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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GERBI (Libya): This is the first time that I have spoken since the beginning of the twelfth session. I should therefore like at the outset to extend to Sir Leslie Munro, on behalf of my Government, our heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of the present session. His well-known qualities and long experience will, I am sure, yield the best results in the conduct of the proceedings of this Assembly. I should also like to express my Government's appreciation to Mr. Charles Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, whose statesmanlike gesture made it possible for the Assembly to elect its President unanimously.

2. The unanimous appointment of the Secretary-General to a second term of office has been a cause of gratification and rejoicing for all of us. It is my honour and privilege to offer him the sincerest congratulations of the Libyan people and Government. His dedication to the cause of the United Nations and his devotion to the principles of its Charter, as well as his integrity and outstanding ability as an impartial negotiator, have won the admiration of the world. May his success continue in his second term of office and may that constitute a good omen for the assertion of the lofty principles for which he stands.

3. It has become almost the custom during the last few sessions of the Assembly to witness new delegations, representing newly-born nations, taking their seats in this Organization. This is indeed a feature which leads to optimism. It indicates that the spirit of our epoch--the spirit of the Charter and, more particularly, the spirit of the right of peoples to self-determination--is being felt. We welcome this trend and express the hope that the process of the development of new nations towards assuming the responsibility of independence will continue steadfastly in the years to come.

4. On behalf of the United Kingdom of Libya, I now offer the Federation of Malaya our sincere congratu-

lations both on its orderly and peaceful achievement of independence and on its admission to the United Nations. We wish it prosperity and steady progress in its newly acquired status.

5. At its eleventh session, this Assembly devoted much time and effort to explosive aspects of the world crisis; it succeeded in solving some problems and in easing others. It is gratifying indeed to realize that the atmosphere of the present session is clearer and quieter. But there still remains what I would call the chronic aspect of the world crises. In fact, a general tension, a feeling of fear and suspicion, still prevails in the world.

6. Fear, suspicion and tension are the effects of the armaments race. The Romans of old used to say, "If you want peace, prepare for war". Today, twenty-five centuries later, the situation remains basically the same. Technically speaking, we live in peace, but in an armed peace where thunderous explosions very often disturb the atmosphere in different parts of the globe. Never in the history of mankind has peace been so heavily burdened with deadly weapons capable of killing hundreds of thousands of people and affecting further hundreds of thousands in body and spirit. Never in the history of mankind has peace been so fraught with danger and so full of unknowns.

7. We in Libya feel the adverse effects of this most unhappy situation and are, understandably, as concerned as any other nation. Libya has no arsenals, no arms except for keeping internal order. Having emerged into statehood only six years ago, Libya has no other ambitions than those of building for itself a viable economy; of developing with its sister Arab countries the fraternal ties which stem from their common origin, culture, language and religion; and of collaborating with all other peace-loving nations for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. What Libya wants is peace--real peace.

8. It is our hope that the present session of the Assembly will be successful in securing an agreement on the question of disarmament which would free mankind from the nightmare of total destruction.

9. I need hardly say that Libya, by virtue of its birth and its growth in the community of nations, entertains the strongest belief in the principles of the Charter and an unshakable confidence that this Organization will be able ultimately to achieve world-wide well-being and understanding. Circumstances have proved in the recent past that the confidence placed in the United Nations is not baseless. The Organization has stood firm in the face of difficult situations which threatened world peace. We in Libya believe that, through the framework of the United Nations, any problem of an international character--however intricate it may be--can be solved by peaceful efforts.

10. We believe also that the consolidation of peace depends to a large extent on the degree of respect

entertained by the strongest nations for the rights of the weaker nations to enjoy freedom and independence. Unhappily, it cannot be said that this has always been the case. In North Africa a fierce struggle is going on; it is a three-years-old shooting war. There, a valiant people, a section of the greater Arab nation, is daily sacrificing scores of its youth to assert its right to a decent life. I refer to the Algerian people.

11. This war continues to cause widespread human suffering and to disturb the peace and stability of the whole area. It is a matter for regret, indeed, that the General Assembly's resolution [1012 (XI)] adopted at the last session should remain unheeded. France has not attempted to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict. France continues to adhere to the theory that Algeria is a part of the metropolitan territory. This contention, needless to say, is baseless. Algeria, by virtue of its geographical position, its history, race, religion and language, is a separate entity from France and has its own character. The situation in Algeria has deteriorated considerably in the last few months. Atrocities, torture, mass extermination and destruction are now the main features of the deplorable state of affairs which exists. Innocent Algerian men, women and children are daily victims of the French armed forces.

12. My Government, therefore, joined other Member States in asking that the question of Algeria be placed again on the agenda of this body for discussion. It is our sincere hope that debate on this question at the present session will lead to ways and means conducive to an equitable solution, thus putting an end to bloodshed and desolation. One may ask: what is the equitable solution? The answer is clear: recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

13. There is another question of great importance which continues to be of concern in my country. It is the question of the Palestinian refugees. These unhappy people continue to lead miserable lives in the most appalling squalor. The Zionist terrorism uprooted them from their homes and from the land on which their forbears had lived for centuries. As they watch from across the Israel frontiers, they can see their fields being tilled by aggressors, while they themselves are compelled to stretch forth their hands for charity. The funds allotted to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for caring for these people are falling further and further below the amount necessary to guarantee the minimum number of calories required to keep them alive.

14. What is the solution, then? The solution was indicated by the General Assembly in numerous resolutions adopted years ago: the Palestinian refugees must return to their homes; those who prefer to settle somewhere else are entitled to compensation. But Israel refused, and continues to refuse, to accept this solution. There is no room for the Palestinian refugees in Israel--but there is plenty of room for more and more Jewish immigrants, who will constitute in due course the instrument for attempted expansion at the expense of the neighbouring countries. It is clear that there will be no stability in the Middle East as long as the problem of the Arab refugees remains unsolved. This has been said again and again from this rostrum in

past years and has brought bitterness into the debates. But surely it is to be repeated year after year until justice and fairness have triumphed.

