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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): First of all I should like to congratulate Mr. Hammarskjold on the occasion of his election to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations for a second term of office and to wish him success in the performance of his duties.

2. With the admission to the United Nations of the Federation of Malaya, eighty-two States are represented here irrespective of their social systems and ideological views. It would be more exact to say eighty-one States, since China, which was one of the founders of the United Nations, is not represented here by the legitimate government of the People's Republic of China. To suppose that the shadowy Chiang Kai-shek representatives from Formosa who wander about the United Nations express the will of the Chinese people is, politically speaking, to suffer paralysis of the brain.

3. The composition of the United Nations shows how the political map of the world has changed at the half-way point in this tempestuous twentieth century. Among the Members of the United Nations are many countries which have won their freedom and independence comparatively recently, casting off the fetters of foreign oppression imposed upon them by colonialism, which is now on its way out. This inevitable historical process did not begin today. The world of today is not in the least like what it was only a short time ago. The process of historical renaissance has been gathering force over the past few decades like a mighty torrent released by the great event of the twentieth century, the socialist October Revolution, which had the effect of accelerating social development, of awakening millions of people and of associating them actively and creatively in the evolution of history.

4. The great founder of the Soviet State, Lenin, perspicaciously defined the Soviet people's revolution as the beginning of a new era in the history of the world. Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese democrat, saw in the triumph

of the people's revolution the birth of a great hope for mankind, and Mr. Nehru, the renowned leader of contemporary India, stated that, almost simultaneously with the October Revolution led by the great Lenin, India had entered upon a new phase of its struggle for freedom. The Indian people, he went on to say, had for many years been taken up with that struggle and had endured grim oppression with courage and patience. And although the Indian people under Gandhi's leadership had taken a different road, they had admired Lenin and had been influenced by his example.

5. The revolution came about in Russia because the people desired it. Revolutions simply are not possible when the people do not want them. People who are obsessed by the idea of the "export of revolution" somehow fail to note that the revolution in October 1917 was not exported to Russia or the Ukraine by anyone from anywhere. These people, who cannot conceal their irritation over the legitimate social changes which are taking place in the world, are trying to explain them, not infrequently from the rostrum of the United Nations, as the result of interference by outside forces. Yet it is as absurd to talk of the "export of revolution" as it would be to talk of exporting clouds from China to Cuba.

6. The glow of the October Revolution likewise illumined the birth of the Ukrainian Socialist State—the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Government of the Ukraine appealed at that time to all countries for peace and co-operation. In its appeal, the Soviet Government of the Ukraine, announcing to the peoples and Governments of the entire world that it had been established, expressed at the same time its firm determination to defend the independence and inviolability of the Ukrainian SSR and its desire to live in peace with all peoples and States.

7. Like Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian SSR was born with the slogan of peace on its lips, and it is the constant concern of its people and Government to strive for peace and for the strengthening of friendly relations among nations. That aspiration unites us to all the peoples of the Soviet Union, with whom we maintain relations of close and brotherly co-operation on a basis of equality. The Ukrainian people look upon the Soviet Union as a firm guarantor of their national sovereignty and independence.

8. The social relations and brotherly co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union, founded on the socialist principles of mutual help and support, have opened the door to the unlimited development of our productive forces, the unprecedented flowering of national culture and of science and the constantly increasing prosperity of our people.

9. Permit me to give a brief outline of the economic development of the Ukraine, a country now in the forefront of those European nations which have attained

the highest level of economic development. The information furnished by our planning organs shows that the Ukraine has already surpassed all the capitalist States of Europe in the per capita production of cast iron, steel, rolled metal and iron ore. Our per capita production of cast iron is approximately equal to that of the United States, while the production of coal and iron ore is considerably higher. In absolute figures of industrial output, the Ukraine produced more cast iron than either the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany or the Benelux countries, which are, of course, noted for their high level of industrial development. In the production of rolled ferrous metals, the Ukraine is surpassed only by the United Kingdom, its output being greater than the combined output of such highly industrialized countries as France and Belgium, or France and Italy.

10. Our people, as is only natural, are justly proud of these achievements. At the same time we are firmly convinced that we shall go on to even greater successes in the next few years, notwithstanding the complexity and size of the new tasks which confront our national economy. That conviction is firmly grounded in a realistic appraisal of the material and spiritual opportunities opened up by socialism. Under a unified economic planning system pooling the resources, capabilities and efforts of the Soviet republics, and taking into account their national interests, the Ukraine has advanced as far in forty years of socialism as it would otherwise have done in centuries.

11. The Ukrainian Socialist State has always advocated a peaceful foreign policy based on the principles proclaimed in October 1917. Our people have fought for that policy both in times of peaceful development and in the days of frightful military conflict, when the Ukrainian people proved in the struggle against fascism that they were a worthy member of the great fraternal family of nations comprising the Soviet Union.

12. It is with profound conviction that we support the general foreign policy of the USSR in the United Nations. We shall continue to do so in the future, for the Soviet Union is a reliable bulwark of peace and of peaceful relations among nations and as such it acts in accordance with the vital interests of the Ukrainian people. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR has instructed my delegation to express its full support of the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union to the twelfth session of the General Assembly.

13. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR wishes to state first of all that it supports the proposal calling upon the General Assembly to adopt the "declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States" [A/3673].

14. The question of peaceful coexistence is vitally important for the destiny of mankind. The world is big; it comprises many nations with different social systems, some socialist and others capitalist. That is an indisputable historical fact. If in our time Archimedes were at last to find a place to stand and to succeed in moving the world, even after such a cataclysm man would discover upon looking about him that the States which now exist had not disappeared. No State can leave this planet. That is why we must live in harmony and seek an acceptable basis for co-operation. If we in this one world wish, in the words of the United Nations Charter, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", we must recog-

nize that the question which is the better political and social system can and should be decided not by the general staffs of our armies but by economic competition, not by war but by the results we achieve in our efforts to create a life worthy of man.

15. A certain renowned American has advised his countrymen, particularly those who determine the foreign policy of the United States, to learn to live with others in this world. That is all very well, but to learn to live with others it is necessary to want to live with them and to work for that end without preconceptions or prejudices, free from the dangerous illusion that the United States is called upon to "lead the world", to order others about and to tell them what their standards of conduct should be.

16. Unfortunately, the clear policy of peaceful coexistence propounded by the peace-loving countries, which accords with the interests of the peoples of the world, has so far been countered by the policy of negotiating "from a position of strength". That policy has nothing to recommend it and has not contributed to the solution of a single international problem. When a State or group of States, as in the case of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, form a bloc for the purpose of preparing for war, other States which are threatened with attack cannot sit back with folded arms. They must prepare to defend themselves, to meet force with force. The only result is to aggravate the situation and exacerbate passions.

17. The opponents of peaceful coexistence proceed from the premise that strength is on their side. Their mistake is that, drunk with their own power, they tend to overlook the power of others. Such self-deception obviously dulls the senses of certain strategists in generals' uniforms who, with calculated, cold-blooded cruelty, boast that they could wipe from the face of the earth whole States whose social systems are not to their liking.

18. As recently as last May, Admiral Burke, the United States Chief of Naval Operations, boasted that the United States could deal a blow to the Soviet Union that would destroy it, while General Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander of the armed forces of NATO, who is a well known figure, threatened that the United States could destroy anything in the USSR it pleased. Giving free rein to his belligerence, General Norstad went on to describe how attacks could be launched on the Soviet Union from all sides from the hundreds of American military bases abroad and in the United States. That, he continued, was the present position, and he saw no reason why it should not be maintained with the use of new weapons in the future. British Field-Marshal Montgomery with brutal cynicism suggested dropping a powerful bomb on the Soviet Union and wiping it out.

19. We, of course, are not in a position to appraise the common sense or abilities of General Norstad or Field-Marshal Montgomery, but there would appear to be not the slightest doubt of their recklessness. The important point is that militaristic thinking of this kind is the natural outcome of the United States policy of strength which rejects the possibility of the coexistence in one world of two States with such widely different social systems as the Soviet Union and the United States.

20. Perhaps we could ignore the inflammatory state-

ments of certain generals and admirals of the North Atlantic bloc inasmuch as they are not concerned with the peoples of the world. Their profession obliges them to keep those peoples in a state of tension and to sow the seeds of war hysteria, for if a peaceful atmosphere prevailed it might well be that appropriations for military expenditures would be cut and they would find themselves out of a job. But when statesmen, who ought to obey the dictates of reason and who should have a better understanding of their responsibilities, begin to engage in such activities, we have reason to be seriously concerned.

21. Only a few days ago, the United States Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, said in Boston that there could be no peaceful coexistence with other Powers organized within the Soviet bloc. Mr. Herter has not yet gone so far as to suggest abolishing other States which differ from the United States, but in reality that is what he, taking his cue from the militarists, desires. He is mortally afraid that the people of the United States will grow old and tired and accept the idea of peaceful coexistence. Yet if there can be no peaceful coexistence, then what is Mr. Herter preparing for the peoples of the world: war?

22. It is perfectly obvious that in the present circumstances the first order of business should be to obtain recognition by the great Powers of the principles of peaceful coexistence, since it is primarily on these Powers that the fate of the world depends. If such great Powers as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and India can establish relations with each other on the basis of peaceful coexistence, then why cannot all the great Powers, including the United States, the United Kingdom and France, base their foreign relations on the same principles? Why should not these principles form the basis of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union? Such a result would be of the utmost benefit not only to the peoples of the United States and the USSR but also to the other peoples of the world.

23. In that connexion, may I remind you of the words spoken by Mr. Khrushchev when he was interviewed by the managing editor of The New York Times on 10 May 1957. On that occasion Mr. Khrushchev said that the question of international tension was essentially a question of the relations between two countries, namely, the Soviet Union and the United States. "The case of international tension," he said, "is like a cabbage. If you take off the leaves one by one, you come to the heart." In the present instance, he continued, if you eliminated all the disputed and unsettled issues one by one, you would come to the heart of the matter, which was the controversy between the United States and the Soviet Union. The question was therefore whether the relations between the two countries would develop on a friendly basis or whether strained relations would continue to exist between them. The United States, Mr. Khrushchev continued, was a highly developed capitalist country, while the USSR was a highly developed socialist country, and ideological differences would always exist between them. Yet that should not prevent them from having good-neighbourly relations. And indeed they were neighbours in the north, where Chukotka was a stone's throw from Alaska. Ideological differences should be no impediment, Mr. Khrushchev concluded, to developing normal diplomatic, cultural, economic and other contacts.

