the "Disarmament Assembly".

77. Mr. SANZ DE SANTAMARIA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): The twelfth session of the General Assembly is opening in a calmer atmosphere and with more favourable prospects for world peace than those immediately preceding it. It will be possible to examine the items on the provisional agenda and deal with them in a manner that will satisfy the interests which prompted their inclusion, provided those interests are subordinated to the high purposes of the United Nations Charter. The items of a political nature which disturb public opinion and seem likely to provoke a clash of opinions, the items which raise the question whether the conduct of certain countries is consistent with the principles of justice and good-neighbour relations by

which they are bound under the Charter, have been debated at previous sessions without consequences that seriously threaten peace; indeed, the discussions have pointed to possible solutions which, although not immediately feasible, are nonetheless reassuring.

78. Essentially optimistic in their outlook, the young countries are animated by a determination to advance towards those goals of civilization which will enable them a perfect their social systems and play a due part in the development of friendly international relations. The Colombian delegation therefore attends the session of the Assembly with real confidence that the goodwill, good faith and wisdom of the representatives of all countries will always succeed in finding appropriate solutions to the problems that must be faced.

79. It is obvious that the eighty-two nations which have joined together in this Organization have done so to discuss interests contrary to their individual aspirations and ideologies and not to discuss interests and aspirations with which they are in agreement. Controversy is their natural field of action and the weapon they use to solve their problems, with the common ground furnished by the principles of the Charter. Diversity of opinion does not preclude coexistence. On the contrary, nations can live together even in disagreement; it is for that purpose that international law was created and is being steadily improved. As the former Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Byrnes, once said in this Assembly: "It is far better for the world to watch the clash of opposing ideas than of opposing armies". Disagreements should be aired in the United Nations, the natural forum for their expression, until such time as they can be satisfactorily settled.

80. We recently had a remarkable example in the Assembly of the application of these ideas. Last year, France agreed to the inclusion of the question of Algeria in the agenda. The great French nation realized that any misunderstanding of its problem that might exist would not be dispelled by opposing the inclusion of the item, but by informed study which would lead to its solution. "Let there be no misunderstanding", Mr. Pineau said "on that point." [589th meeting, para. 40]. Making a democratic gesture which does honour to his country, he preferred an open debate, and announced that his Government's efforts to restore peace in Algeria would be followed by free elections which would enable the Algerian people to decide their own future.

81. When Colombia and the other Spanish-American countries became politically mature, they too aspired to self-government and after a bitter struggle obtained their independence. Only a few years later the deep-rooted friendship between Spain and the young Republics of America was as strong as ever, and since that date the ties between them have become increasingly close and cordial. In the light of that example, we are certain that as humanity continues its dynamic evolution, men will always be able, given the co-operation of all concerned, to find means of satisfying their desire for independence by methods which do not injure the countries which have done so much for them and with which they have, and will always have, so many ties.

82. In connexion with my reference to the recent case of France, I should like to comment on the, in my opinion, mistaken and improper manner in which votes

for or against the inclusion of items in the agenda have on occasion been interpreted. A State voting against inclusion is regarded as "colonialist" while a State voting for inclusion is "anti-colonialist". The result is either that the problem is settled in semblance without ever being discussed, or that, if the item is included, the vote for inclusion is interpreted as prejudicing the issue and as condemning in advance the country which does not want the item included. A procedure which lends itself to misinterpretation both inside and outside the Assembly cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The essential purpose of any parliament - more especially a world parliament like this Assembly - is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas, for debate, so that it is possible to live together, even in disagreement.

83. The Article of the Charter which prescribes absolute respect for the sovereign right of each State itself to settle through its own institutions all matters essentially within its domestic jurisdiction has from the beginning been a barrier to the inclusion of "colonial" questions in the agenda, even for purposes of information and discussion. No State is prepared to tolerate outside interference which violates its constitution and impairs its authority. But the difficulty lies not in that sacrosanct and unchallenged principle but in the procedure whereby the Assembly is to elicit sufficient information to judge whether a State's inalienable sovereign rights are being curtailed by the other States in this Assembly when they exercise their right to examine the conditions of the populations of territories which have not yet attained a full measure of self-government or to ascertain whether the Member Governments which have or assume responsibility for the administration of such territories are carrying out their mission by the means provided in Articles 73 and 74 of the Charter, or whether human rights are being violated in such territories or in the territories of any sovereign State.