15. My delegation, along with a number of other Member States, has requested the inclusion of the question of West Irian in the agenda again this year. We feel that this long-standing question continues to disturb the friendly relations existing between Indonesia and the Netherlands. My country, which is friendly with both of these countries, believes that there is an issue involved here and that it is most desirable to discuss it in the hope of reaching an amicable solution.

16. I conclude by begging the Almighty to inspire the proceedings of this session in its endeavour to meet the great expectation of the world for a lasting peace and universal happiness and harmony.

17. Mr. Phoni SANANIKONE (Laos) (translated from French): I should like first, following the example of previous speakers, to address my warmest congratulations to our President, Sir Leslie Munro, on his unanimous election. I should like also to express our appreciation of the magnificent example Mr. Charles Malik set us by the selfless decision he made in the interest of harmony. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the retiring President, His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon, and to convey the fraternal and friendly good wishes of the Kingdom of Laos to the new Member States, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya. We welcome their admission to membership which follows so closely upon our own, as a step towards universality in the representation of peoples in this Organization.

18. May I also voice our satisfaction at the re-election of our Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold. We know that in him we have a man of peace with a deep sense of justice and wholly dedicated to the cause of the United Nations. We see in his unanimous re-election one of the most encouraging political signs that the forces of conciliation will ultimately triumph over fanaticism and intolerance.

19. For the second time since 14 December 1955, the date of its admission to the United Nations, the Kingdom of Laos has the honour of stating its views from this rostrum. The privilege of acting as its spokesman having fallen to me, I trust that my remarks will not tax the Assembly's patience and will show some of the restraint and moderation which are necessary if the United Nations is to accomplish its primary task of securing the peace.

20. One fact must be plainly stated; peace, the goal to which all aspire, is gravely threatened at the present time. Despite the unremitting efforts of the United Nations, a spirit of violence is still abroad in the world. There is a danger that the profound ideological differences which have destroyed the moral unity of the world for several decades past may in the near future be transformed into mortal conflicts. The situation is paradoxical to the point of absurdity, for theories and techniques designed to advance the welfare of mankind are instead pushing mankind to the brink of ruin and threatening it with annihilation.

21. It is true that efforts are being made day after day, generally inspired by or under the auspices of the United Nations, to restrain the passions that are being unleashed. Appeals are made to the conscience of mankind and, as always in time of crisis, men of goodwill

are striving to halt this progress to disaster. I need only mention the recent vote in which the General Assembly again condemned violence by an overwhelming majority.

22. But let there be no mistake: the threat remains, graver than ever. Even in disarmament conferences, the clash of arms makes itself heard. Fear of world war is beginning to take a turn that makes catastrophe inevitable. The great Powers are giving way to distrust. Their policies are dominated by the simple objective of preparing to meet the danger. Year after year incalculable wealth, which, if properly used, could change the face of the earth, is swallowed up in preparations for war. Small nations like my own can do nothing but anxiously watch these signs which foretell disaster, remembering with a sadness born of disillusionment the old Laotian proverb: "When the buffaloes fight, it is the grass that suffers."

23. But this does not mean that we must give up hope. Despite all these threats there is no reason for despair, and it is the proud duty of this Assembly stubbornly to continue its efforts against wind and tide to stem the forces of evil. Are these efforts vain? Local conflicts have been prevented or halted, the lives and liberty of thousands of men and women have been preserved, the standards of life, physical and spiritual, of whole populations have been raised through the efforts of mutual assistance agencies within the framework of the Organization. And when dangerous situations arise, it is in this Assembly that the unlawful use of force is condemned. All these facts go to show that the United Nations is playing a useful and a positive role. One need only think of the immense gap that would appear in the world and in the hopes of men if this Assembly were to cease to exist.

24. The United Nations must therefore continue its long and arduous task. Within the limits of its resources, Laos, for its part, will not be stinting in its support. For compelling reasons, Laos places its trust and its hope in the United Nations.

25. By its origins and by its civilization, Laos, perhaps more than any other nation, looks beyond its own frontiers and sees its destiny as an independent State within a broader framework of harmony and good-neighbourly relations. While its racial homogeneity and the originality of its civilization are unimpaired, geography has set Laos at the meeting point of two worlds: the Indian and the Chinese. Recent history has, moreover, brought to Laos the influence of one of the finest cultural and moral civilizations of the Western world. In the present situation, finally, Laos is in the delicate and perilous position of a buffer State between opposing ideological blocs. Laos has survived and continues to survive these often contrary influences; in the process, it has learned, not mistrust, but tolerance--the need to understand other people and, on pain of perishing, to remain on good terms with one's neighbours.

26. Even if it had wished to follow a different policy and to live in isolation, its deep-rooted national characteristics would have prevented it from doing so. The people of Laos are deeply attached to the Buddhist religion. The entire life of the individual and of the community is based on the teachings of the great sage who, 2,500 years ago, taught men exposed to the trials of this vale of tears the virtues of wisdom, harmony and tolerance. Penetrated as it is with the teaching of

Buddhism, Laos is particularly disposed to organize its relations with other peoples on a basis of tolerance, moderation and peaceful coexistence. It is no political accident that the principles of coexistence enunciated by the enlightened leader of a great friendly State are a reflection in international relations of the sacred rules of our Buddhist pancha shila.

27. This does not mean that we advocate a policy of weakness and surrender. Tolerance cannot be used to cloak injustice or violations of the law. It is not a blank cheque. It merely credits others with good intentions.

28. Laos subscribes and will continue to subscribe to the need for understanding among peoples, for such comprehension is beyond doubt the first requirement for peaceful coexistence and peace.