24. By approving the draft declaration concerning the peaceful coexistence of States, the United Nations would naturally be able not only to improve the political atmosphere which is still uneasy, but also to help put into effect an important provision of the Charter, namely, that we should "live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

25. The bitterest opponents of the idea of peaceful coexistence try to convince us that coexistence between the two systems is virtually impossible. What arguments have they advanced? None, save the assertion that the very term "peaceful coexistence" means, to the Soviet Union, something entirely different from what it means to States with a different social system.

26. In the first place, we are not talking about the adoption of the Soviet or, let us say, the Australian interpretation of the term, "peaceful coexistence". The draft declaration, as we know, sets forth five principles of peaceful coexistence, namely: mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-intervention in one another's domestic affairs on any economic, political or ideological grounds whatsoever; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence. Thus, what we are concerned with is the tenor and trend of the foreign policies of Members of the United Nations and not the acceptance of this or that interpretation of the term "peaceful coexistence". In the second place, if anyone is himself afraid and tries to frighten others by pointing out that it is the Soviet Union which is urging the General Assembly to approve the five principles, his fears may be set at rest, for these principles are successfully being applied in their mutual relations by a large number of States which together make up a considerable portion of the world.

27. What evil or danger could there be if the General Assembly, acting on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations, were to approve the declaration on peaceful coexistence? Could this possibly prevent the development of closer international co-operation or the establishment of trust between States? Of course not.

28. The representative of Argentina, in the general debate [693rd meeting], tried to prove that peaceful coexistence was impossible. He even quoted Lenin. But he entirely failed to understand Lenin. From Lenin's assertion that capitalism breeds war he hurriedly drew the conclusion that the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems was in flat contradiction to that premise. The representative of Argentina, either intentionally or accidentally, confused two different concepts—the reasons why wars break out and the possibility of peaceful coexistence.

29. Is it not a fact that the age of capitalism has been an age of ceaseless warfare? And have not two world wars been provoked by the extreme aggravation of imperialistic contradictions between the capitalist Powers? Is not the recent case of the attack on Egypt by powerful imperialist nations for the purpose of colonialist plunder proof of this? Do not events in Oman indicate the same thing?

30. But another social system is in existence now—the socialist system, which decisively rejects warlike policies. War is no longer inevitable now because the existence of socialist States—a group of States covering

a large part of the earth and representing powerful forces of public opinion throughout the world, which are vocal in their opposition to war— offers ample opportunities for preventing a new war and for peaceful coexistence.

31. In this century, which has seen the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons, rocket techniques and inter-continental missiles, the peaceful coexistence of States regardless of their social structures is more necessary than ever before. Today there is no other way to peace and to the lessening of international tension than peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation.

32. The fate of peace and peaceful international co-operation depends in large measure on whether the armaments race, and first and foremost the race for atomic and hydrogen weapons, can be stopped. Our Assembly must, unhappily, recognize that a solution to this urgent problem has not yet been found.

33. The Ukrainian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union and of other States, are in favour of a radical solution of the disarmament question, with the total prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the discontinuance of their manufacture and their elimination from the arsenals of States, the substantial reduction of the armed forces, armaments and military budgets of States, and the abolition of all foreign military bases in the territories of other States. The adoption of these measures would undoubtedly remove the threat of the outbreak of a new war and would create peaceful conditions of life for all peoples.

34. The western Powers have declared that they do not intend to seek a radical solution of the disarmament problem. In an endeavour to rescue the disarmament talks from the impasse they had reached, the Soviet Union on 30 April 1957 submitted a new proposal to the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission [DC/112, annex 7] providing for the implementation of partial disarmament measures.

35. In the matter of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union proposed that two measures should be taken: firstly, States possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons should assume a solemn obligation not to use them for military purposes; secondly, nuclear weapons tests should be discontinued immediately.

36. But since the Western Powers at present refuse to assume a general obligation not to use nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union, as you know, proposed that such an undertaking should be given for a five-year period, at the conclusion of which the question should again come before the United Nations, if no agreement on the renunciation of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons had been reached.

37. The Western Powers also refuse to agree to the complete and unconditional discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. Since the Soviet Union is anxious to clear the way for the settlement of this question, it proposes that atomic and hydrogen weapons tests should be discontinued at least temporarily, for a period of two or three years, and that the necessary control over such discontinuance should be established.

38. After refusing to assume an obligation not to use atomic weapons, the Western Powers have claimed in their statements that they are ready to stop atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. They have even declared,

as did Mr. Dulles [680th meeting] and Mr. Lloyd [685th meeting] in their statements before the Assembly, that they would agree to the discontinuance of such tests for two years. In reality, however, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom are making it impossible to reach an agreement on this question. By making the solution of the question of discontinuing nuclear weapons tests conditional on the settlement of other disarmament questions such as the reduction of armed forces and armaments, the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, the establishment of a system of aerial inspection and other measures on which, as a result of the position adopted by the Western Powers, there is a considerable divergence of views, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries are preventing the settlement of this question.

39. In the matter of the reduction of armed forces, armaments and military budgets, the Western Powers are also adopting an attitude which betrays the lack of any desire on their part to come to an agreement on these questions. By rejecting the Soviet proposal for the reduction of the armed forces of the United States, the USSR and China to 1,500,000 men and of the United Kingdom and France to 650,000 men, which they had themselves proposed at one time, the Western Powers have revealed that they are not genuinely interested in any reduction of their armed forces. What they are offering in their proposal of 29 August 1957, [DC/113, annex 5], which they have been praising loud and long as a realistic proposal likely to lead to the termination of the armaments race, is in fact nothing but a repetition of their old and obviously inadequate proposals. They make all further reductions conditional upon the settlement of a number of political problems, and first and foremost on the unification of Germany, on conditions laid down by revisionist circles in Western Germany.

40. By linking the attainment of an agreement on disarmament to a political settlement, the Western Powers have brought both the disarmament question and the settlement of these political issues to an impasse. And what of the results? There have been none. In fact, the monopolies in the United States and the other NATO countries have no need of results, because to them the armaments race and international tension mean good business from which they can make fabulous profits. We may well ask whether the Western Powers are really interested in disarmament or whether merely talking about disarmament is enough for them.

41. Since it is hardly possible for anyone openly to oppose disarmament nowadays, the NATO countries think up every possible excuse to prevent a constructive agreement on disarmament. One example of this approach to the settlement of the disarmament problem is the statement made by Mr. Lloyd on 24 September [685th meeting]. Instead of making any practical proposals for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the substantial reduction of the armed forces and armaments of States, he asked more than thirty questions relating to the technical details of elaborating an inspection system, what was to be understood by armed forces levels, what types of military services ought to be included in the definition and so on. Furthermore he added, "until you work out the practical details you will not get an agreement".

42. Mr. Lloyd could equally as well have asked another thousand and one questions. But, in the first place, the General Assembly is not a meeting where some ask questions and others answer them and, in the second place, no country, not even the United Kingdom, can, by juggling with questions, justify the armaments race and the testing of nuclear weapons.

43. Of course we have no objection to working out the precise details involved in the drafting of a disarmament agreement, but we are opposed to the substitution of questions of a secondary and technical nature for the main disarmament questions, which Mr. Lloyd is trying to force on us. Before we embark on a discussion of all the technical details, we must reach agreement on the main disarmament questions—the reduction of the armed forces and armaments of States, the reduction of military budgets, the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. But it is precisely to this that the Western Powers, and with them Mr. Lloyd, object.

44. If the Western Powers do not want this but propose instead that we should concern ourselves with the technical aspects of the disarmament question, then they are giving themselves away completely; they are proposing a method of dealing with disarmament questions which will lead, not to their speedier settlement, but to procrastination. If we were to agree to that, it would mean postponing the settlement of the disarmament question indefinitely.

45. The Ukrainian delegation believes that the proposals placed before the General Assembly by the Soviet Union are entirely in the interests of the peace and security of all peoples. Our delegation supports these proposals, which are a step forward in the direction of halting the armaments race and removing the threat of a new war. We believe that the carrying out of the measures of disarmament provided for in the Soviet proposals would be of paramount importance in reducing international tension and improving the entire international atmosphere, and that it would open the way to a radical settlement of the disarmament problem and the strengthening of peace throughout the world. We appeal to all representatives in the Assembly to peruse these proposals carefully and to support them.

46. The General Assembly has before it at this session many other important questions, and the peoples of the world expect it to find a just solution for them. In this connexion, I should like once again to draw attention briefly to the situation in the Near and Middle East.

47. An atmosphere of extreme tension has been created in that region as a result of United States interference in the internal affairs of the Arab States. Under cover of the so-called Dulles-Eisenhower doctrine, there is a growing threat of the use of armed force against peoples and Governments pursuing an independent foreign policy of their own choice. After Egypt, the threats are now directed against Syria. Syria, the adventurers say, is in danger of succumbing to communism, and is itself a threat to its neighbours. This is not a new method on the part of colonizers. As soon as they come up against a liberation movement which is not afraid to speak the language of national dignity, they begin to shout about the danger of communism.

48. The Arab States themselves, Syria's neighbours, reject this arrant nonsense. And they undoubtedly know better than the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom whether or not there is any danger threatening them. This fact, however, does not embarrass certain representatives, who are perfectly willing to use the forum of the United Nations to try to sow mistrust of the Soviet Union's policy in the Near and Middle East. That, in particular, was what Mr. Lloyd tried to do when, after reading extracts, as he put it, from the records of Soviet broadcasts and statements in the Soviet Press, he affected to discover in them appeals for the overthrow of the Governments of countries in the Near and Middle East, including even Iran, a neighbour of the Soviet Union.