84. It would appear that a mere investigation of such a situation does not constitute the intervention so categorically prohibited by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Similarly, the investigation and study of situations which may affect international peace does not constitute intervention. As past experience has shown, it is a duty of the Assembly to reconcile the scope of that Article with that of the Articles concerning assistance to Non-Self-Governing Territories.

85. Article 73 of the Charter declares that Governments which assume responsibilities for the administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories recognize that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are "paramount". It tells them that they have a sacred trust and imposes duties and obligations on them "to this end"; that is, for the purpose of promoting the "paramount" interests of the inhabitants and "as a sacred trust", they must undertake, *inter alia*, "to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement". My delegation does not believe that a provision of such great humanitarian significance, so clearly directed towards social improvement and progress, which establishes such binding obligations towards the world community through the

United Nations, can continue to be regarded as a mere declaration of principle on the ground that it is so described in its title, its only purpose being to elicit the world's theoretical admiration.

86. I consider that the Assembly has sufficient experience to realize the need for altering the approach to inclusion of an item in the agenda - which, in itself, implies no prejudgement of the substantive issue - with a view to securing a more comprehensive and uniform interpretation of the provisions of the Charter which establish, on the one hand, the principle of non-intervention in matters essentially within a State's domestic jurisdiction, and, on the other, the right of the peoples in whose behalf Article 73 was written, and the principle of respect for human rights, prescribed in the Preamble and in Articles 13, 55 and 62 of the Charter.

87. A study of all the information in each case would enable the Assembly to determine whether a given people's problems concern the United Nations or come exclusively within the competence and sovereignty of a State. My delegation accordingly reserves the right to consider such information when it comes before us before giving its views on substance. On that point - information - and on disarmament, I listened with keen interest to the speech made a few days ago by Mr. Pella, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy [681st meeting].

88. With regard to questions involving "colonialism", a distinction should, in my view, be made between genuinely and traditionally colonial questions and questions which are concerned with promoting the education and culture of the peoples which have not yet attained a full measure of self-government as a step in preparing them for political independence. It is that last objective which should guide the countries administering Non-Self-Governing Territories in giving full effect to the mandatory provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter.

89. My delegation attaches special importance to questions involving the investigation of violations of human rights and respect for the integrity and dignity of the human person, regardless of the organization or political structure of the State concerned. The entire legal organization of a State based on law should be directed towards guaranteeing the individual's enjoyment of those rights. A system of political philosophy is valid and workable when it centres on the human person. The human person is the be-all and end-all of all legal orders and values. Law and freedom, which are joined together in the State, stem from the human person. Political freedom, the legal order and State structure have substance and meaning only because they derive their being from the human person as such; from the human person, and not from the State, society or history. Without the human person, the rest is words. The human person is the true subject of law, of morality, of religion, of economics, of all the disciplines which go to make up our culture. Nations which, like my own, share in Western culture, are at one in recognizing this supreme and absolutely fundamental quality.

90. The State based on law is the medium through which we guarantee freedom. Freedom may, I believe, be thought of as the condition in which law is fulfilled in the political and social order. Thus, freedom and law stand in the same relation as function and organ.

And as the State is the supreme legal entity and the political function is related primarily to the State, it follows that law, State and freedom constitute a substantial unity. These principles are, of course, true and obvious only under a democratic system, for only in a democracy are they given effect and exemplified. What distinguishes democracy from other political systems is the basic affirmation that the State is essentially a State based on law, whose supreme function and purpose are the exercise and fulfilment of all the forms in which genuine freedom is possible or attainable.

91. For the Colombian delegation, these principles are enshrined in the National Constitution of the Republic, by which its actions are guided, and we regard it as evident that, in both political and economic matters, respect for the dignity of the human person is and must be fundamental to the well-being of peoples.

92. Of course, in interpreting freedom as we conceive it, account must be taken of all the moral factors, all the elements of action, interdependence, order, religion and economics which will, with the progress of mankind and civilization, make it possible to perfect the practice of freedom.

93. The work of the United Nations in the economic, social and cultural fields is therefore no less important than its work in the political field. Progress must be maintained. There must be no turning back. Assistance to the less developed and under-developed countries must be increased, and we must all realize that aggravation of the economic problems of any one of them would have a serious impact on the level of living of a portion of the world's population with consequences no less grave than those of an international conflict. It must therefore be realized that such problems, even though they may be local in semblance, cannot be a matter of indifference to the United Nations, in view of the humanitarian principles on which it is founded.