29. But, although the principle can easily be stated and can be accepted by all peoples, it does not follow that it is the basis of a passive policy. Its application is subject to two conditions: to be effective, understanding must not be a one-way street; above all, it must not be a pretext for one people, taking advantage of numerical or technological superiority or a temporarily favourable situation, to impose patterns of thought or living on other peoples which are contrary to their legitimate aspirations. In other words, coexistence can be conceived only within the framework of independence and non-intervention. One ill-considered act of intervention is sufficient to bring to nothing years of effort, solidarity, mutual aid and understanding.

30. I should like at this juncture to express our gratitude for the generous material assistance furnished to us by the United States, France, the United Nations and the Colombo Plan countries.

31. Our needs are, of course, great, and the economic and technical assistance we are receiving is still insufficient to enable us to deal with the enormous problems involved in the fight against ignorance, disease and poverty. We could, of course, wish that a larger portion of this assistance was devoted to the equipment and development of our country's infrastructure. But we discuss all these problems openly and freely with the donor States and we are grateful to them for their unvarying spirit of friendly co-operation. Nor shall we forget the material sacrifices which this assistance requires on the part of the States which, in a magnificent gesture of international solidarity, are bringing to us the benefit of their experience, technology and friendship.

32. We have pleasure in paying this tribute to the generosity of this economic assistance because it has been administered so far in a broad spirit of understanding, with full respect for our independence.

33. This spirit of non-intervention and understanding will be essential if we are to solve one of the major difficulties of our national political life. I refer to the problem of the Pathet-Lao fighting units. This problem, which has imposed such a heavy burden upon our country's economic and political life since the Indo-Chinese war, despite the Geneva Agreements and the negotiations at the national level which have been under way since 1954, derives its complexity and its gravity solely from the international context in which it arises.

34. I should like to reassure the Assembly. It is not

the intention of Laos, at least for the time being, to request the United Nations to include this national drama in its already heavy agenda. We intend to make every possible effort to settle this problem at the national level, and we have not lost hope of doing so. But we must recognize that this problem, which we should like to keep at the national level, has ramifications, not to say roots, which have thus far been unaffected by our good faith and our desire for agreement. We do not wish to add to the preoccupations of this Assembly; but it is desirable that it should know the truth and know that peaceful Laos is not prepared to satisfy its desire to live in peace with its neighbours as well as all other peoples of the world at the price of territorial and political scission.

35. Peaceful coexistence and harmony cannot, as I said earlier, be conceived except within the framework of mutual respect for territorial integrity and independence. Passive acceptance of foreign intervention would lead only to enslavement. The people of Laos have too long struggled for unity and independence to be prepared to compromise on this point. It is for this reason that they believe in the sacred mission of the United Nations and that they will devote all their energy, will and hope to enable it to carry out that mission so that the world may live in peace, justice and liberty.

36. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): It is my privilege to convey to the President and to my fellow representatives the greetings of my sovereign King Mahendra, of His Majesty's Government and of the people of Nepal, along with their best wishes for the success of this session of the General Assembly. It was the intention of my Prime Minister, Mr. K. I. Singh, who is also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to come here to participate in the work of this session, but, due to the pressing duties of administration at home, he could not be here. He has asked me to convey his apologies to you on this account.

37. At the very outset, permit me to congratulate Sir Leslie Munro, on his election to the high office of President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly. His long experience in the work of the United Nations, combined with his personal merit and ability, amply qualify him for the office he now holds. My delegation has not the slightest doubt that he will carry out his responsibilities and duties in a manner befitting the dignity of the office. I also wish to take this opportunity to put on record, on behalf of my Government and delegation, our warm appreciation of the memorable services of his predecessor in office, His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon. Against the foreboding background of events that aroused fear, hatred and passions among nations, Prince Wan guided with great wisdom, restraint and skill the proceedings of the eleventh session which proved to be, in the opinion of many, the most onerous and exciting since the inception of the United Nations.

38. Now that the storm has passed and the passions it aroused have at least temporarily subsided, all kinds of opinion and criticism are being voiced about the record and achievement of the United Nations in handling the problems that confronted it last year. These opinions and criticisms have one characteristic in common: they do not quite seem to recognize the United Nations for what it is, and they seem to disregard completely the practical difficulties and limitations inherent in its very structure, as provided for in the

Charter itself. They therefore predict a dark and dismal future for the Organization unless something is done to remedy the defects inherent in it.

39. It is said that the equal weight of voting which is granted to small nations may lead to the abuse of this right on account of the apparent lack of responsibility on their part, and thus prevent a sort of representative solution of the problems in the real sense. Sometimes, too, it is said that the United Nations could have achieved much more in a positive way, had it only chosen to make full use of the opportunity offered by the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force to bring about the permanent settlement of the Palestine refugee question which lies at the root of Arab-Israel conflict. The United Nations is also accused of adopting double standards on the ground that it has been comparatively helpless against the bigger Powers that have so far been able to disregard its recommendations with impunity. These and other kinds of criticism seem to make out a case for the re-examination of the inherent limitations and powers of the Organization in the light of its experience since the days of San Francisco.

40. It is to be remembered that, ever since its inception, the United Nations has been engaged in the task of supervising what may be described as an uneasy peace and what has been at best the absence of fighting, and sometimes not even that. For example, it has intervened in Korea, in Kashmir or in Gaza in the Middle East. True enough, the United Nations action in this field has been largely pragmatic and *ad hoc*, but it could not have been otherwise.

41. The Charter took for granted co-operation among the Big Five as a condition of the successful working of the United Nations, but such co-operation was only short-lived. The founders of the United Nations recognized the necessity of having military forces at its disposal, and it was this realization that led them to write into the Charter provisions which they hoped would bring into being a collective force. Over the years, however, the idea did not materialize because of the deadlock in the Military Staff Committee, as early as 1947, among the great Powers themselves.