49. But it is obvious that Mr. Lloyd's sources of information have been misleading him. Neither in Soviet foreign broadcasts nor in the Soviet Press have there been or could there be unfriendly statements or appeals against other Governments or States. On the contrary, in these broadcasts, as in the Soviet Press, stress is constantly laid on the desire for co-operation and mutual understanding with other countries. And it is no accident that the head of the Iranian delegation, who spoke after Mr. Lloyd, stressed the importance of the happy growth of friendly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union in recent years.

50. The Ukraine, which is in close proximity to the eastern Mediterranean, cannot be indifferent to the recurrent outbreaks of tension in the Middle East. We are naturally concerned that the situation in the area should be stabilized on the basis of respect by all Members of the United Nations, and especially the great Powers, of the aspirations of the Arab peoples for national independence, sovereignty and freedom.

51. The twelfth session of the General Assembly has convened in an atmosphere somewhat more favourable than the atmosphere last autumn. But international tension is far from being eliminated and this gives rise to serious concern. The lofty Purposes and Principles of the Charter lay upon all of us an obligation to make our contribution to the task of improving the world situation. The peoples will judge the work of this session by the success with which the Assembly acquits itself of this task.

Mr. Gunewardene (Ceylon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

52. Mr. BATRES (Honduras) (translated from Spanish): It will always be a source of the deepest satisfaction to us that this forum of world opinion affords us an opportunity to hear the views of all the peoples of the world expressed by their representatives.

53. Size is of no account; nor are natural differences in regard to territory, population or wealth. States are legally equal. More than anything else, they are equal in their sacred right of freedom of expression, their unrestricted freedom to make known their views on specific matters included in the agenda and on the general principles laid down in the Charter.

54. There is no doubt that, where the complex problems of world policy are concerned, the enormous responsibility of promoting, establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least possible diversion of the world's human and economic resources to armaments rests primarily with the five Powers specifically mentioned in the Charter.

55. But the remaining seventy-seven States, both medium-sized and small, which are as deeply aware of their fundamental duties as Members of the Organization as are the five great Powers, can also co-operate effectively in the achievement of these ends. In fact, their co-operation will be more substantial if they take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace; if they bring about, by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace; if they achieve international co-operation in solving common problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all.

56. Apart from co-operation of this kind, which is implicit in the fulfilment of what may, since they are laid down in the Charter, be described as the legal duties of Members, there are other duties of a purely moral character, which, of necessity, provide the essential foundation for all enduring human achievements. Although moral principles are more easily and generally applied in relations between individuals, they have an equally important part to play in the proper conduct of international affairs.

57. Good faith, the dignity and worth of the human person, a belief in justice, respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, tolerance, peaceful and good-neighbourly relations, are some of the moral concepts which, although they are repeated with monotonous regularity in speeches, in diplomatic notes, and in treaties, conventions and international instruments, are certainly not always properly interpreted or applied; in practice they are often distorted or disdained and are sometimes used as a cover for outright propaganda.

58. Anyone listening to some statements might suppose that the international policy of the State on whose behalf they were being made was beyond reproach, and that tensions and disagreements were due to the behaviour of others. It is the old story of unwillingness to admit one's faults or to accept one's responsibilities. The danger of a new war is so appalling that it is imperative that each State should sit in judgement on its own actions and recognize and correct its own errors if there is to be any hope of a fair and reasonable understanding.

59. It has been said time and time again, and history has confirmed, that none of the great problems of mankind has been settled by war, and there is even less likelihood of any problems being satisfactorily settled by a war waged with modern weapons of mass destruction. The logical inference is that we must lose no time in solving the thorny problem of disarmament.

60. My delegation trusts that moral forces will prevail over material forces. It will be possible for the small States to make a fuller and more constructive contribution in a world which is completely and whole-heartedly dedicated to the great cause of peace. It is of no consequence if this attitude is dismissed as visionary or idealistic or described by any other name. If these ideas take root and are cultivated in the minds of the majority of representatives, if not of all, I believe that a satisfactory agreement may not be long delayed.

61. I should now like to make a few references to my country, which may be of interest to the Assembly.

62. By a happy coincidence, Honduras is to-day commemorating the anniversary of the birth in Tegucigalpa of the great statesman and reformer, General Francisco Morazán, who was for ten years President of the Federal Republic of Central America, consisting of the States which are now the independent republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. His revolutionary achievements cut across the frontiers of Central America, and his political and military activities fill the finest pages of nearly a quarter of a century of Central American history.

63. He died a martyr's death, and he is the symbol of Central American unity. I pay this brief tribute to his memory as an expression of our admiration and gratitude for his achievements and ideals.

64. Those ideals are perhaps now being realized in such bodies as the Organization of Central American States and the programme for the economic integration of Central America.

65. Owing to a defect in the Constitution which governed the country, there was a temporary break in the normal functioning of our democratic institutions, and the people of Honduras were without a Legislative Congress from 5 December 1954; but the situation was recently remedied, to the general satisfaction, by the election on 22 September 1957 of deputies to a National Constituent Assembly, which is to meet on 21 October.

66. Impartial critics in the Honduran and foreign Press have commented favourably on the conduct of the elections and on the results; the elections were completely free and honest, a fact which is greatly to the credit of the country and the military junta which rules it. The system of proportional representation, which has been applied for the first time in Honduras, will make it possible for the three contesting parties to be represented in the Assembly according to the actual numbers of men and women voting for them.

67. Honduras has, throughout its life as an independent State, striven scrupulously to observe the rules and principles of international law, even before they were incorporated in positive law in the form of law-making treaties such as the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of American States and other legal instruments of an international character or relating to the Pan-American regional system. In particular, it has tried to fulfil in good faith its obligations under treaties, conventions, arbitral awards and other international undertakings. I shall cite two examples out of many.

68. On 7 October 1894, Honduras concluded a treaty with Nicaragua with a view to achieving a friendly and final demarcation of their common frontier. The treaty provides for direct negotiations and also contains a solemn undertaking to have recourse to arbitration if agreement is impossible. Under the treaty, which is in full force, a mixed commission is at the present time demarcating the line which was agreed on in direct negotiations and which runs from the Gulf of Fonseca, in the Pacific Ocean, to a point called Teotecacinte, and no difficulties have arisen. The remainder of the dividing line was settled by the award made on 23 December 1906 by His Majesty Alfonso

XIII, King of Spain, whom the two parties had pleasure in appointing as arbitrator.

69. No one reading the award can fail to recognize its high legal value. The parties were represented by two eminent Spanish lawyers of international standing: Mr. Antonio Maura, who presented his submissions first, on behalf of Nicaragua, and Mr. Francisco Silvela, who acted for Honduras. The immediate basis of the award, and a solid guarantee of its thoroughness, correctness and wisdom, was a careful and detailed report by the investigating committee appointed by royal decree which analysed in detail the arguments of the parties, the evidence produced and the opinions of the plenary Council of State and Council of Ministers. A clause of the agreement to arbitrate provides that the award shall have the character of a treaty duly concluded and binding on the High Contracting Parties for all time, and that there shall be no appeal.

70. On receiving the award, the Presidents of the two countries exchanged warm congratulatory telegrams on the final settlement of the dispute. Both the Nicaraguan and the Honduran legislatures approved the reports on the matter submitted to them.

71. Six years later, when Honduras proposed that the parties should proceed jointly to demarcate the small section of the line established which was not a natural boundary, Nicaragua raised its first objection and has thus far refused to comply with the award.

72. Because of the disputes and even, as in April 1957, of the armed clashes which have arisen in consequence of this irregular position, the Council of the Organization of American States intervened at the request of the two parties and acted as a provisional consultative body in accordance with the terms of the 1947 Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

73. Both Governments, respecting the effective machinery of the inter-American system, undertook in the agreement signed in Washington on 21 July 1957 by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries to submit the case to the International Court of Justice. In view of its sound legal and moral position, and having regard to the great prestige of the Court, the absence of any factors which are not strictly legal in character and the high moral and intellectual standing of the judges of the Court, Honduras awaits with complete confidence the Court's decision, which will be of importance both as providing a just settlement of the issues in question and as a verdict which will substantially affect the status of international arbitration as an institution.

74. My second example relates to the final settlement of the boundary between Honduras and Guatemala by an arbitration award given in Washington on 23 January 1933. Both parties respected the award, although it did not satisfy their respective claims, and appointed a mixed commission to comply with it.

75. My delegation would be failing in its duty if it did not mention some of the many benefits which Honduras has received as a founding Member of the United Nations. I shall refer only to the economic and social fields, about which I can speak with some personal knowledge, having served as Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance from 1949 to 1954 under the presidency of Mr. Juan Manuel Gálvez.

76. During that period, the International Monetary

Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development provided us with technical assistance in the establishment of the Central Bank of Honduras and the National Development Bank, both of which have been outstandingly successful in their seven years of operation.

77. The programme sponsored by the Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLA] for the economic integration of Central America took its first vigorous step towards realization with the first meeting of the Central American Economic Co-operation Committee at Tegucigalpa in 1952. Various basic studies and projects were put in hand, and some of them have already reached the stage of practical achievement. I may mention the College of Public Administration at San José, Costa Rica, with four years of outstanding work to its credit, and the Central American Institute for Research and Industrial Technology in Guatemala, which is also doing effective work. It is hoped that the preliminary work which has been done in connexion with the establishment of a pulp and paper factory in Honduras will be carried forward to a successful conclusion.

78. Among other fruits of the programme are many studies on the industrial possibilities of various materials, the adoption of a uniform tariff nomenclature, the trend towards uniform customs duties, the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements between most of the Central American countries and the recommendation that their Governments should approve a draft multilateral convention providing for free trade and economic integration and a draft concerning Central American industrial integration.

79. Apart from ECLA, the Fund and the Bank, my country has also benefited from the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the International Civil Aviation Organization. To all these, and to the United Nations as a whole we express our gratitude and appreciation.

80. During the ensuing deliberations of this Assembly, my delegation will do its utmost to make its modest contribution to the examination and solution of the questions before us.

81. In conclusion, I should like to make an invocation and an exhortation: an invocation to the Supreme Being that he may guide our leaders in their thoughts and acts towards the establishment of a peace free from qualifications and threats, the corollary of genuine disarmament, and an exhortation to all the peoples of the world through their representatives in this Assembly to co-operate in harmony and concord in the great crusade for peace.