94. At the recent Inter-American Economic Conference held in Buenos Aires, a number of regional problems were studied in the light of those principles, including over-production, primary commodities, international co-operation to promote monetary stabilization, regional markets and the financing of economic development. It is regrettable, however, that no economic agreement providing for genuine co-operation through inter-American integration has yet been concluded.

95. In the light of experience at the recent Buenos Aires conference and the impression it left on the delegations of most of the participating countries, it is clear that no scheme of international co-operation is easily feasible unless it is based on effective economic integration. And it is extremely difficult to achieve complete unity in approach and policy between nations with a high level of living where freedom can prosper and nations where the growth of broader freedom is hampered by innumerable obstacles stemming primarily from the ignorance and poverty of the mass of the population, conditions which it will be impossible to correct rapidly until the highly-developed countries are able and willing to play a decisive part in the advancement of the less developed areas.

96. These considerations are given added weight by the fact that the Organization of American States constitutes a regional system which cannot be described as an aggressive bloc or as a threat to anyone. On the vast stage of the United Nations, the

Latin American countries occupy a special place, not so much because of their great human and economic resources as because of the value represented by the steadfast adherence of a whole continent to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In our opinion, world political and economic stability cannot be achieved if the desires and decisions of Latin America are not taken into account.

97. As one of the greatest believers in the United Nations, Colombia, true to its policy of strict compliance with its international obligations and of observance of the treaties binding it to other nations, did not hesitate to send military forces to Korea to play an active part in that emergency, and in the Suez crisis responded without hesitation to the Secretary-General's request for military co-operation by furnishing troops which are still serving with the United Nations.

98. My delegation will support any steps to promote the economic welfare of nations and to solve the problems which may, frequently for reasons beyond the control of the countries concerned, threaten the domestic economies of one or several countries, thus reducing their ability to secure the economic freedom of their populations.

99. It will act in consonance with those ideas, particularly in matters affecting the safeguarding of the freedom and the fundamental rights of the human person. However, out of respect for the opinions of others and of the right of peoples to self-determination, it will not, on the basis of those ideas, take up the defence of any single country or its particular ideology, or be influenced in its voting. It will act solely in the common interest, to further the ideals which have brought all the peoples of the world together for the purpose of attaining a state of reasonable and friendly coexistence and international peace and security.

100. The outcome of earlier discussions shows that there is some resistance to any revision of the Charter, although on various occasions the original procedures and provisions have plainly proved inadequate or ineffective for the solution of major problems. The public is puzzled by the continued opposition to revision of the Charter when past events have shown the weakness of the existing provisions. It is considered incomprehensible, for example, that decisions representing the view of the majority of Member States should not be binding on all, while the opinion of a single Member State can be forcibly imposed on all the others. Nor is it a good thing for international justice to have a more limited field of application than the political power of the States which organize it. Unperturbed by the opposition, my delegation will continue to press the policy it advocated at San Francisco, and will support any reforms which tend to give the United Nations a universal right of examination and decision based on the legal equality of all States.

101. My delegation continues to believe that the groups of countries recently admitted to membership are inadequately represented in the councils and organs of the United Nations and will continue to support measures to increase the number of seats in those bodies in order to ensure proper representation of those new human groups.

102. All efforts to achieve efficiency in the administration of international organs, to avoid unnecessary

bureaucracy and to ensure the effective functioning of those various organs for the purposes for which they were established will be firmly supported by my delegation, which views with concern the financial burdens the less developed countries are assuming in order to support the various branches of the Organization.

103. The Colombian delegation wishes to express its admiration and appreciation of the remarkable work done by the Secretary-General and his immediate staff in seeking fair solutions to the grave problems entrusted to their diligence, their competence and their high sense of responsibility. We are certain that their efforts will be most effective in achieving security, harmony and loyal co-operation among nations.

104. We believe in the United Nations. We have faith in its civilizing influence and in its dynamism, which is steadily perfecting international law and protecting future generations throughout the world by the power of intelligence and through respect for law and justice.

105. We were pleased to hear the Foreign Minister of Japan, in his speech last Thursday, [680th meeting] refer to a matter of special importance. He said that the United Nations should serve as an intermediary between countries which have reached the limits of their possible internal development and countries which have land and unexploited natural resources and wish to receive immigrants. Those are precisely the countries which have insufficient investment capital to develop their land and exploit their natural resources. One of the most important tasks for the United Nations would therefore be to provide means to enable such countries to prepare the unused land for settlement by immigrants from the over-populated countries, including the capital investments required to ensure the success of such an enterprise.