42. Their lack of agreement on the question of individual contributions to the force spelled the end of the era of wartime co-operation, which was replaced by the distrust, suspicions and dissensions of the "cold war". No special agreements could be drawn up by the Security Council and other Members as envisaged in Article 43 of the Charter. Still, the Council's interventions did help the situation and brought about happy results for peace in Iran, Greece, Indonesia, Kashmir and Palestine. The pattern of the United Nations action in Korea, though made effective by two accidents in history which might not occur again — absence of the most interested permanent member, with its veto, from the Security Council, and the earlier presence of a United Nations commission at the trouble spot — illustrates the possibility of using the United Nations for collective security, though in effect the use of the United Nations forces in Korea was more symbolic than real.

43. Since then, it has become increasingly clear to the world that the permanent members of the Security Council, or the great Powers, are not willing to make their decisions subservient even to a collective judge-

ment when their own political interests are at stake. The veto has been used so very often that it has rendered the original plan of collective security through the Security Council almost impossible of realization. This has brought into vogue the method of referring to the General Assembly what the Council is unable to resolve, and has also given rise to the demand, on the part of many Member States, for other kinds of force than that provided for under Article 43 of the Charter.

44. The review of the available collective security machinery by the Members of the United Nations against the background of the developments in Korea caused the adoption, in 1950, of the famous "Uniting for peace" resolution [377(V)], the potentiality of which was proved in meeting the challenge which the events in the Middle East and Eastern Europe provided to the United Nations last fall. Thus did the General Assembly come to be used for security purposes only after the Security Council had failed to perform its primary function on account of the use of the veto by one or the other of the permanent members. However, even now, there is nothing in the resolution that will interfere with the effectiveness of the action of the Security Council if only the Council shows itself capable of action.

45. Certainly it is not the small Powers that are to blame for the veto provision in the Charter or for the failure of the Security Council to act for security purposes. The big Powers insisted on the right of veto for themselves at San Francisco, and the small Powers yielded in recognition of the influence of the greater Powers in matters affecting international security and well-being. Again, in subsequent years, it has been the attitude and the action of the big Powers that have rendered the Security Council almost incapable of performing the primary function assigned to it by the Charter. The Assembly has no power of enforcement and can only act by recommendation. In these circumstances, it would certainly be unfair to blame the equal voting right given to small nations in the Assembly, or their increasing numbers, for the ineffectiveness of United Nations action.

46. In this connexion, the remark of the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report, merits special consideration:

"The General Assembly is not a parliament of elected individual members; it is a diplomatic meeting in which the delegates of Member States represent governmental policies, and these policies are subject to all the influences that would prevail in international life in any case." [A/3594/Add.1, p. 3.]

47. It is because of the failure of the Security Council that the General Assembly is being compelled to arrogate to itself functions for which it is not adequately equipped with powers in the Charter, and which it therefore can discharge only in a pragmatic and ad hoc manner. Nevertheless, in terms of moral force and effect, the Assembly's recommendations, if made in a responsible spirit and if followed by all — of course, two big "ifs" — would carry as much weight as those of the Security Council, perhaps more. Hence the necessity for making available some machinery which might ensure their implementation.

48. The new role that has devolved upon the Assembly

appeared in full light when the events that occurred in the Middle East and in Hungary last fall imposed on it the responsibilities for peace supervision. The Assembly, not having any precedent or any appropriate organization, was ill-prepared to undertake this responsibility. It was in the midst of the excitement and anxiety caused by the crisis in the Middle East that it adopted a resolution [998(ES-I)] empowering the Secretary-General to organize a United Nations Emergency Force within forty-eight hours. Thanks to the indefatigable energy and skill of the Secretary-General and his assistance, the Force came into existence almost at once.

49. It will be admitted on all sides that the Force proved to be very effective for the purpose for which it was created — the securing and supervising of a cease-fire. It was a Force which was created for limited purposes and, as such it was different in character from the kind of force envisaged in the Charter. But, while it was not entirely based on a new concept of United Nations supervisory action, it certainly implied an enlarged concept.

50. Whatever might have been the criticisms, the intervention of the United Nations through an emergency force in November 1956 certainly brought about the acceptance of a cease-fire and the subsequent withdrawal of the Anglo-French and Israel forces from Egyptian territory. Its action also reinforced the need on the part of the United Nations to equip itself better to meet such contingencies in the future.

51. Though it might not be possible for Governments to provide the United Nations with a fighting force so organized as to be employed on the decision of the Security Council, there does not appear to be any difficulty for them in apportioning a small section of their armed forces for use by the United Nations for peaceful and non-combatant purposes such as securing a cease-fire already agreed upon by the belligerents.

52. Let us hope that the lessons of last year's events will not be lost and that Member nations will not lightly dismiss the possibility of achieving something more concrete in this direction. The creation of a permanent mechanism by which units of the armed forces of the Member nations can be endowed with the authority of the United Nations and made available at short notice will strengthen the hope and confidence of all peoples in the United Nations as an instrument for securing their rights and freedom.

53. The devolution of those new responsibilities to the General Assembly has made the role and function of the Secretary-General more difficult and complicated, but at the same time more important in the structure and activity of the United Nations. The General Assembly has to rely increasingly on the executive for the implementation of its decisions and even for the interpretation of the finer points and intentions of its recommendations. The concept of the Secretary-General has undergone a change, as clearly shown by the part he was called upon to play by the General Assembly on its behalf in the settlement of the crisis in the Middle East and Eastern Europe last year. He no longer remains an administrator charged merely with keeping the service operations of the Secretariat in a state of efficiency, but has also to afford initiative when the situation calls for it.

54. At the present moment, this Organization has been fortunate enough to have as the Secretary-General a man who combines the qualities of a diplomat and a statesman with a high sense of mission, thus producing a remarkable characteristic of complete detachment, coupled with a rare sensitivity of touch with events and persons. With the President's permission, I wish to take this opportunity to felicitate Mr. Hammarskjöld on his re-election as Secretary-General; this is, in itself, a proof of the growing confidence and esteem in which he is held by the peoples all the world over.