82. Mr. GEORGES-PICOT (France) (translated from French): I am delighted to have the honour of speaking from this rostrum under the presidency of Mr. Gunewardene, though I should have welcomed another opportunity to congratulate Sir Leslie Munro, on behalf of my Government, upon his election as President of this Assembly and to honour him as the representative of a free, democratic Power whose citizens have never hesitated to support causes, however remote they may have seemed, which for them spelt first and foremost liberty and peace.

83. The French delegation is particularly happy to see

at the President's side, his term of office renewed for another five years, our Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, whose patient and efficient efforts are directed towards vindicating and furthering the work of the signatories of the Charter.

84. I also wish to extend a welcome on behalf of the French Government to the new Member States, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, whose presence in this Assembly is another step in the direction of universality.

85. The practice during the general debate which traditionally begins our sessions has been to enumerate the main problems before our Organization, beginning as a rule with the most critical and controversial ones. I have often felt that it is a pity the General Assembly has thus become a closed arena where opposing ideas clash, instead of a place where common solutions to problems are sought. But this will continue to be the case for a long time to come unless we endeavour to define and limit our function.

86. Breaking away from this tradition, I should like to devote the first part of my address to a problem on which almost unanimous agreement is possible, a problem characteristic of the subjects with which we have to deal, namely, assistance to under-developed countries.

87. Since May 1956, France has shown by definite proposals that it is deeply interested in this question and regards it as the key to peace and stability throughout the world.

88. We are well aware that an international agreement on disarmament would make our task easier and enable us, by saving money on armaments, to allocate a much greater proportion of our national income to the development of our own economies and those of less favoured nations. We should not wait for such an agreement to be concluded, however, before taking organized action on the technical, financial and commercial levels to raise the standard of living of under-developed countries.

89. With regard to technical assistance, we are gratified to note the ever-increasing interest which Member and non-member States are taking in the Expanded Programme. This programme, rightly considered to be one of the Organization's major successes, calls for a few brief remarks, and when I say Organization, I mean the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies, which by working together are achieving vital results in the economic and social field.

90. It would appear, first of all, that the existence of the United Nations programme, taken in its widest sense, side by side with the numerous bilateral programmes of technical assistance, presents problems which can be solved only by a policy of constant co-ordination. Moreover, we must recognize that technical assistance cannot be an end in itself: economic development begins with the training of personnel but cannot become a reality unless sufficient funds are put at the disposal of Member States to carry out their programmes. If a country requests the services of a United Nations expert and the expert recommends a certain plan for the development of hydro-electric resources or means of communication, or the construction of schools or hospitals, his recommendations

may never be followed up if the necessary funds are not forthcoming.

91. For this reason, on the financial side, we should establish a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development which would supplement the activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

92. We have for many years been discussing the possibility of establishing SUNFED. A resolution recently adopted by the Economic and Social Council recommends that the General Assembly should set up a commission to draft a statute.<sup>1/</sup> This is no doubt a step forward; however, let us face the fact that if the General Assembly does adopt the Council's recommendation and decides to set up the commission, the commission's task will be an extremely difficult one. Except in certain purely technical fields, the reports which have thus far been submitted as to how the fund might be operated are, despite the ability of their authors, somewhat vague regarding certain aspects of the problems to be solved, particularly the amount of the contributions and the criteria for the selection of projects for financing.

93. If this unprecedented experiment is to succeed, and the countries which are vacillating or even opposed to the establishment of this fund are to change their minds, we must draw up a statute with great care and take all the time we need to accomplish this revolutionary task.

94. However extensive our financial and technical assistance to under-developed countries, capital investment is not sufficient in itself, but must be supplemented by agreement on trade relations.

95. We must admit, in this connexion, that, following on a period during which the prices of raw materials favoured the producing countries, the events of the past few years do not encourage optimism. Raw materials are an essential source of foreign currency for the under-developed countries, but the stabilization of the prices of such materials by means of an international agreement is still little more than a pious hope. Moreover, fluctuations in prices of basic products and in the volume of trade have rarely been so great.

96. If we leave things as they stand, we shall encounter serious difficulties. As the Secretary-General recently pointed out, a drop of a mere 5 per cent in the terms of trade of the under-developed countries is equivalent, in its effect upon the balance of payments, to the cancellation of all public and private aid received from industrialized countries. In the case of certain countries, the terms of trade undergo even greater variations from one year to the next. Any efforts to set up financing machinery may remain ineffective if we do not strive with more diligence than in the past to find solutions to the problem of stabilizing the prices of basic commodities.

97. United Nations action in the fields I have just mentioned should help to co-ordinate and not undermine regional or private undertakings having the same purpose in view. We can prove, moreover, that it is both possible and desirable to combine various types of assistance to under-developed countries.

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 662 B (XXIV).



98. France allocates a large part of its national income to financing investments of a social or economic nature within the franc area even when it is doubtful whether they will yield a profit; and it has secured the co-operation of its colleagues in the European Economic Community in establishing a fund for the development of territories, especially in Africa, which are politically bound to members of the Community.

99. We are convinced that a Euro-African policy can promote the development of Africa if, as we hope, the funds placed at the disposal of the African countries are increased yearly. Incidentally, France's considerable efforts in this direction—no other country in the world allocates so high a proportion of its national income to aiding under-developed countries—are increasing, and in all probability will continue to increase.

100. This is not a "neo-colonialist" policy, as some people claim, but a mobilization of part of Europe's capital resources for use in Africa. Nor does it involve any "strings", or any concessions on the part of the recipient countries. On the contrary, our goal is to develop industrialization in those countries and to raise the standard of living of the population. For this reason, arrangements have been made by which the countries concerned can increase certain customs tariffs in order to protect their nascent industries.

101. The procedure selected is one which enables the countries concerned, through the development of representative institutions, to manage their own affairs in a democratic manner. It is our belief that the members of the Community, by undertaking to increase their economic and social investments in Africa, while at the same time ensuring that the African countries are able to protect themselves against competition from industrialized countries—including those of the Community itself—have not only respected the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, but have also endeavoured to put its principles into effect.

102. Nevertheless, the provisions of the treaty signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 establishing the European Economic Community have aroused misgivings in certain sectors of our Organization, particularly the Economic and Social Council and the regional commissions. Some countries fear that they will no longer have the easy access to the European capital market they have had in the past, or that the members of the Community may reduce the level of their investments, particularly in Latin America and Asia. They also seem to be worried that the development in Africa of industries competing with their own may harm their export trade with Europe as soon as Europe opens its doors wider to African products.

103. I should like to say here and now that the Treaty of Rome cannot in any way jeopardize the legitimate interests of other countries. The Common Market was an idea conceived on the assumption that there would be a rapid expansion in the European economy. We believe that it is reasonable to count on an annual increase of about 5 per cent in the national income of the Western European countries over the next few years. This income will thus probably have doubled by the end of the transitional period, that is, by the time the Common Market is fully established. An increase in buying power in Western Europe will make it possible for Western Europe to absorb an increasing volume

of the products exported to it from Latin America or Asia, whereas an economic regression due to isolation or cut-throat competition would have the opposite effect.

104. Moreover, even though the establishment of the Common Market requires increased domestic investment on the part of each member country, the Community as a whole will gradually be able to put an increasing amount of capital at the disposal of under-developed countries in other continents besides Africa.

105. Lastly, we are far from opposing the participation in the Euro-African plan of non-African countries undergoing development, particularly the Latin American countries, with which France and other European countries have so many common ties.

106. The experience gained in the operation of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance proves, moreover, that technical assistance consists not merely in assistance given by industrialized countries to under-developed countries, but often, also, in help furnished by these countries to other countries still less well-off than they are.

107. The fact that we favour the establishment of SUNFED surely indicates that it is not our intention to deprive countries outside the franc area with which we have long had mutually advantageous economic relations of the capital necessary for their development. We believe that the Development Fund for the Overseas Countries and Territories provided for in the Treaty of Rome does not preclude the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, but rather points the way along which we should travel.

108. The harassing problems of the Near East at the present time illustrate how dangerous to world peace is the state of economic development of certain countries and regions of the world. Indeed, several of the countries of the Near East, despite the wealth they possess and their valiant efforts to exploit it, are still far from achieving a standard of living commensurate with their age-old civilizations and their youthful determination to maintain their political independence.

109. If they are to catch up rapidly, they need assistance from the industrialized countries. But what kind of assistance? I cannot help expressing my uneasiness, in the light of the expansionist outlook of certain totalitarian countries, at the way in which the export of arms to that region of the world is increasing with every month that passes, when what those countries really need is the means of raising their standards of living and developing their economies within the framework of a general movement for international solidarity.

110. Here we see how greatly the United Nations is hampered for want of a solution to a number of world problems and by continued rivalries or misunderstandings among nations.

111. As far as France is concerned, we have taken steps to put an end to the long-standing feuds which have been a recurrent cause of bloodshed in Europe and which have twice resulted in world war. In taking the lead to bring about constructive co-operation among the nations of Western Europe, France had vividly in mind the need to settle once and for all its differences

with the Federal Republic of Germany which stood in the way of any rapprochement between the two States.

112. One of the most critical of these differences was the problem of the Saar, not only because important economic interests were involved, but also because the future of a territory with a million inhabitants depended on its solution. The negotiations were carried out in a spirit of good will on both sides and resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Luxembourg, on 27 October 1956, of whose historic significance you are well aware.

113. By proceeding to the settlement of this highly complex problem with the German Government, the French Government's idea was to wipe out the past. In the two world wars which cost the human race so much in material and moral destruction, the antagonism between France and Germany played a major role. We hope, and we are determined, that this antagonism shall finally disappear.

114. Obviously it was not easy for our peoples to forget so many painful memories. Nevertheless, anyone who visits Europe today will bear witness to the fact that we are not giving ourselves up to fruitless bitterness and that our two peoples want to shape a future of friendship and understanding out of the very sufferings which once divided them. This attitude can only be a source of gratification for the other peoples of the world, because harmony between France and Germany and, in a wider sense, among the peoples of a once divided Europe, is one of the soundest and most stable guarantees for peace.