106. To the extent permitted by my delegation has followed with lively interest the limited information available, the work of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission which was meeting in London until a few days ago. We have taken careful note of the recent statements in this Assembly by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, [680th meeting] and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko [681st meeting]. Their statements strengthen our conviction that concrete steps can be agreed upon to initiate the process of disarmament with the blessing of all peoples.

107. Despite the pessimism of those who would like to see the world's great problems solved overnight, my delegation is optimistic. We believe that the United States and the Soviet Union, with the co-operation of the other great Powers and all the medium-sized and small countries, will succeed in devising appropriate solutions. We support disarmament, disarmament of the mind and the gradual and progressive reduction of armaments. Our approach is the same whether we are dealing with the armies of the large countries or those of the less developed countries. My delegation will present its views on the substantive issues in the Disarmament Commission, of which Colombia is a member.

108. If compliance with and the development of international law one day permitted the nations to invest what is now being spent on preparations for war and the organization of defence in education, culture,

public works and the production of goods that would promote the health and welfare of nations, what a broad and clear road would be open to mankind!

109. Mr. Gromyko, in his speech also mentioned a number of interesting points concerning world economic relations. The Colombian delegation will present its views on them in the various committees; I should like merely to emphasize the importance of international trade and economic integration for the establishment of peace through the gradual elimination of unduly nationalistic measures in all countries of the world and through the proper distribution of investment capital to permit the exploitation of the natural wealth of the various continents for the benefit of all peoples.

110. My delegation is gratified to find that the idea of holding another general conference to review world economic problems, similar to that held shortly after the Second World War, which has now been put forward by the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, coincides with the campaigns which have been going on for some years in Colombia with a view to the organization of another special conference to bring the ideas and plans of the last world conference into line with the experience into line with the experience of recent years and with the technical, political and economic realities of the modern world. As always, the Colombian delegation will work towards those objectives with enthusiasm and with firm belief in the mission of the United Nations.

111. In conclusion, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, the great satisfaction with which the Government and people of Colombia welcomed your election, in view of the friendship which binds our two countries and your great ability. I am sure that, thanks to the lofty qualities you bring to the service of the United Nations, your term of office will be a highly successful one.

112. I should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Prince Wan Waithayakon, for the wisdom and tact with which he discharged his office, and once again to reaffirm our faith in the final triumph of civilization, based on the high principles of freedom and justice which are the keystone of the United Nations, and which will one day secure the welfare of all mankind.

113. Mr. MACDONALD (New Zealand): Sir, I have already made brief reference to your election to the position of President of this Assembly and I now amplify that reference in this general debate, because your elevation is a matter of pride and satisfaction to the people of New Zealand, as it must of course be to yourself. Those associated with you here know the vigour and enthusiasm you have shown in your work as permanent representative of New Zealand in this Organization. Your experience here will provide a splendid background against which you will carry out your duties as President. Throughout your career in New Zealand you have taken a keen interest in international affairs and have fostered in your own country a wider public knowledge of world events. The Government and people of New Zealand wish you well in your important position, which I am sure you will fill with great credit.

114. This session of the General Assembly will be concerned with a number of pressing political issues. Among these, the subjugation of Hungary has a strong continuing claim to our attention. The issues which

disturb peace in the Middle East demand early and resolute action. The imperative need for an effective international agreement on disarmament overshadows all the other questions which may affect peace and security. I shall return to these issues; but first I should like to make some broader observations.

115. The vitality of the United Nations is reflected, not only in the scope of the Assembly's agenda, but also in its growing and nearly universal membership. It is particularly gratifying to my country that Ghana and The Federation of Malaya, the two States which have been admitted to the Organization this year, are both members of the Commonwealth to which New Zealand also belongs. We look forward to co-operating with their representatives in this Assembly and at other United Nations meetings.

116. Both Ghana and the Federation of Malaya have come to nationhood by the process of peaceful evolution, which has been so notable a feature of the post-war world. Within the Commonwealth other nations are in the process of emerging in that way. We are confident that they too will seek and gain admission to this Organization when they attain full sovereignty.