55. The Charter empowers only the Security Council to order the use of force for the maintenance or restoration of international peace. All that the "Uniting for peace" resolution seeks to do is to enable the General Assembly, in the event of the paralysis of the Security Council, to make appropriate recommendations to Member States "for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security". Thus, in the case of an armed attack falling under the terms of Article 51 of the Charter, the General Assembly may recommend that Member States come to the rescue of the victim in every possible way, even by means of economic sanctions and military aid. But it leaves to the option of the Member States to implement or not to implement the Assembly's recommendations, inasmuch as there is nothing that makes the Assembly's recommendations legally binding on them.

56. Judged in this context, the inherent limitations in the Assembly's action with regard to the crises of last fall in Egypt and Hungary can be better realized. We have already seen that the Assembly's resolutions on the Middle East did secure the cease-fire and bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt. But even with regard to the situation in Hungary, the Assembly has done all that it could to keep the question of Hungary before world public opinion.

57. To those who were inclined from the beginning to believe that the Assembly's action on Hungary would be altogether futile, may I pose a simple and direct question: If the Assembly had passed over in silence the intolerable situation that occurred in Hungary last fall as a result of foreign armed intervention, would it have redounded to the credit of the United Nations in any way? Would such a course of action have better served the cause of peace, humanity and the freedom of smaller nations? In my opinion, such an attitude of timidity or inaction on the part of the United Nations would have seriously damaged its reputation as an organization pledged primarily to secure the freedom and rights of every Member nation.

58. Because we have failed, for the reasons discussed at length in the earliest part of my statement, to evolve a military arrangement for collective security, must we also desist from the unhindered expression of collective opinion and also from the limited exercise of collective influence and authority in the exclusively moral sphere of judgement and faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter?

59. It is true that international politics does not always operate on the basis of morality, but if the United Nations does not abide by its faith in the force and efficacy of the collective moral judgement, it will

certainly not be true to its own high principles and purposes. Individual countries, in spite of their profession of high principles, may still in practice be affected by considerations of fear and gain in their assessment of international issues. But it will be a sad day indeed for the believers in the freedom of the smaller nations and the peace of the world if the United Nations, representing as it does the collective moral judgement of the world, feels compelled, for whatever reasons, to accept, without demur, the sacrifice of the freedom of a small Member nation as a pawn in the devilish chess game of international politics which has of late been played, without restraint or shame, out of selfish interests, by various blocs groups, acting and reacting on each other.

60. The cause of the freedom of the small nations has always been dear to us, because in our own history we have prized freedom more than anything else. Our hearts naturally reach out to the people of Hungary in the hour of their trial and suffering. Theirs has been a tragic plight indeed. The tragedy of Hungary has a real and living significance for the 9 million people of Nepal. Behind it is their deep-rooted consciousness that what has happened to Hungary may happen to any small nation anywhere in the world. The uprising in Hungary was a "spontaneous nationalist rising", the entire episode being "a great human tragedy". This is the considered opinion on the subject of a highly detached and impartial observer of world affairs, of no less a man than the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, whose words carry weight with people everywhere. May we still hope and expect that the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops from Hungary, thereby leaving the people of Hungary free to work out their destiny in accordance with their own national aspirations.

61. The events of the past years have made the role of the United Nations clear to everybody. It is not a super-State which can always enforce compliance with its decisions. Its function and activity are necessarily limited within the framework of the decisions of the Member States. Its real usefulness, however, lies in the sphere of multilateral diplomacy as an instrument of negotiation among the Governments and for the Governments. It is an instrument of diplomacy for concerting action by Governments in pursuance of the ideals of the Charter. The United Nations does not merely serve as a forum for public debates on international issues; its institutions also provide for the process of adjustment and conciliation, often resulting in solutions that may not be entirely satisfying to the parties concerned, yet cause no embarrassment or loss of face to any one of them.

62. Let us recognize the United Nations for what it is, for nothing more and nothing less, and, as our Secretary-General has himself described it, as "an admittedly imperfect but indispensable instrument of nations in working for a peaceful evolution towards a more just and secure social order". [A/3594/Add.1, p. 3.]

63. His Majesty's Government in Nepal has always pledged itself to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter and to abide by them in its dealings with the other nations of the world. The other well-known declarations of the principles and tenets of international conduct such as the pancha shila or the Bandung declaration, to which Nepal has also been a

party, do not contain a thing which is not already embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. All that the afore-mentioned declarations do is to reinforce, in a different context, the same principles of good conduct among nations which have been known to the world since the days of the Kellogg-Briand Pact or even before that. We feel that these declarations are not so much important in themselves as in their actual implementation. If only all Members of the United Nations sought to respect in practice the principles and decisions of the United Nations, for good or for worse, the international problems could take care of themselves.

64. My Government believes in maintaining peace and friendship with all nations and in a policy of non-alignment with any one of the international power blocs. We do not want to commit ourselves beforehand to support one bloc or the other in the event of differences or war between the. This, however, does not mean that we are shirking responsibility or sitting on the fence. We merely wish to retain our independence of judgement even as a small nation. Of course, when there is a choice between good and evil, or right and wrong, we certainly know what to choose, and our history is in itself a proof of our capacity of judgement in such a situation. We believe in assessing every international issue on its merits, without consideration of anybody's fear or favour. We feel that this is the way we can contribute most to the work of the United Nations. Furthermore, we are, as a nation, less hindered in the exercise of our moral judgement, not only because we follow an independent foreign policy but also because we have far fewer commitments and no disputes as compared to bigger nations.