115. Not content with forgetting old quarrels, our peoples earnestly desire to co-ordinate their efforts and to achieve common objectives which will help to strengthen world security.

116. I must stress the great importance which the French Government attaches to the efforts made to end the present division of Germany. This abnormal and unjust situation is the principal source of tension and insecurity in Europe.

117. During the second Geneva Conference, the French Government, jointly with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States, submitted specific proposals designed to lay the foundations for the reunification of Germany, at the same time offering the Soviet Union the opportunity to participate in working out a system of European guarantees and security which would be satisfactory to all.

118. The declaration signed at Berlin on 29 July 1957 by the allied Governments and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany - the only government freely elected by the German people - enabled France to reaffirm its proposals in the light of the events that had occurred during the past two years. The reunification of a free Germany, with the establishment of a system of European security which will make a vital contribution to world peace, is one of the basic objectives of French policy.

119. We have also directed our efforts in Europe towards the achievement of peace and security. For the first time in history, military affairs have been brought under a system of control on a reciprocal basis. The Paris agreements, which some people persist in denouncing as "aggressive", actually contain mandatory provisions prohibiting the individual sig-

natory States from resorting to the threat or use of force and requiring them to publicize, to limit, and to submit to reciprocal inspection their military forces and armaments. Such provisions make the Western European Union a strictly defensive body which should be proof against criticism by anyone who favours organized and controlled general disarmament.

120. This problem of disarmament is the key to many others, and I should like at this point to take up the problem.

121. Need I recall here the efforts made by France in the period between the two world wars to establish a system of collective security based on the limitation and control of armaments? The Second World War was the result of the failure of the Geneva Conference of 1932. We do not want to make the same mistakes all over again.

122. Today a general document is submitted to us, with the approval of four members of the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission and with the support of eleven other Governments. It represents the most tangible result obtained since the Sub-Committee began its work. You are all familiar with the part played in this matter by Mr. Jules Moch, the French representative on the Disarmament Commission, who has taken part in all the meetings of the Sub-Committee since it was established. We had hoped against hope that, in the weeks preceding the discussion in the General Assembly, some progress might have been achieved towards a relaxation of undue inflexibility of views. The Soviet delegation assumed the responsibility for a premature break down of negotiations which we, for our part, keenly regretted.

123. The proposals for partial disarmament submitted on 29 August 1957 by Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States [DC/113, annex 5] constitute a solid and well-balanced whole. Their objectives are limited to measures which can be controlled and put into practice without delay and which take into consideration the legitimate concerns of each Power.

124. The tangible and immediate measures we propose make provision - subject to the establishment of the necessary controls - for the reduction of armed forces and armaments, a two-year prohibition of test explosions, the cessation during the same period of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, a start in the reconversion of nuclear stockpiles, guarantees against the possibility of surprise attack, and a study of the regulation of armaments movements and of objects entering outer space.

125. These measures represent a homogenous and coherent whole, which cannot be split up without disturbing the balance. Following the principle of "no disarmament without control" we submit practical proposals in this connexion; in 1955 and 1956 we gave our views on what the nature, functions, powers and duties of a control organization should be.

126. The Soviet delegation has never replied with anything but vague and incomplete statements. Proposals generous in appearance which steer clear of any idea of effective control engender insecurity. When the Soviet Union proposes the immediate cessation of tests and a ban on the use of nuclear weapons,

it may deceive an unenlightened world opinion, but it is not making any constructive contribution to a real disarmament effort. Neither the mere cessation of explosions - now that nuclear weapons have already been technically perfected - nor the prohibition of their use would have any value other than that of a moral commitment. They do not even represent a step towards putting an end to the arms race; they cannot reinstall the necessary confidence, and thus guide the world in the direction of peace. They are, in short, an illusion and they are misleading because they place a premium on aggression.

127. Control is the essential element in any system of disarmament; it cannot be carried out by measures which are merely regional in nature. Undoubtedly, in the initial stages, control must be subject to certain geographical limitations, but these limitations must not lead to the crystallization of unacceptable de facto situations in Europe and elsewhere.

128. Furthermore, no disarmament measure should have the effect of increasing the security of some nations to the detriment of that of others. No plan can start by reducing conventional forces while leaving nuclear weapons intact, or vice versa, without giving countries which are more advanced in one of these fields an advantage over others.

129. The proposals of 29 August, which are presented as an indivisible whole, are based on these principles; thus they pave the way for balanced and controlled disarmament without creating an imbalance between the different categories of armaments that might endanger general security still more.

130. France could not agree to limitations in the nuclear field alone, since they would aggravate the effect of the existing disproportion in conventional forces stationed in Europe. Nuclear disarmament should therefore be linked to similar measures in conventional means of defence; it must also be undertaken sincerely and not for propaganda purposes. I repeat, what purpose would it serve to stop nuclear tests if the Powers that have perfected missiles could continue to manufacture them from their stocks of fissionable materials, and thus daily increase in secret the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind?

131. Another principle we have consistently maintained is that of progressivity. Let me recall our formula: "We must bring about progressively all the disarmament which is currently controllable."

132. In the present climate of insecurity, States cannot agree to take more than a limited risk. The state of international relations cannot be changed from one day to the next. It is only through a gradual restoration of confidence that the universal security of internationally-controlled disarmament can replace the present security based on regional defensive organizations.

133. It is because the Western proposals are based on this motivation that we believe in their value. They are in line with the realities of the present day and the deep-seated wishes of the peoples of the world.

134. We therefore venture to hope that the Soviet Union will adopt a more conciliatory attitude, and that a step can be taken towards disarmament which will

not only free the world from fear but will make it possible to devote vast resources to creating a better life for mankind. Once the Soviet Union becomes convinced of the sincerity of proposals which at first aroused its distrust, it occasionally lends them its support. The possibility of mutual good will is illustrated by the convening at Vienna of the first general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency which, in keeping with the idea of its originator, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, will help to redirect nuclear energy into peaceful channels. This mutual good will must be affirmed with respect to disarmament.

135. I have followed the course I outlined at the beginning of my statement, and have thus far dealt with problems on which the French Government still cannot help but feel that general agreement is possible. There is, however, one question of which this may not be true. My country attaches the utmost importance to this question, and it has been mentioned from this rostrum.

136. France did not oppose the inclusion of the item on Algeria in the agenda of the present session, though this attitude in no way implies any renunciation of the fundamental rights to which my country is entitled under Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. The representative of France will supply other delegations with ample and accurate information on the present situation; he will inform them of the means by which France hopes to find a "peaceful, democratic and just solution" to this distressing question, in accordance with the hope expressed by the Assembly on 15 February 1957 [resolution 1012(XI)].

137. In a general debate of this kind, I do not wish to anticipate what my delegation will have to say when the question comes up for discussion in the First Committee and later in the General Assembly itself. But I should like to ask some of you to examine your consciences.

138. Leaving aside those who make capital of France's internal difficulties and look on the Algerian question as a means of achieving more ambitious aims, I appeal specifically to those who avow their esteem or affection for my country and their sincere desire for a rapid solution.

139. Do they feel they are right in encouraging outside intervention calculated to prolong the bloody phase of the struggle or in asking the United Nations to intervene in a conflict which it has neither the right nor the means to settle? Do they think that their attitude has played an insignificant part in encouraging the rebels to reject, as they have done so far, the repeated French proposals for a cease-fire, followed by free elections? Do they know of any other more democratic expression of the right of peoples to self-determination than free elections?

140. France will not allow itself to be dissuaded from what it believes to be its duty regarding a territory in which anarchy and poverty, and probably even civil war, would result from its absence. Is it in the interests of the Algerian people and of world peace to try to paralyse an attempt at pacification, reform and development at the very moment when it is beginning to bear fruit?

141. Do not, I beg you, encourage a whole sector of world public opinion to believe that the annual session

of the United Nations only encourages the trouble-makers and thwarts any attempt at finding a constructive solution.

142. I know how much prestige the concepts of freedom, independence and self-determination rightly enjoy in our Organization. They even inspire enthusiasm in those who in their own countries have never been able to give them form and make them a living reality.

143. In this respect France has better examples to show than many of those who criticize it. But France has never sought to separate the freedom of peoples from that of individuals, nor to isolate artificially political independence from economic independence. France believes that disorder and poverty do not further human progress, but only the designs of those who use them as a means to world domination. There are free men who accept the obligations of society; there are slaves who claim they are independent.

144. In any case, France is justified in expecting the General Assembly to take up the discussion of Algeria calmly and objectively, and, above all, to beware of taking any stand which constitutes unlawful and uncalled-for intervention in matters which are not within its competence and might well have disastrous consequences for the authority and future of our Organization.

145. And now I return to my initial statement; we must endeavour to define and limit our function. To be sure, experience has shown that the United Nations Charter has gaps and contradictions. We in France would be glad to see amended certain articles which are not in line with present conditions. But on this point we have no more illusions than the next. While a revision of the Charter is desirable, it cannot be carried out in practice without a mutual desire to obtain positive results, and at present no such desire exists.

146. We must therefore be content to try to improve our methods of work and discussion. We can of course, make an effort to rid our debates of the violence which too often marks them; to prevent squabbling, which never produces constructive results; to apply ourselves more to the solution of specific problems; and to concentrate rather on alleviating poverty than pandering to pride or nursing resentment.

147. But this is not the crux of the matter. The greatest weakness of our Organization is that its influence is really only exerted on those who are willing to accept it. Some of the Member States try to carry out United Nations decisions and to abide as closely as possible by its recommendations, even when perfectly legitimate interests of theirs are involved. They make it a point not to challenge the Organization's competence except when the Charter gives them the right to do so; even then they show their good will by providing information, and their respect by discussing the views of the other side. There are States on the other hand—and they are generally the ones most critical of others—which invoke the authority of the Organization when it suits their convenience, but flout it openly when extremely questionable interests of theirs are involved.

148. Thus we end up by establishing two sets of standards and by severely handicapping in the game of world politics those countries which respect

ordinary law as against those which give it cavalier treatment. How can you expect public opinion in the former countries not to become infuriated by this situation? As for public opinion in the latter countries, the question does not arise, because generally there is no public opinion.