117. I wish, Mr. President, that I could speak with equal certainty of the day when the partitioned States of Europe and Asia would be free to find their own destiny, and an open door to membership of this Organization. The way to the reunification of Germany continues to be barred, because the Soviet Union will not permit the people of the Soviet-controlled area of Germany to choose their own form of government freely.

118. For similar reasons, the representatives of the Republic of Korea and Viet-Nam have not been able to take their places in this Assembly. Yet Viet-Nam, for example, will next month be host to all the countries participating in the Colombo Plan. In that circle, Viet-Nam is an equal and an adult nation. There will be a continuing injustice until these partitioned States are restored to themselves and are freed from all disabilities.

119. As I have had occasion to speak of our growing membership, I should like to add a few thoughts about the political functioning of the Assembly itself. Informal consultation among delegations is an essential part of the process by which Assembly and committee decisions are influenced. The more there is of this consultation, the more likely it is that the decision will represent the reasoned view of the majority of delegations. Yet, as the membership grows, it becomes more and more difficult to maintain a full range of consultation.

120. This is a problem which specially affects the smaller delegations such as my own. To form a sound opinion about one's own course of action, one must take account of other points of view. And these cannot always be gauged solely from the formal statements made during a meeting. It is therefore easy to conclude that, as meetings grow larger, more reliance must be placed on consultation within various groupings.

121. It is beyond question that these groupings play a very useful role. It is natural and proper that delegations which have much in common should first consult among themselves. We, for our own part, attach special importance to our regular consultations with other Commonwealth delegations, and we readily understand

the growth in consultation and co-operation within other groupings.

122. Even so, I think it is evident that the system of group consultation should not come to play too large a part in the shaping of Assembly decisions. Few of the issues before the Assembly are so clear that they admit no divergence of opinion between different groups or even within those groups; and similarity of interest or outlook should not usually be a more important factor than individual judgement. Perhaps the only valid conclusions are these: a larger Assembly increases the need for group consultation, but it should not increase the influence of the group over its own Members.

123. The Assembly which reconvened on the eve of this session has endorsed, with few dissentient voices, the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592]. The report is a conclusive account of a grave breach of the Charter. Resolution 1133 (XI), adopted with the support of sixty nations, emphasizes the gravity of that breach.

124. It emphasizes also a grim disparity between Soviet deeds and Soviet words. Earlier in this debate, [681st meeting] the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union laid stress on the need for measures to enhance the authority of the United Nations and to ease international tension. With this in mind, he put before the Assembly a draft declaration on the principles of peaceful co-existence among States. [A/3673] Can Mr. Gromyko be surprised, while our deliberations on Hungary are fresh in our minds, that we should weigh these draft principles against Soviet conduct in Hungary? One principle is equality and mutual benefit. But in Hungary the Soviet Union intervened to perpetuate a cruel inequality and to deprive the Hungarians of the right to order their own lives. Another principle is respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. But in Hungary the Soviet Union sent armed forces into the territory of a small neighbour to overthrow an established government. A third principle is non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But in Hungary the Soviet Union intervened to extinguish freedom and to re-impose a cruel conformity.

125. Nothing that the Soviet Union has said at the current or at the last session of the General Assembly, nothing that the Soviet Union may say in the future, here or elsewhere, can alter the facts. There can be no further argument about what was done in Hungary. In the five-Power report, [A/3592] the Assembly has an unassailable record of the origin, course and consequences of a brutal and unremitting attack on the liberties of a proud people.

126. As long as the Soviet Union continues to defy the resolutions of the General Assembly, as long as it denies the Hungarian people the right to decide their own destinies, so long must the United Nations, by the most effective means available to it, continue to manifest its concern with the Hungarian issue. I know that my Government is not alone in this conviction.

127. In Prince Wan Waithayakon, who presided with conspicuous skill and distinction over the eleventh session of the General Assembly, the United Nations is fortunate to have a representative eminently well qualified to carry out the duties entrusted to him. [resolution 1133 (XI)]. As I have said before from this rostrum, [672nd meeting] the issues are momentous, bearing as they do on the continuing defiance by a

Member State of this Organization's resolutions and of the moral judgement of the world. World opinion waits for the response of the Soviet rulers to the Assembly's resolutions about Hungary.

128. In another troubled area, great nations and small gave practical demonstrations of respect for the Assembly's wishes. Open hostilities in the Middle East were ended. The forces of other countries were withdrawn from Egyptian territory. Relative quiet has prevailed along the armistice lines between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States.