65. We have been just over one year at the United Nations, and during this short period we have always abided by the same moral standard of judgement in assessing events everywhere in the world, be they in the Middle East or in Eastern Europe. We deplored the Anglo-French-Israel action in Egypt last fall as strongly as the Soviet action in Hungary. We do not approve of foreign interference in the affairs of any nation, let alone armed intervention. We stand by self-determination for all people and believe in the right of every nation to work out its destiny free from external pressure and interference. We regard imperialism as a manifestation of desire on the part of a richer and more powerful nation to dominate the affairs of another nation by exploiting the comparative helplessness of the latter's position in every possible way. We are opposed to imperialism of every kind or colour, be it overseas or overland, be it white, red, yellow, brown or black.

66. We are in fullest sympathy with the aspirations of the nationalist freedom movement everywhere in Asia and Africa. We view all these freedom movements as a part of the great awakening in Asia and Africa which occurred in the wake of the Second World War. We have good reason to believe that the same process of awakening and change that has already worked out so well in the case of several countries will result in the transformation of the existing dependent and colonial territories into independent statehoods or nationhoods.

67. We were happy to welcome Ghana to membership of the United Nations last year, and this year we had the pleasure of welcoming Malaya. We feel that the addition of new Members will make the United Nations

more representative and universal in character, and to that extent more effective. That is also the reason why we have always pleaded for the recognition of the People's Republic of China, without whose willing co-operation and consent no lasting political settlement in the Far East is possible.

68. We are interested in the political renaissance of Asia and Africa because the political change in Nepal herself is related to the general awakening in Asia. The achievement of independence by India, along with other countries in that region, strengthened and helped the efforts of the King and the people of Nepal to introduce democracy in the country.

69. The role of monarchy in ushering in the new era of democratic freedom in Nepal is unique. History has many an instance of a brave, talented and generous ruler, but never in history had there been a king who, along with all the members of his family, staked his life and throne in order to secure the democratic rights and freedom of this people. With the time-honoured institution of monarchy itself serving as the sheet anchor of democracy, Nepal, confident of its future, is marching shoulder to shoulder with other countries of the region, on the path of freedom and progress.

70. The entire world pinned high hopes on the successful outcome of the talks that were recently going on in London at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission. Once again the talks were abandoned rather abruptly and the great Powers have thought it fit to refer the matter to the General Assembly. However, it is really heartening to read in the statement [685th meeting] of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Lloyd, that these talks have not yet been abandoned and that there are still chances of agreement on the subject between the great Powers. We agree with the British Foreign Secretary that it would be naïve to expect that the disarmament problem could be solved without a spirit of healthy realism and without taking into account the true nature of the world situation.

71. Talks about disarmament both conventional and nuclear without prior agreement among the big Powers on an international system of inspection, do not sound realistic enough in the conditions of the present day world. To our mind, what will help is the replacement of the existing atmosphere of fear and suspicion by the all-round growth of goodwill and understanding, especially between the great Powers, whose efforts alone can solve this problem of disarmament.

72. Conscious as we are of the limited role we can play in the solution of this problem, we appeal to the great Powers to come to some sort of permanent agreement on the various aspects of the disarmament problem in the larger interests of peace and humanity. The world has waited in vain over the past ten years for the successful outcome of the disarmament talks. Nothing will fill the peoples of the world with greater hope and confidence in the future of the United Nations than the achievement at this session of any real further step towards agreement on this question of disarmament.

73. Mr. GUNWARDENE (Ceylon): On a previous occasion I was privileged to offer Sir Leslie Munro the felicitations of my Government on his elevation to

the high office of President of this Assembly. Those of us who have known Sir Leslie through the years have learned to respect and admire his profound knowledge of men and matters, his mastery of law and procedure and his personal charm. Under his guidance we look forward to an Assembly session full of promise for an early settlement of the outstanding issues of the day.

74. May I take this opportunity also of paying a well-deserved tribute to His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon, for the ability and skill with which he presided over the last session of the Assembly. We in Asia are justly proud of him.

75. My Government warmly supported the re-election of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General. We have confidence in his great tact, skill and personal charm. We congratulate ourselves on having selected him for a second term and we have no doubt that his services will be of invaluable help in promoting the settlement of many of the difficult problems facing us today.

76. We meet today in a considerably calmer atmosphere than we met in last year. The atmosphere of crisis of last October and November has fortunately passed away, and we are now able to discuss issues once again in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. This is certainly an advance, and I think it gives us hope for progress in the future.

77. The absence of crisis, however, does not mean that the basic conflicts have been resolved. We all know too well one issue which we discussed at an earlier session, last month, which has not found a solution in accord with the sentiments of the vast majority of the Members of this Assembly. The United Nations is not a world government. Its Charter embodies the moral and legal principles by which alone its sovereign and independent Member States can live in peace, mutual trust and benefit. If a nation chooses to flout these principles for its own ends, for reasons of narrow national interest, it is doing an incalculable disservice to all that the United Nations stands for. I cannot think of any nation wishing to weaken this Organization, which stands as a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of mankind today.

78. It is perhaps easy to miscalculate and underestimate the strength and enduring qualities of the moral voice of mankind. It may seem weak and powerless in the short run, but in the context of modern international relationships there can be little doubt that it must ultimately prevail.

79. It is our earnest hope that the moral voice of this Assembly, reflecting the spirit of the Charter, will be heeded and respected. Indeed, no nation can afford today to do otherwise. A country may think it can gain a temporary advantage by acting in its own selfish interests and disregarding the overwhelming sentiments of this Assembly. But against this it must inevitably count the cost in shattered confidence and in increased international tension. In the final analysis there is little doubt that such a nation will find that the seeming advantage has actually turned out to be nothing but a tragic liability.

80. We should like to pay a tribute to those Member States which, in response to the resolutions of this Assembly, ceased hostilities and withdrew their forces from Egyptian soil. Their actions no doubt strengthened

this great Organization and was a fitting recognition of the strength of world opinion. Since those events, there has been in that particular area a welcome and marked decrease of tension. There have been very few incidents, and none of major significance. The presence of the United Nations Emergency Force must certainly be counted as a significant factor in contributing to the relative peace and tranquillity of that region, and we have no doubt that, with goodwill on every side, we can look forward to a progressive settlement of many of the outstanding issues.