149. Last year, when France complied with the recommendations of the General Assembly even though its fundamental interests were concerned, French public opinion was indignant because, at that very time, in the Hungarian affair, the judgement of the United Nations was openly scorned by the country against which it was pronounced.

150. It will be argued that the Organization had no way of forcing anyone to implement recommendations adopted by an overwhelming majority. We are only too well aware of that, but, even seen in this light, the problem is nonetheless serious. In order to be effective, an organization like ours needs world-wide respect. Its authority will always be questioned if some people, by their attitude, always make it subject to question.

151. A second weakness of our Organization is the way in which groups are formed within it that are justified neither by geography nor true solidarity, and whose sole purpose is thus by definition to take the negative view. Far be it from me to suggest that membership of the United Nations excludes a country from belonging to regional organizations for the defence of a common ideal or common interest. We are living at a time when a certain amount of regrouping is essential, but it must be done for the purpose of achieving positive results, and not to maintain or create artificial antagonism between nations, thus making the vital task of reconciliation more difficult.

152. The points I have dealt with here must not cause us to despair of the future of our Organization. The ideals by which France is inspired are the very ones that brought the Charter into being; and for that reason we still believe and will go on believing that the universal organization of peoples is a blessing. For that reason, too, we are extremely sensitive to anything likely to reduce its effectiveness and influence in the world.

153. Mr. SUBANDRIO (Indonesia): In the first place, I join with all the other speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum in congratulating Sir Leslie Munro on his election to the high office of President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, by a unanimous vote made possible because of the generous and considerate gesture of our eminent fellow representative, the Foreign Minister of Lebanon, Mr. Charles Malik. I do so not merely because of the high regard in which my delegation holds Sir Leslie personally, but also because the choice of the representative of the people of New Zealand for this eminent post is a happy one in giving due prominence to the role of our part of the globe in present-day world developments. The pleasure we take in his election stems also from the fact that we see an increasing tendency towards close co-operation between our two countries in a multitude of fields, a development which, I am sure, will increase and prosper in the future for our mutual benefit.

154. In these twelve years of its existence, the United Nations has had to deal with many problems be-

devilling international relations and sorely taxing our determination to build a better world in greater freedom. It is always, I think, extremely difficult to make at the beginning of each new session of the General Assembly a correct evaluation of the over-all progress achieved in the foregoing year. After all, the main aspects of our problems today are of a long-term nature, originating in the convulsive prostration of Europe immediately after the Second World War and, subsequently, accentuated by the rightful claims of subjugated nations to develop forthwith their own individual and national identities on the basis of equality. In this context, it was unavoidable that the anachronistic order of stability should give way to the search for a new equilibrium in our international life, which implies the introduction of strains, sometimes even dislocations, in order to establish successive readjustments.

155. Viewed from this angle, the achievements of this Organization are certainly not disheartening, especially with respect to its principle task of the reconciliation of the different, often conflicting, social forces, to be succeeded by permanent settlements or, at least, temporary compromises.

156. In Europe, for example, which till recently was the main arena of "cold-war" antagonisms, tensions are actually diminishing. This does not mean, of course, that the causes of tension have been removed. They are there and for the time being they will continue to exist, although, we hope, evolving progressively in such a way as to encourage greater accommodation between the big Powers. We do not even relinquish the hope of ultimately reaching the ideal solution of a firm, common, meeting ground between the two now antagonistic ideologies.

157. For the time being, however, we may find satisfaction in the fact that conditions in Europe have already achieved a considerable amount of stability, even if on the basis of a temporary status quo. This was brought about by the inescapable conclusion that the status quo in Europe could be changed only by promoting a new stability through mutual consent or compromise or by the force of arms which, given the realities of our nuclear age, could end only in mutual annihilation.

158. With such a clear-cut situation, there could develop in Europe an increasing feeling of security on the part of both Power blocs. And even though we may deplore that this security is born of necessity rather than founded on trust, it may itself inspire the creation of an atmosphere of trust, thereby allowing the possibility of further adjustments conducive to a closer rapprochement between the big Powers. Indeed, although its full realization may be a very slowly evolving process, I think such a trend in Europe is already making itself felt, as shown by the first stages of the recent discussions of the Disarmament Commission's Sub-Committee in London.

159. But how different are the conditions in Asia and Africa. Initially, most of the countries of Asia and Africa did not participate in the "cold war". Some regarded themselves as mere spectators, while the views of others, which took an interest in the problems of the "cold war", at the outset were not taken too seriously by certain quarters. Today, however, no one would suggest that our interest in the "cold war"

problems is merely academic. The explosive nature of the tensions in the Middle East and in other countries of Asia shows that these regions are fast becoming the centres of the "cold war".

160. What does "cold war" involvement mean for these countries? It means that every aspect of the activities of their Governments and peoples, whether in pursuance of greater stability in the domestic field or in their relations with neighbouring countries, can be exploited by the disruptive forces of the "cold war". And the ultimate effect, I assure the Assembly, could be not a temporary status quo with stability but, at best, an interregnum of chaos, along with the disappearance of the independent nature of the nation States; at worst, incessant local wars with the unavoidable risk of their expanding into a world-wide conflagration.

161. Indeed, in such an emergency, the miracle achieved in Europe—the miracle of preventing the outbreak of a third world war—could not be repeated. Certainly with regard to Asia we must give up all notions of complacency that nowadays local wars or even local tensions can be isolated or arrested before they explode into a world conflagration.

162. What is so frightening today, as shown by events in the Middle East, is that the military activities of one side invite an immediate, equal response from the other side. It is becoming evident that the introduction of military pacts or military bases by one side in the "cold war" will induce the other side to do the same with equal fervour and strength. Shipments of arms originating from one bloc, are countered by an equal or even greater supply of arms from the other bloc. And this, I am afraid, will not even be the end of the story. I would not be surprised if, before long, the proclamation of doctrines with primarily military purposes will cease to be the monopoly of one side alone. Consequently the potential sphere of conflict will become wider and wider.

163. The real tragedy, however, is that if this tendency to make the Middle East and other parts of Asia an arena of the "cold war" is carried to its ultimate conclusion, the countries of that region would not be in a position to assert themselves against the outbreak of war. They would have little, if any, chance to play an active role in obstructing the preparations of war. Instead, they would become the first victims of the ideological battle. And even if, in the end, war could be avoided, their involvement in the "cold war" could still not bring them any beneficial results.

164. The thesis that is often heard that a "cold war" situation could be of benefit to those countries is a fable that should be dismissed once and for all. How can one concentrate upon rehabilitation and reconstruction if a nation's limited resources are diverted to armaments, even so-called defensive armaments? How can a nation, just emerging from a colonial past, hope to achieve maturity, stability and prosperity if all its mental activities are not concentrated on constructive aims in an atmosphere of tranquillity? The answer to these questions is obvious: without sacrificing one for the other, we cannot materially or mentally support both an economy of war and an economy of peace.

165. Therefore, I appeal urgently to the big Powers sincerely to reconsider and refrain from embarking

upon any further policy of military pacts and military bases, even if it may seem to suit their immediate interests. In the long run, they too would suffer, since the consequent stagnation of healthy progress in Asia and Africa could only be a liability, detracting from rather than contributing to their own well-being and security.

166. We all agree, I believe, that the ultimate aim of harmonious co-operation among nations for the benefit of all will not be achieved if the principle of armed strength is the basis of our international life. I may also assume that we all regret the arms race and the formation of military pacts from whatever side. Therefore it is, in our opinion, essential that we take the initial step of reducing, if not eliminating, the existing military pacts and bases. My appeal to the big Powers, indeed, includes the fervent hope that no new pacts or bases be set up, even if such new pacts or bases seem warranted in order to counter the existing ones. I cannot stress often enough that the existence of all these military organizations, together with the increased flow of arms from whatever side, cannot serve the real interests and happiness of peoples who are just starting their national life and who, even without the present international tensions, are facing grave problems of their own.

167. It is with this thought that we made our contribution to the efforts to secure the peace of Asia and to save the newly-won freedom of that part of the world. Even if this was more a product of the natural instincts of new nationhood rather than the result of experience in international affairs or of rational considerations and calculations, we, together with our friends of Asia and Africa, did take the first step towards accentuating the common grounds for harmony among the countries of that region, and of conciliating differences between neighbours, which differences, after all, have their roots in the colonial past. We convened the Bandung Conference not as a counter-weight against the two existing power blocs, nor as an instrument to be used against either one of them. The Conference born of the deep conviction that cohesion among the militarily weak and under-industrialized countries of Asia and Africa is the only way of saving the area from the traditional interplay of power politics, which in the course of human history has always culminated in distress and suffering for all of us.

168. Now, when the peace of the Middle East is in jeopardy, when there is an increasing tendency to disregard or even disparage the independent character of the nations of that region, I sincerely urge that the spirit and the resolution produced by the Bandung Conference be accepted as a practical contribution to the efforts of this Organization to resolve the problems in that region of the world. At the very least, we expect that the big Powers will not obstruct the process of consolidation begun at Bandung.

169. Against this background, I would like to make a few remarks about another issue of great concern to all of us. I realize that a solution of the disarmament problem is not dependent upon the activities or attitude of my country. Nevertheless, and in spite of this obvious fact, we have a special interest in a settlement of the disarmament problem, since the negative impacts of the armaments race are certainly much more acutely felt in my country and in the other

under-industrialized countries of Asia and Africa than in countries such as the United States or the Soviet Union or even those of Western Europe, which already have secured the material necessities for a decent human existence. That is why we associate the success or lack of success of this Assembly with what we accomplish on the problem of disarmament.

170. My delegation naturally has its own definite views with respect to this problem. We intend at this session to continue pressing for the immediate cessation of all nuclear weapons tests as a minimum first step towards disarmament. We urge this not only because of the tragic consequences which the continuation of these tests may hold for our own and future generations, not only because we believe that this body should take at least this one practical step in the direction of relieving the fears of mankind, but also because we believe that such a first step preceding disarmament would have beneficial effects on creating that atmosphere of trust and confidence which we all so plainly desire and need.