129. We should, however, remember that this condition of peace is due in large measure to the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force. In many ways, the establishment of UNEF [563rd meeting] has shown this Organization at a high level of practical achievement. When the representative of Canada made here the imaginative proposal for the creation of such a force, the response of the General Assembly was impressive and immediate. The speed and skill with which UNEF was organized reflect great credit on the Secretary-General and his staff. The conduct of UNEF itself, and the good judgement of its Commander, have amply justified the Assembly's confidence.

130. These developments have been accompanied by other improvements in the Middle East situation. The Suez Canal has been cleared. To a large extent the Canal has again become what it was always intended to be: a free, commercial waterway linking the countries east of Suez, as far away as Australia and New Zealand, with the countries of Europe and the West.

131. Finally, a new source of support, both economic and military, has been afforded to the countries of the Middle East. In a period in which power relationships have shifted, the Eisenhower doctrine has offered help and encouragement in an area where stability has been gravely undermined.

132. Important as these gains are, they have yet to be consolidated and extended before any lasting achievement can be claimed. This is one of the greatest of the challenges which face the present session of the General Assembly; and it is as well that we should take stock of the problems still to be resolved.

133. It is true, as I have said, that quiet prevails on the armistice lines; but the bitterness of Arab-Israel relations has not diminished. The United Nations Emergency Force provides a buffer, but the will to achieve a lasting settlement has not yet appeared on either side.

134. Shipping is once more passing through the Suez Canal, but the conditions of passage are by no means satisfactory. As long as Israel shipping is prevented from using the Canal, the provisions of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 will not be fully carried out, and the international character of the waterway will be infringed.

135. In my Government's view, freedom of navigation demands that the Canal be operated under a system which treats the ships of all nations alike. Moreover, this system, while being of benefit to Egypt, should offer adequate guarantees of efficient and stable management in the international interest. The Security Council, in considering the Egyptian Government's declaration of 24 April 1957 concerning the operation

of the Canal,^{2/} referred to aspects which still required clarification. Failing such clarification, my Government can feel no assurance that the controlling power will not be misused.

136. As the past year has shown, the weaknesses and dissensions of the Middle East increase the ever-present dangers of Communist domination. With the terrible example of Hungary before them, it might have been expected that all Governments in the area would have rallied to resist the spread of Soviet influence. In fact, however, the Soviet Union has found new opportunities to exploit not only international tension but also political difficulties and divisions within individual Middle Eastern countries. In one such country at least the Soviet Union appears to have succeeded in establishing a beachhead of subversion.

137. We have seen that when vigilance and efforts are relaxed the Communist danger advances like a forest fire, consuming everything in its path. It is this which gives an added urgency to the need for a lasting settlement of the problems of the Middle East. As many speakers noted during last year's debates, it is not enough that we should restore the conditions prevailing before the recent hostilities in Egypt. The General Assembly must look beyond the results of tension to its causes, and must work for the removal or correction of those causes. We must indeed make up for the years before last year, when the problems existed but failed to attract the Assembly's attention.

138. Though various suggestions have been made in the past, the Assembly has yet to determine how best to approach the question of permanent solutions. It may indeed be true that we have so far accomplished as much as could have been expected in so short a time. Certainly, the presence of UNEF in the area is helping to create the conditions in which further practical steps can more readily be undertaken. Equally, we cannot afford to do without UNEF until we are able to resolve the difficulties and tensions which it keeps in check.

139. The first test, therefore, is that of our willingness to keep UNEF in being and to assure its financial support. Here the record is not very encouraging. The United Nations Emergency Force is the creation of this Assembly, and UNEF itself is the chosen instrument of this Organization. Yet the facts, as I understand them, are these. Of the first 10 million dollars, which were to be subscribed in accordance with the ordinary budgetary assessments, little more than half has been paid. The voluntary subscriptions, which have come from six contributors only, have added another million dollars. Of the estimated cost up to the end of this year, less than one-third is in sight.

140. Unless Member States show greater willingness to contribute to its support on an equitable basis, there is a clear danger that UNEF will come to an end. My own Government believes that its maintenance is essential. We have already contributed to its upkeep, both in accordance with our budgetary assessment and on a voluntary basis. We are prepared to continue to play our part in the future, while the need for UNEF remains. At the same time, we feel that the effort to deal with the underlying problems of the Middle East must be intensified.