81. One of the major causes of tension in the Middle East today is the rivalry of the two power blocs, it is our view that the alignment of countries in military pacts in any part of the world will create a climate of suspicion and distrust and consequently lead to an increase of international tension. The cause of peace, not only in the Middle East but elsewhere, would be considerably improved if the great Powers desisted from involving other countries in their rival power politics. The countries of the Middle East have great material resources, and they are eagerly availing themselves of the technical skills with which to exploit them. These countries have a great future before them, and they need peace and tranquillity for the success of any long-term programme of development. Nationalism is a vital force today, and it can be a constructive force for the consolidation of the hard-won freedom of the Arab countries and for the rapid economic progress of their peoples.

82. It is unfortunate that great-Power rivalries in the Middle East have sowed the seeds of dissension and created an atmosphere of suspicion and mutual distrust. The Middle East has too long been regarded as a sphere of influence for foreign Powers. No Arab country today is prepared to submit to this view. The Arab countries are jealous of their newly-won freedom and they do not desire to be pawns in international power politics. All that they desire is to be left on their own to work out their destinies.

83. This is not to say, however, that the great Powers have no role to play in the Middle East. On the contrary, their help will be invaluable in developing the economies of these countries. Large amounts of foreign capital are required for the development of oil resources, communications, transport and industries. The great Powers are in a position to furnish this aid. Rapid economic development in this region is urgently needed and cannot but lead to an improvement, not only in the economic and social conditions, but also in the general political situation.

84. The recent past has witnessed the emergence into independence and freedom of many of the countries of the Arab world. The vestiges of colonialism have been swept away by the tide of Arab nationalism. This trend will be welcomed by all those who believe in the right of self-determination and in the principles of freedom and justice. We, in Ceylon, who have just emerged from colonialism, are dedicated to the task of working for the independence and freedom of the colonies.

85. I should like here to pay a tribute to the United Kingdom for its foresight in recognizing the principle of self-determination and in granting freedom to millions of people in Asia and Africa. This action has transformed an empire into a free and equal association of independent sovereign States, an association

which is progressively expanding. We welcomed the independence of Ghana last year and of Malaya this year, and supported their admission to the United Nations. We look forward to the time when we can similarly welcome the independence of the other Non-Self-Governing Territories. This policy of the United Kingdom should serve as an example to other metropolitan Powers. It is a policy which sets a secure basis for the close and free association of nations, irrespective of race, creed or colour.

86. We are sad to witness the situation in Algeria today. We refuse to accept the French thesis that Algeria is an integral part of France. We do not recognize the right of a colonial Power to declare any of its colonies an integral part of its metropolitan territory. The people of Algeria have given ample proof of their determination to be free. The spirit of independence and freedom of the Algerian people is as strong as the spirit of their Arab brothers elsewhere, whose struggle for liberation from colonial rule has been successfully completed. The French would do well to recognize the Algerian claim to independence and to put an end to the needless destruction and slaughter in that territory. A prolongation of the conflict cannot but lead to a further embitterment of relations between the two racial groups in Algeria and also to an increase in tension in the North African region as a whole, to the detriment of harmonious relations with the West. It is our hope that France, a country which has stood for the ideals of human liberty and freedom, will have the statesmanship and courage to save the situation before it is too late.

87. We are happy to note that there has been some improvement in the situation in Cyprus. We welcome the truce which has put an end to the reign of terror and counter-terror. Conditions appear to be favourable now for a settlement which will be in accord with the wishes of the people of Cyprus. We strongly believe in the principle of self-determination for peoples, and we cannot forget that the United Kingdom has applied this very principle to many former parts of its empire, and with such happy results. We find it difficult to believe that the problem of a minority is insoluble. Minority problems have been successfully solved by the statesmen of the United Kingdom before, and we have no doubt that in this instance, too, the United Kingdom will rise to the occasion. We look forward to the time when Cyprus will have the right of self-determination.

88. The question of West Irian has been the subject of acute debate at this Assembly before. We consider this a colonial issue. It has affected the good relations of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia. We sincerely hope that through the United Nations it will be possible to negotiate a solution of this vexed problem in a spirit of conciliation.

89. As Members of the United Nations, we are all committed to work for the strengthening of this Organization. If this Organization is to be fully represented, it is essential that we accept the principle of universality of membership.

90. We feel that a sovereign State, whatever its ideology and its political, economic or social system, should have the right of representation. We recall the handicaps and difficulties we had to surmount in securing out membership in 1955. We are proud that we were able to be of some assistance in obtaining the

agreement of all groups to the admission of the fifteen other nations. We were a victim at that time of a stalemate arising from great-Power rivalries, and it is not surprising that we feel distressed that such rivalries should operate against the admission of other nations today. We consider the admission of the sixteen nations in 1955, and three others subsequently, a great triumph for the United Nations. It has enhanced the prestige of the Organization and the character of its representation. Today, only Outer Mongolia is excluded. We support the admission of Outer Mongolia, and we hope that, in accordance with the principle of universality, the membership of Outer Mongolia will be secured.

91. We are also concerned about the representation of the People's Republic of China. Whatever may be the legalistic and technical considerations, we cannot be blind to the fact that almost a quarter of the human race is not represented here. We recognize that in some quarters this question is an emotional one, but surely it is now time for emotion to give place to reason. It is our hope that, when we meet at the next session, both Outer Mongolia and the People's Republic of China will be counted as Members of the United Nations.

92. We believe that the unification of Germany, Korea and Viet-Nam will contribute to the lessening of international tension, and we appeal to the parties concerned to make unification possible within the shortest space of time.