171. At the same time, we believe that a country such as Indonesia can hope to make a constructive contribution in the field of disarmament only by furthering and supporting every effort aimed at securing a workable disarmament plan; that is, a plan acceptable, in the first place, to the two major Powers in the field of nuclear armaments, the United States and the Soviet Union. If nothing else, the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency proves what can be achieved when there exists co-operation among the major Powers in this field, along with the concerted determination of all the nations of the world to uplift mankind and ameliorate living conditions.

172. We of Indonesia, having had the immense satisfaction of participating in the work of the Preparatory Commission of the agency, look forward with great expectations to the first session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is meeting now in Vienna. In particular, the economic aspects of nuclear energy inspire high hopes among the peoples of Indonesia. This new technology may provide the means of overcoming more rapidly the challenge of poverty and backwardness.

173. As we are all well aware, one of our main problems today is how to meet the challenge of bringing about a more rapid economic growth in the less developed regions of the world. Here again, we are dealing with a phenomenon which fits into the picture of that historical and extremely important movement of new nations continuously remodelling their pattern of life. Economic growth with us is not alone a matter of the technical increase of our national income. That could be done with the mere supply of more capital and more technical "know-how". But the process which is taking place is more all-embracing. We inherited an economic and social structure from the past which we have to adapt to our new existence as free, independent nations subjected to the modern requirements of interdependence among nations.

174. This means that we have to strive for structural and social changes in shaping a new framework within which the economic process can take place at an increasingly higher level. The economic convulsions which we see in many less developed areas are the result of these two forces: the necessity to realize a

new national economic and social framework and the need to raise national income rapidly within that framework.

175. The persistent gap, which in fact is widening, between the industrialized and under-industrialized countries, is frightening indeed and far from conducive to world peace. It is unthinkable that peace, which is a situation of balance, can be possible as long as more than one half of mankind is living in poverty and hunger. As a representative of an under-industrialized country, I would most emphatically state that the removal of this imbalance in the economic situation among nations, through accelerated programmes of economic development, is one of the most urgent problems before the United Nations today.

176. In this connexion, Indonesia will continue to press strenuously for the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, for the stabilization of the prices of primary products, for the removal of trade impediments and for the avoidance of possible new barriers in the way of a freer flow of goods and services. At the same time, we are determined to combat inflation, which is now becoming a world-wide phenomenon.

177. I think that if the world, especially the highly developed countries, could understand the actual trend in the areas of their less privileged neighbours, it would be possible to achieve an economic growth which was more balanced than before, and which would thus represent more fully the ideal of an expanding economy beneficial to all of us.

178. As I have already noted, we are living in a period of transition, passing through successive mental and material stages of development to a new relationship between man and his fellow human beings. You may ascribe this to a growing consciousness of respect for the individual freedom and of the sovereign right of every nation. Others may attribute this revolution to the seemingly limitless development of technology and science in this atomic era. But whatever the case, the greatest part of mankind is today dissatisfied with the spiritual and material life of the past and is determined to utilize the energies of the present to bring about in the future a genuine and lasting tranquillity, prosperity and liberty.

179. We see around us, even within the apparently established countries, which to some extent regard themselves as examples of maturity and stability, evidence of the conflict between traditional concepts of stability and the new, more enlightened requirements of modern life. It is in this light that recent events in Indonesia should be evaluated.

180. I know that there have appeared in the foreign Press all sorts of interpretations of the recent developments in Indonesia. I know, too, that there have been speculations predicting the possible disintegration and collapse of the Indonesian State. Moreover, there is apprehension in some quarters that Indonesia may turn away from the path of democracy. But what is, in fact, happening in Indonesia—as in all the countries of Asia and Africa in various degrees—is a process of rapid growth and, consequently, a continuous remodelling of the national garment of yesterday to fit the new requirements of today and, as far as possible, of tomorrow. It reflects the determination of the Indonesian people themselves to remove all

obstacles in the way of political maturity and economic progress.

181. The experience of other countries vividly teaches us that a first or second secret ballot as the attribute of parliamentary democracy does not by itself necessarily constitute the establishment of a democracy serving the interest of all the people. Parliamentary government must succeed in fully satisfying the needs of the people, lest it succumb to the attraction of dictatorship, in whatever form. This is a lesson we have taken to heart. And before it was too late, the Indonesian people themselves gave the impetus for correcting the existing shortcomings in order to safeguard the democratic system to which we had pledged our adherence as one of the principal instruments of our national life.

182. Let there be no doubt that the Indonesian people, without any exception, had already realized within one year of the first general election the delicate aspects of the parliamentary democratic system, and had understood that, especially in the process of growth, that system has to be sustained by a self-restraint based on strong moral and idealistic considerations. And if this is insufficient, then there is no reason why we should not initiate the perhaps somewhat unconventional idea of devising an auxiliary institution, in the context of our constitutional parliamentary system, and adapted to the social structure of our community. After all, we are not afraid to adopt a dynamic and flexible attitude in the search for the correct methods to promote a healthy national growth. We are determined not to allow our revolution to become a prelude for the stagnation and backwardness which characterized the days before the revolution. On the contrary, we will keep alive the impact of our revolution as the dynamic force for securing the betterment of our people in every walk of our national life.

183. With the success of the National Conference held in Jakarta from 10 to 14 September last, we closed one period of trial and error in order to enter upon the next stage of greater perfection in our national life. Any concerns about possible deviation from the path of democracy are easily dismissed by the solemn declaration, issued at the end of the National Conference by our national leaders Mr. Sukarno and Mr. Hatta, to the effect that the basic foundation of the Indonesian State is still the pancha shila, the five guiding principles, in which belief in God and in democracy precede the others in eminence.

184. We do not pretend to be more than our fellow human beings, and therefore we cannot assume to be able to perform miracles. But one thing is certain. We have profound confidence that the march of events in Indonesia, up till now, is in the right direction, towards mature nationhood.

185. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the problem of colonialism. Although we have come a considerable distance in settling issues of this nature, instances of disregard for the Charter principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples still create upheavals and frustrations in the international community.

186. In Algeria, at this very moment, the struggle for freedom rages unabated. Countless men, women and even children are laying down their lives so that

others may emerge from the senselessness of a life of subjugation to be reborn in freedom. The waste and destruction of human lives and of material goods goes on in a futile attempt to suppress the inalienable right of the Algerian people to live their own lives.

187. I have no doubts that the people of Algeria will soon cross the threshold of freedom. But must they do so in the din of war and with hatred and distrust in their hearts? This is the question before the United Nations today. It is too late for wishful thinking or mere expressions of hope that reason will still prevail. The time has come for this Organization to show that it can find a settlement of the Algerian problem by the peaceful means of negotiation and reconciliation. We must not and, indeed, we will not fail, given the common will to use the potentialities of this world Organization as an instrument for peace and progress.

188. It is in this spirit that Indonesia, along with twenty other Member States, has for the fourth time brought the question of West Irian before this body. It is not my intention to elaborate now upon this issue, since it will be comprehensively discussed in committee as an item on the agenda. However, I do wish to take this opportunity to stress once again that we come here seeking a peaceful solution of this dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands. It is for this reason that we regret that the United Nations has up to now failed to take those steps necessary for finding a settlement of the West Irian problem, not only in the interest of the Indonesian and Netherlands peoples, but also in the broader interest of promoting creatively the emergence of a new relationship between Asia and Africa and the West.

189. The question of West Irian and its solution is the foremost national issue in Indonesia and one in which all the people of Indonesia in every walk of life are united. Both the Indonesian Parliament and the Indonesian National Congress, organs in which the province and people of West Irian are proportionally represented, have adopted unanimously resolutions calling for the complete restoration of West Irian to Indonesia. It is, then, with the whole-hearted and unanimous support of the Indonesian nation and people that we come here, in a spirit of reconciliation, seeking a just and peaceful solution that will mend one more tear in the fabric of the community of nations.

190. I am aware of the suggestion that the status of West Irian should be determined on the basis of self-determination, on the false and irrelevant assumption that the people of that region form a separate ethnic group. This would imply nothing less than our consent to a procedure which would pave the way for further artificially created attempts to break up the national structure of our community, which was developed by our forefathers many centuries ago and which resulted in a historical and traditional association of all the peoples of the various parts of Indonesia. That structure was taken over by the Netherlands and, in fact, was further preserved in its traditional entity. And no country, not even the Netherlands itself, which has a happy history of co-operation among its peoples of diverse origins, would consent to the disruption of this traditional association.

191. Moreover, aside from being an affront to the people of West Irian, whose representatives are already participating actively in the affairs of Indonesia,

the injection of the principle of self-determination at this late date is an obvious misuse of that principle in order to perpetuate colonial rule. Yet the very perversion of the principle of self-determination brings to the forefront the crux of the issue at stake: immediate freedom for the people of West Irian and the chance to live their own lives, or the maintenance of colonial rule by all means and at any cost.

192. The problem of West Irian is as simple as that. The only question is whether the United Nations is the place where its solution may be worked out, or whether we must embark upon another course, even at the risk of aggravating conditions in South-East Asia and perhaps inviting "cold war" tensions to muddy further the waters of peace in that region of the world. We trust that this session of the General Assembly will answer this question in a manner consonant with the faith, patience and moderation shown for so long by the Indonesian people, and that it will adopt constructive recommendations for a final peaceful settlement of the problem of West Irian.

193. Now that this Organization embraces the participation of an ever-increasing number of nations, representing the great majority of mankind, confidence will grow that the United Nations is the most effective instrument to deal with the conflicts and crises which sometimes are unavoidable. In extending our most sincere congratulations to our sister nations, Ghana and the Federation of Malaya, I cannot fail to regret that the question of the proper representation of China is not yet settled. My delegation considers this a great obstacle in the normalization of international relations, and any delay in solving this problem will certainly do harm to ourselves rather than impede the Chinese people in their national endeavour.

194. I cannot end my statement without expressing the fervent hope that this session of the General Assembly, under the President's leadership, will be successful in facing the problems which confront our present-day world. I do not expect that all issues can be solved forthwith; neither do I expect that the world of tranquillity is already within immediate reach. However, I do believe in progress based upon the sanity and wisdom of mankind. I do believe that we are all determined to reject the emotions or the selfish pride which may lead to our own extinction.