141. If the Middle East presents the territorial issue which most requires our attention, the problem of disarmament faces this Assembly with an even greater challenge. For eleven years the topics of disarmament and the control of atomic weapons have figured prominently on each session's agenda. Success has proved elusive, though sometimes - as earlier this year - it has seemed just within our grasp. The challenge is all the greater in view of the failures of the years gone by.

142. My Government is acutely conscious of the economic burden of defence, and of the dangerous tensions which always accompany a competition in armaments. Nevertheless, we are also convinced that the countries of the West cannot relax their defence efforts until there is international agreement to the controlled reduction of armaments. Without genuine reciprocity and an adequate system of inspection and control, disarmament would be disastrous folly.

143. The most recent negotiations in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission have, of course, concentrated upon achieving a limited agreement about certain first steps. This aim was a modest one, and it could only have produced modest benefits. There would, however, be great virtue in any agreement, however limited, which removed disarmament from the realm of controversy and propaganda, and which showed that it could be made to work.

144. To avoid any possibility of misunderstanding, I should stress that such an agreement would require the same kind of safeguards as a comprehensive agreement. The safeguards would, however, be on a smaller scale. They should therefore cause less difficulty for any State which is reluctant to accept necessary measures of control and inspection.

145. It is true that a disarmament agreement, like any other agreement, will limit the sovereign rights of the contracting parties. In the case of a disarmament agreement, this limitation will take the definite and concrete form of control posts and inspectors. This may seem inconvenient to certain countries; but I suggest that the inconvenience is a minor one to accept in order to reach a disarmament agreement and to ensure that it is carried out.

146. This aim of honest dealing and reliable safeguards is at the heart of the Western position on disarmament. It is true that the Soviet Union has accepted the idea of safeguards. Indeed it has made certain proposals for control and inspection. But these and other Soviet proposals fall far short of a genuine willingness to agree upon effective control measures on a basis of true reciprocity.

147. Similarly, the Soviet Union, playing on the reasonable fears of earnest people in all parts of the world, calls for an agreement to end the testing of nuclear weapons. But it declines to link this proposal with real disarmament measures.

148. My Government would welcome an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, but not at the price of submission to a Soviet bid for military advantage. Meanwhile, we are grateful for the restraint and care exercised by the United Kingdom and the United States in conducting such tests. It is heartening to know that they have already achieved a large measure of success in reducing the radio-active fall-out from explosions. We shall also await with keen interest next year's

^{2/} Official Records of the Security Council, Twelfth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1957, document S/3818.

report of the Scientific Committee set up by this Assembly to determine the long-term effects of radiation in the atmosphere. [resolution 913 (X)]

149. The goal of a disarmament agreement, and of the cessation of weapons tests, remains primarily a matter for the three nuclear Powers, though it affects all of us closely. We must not cease to advocate, and we must not cease to hope for, such an agreement; but we can derive little encouragement from the present attitude of the Soviet Union. That country seeks both a propaganda and a military advantage by insisting on a cessation of nuclear tests in isolation from other initial measures.

150. That is the balm, the soothing mixture, which the Soviet Union offers to a fearful world. At the same time, it flaunts a new instrument of terror - an inter-continental ballistic missile. It continues to test its own weapons. It obstinately refuses to agree to the four-Power proposals put forward in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission [DC/113, annex 5] for a linked agreement both to cease testing nuclear weapons and to cease making the nuclear explosives used in those weapons.

151. My Government regards the four-Power proposals as fair and genuine. Despite the swift rejection

of these proposals by the Soviet Union, we believe that the Sub-Committee's recent series of meetings was most valuable. Because of these meetings we are all in a better position to decide what could and what could not be included in a first realistic programme of arms reduction, capable of being put into immediate effect.

152. The Assembly is now faced with a choice. It is a choice between deceptively simple proposals whose purpose is propaganda, and more complex proposals genuinely intended to bring about a solution. One alternative offers false security; the adoption of the other would be of long-term political and economic benefit. Much turns on our ability to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to reject specious and easy solutions.

153. The urgency of the problem makes us impatient for early success. The gravity of the problem requires us to endure a further round of negotiations, for success will come not in any spectacular way but from the progressive narrowing-down of differences among the great Powers. It is they who bear the main and ever-growing burden of responsibility. But this Assembly, acting in the spirit of the Charter, can separate truth from falsity, and point the way.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.