93. We shall watch with great interest and hope the discussions that take place at the present session on disarmament. We support the view that the testing of nuclear weapons should be banned unconditionally. This would constitute a very promising beginning for a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Such a beginning, we feel, could not fail to lessen the climate of suspicion and tension which, unfortunately, prevails today. It seems to us inadvisable to insist on a whole series of technical and political considerations as a concomitant to the first step of banning nuclear tests. It is our view that the practical approach to disarmament is to proceed in the step-by-step manner.

94. The world today is facing, in addition to serious political problems, an economic crisis, which no one nation can tackle but which has to be tackled internationally. On the whole, the world is passing through a phase of shortage of private capital for development. In this situation, countries like Ceylon have to put their faith in the fulfilment of ideas such as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, the seeds of which were sown in the United Nations about five years ago but the fruition of which has been delayed by lack of agreement among the big Powers. This is the time when the big Powers must act and divert at least a fraction of the energies and expenses of "cold wars" and armaments to a special fund. Indeed, it has been said that a quarter of 1 per cent of defence expenditure will be sufficient to support SUNFED and put it into operation.

95. War today is inconceivable as an instrument of national policy. The weapons of destruction in human hands today are so terrible in their scope and power that world conflict can only mean the destruction of civilization. It is imperative, therefore, that the nations of the world, with their differing ideologies and

systems of government, should find a way of coexisting peacefully. We firmly believe that the principles of the pancha shila, if faithfully followed, provide such a path. They establish a firm basis for relationships between nations through mutual respect, non-violence and co-operation.

96. Our policy of nonalignment is the logical outcome of our faith in the principles of the pancha shila. As a newly independent country, we are faced with the urgent task of transforming a colonial economy into a free economy. We have still a long way to go in order to assure our people of an adequate standard of living. This can best be done by devoting our energies to the constructive task of developing our economy than by frittering away our resources on armaments. We in Ceylon have been able to devote practically two-thirds of our national budget to development programmes and social services because we have been successful in steering clear of heavy liabilities on armaments.

97. We should like to stress the vital role that the United Nations is playing today in the cause of peace and international co-operation. The United Nations symbolizes the faith and determination of the nations and peoples of the world to work out a means of peaceful coexistence and co-operation that is so essential if civilization is to survive.

98. The PRESIDENT: I have been asked by the delegation of Czechoslovakia for the privilege of adding briefly to its remarks in the general debate. This request, it is clear to me, does not come under a point of order or a right of reply. I am in the hands of the Assembly as to the granting of this request. If there is no objection, and on the basis that no other speakers who have already taken the floor wish to make a similar request, I shall grant the floor to the representative of Czechoslovakia. I am in the hands of the General Assembly.

99. There appears to be no objection, and I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia.

100. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): I wish first of all to thank the President for the opportunity to make this brief statement in connexion with the speech made by Mr. Rapacki, Chairman of the delegation of the Polish People's Republic and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, [697th meeting], concerning problems of disarmament and the manufacture and stockpiling of atomic weapons in Europe.

101. The Government of the Polish People's Republic has proposed to abstain from manufacturing and stockpiling atomic weapons in the territory of the Polish People's Republic, if agreement is reached between the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—to assume a similar obligation in accordance with the previous proposals of the German Democratic Republic.

102. The Czechoslovak Government has repeatedly considered possible specific steps towards a solution of the disarmament problem and has often expressed its readiness to give every assistance in the execution of individual partial measures which would hasten and facilitate a solution of the disarmament problem as a whole.

103. With respect to partial measures in Europe, the Czechoslovak Government's efforts hinge on the fact that foreign Powers have atomic bases in one part of Germany and that one hears open talk there of plans to equip the West Germany army with atomic weapons and even statements that, despite all existing undertakings, the Federal Republic of Germany should be given an opportunity to manufacture these weapons itself.

104. Since we are immediate neighbours of both German States and were one of the first victims of German imperialist expansion, we are fully aware of the danger to Czechoslovakia and to the peace of Europe which this policy of equipping West Germany with atomic weapons entails.

105. In its statement of 24 September [680th meeting], the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic called attention to the fact that the establishment of atomic bases in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and the arming of the West German army with thermonuclear weapons seriously jeopardized the interests of universal peace and represented a direct threat to all the European peoples, none of whom could escape the consequences of a military gamble launched with the use of the most powerful means of destruction yet known.

106. Czechoslovakia of course has sufficient means and facilities to counter such a threat, and there is no need to emphasize that, in company with the other parties to the Warsaw Treaty, it could not stand idly by observing the continued establishment of atomic bases near its western frontiers, the equipping of the West Germany army with atomic weapons and the manufacture of such weapons by the German Federal Republic itself. We believe, however, that it is in the interest of all European peoples to explore every possibility of contributing to a reduction of international tension in Europe and the rest of the world as well as to the achievement of progress in the disarmament question.

107. For this reason, the Czechoslovak delegation, in keeping with the stand which Czechoslovakia has always taken on disarmament and in conformity with the complete support which we have given to the Soviet Union proposals for solving the disarmament question and to the German Democratic Republic's proposals for concluding an agreement by which atomic weapons would not be manufactured or stockpiled in the territories of either of the German States, welcomes the initiative of the Polish People's Republic and regards it as an important and constructive step towards the solution of a problem which is giving rise to concern in all parts of the world.

108. I am authorized by the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic to inform the representatives of all States Members of the United Nations that Czechoslovakia is prepared, in the interest of reducing international tension, to subscribe to the proposal of the Polish People's Republic and to assume an obligation to refrain from manufacturing or stockpiling atomic weapons in any part of its territory, provided that both German States reach an agreement to prohibit the manufacture and stockpiling of such weapons in the territory of Germany, as the German Democratic Republic has proposed.

109. We are convinced that the willingness of Poland and Czechoslovakia to assume an obligation to that effect can facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement, which would unquestionably be a step towards solving the problem of guaranteeing European security.

It would be a major contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere and the attainment of agreement on further measures of disarmament.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.