195. Mr. AL-SHABANDAR (Iraq): It is a great pleasure for me to join my colleagues in extending to Sir Leslie Munro my heartiest congratulations on his election as President of the present session of the General Assembly, which we all earnestly hope will be a successful and fruitful one. I would like also to take this opportunity to express my delegation's great appreciation of the services rendered to this Organization by Sir Leslie's predecessor, His Royal Highness, Prince Wan Waithayakon, who presided over the deliberations of the eleventh session with his customary wisdom, charm and impartiality.

196. I wish also to express my delight at the re-appointment of Mr. Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General for a second period. Mr. Hammarskjöld's qualities, as well as his unique gifts of statesmanship, patience and impartiality, have won him universal respect and admiration. It is indeed an honour and a pleasure for me to be able to pay this tribute to him.

197. It is an occasion of satisfaction to me to wel-



come the two new Member States of Ghana and the Federation of Malaya to this Assembly. We are delighted to have them with us as Members of this great family of nations. At the same time, I wish to express our admiration of the peoples and Governments of those two countries for the way in which they have achieved their independence, and to compliment the Government of the United Kingdom on its wisdom and foresight in extending help and sympathy to them in the fulfilment of their national aims. We hope that the enlightened policy followed by the United Kingdom will be an example to others, who, by emulating it, will then receive equally the acknowledgement and appreciation of the civilized world.

198. We hope that very soon we shall be able to welcome other new Members, such as an independent Algeria and a united Germany.

199. As a Middle Easterner, I feel very flattered that so many speakers at this session have dealt with the question of the Middle East with so much zeal and sympathy. But at the same time I must confess that I find this sudden interest a little disquieting, especially as some of the speakers appeared to be more anxious than the peoples of the Middle East themselves. We wonder to what we owe this fortune or misfortune? To Zionism, to imperialism, or to communism? Perhaps we owe it to them all.

200. Another thing which makes us doubtful and suspicious is the fact that almost none of the distinguished speakers bothered to ask why the situation had deteriorated in the last few years, and none tried to find out the real source of the upheavals in the Arab world. They claimed that communism was now trying to penetrate the Arab countries. If this is true, what is it that made these countries liable to such penetration?

201. We believe that there is no communism in the Arab world. The phenomena we are witnessing is nothing but an expression of bitterness caused by injustices and partialities favouring Israel to the detriment of Arab rights and aspirations.

202. Who brought the danger of so-called communist penetration to the Middle East? The Egyptians? The Syrians? Not at all. The short-sightedness which brought communism to the Danube and the Elbe may now be paving the way for it to the Mediterranean. The international champions of hatred and unconditional surrender who, by securing the division of Germany, have exposed Western Europe to grave dangers, are the same fanatic elements who succeeded in dividing Palestine, and so opened the doors to unrest and instability in the Middle East. But now these same champions and their supporters are biting their fingers and beating their chests in fury against possible communist infiltration, which is being used as a pretext for their infernal designs.

203. I wonder why should one expect the Communists to behave like angels in the face of all these temptations? Communists, after all, have never pretended to believe in God or angels. Why should we blame them, then, if they attempt to exploit their opponents' mistakes and blunders? Is there a greater blindness than what has been happening in Palestine for the last forty years? Or has there been a more malignant stupidity than the aggression in Egypt last year? Or is

there a more barbarous war than the one which is being waged now in Algeria?

204. Colonialism has such a long black list of accumulated mistakes and misdeeds in Asia and Africa that some Powers should be thankful for still having friends and allies in the Middle East. There is an Arabic proverb which says: "An old opponent whom you know is safer than a new friend whom you do not." This perhaps explains our attitude, with the hope that our friends will soon realize the danger of the nineteenth-century games which are still being played here and there.

205. Friendship between nations is guided and regulated by mutual national interests, and it cannot, therefore, be considered as one-sided or unconditional. So it is up to our friends to understand the importance of Arab nationalism and aspirations and to realize the danger of disillusion and despair.

206. To have a clear idea of what is going on in the Arab world today we must know one or two facts. The Arab world is fighting three evils: white traditional imperialism, red communist threat, and black Zionist aggression. We are spending much time and energy and a great part of our resources to cope with this three-cornered danger. We believe that the United Nations can do a great deal to help in this matter, by stopping France in its atrocious adventure in Algeria, by forcing Israel to respect the United Nations resolutions safeguarding Arab rights in Palestine, and by creating a genuine and a practical coexistence which will put an end to interference and subversion.

207. If we intend to help the Middle East, we must completely liquidate the evils of imperialism, find a just and fair solution to the Palestine question and by so doing seal definitely the channel of unrest and subversive activities in the Middle East.

208. My delegation takes special interest in the Algerian question. For the last three years, French forces have been carrying on a war against the Algerian people, whose only fault is their struggle for liberty and independence—rights fully endorsed and upheld by the Charter. The acts committed by French troops in Algeria are, to say the least, in the worst traditions of colonial wars. The atrocities and the mutilations of men, women and children and the looting of Algerian property under the eyes of French authorities have been an almost daily occurrence in that tragedy-stricken country. This has been testified not only by foreign impartial eye-witnesses and journalists, but also by a great many Frenchmen in Algeria and in France, who, as you know, have been exposed to punishment and retaliation for their views.

209. The devastating war in Algeria is the main cause today of unrest in North Africa, a region that needs, above all, peace and security to develop its economy and resources. My country views the developments in Algeria with extreme anxiety and grave concern. We have no doubt that the peace and the security of the whole region will be threatened if events are allowed to continue in their tragic course without bold and effective measures to stop them. If the United Nations intends to live up to the principles in the Charter, the General Assembly will have no other alternative but to take an urgent and unqualified decision to uphold the right of Algeria to freedom and

independence, and to open negotiations for a cease-fire.

210. As for the eternal question of Palestine, my delegation need hardly dwell on the plight of the one million Palestinian Arabs who have been denied the right to return to their homes and property since the creation of Israel, which has flouted United Nations resolutions more than once. Enough has been said about this problem, which, if it remains without solution, will leave no hope whatsoever for stability and security in the Middle East.

211. Those Powers which voted for the partition of Palestine ten years ago, and for the creation of Israel, were misled by very shrewd Zionist propaganda. Some of them were given to believe that the State of Israel would be a factor of peace and prosperity in the Middle East. They ignored Arab warnings that this artificial State, imposed arbitrarily, would bring nothing but disaster to the Arabs, the Jews and the free world. Today, the world is reaping the bitter fruit of that mischief and injustice.

212. We cannot save or win the Middle East by guns and dollars. What we really need is justice and fair play, and, unless we frankly and courageously deal with this matter, the chaotic situation will continue and lead one day to a terrific explosion. Then it will be too late to do anything constructive in that area.

213. The twelfth session of the General Assembly faces other challenging problems, such as the questions of disarmament, Kashmir, Hungary, etc., which need the courage and the strong will of the Members of the United Nations if they are to be solved in justice and fairness.

214. We believe that the United Nations, in spite of handicaps and some mistakes in the past, has justified its existence and has a great opportunity to move forward. We are particularly impressed by the United Nations work in the social and economic fields.

215. It is gratifying to note that the United Nations has been giving more and more attention to the plight of the majority of the population of the world, which suffers from ignorance, poverty, and disease. In this field, the Technical Assistance Administration and the specialized agencies deserve special mention for their efforts. We hope that these efforts will increase in scope and importance to deal with the increasing needs of mankind and in fulfilment of one of the most important aims and principles of the Charter.

216. Needless to say, Members of this Organization should do their best to help themselves and improve their economic conditions if we are to look to a better and a brighter world. My own country has been doing all it can for this purpose. We have been using 70 per cent of our oil revenues to modernize and develop our country and so raise the standard of living of the people. This is being done with the help and advice of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and the specialized agencies, and also with the co-operation of some friendly and neighbourly nations.

217. In this field, the Baghdad Pact, which was formed as a defensive regional and good-neighbour organization in accordance with the United Nations Charter, is rendering a good service to its members. Through

its committees and commissions, they have joined their efforts in the field of economic and social development.

218. Finally, we take this opportunity to pledge our faith in the Charter and our readiness to abide by its principles. My delegation will endeavour to co-operate with other delegations in the work of this Assembly and its various Committees with full energy and devotion, and we hope that this will be a fruitful and successful session.

219. The PRESIDENT: I shall now give the floor to the representative of Nicaragua, who wishes to make a short statement arising out of references made to his country by the representative of Honduras.

220. Mr. MENA SOLORZANO (Nicaragua) (translated from Spanish): I should like, with the President's permission, to take up a few minutes of the Assembly's time on a point of order arising out of the reference made by the representative of our sister republic of Honduras to the old and unacceptable award made by the King of Spain in the boundary dispute with Nicaragua; that reference took us by surprise.

221. The award by the King of Spain did not have the character of a treaty duly concluded and binding for all time, as the representative of Honduras stated. On the contrary, it was a preliminary agreement, in which His Majesty's decision was unfortunately gravely vitiated by reason of extra-contractuality and because it was ultra petita. For that reason Nicaragua immediately contested the award and has always contested it as being arbitrary.

222. But it would be inopportune to discuss this question, since it would certainly stir up discord among the American countries, and this my Government would be most reluctant to do.

223. It was for that reason that Nicaragua, in agreement with Honduras, requested the good offices of the Council of the Organization of American States, which duly acted as a temporary organ of mediation in accordance with the 1947 Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

224. In a gallant gesture, Nicaragua and Honduras laid down their arms and abstained from recrimination, and, in an agreement signed in Washington in July 1957 by their Foreign Ministers, solemnly undertook to lay their case before the International Court of Justice.

225. I should point out that, out of considerations of elementary courtesy and propriety, my delegation will not advance in this Assembly any arguments additional to those which my Government has been advancing for many years and which are known throughout the world. To do so would in any case be pointless, since they will be submitted to the International Court of Justice, in whose integrity we have implicit confidence, and the Court will give a final decision.

226. I will not, therefore, take up any more of the Assembly's time with this question, which is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.